

Draft Translation
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FINAL REPORT
OF THE PISPAL EVALUATION PANEL (1)

(original version in Spanish)

Bogota, D.E., Colombia, Abril 22 de 1977

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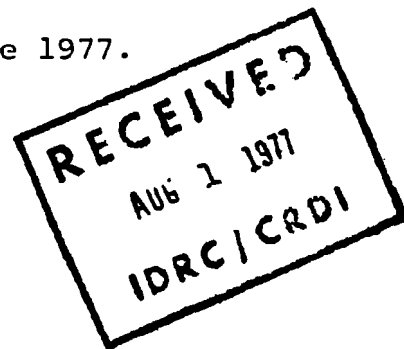
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Bogotá, D.E., Colombia, abril 22 de 1977.



- (1) The Evaluation Panel was coordinated by German A. Bravo, who was elected by the members of the Panel at the New York meeting (October 1976).

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1. PROLOGUE

1.1 Introduction

An evaluation of PISPAL is a difficult task for a lot of reasons. First, we are dealing with a very broad program which includes many activities, programs, and areas of work as well as a good number of actors. Because of the nature of the Program, it is difficult to identify all formal and informal lines of contact and communication, a situation which includes not only the relationships among the components of the Program - the Central Unit, the Program Committee and the Research Centers and their internal relationships - but also the existing ties of the Program, either directly or indirectly, with the regional agencies (CELADE, CLACSO, FLACSO), and with the sponsoring organizations.

Regarding the written material which was utilized, both its volume and content diversity, as well as its localization, posed limitations which prevented an appropriate control of all relevant sources. This was even more evident in connection with the research projects supported by the Program; many of the reports analyzed did not actually reflect the degree of progress achieved by some of the projects, and in some instances it was necessary to get in contact with the investigators in order to obtain a more accurate description of the status of the projects.

In addition, due to the characteristics of the Program and its recent establishment, it is not possible to expect that its objectives and accomplishments can be properly evaluated at this early stage. Furthermore, PISPAL is undergoing a series of major internal changes. The Evaluation Panel is aware of the nature of these changes, and in some instances, it is also aware of their future course. However, because of the preliminary status of these ideas, the Group considers that it would be inappropriate for it to judge them in any manner.

Finally, the Program is not financially supported by one agency but by many of them; each one with its own objectives, priorities, and strategies, and, as a result, different criteria for evaluating PISPAL.

The Evaluation Panel, because of the above mentioned facts, did not pretend to cover adequately all and each of the multiple facets of PISPAL. Inasmuch as it was not always possible to find out everything that should have been known about the Program, undoubtedly, there will be some points over which our findings will be considered erroneous, if not untimely, due to the lack of more detailed information. Taking into consideration these shortcomings, plus the different geographic and academic backgrounds of the members of the Evaluation Panel, their scant level of previous knowledge about the Program, as well as their human limitations, we tried to approach the task of evaluating PISPAL in the best spirit by getting to know it better, inquiring about what was ignored and synthesizing what was known, always trying to distinguish what was considered to be important from the superficial. We have also tried (and we believe it was achieved) to present in this report a consensus; in this respect, all and each of the findings and judgments presented were the results of a hard-working team effort. Finally, aware of the idiomatic difficulties - three languages were involved - we tried to put together a clear and coherent version of the report in Spanish. Therefore, the Evaluation Panel considers the Spanish version to be the official version of the report.

1.2 Terms of the Report

The terms of the report were discussed and agreed upon at the meeting of the sponsoring organizations held in New York in October 1976. This

meeting was attended, in addition to the four evaluators, by the President of the Program Committee and the Coordinator of the Central Unit.

The approved objectives were the following:

- 1) To study the historic development of PISPAL, including its organizational structure and programs;
- 2) To evaluate the progress made toward accomplishment of the program objectives;
- 3) To evaluate the quality and innovativeness of research supported under the program, and the extent to which it represents a cumulative body of work within each of PISPAL's three topic areas;
- 4) To evaluate the program contribution to population policy research and to discussion within the region;
- 5) To evaluate the cost-effectiveness ratio. What is being accomplished under the PISPAL program that would not have been accomplished under other programs?
- 6) To make a series of recommendations about the future of PISPAL.

1.3 Procedures

The procedures adopted by the Group included the following activities:

- 1) Meetings with the sponsoring agencies (October 1976), with the Program Committee (February 1977 in Mexico), and with the Central Unit (February 1977, Santiago de Chile).
- 2) Visits to some of the centers which are program members or associates, as well as to other research centers whose areas of work are of potential interest to PISPAL. Also included were visits to several governmental agencies, international organizations in the region, and representatives of
(1)
some of the funding agencies.

(1) See annex for a list of the centers and individuals interviewed.

3) Review of the bibliographical material produced by the program or attributed to it. This list includes:

a) "Constitutional and organizational" documents: proposals and reports on the program, minutes of meetings of the Program Committee and of the sponsoring institutions, work plans, and internal regulations and procedures.

b) Documents of the Central Unit: Working papers, articles, papers and presentations.

c) Presentations at workshops and seminars.

d) Research proposals and final or progress reports.

1.4 Acknowledgments

The Evaluation Panel would like to express its gratitude to the donor agencies which, through their representative, Dr. Mary M. Kritz of the Rockefeller Foundation, provided encouragement and support; also we are grateful for the understanding and cooperation extended to us at all times by the various PISPAL participants, in spite of the Panel's innumerable irrelevant types of questions.

Our gratitude also to those individuals and organizations that, even though not connected to PISPAL, allowed us to perceive in a better way, the great potential of the program. Finally, but not in last place, we would also like to thank the Faculty of Economics of the Universidad de los Andes of Bogota for its hospitality during the most difficult part of our task. We believe that the cold and rainy weather of Bogota did not constitute a conditioning structural factor in the preparation of the final report. However, if this factor was ever present, the Evaluation Panel controlled it with a good dose of friendship, understanding, optimism, and a sense of humor.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAM

2.1 Background Information

Early in 1971, at the initiative of the Ford Foundation, a group of social scientists got together at the Colegio de Mexico in order to discuss and consider the possibility of establishing a program in Latin America with the goal of promoting the development of population studies which would be relevant for population policies. Shortly thereafter, a preliminary meeting was held and an organizing committee was formed. In September 1971 a proposal was prepared and submitted to possible donors asking for support of a new program called PISPAL (Program for the Social Research of Population Issues Relevant to Population Policies in Latin America).

2.2 Program Objectives

Demography at that time was still considered as pure demography; emphasis was placed on the purely technical aspects (data collection, definition, reliability, validity, etc.) and the analysis of demographic variables was done from a purely demographic point of view. At the same time, demography was also considered by others to be a discipline closely linked to family planning. Also family planning programs were felt to be the result of foreign influences. Others thought that in order to accelerate development and to eradicate poverty in Latin American countries, it was necessary to decrease the rate of fertility. Thus, population policies were perceived to be the same as family planning programs. For the organizers of PISPAL, population variables were to be understood not only as integral parts of the overall socio-economic context but also as determined by that context. They also felt that very little was known about the

relationship among these variables within that broader context.

Population policies, seen under this new light, were felt to be not substitutes for, but elements of a comprehensive development policy. But this new focus required theoretical development in order to understand the pattern of interdependence between the demographic variables and the other socio-economic variables, as well as their combined role in the process of development.

In view of the specific historical characteristics of the development process of Latin America, it was considered imperative to have this effort undertaken by Latin American social scientists at centers located in that continent, with the implied understanding that the research work would be relevant to, not to say essential for, the formulation of population policies. (1)

The initial proposal, as submitted to potential donors in 1971, stated that the general objective of PISPAL would be: "to promote multidisciplinary research on the interrelationship between socio-economic and demographic factors - as far as data and scientific analyses were concerned - in order to understand the problem in question and the social and economic roles of population, in relation to the formulation of general or specific policies of population made by policymakers in each country." Thus, it became clear that the program's audience would have to be broad enough to include investigators, social scientists and policymakers, whom by definition are government officials.

Toward the fulfillment of this general objective, a series of specific objectives were defined at the beginning: mobilizing the available human, institutional and financial resources; developing theory and methodologies appropriate for the socio-economic conditions of the region; establishing research priorities; strengthening the activities of the national centers; and developing comparative projects.

(1) The ambiguity of the term "relevant to population policies" has created throughout the existence of the Program, images and expectations about the nature of PISPAL. While some considered as "relevant" those concrete actions which conform to population policies, others (among them the participants of PISPAL) began the elaboration of the conceptualization of what would be considered "relevant" in terms of a series of more fundamental studies of the relationship between "population and development" in the Latin American context.

Some time later, three basic areas of research were adopted which will be discussed in Section 4: 1) Historical and structural analysis of the relationship between production modes and population processes; 2) Structural characteristics of demographic processes; 3) Studies of population factors in the context of political sciences. These basic lines of research led to the designation of three priority research areas: 1) Agrarian structure and population processes; 2) Urbanization, urban structure and population processes; 3) Political structure and population policies. In order to fulfill these objectives, PISPAL would use as primary instruments: support for research and coordination; funding of seminars and workshops; the preparation of basic papers; and technical assistance.

2.3 Organization

PISPAL was organized in a very innovative manner. The membership was determined on an institutional basis, selecting as participants those centers interested in, and capable of developing the research themes of the Program.⁽¹⁾ These member centers, through their directors or representatives, would form a Program Committee which would be the central decision-making body of PISPAL, responsible for the stipulation of areas of research as well as their coordination, evaluation and reformulation. The Program Committee became one of the working groups of the Commission for Population and Development of CLACSO.

The Central Unit, composed of a selected group of full-time social scientists, was created to give back-up support to the Program Committee and to the member centers

(1) Of the 31 centers visited by Gerardo Gonzalez in 1971, only eight were selected as participants of the Program. However, in order to allow the participation of other centers in some of the activities of the Program, the category of "associate member" was established.

of PISPAL. Among its assignments were included the development of research, providing guidance in the formulation and conduct of research projects supported by the Program, coordinating seminars and workshops, and synthesizing and disseminating the work of PISPAL. The Central Unit is, and has been since the beginning, located at CELADE's offices.

Financial support for research projects as well as participation at seminars and workshops would not be limited to the member centers. Associate centers and other independent investigators would also be considered.

As a final point, it must be noted that in spite of the fact that PISPAL was created in 1971, it only began to function in 1973. Since then no important changes have been made in its objectives (general or specific) or in its organizational structure.

3. PROGRAM'S ACTIVITIES

Since its inception, PISPAL has acted as a liaison between social scientists, research centers, international organizations and donors; such a mechanism existed only partially in the past. The lines of communication among these different agents are very diversified as will be seen in Section 5. The activities of the program can be analyzed and evaluated under the various operating components of the program. These components encompass a wide spectrum of activities among which are worth noting the research projects, the Central Unit, documents, the seminars and workshops, and the technical assistance and training activities.

3.1 The Research Projects

It is a very difficult task to evaluate the quality of the projects financed under the program since, up to now, only one of the finished projects has been published (Diego Giraldo: Migration and Health, Bogota ASCOFAME). Of the approximately 50 projects which have been submitted to the Program Committee, 37 have been approved

but only 13 have been completed. Many of the initial projects were already under way when the program was begun. This analysis is mainly based on the research proposals submitted to the Program Committee and on the final or progress reports. Many of the research projects are not complete and thus, neither the research progress or the completed form can be evaluated yet. The majority of the final and progress reports are administrative in nature, which makes it almost impossible to evaluate their scientific quality. It would be necessary to wait for the final versions in order to make a valid judgment.

As far as financing is concerned, it can be noted that the two regional organizations, CELADE and FLACSO have received 27.34% of the budget allocated to support research projects under the Program.⁽¹⁾ The countries located in the south cone of the continent (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay) have received 22.8%, Mexico has received 18.66%, Brazil 15.13%, and Colombia 9.94%. Within this distribution, the centers which are members of the program (founders) have received 75%. This does not necessarily mean that among the rejected proposals there are not some which have been submitted by the members centers of the program. Two of the projects financed by the program were submitted by unaffiliated researchers. Only CELADE, FLACSO and CEBRAP have four or more projects financed by the program. Some of the countries which are beginning to approach the issues of population policy (e.g., Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela and some other countries in the Caribbean) have not had any projects approved by PISPAL, despite the fact that there is evidence in these areas of centers which could potentially be incorporated into the program.

It should be mentioned that there is not a heavy concentration of projects in any given demographic area (e.g. fertility). The study of mortality is possibly the area that has received the least attention. The general impression received after a general

(1) The Panel was surprised at this high percentage since it is believed that despite the fact that this is the "golden age" for population studies, sources of funding are still scarce and both CELADE and FLACSO have better chances of getting funds from other sources than the private Latin American research centers.

review of the projects financed by the program, is of a high degree of heterogeneity in the topic areas. Such a fact sometimes gives the impression that all or almost all social problems are related to population--potentially at least. This situation is probably caused by the ambiguity in defining the term "relevant to population policies" and also by the fact (due to the recent creation of the program) of having to meet a research demand generated in the centers, rather than responding to demand generated by a wide diffusion of a research "program". These facts are not mentioned to diminish the academic merits of many of the projects financed by the program, however, their level of contribution still is not clear in terms of the relationship between population and development or their relevance to population policies.

The quality of many of these projects is subject to discussion and it would be necessary to wait, as has been said, to see the final versions. It is quite probable that some of the proposals submitted to PISPAL would not have been funded in another type of competition, either because of the relatively low quality of the projects presented, or because the proposals as submitted were incomplete. It would seem that in some cases, the name of the investigator and the topic have been considered to be more important than the content; in other cases, it would appear that it was necessary to make a lot of fundamental revisions in the initial proposals in order to improve their quality. These facts have given rise to criticisms on the part of individuals not involved in the projects described above, whom have seen their proposals receive only adverse comments. However, the Panel is aware that this procedure is quite normal in Latin America where within the group of social scientists, one knows what everyone else is doing. On the other hand, taking into consideration the promoting role being played by PISPAL, it is quite possible that there has been, in some instances, a desire on the part of PISPAL to attract qualified researchers and competent centers who had been previously reluctant or indifferent toward research on population issues by approving their projects which, under other circumstances, would have been rejected. For these reasons it is not surprising to find that many times a project is approved based on different criteria than those actually found in the proposal.

The majority of the projects are not only supported by the Program. Many of them are part of larger projects or are co-supported by other sources. Thus, the total dollar amount requested from PISPAL is relatively low (approximately an average of \$20,000). This low figure can also be explained in part by the utilization of existing data, instead of each project having to generate its own.

3.2 The Comparative Research

Since the beginning of the program great importance was placed on comparative research. The problems inherent to the consolidation of the program could explain, in part, the delay in its initiation. Not until recently (August 1976) was a comparative project initiated which includes three countries (Chile, Colombia, and Peru); Uruguay and Paraguay will also participate in a tangential way. The subject is regional development, public policies, internal migration and urban dominance. The study proposes to identify the determinants of migration to the metropolis and to examine the factors which explain the logic of capitalistic development, the role of public policies and some possible areas of action in regard to policies. Thus, it is a project which is extremely ambitious and difficult to undertake; besides, the theoretical model is not too precise, the hypotheses too general and the specific methodology remains to be defined by the participating centers. This means that as of to date it is not too clear what is going to be compared (if it can be done) or how to do it.

Perhaps a strong intellectual leadership on the part of the Central Unit has been lacking, a condition which could have been easily corrected if the project were a less ambitious one. Some member and associate member centers have expressed complaints about not being consulted in the elaboration of this project, in spite of their long research experience in this field. A first draft of the project was prepared by the Central Unit and was broadly disseminated; based on the comments received, a second draft was written, in which many of the deficiencies of the first version were corrected thereby making the project more feasible. The lack of intellectual leadership on the

part of the program, a point which is praised by many people because it does not impose its own viewpoints, could lead to many risks which, in turn, could prevent the results from being comparable. In spite of the above, the Panel sees the need for such comparative studies and is aware of the fact that the mistakes made initially can be corrected and are considered to be inherent to a first attempt.

3.3 The National Inventories

For the country inventories, which had been planned in the work program of PISPAL, the Central Unit designed the classification criteria and delegated the responsibility of carrying them out to the national centers. Of these inventories only five have been completed (four of them have been published, Brazil's is still in press). In reading the published volumes, which have been widely disseminated in Latin America, there are problems of coverage of the reviewed literature. The classification system utilized (areas and subareas) does not seem to be sufficiently clear, especially for those who are not familiar with the demographic field. The references do not include the place where the material can be retrieved. In some cases, the sketches are too poor (vague or not critical enough). It would seem that in some cases the centers did not take this job seriously and delegated it to inexperienced staff; in this instance, such problems could not have been corrected by the Central Unit. The idea itself to prepare these inventories has been one of the best received PISPAL activities in Latin America and, in many cases, it represents the only channel of information about the program. In the future, it would be a good idea to correct these mistakes and publish a more accurate second edition; given present technical facilities, possibly a regular updating of the inventory (e.g., microfilm, bibliographies placed in electronic systems, etc.) should be considered.

3.4 The Technical Papers of the Central Unit

The Central Unit has prepared to date 15 technical papers and various others (such as articles, papers, reports....). The majority of these review different

aspects of the population literature. Due to the limitations of this report, it is not possible to review each of these papers in great detail. Many of them are monographs which bring together data and references on diverse topics such as regional differentials and demographic changes, or urbanization dimensions and agrarian structure in Latin America. The majority refer to the Latin American region as a whole. Such studies are a genuine contribution to the understanding of demographic processes and development in Latin America. One of the more emphasized themes in these papers is that/^{of}"structural heterogeneity", through which attention is called to the significant differences between countries and within them. The data come, principally from CELADE and CEPAL, but very few efforts are made to evaluate these data sources in terms of definitions, coverage, reliability and validity.

Another very commending aspect of this work refers to its interdisciplinary character; only in very few cases can one guess by the content of the papers, the academic background of the authors. Despite showing an adequate knowledge of statistical and methodological techniques, there appears to be no obsession for their indiscriminate use. These are considered to be instruments with which to achieve objectives and not the objectives themselves.

Equally interesting is the pluralistic character observed in the papers of the Central Unit. This does not mean that the ideological perspectives or the influence of theoretical schools are unknown, but that a job has been accomplished by a team in which the collaborator shares his/her own views in the total work of the program. This could lead to a consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of such an approach in doing PISPAL's work. Up to the present (which could also be explained by the recent inception of the program) one cannot see a precise theoretical orientation which would guide the study of the relation between population and development in the manner planned at the beginning of the program. On the other hand, it can be stated that if the program adopts a more rigid perspective, it would certainly gain in depth and coherence, but it would also at the same time, close many of the doors which are currently open to it.

3.5 The Seminars and Workshops

These two activities were established within the program in order to obtain a better coordination of the research program and for the enrichment of the member centers by interchanging information, research findings, and experience. The difference between a seminar and a workshop lies in that seminars have a more general audience (and also heterogenous) and a broader coverage; it is a forum for exchanging ideas, experiences, and research progress from which new research direction can be suggested and stimulated.

The workshops have a more specific objective and refer to the priority research areas of the program. Their goal is to compare and study the different theoretical and methodological focuses used by the investigators, to prepare research projects, or to examine the degree of progress of the same, being these country or comparative studies.

Review of the papers presented at these two type of meetings shows unevenness in their academic level as well as great diversity in the topics. It is possible here, too that there has been a lack of leadership on the part of the organizers in demanding a more serious commitment from the participants and a better organized and coordinated program. The possibility of doing these meetings in conjunction with other entities, for example, other working groups of the Commission for Population and Development of CLACSO, would be mutually rewarding but also could diminish the responsibilities of each entity. However, the Panel has observed that these meetings are highly regarded by Latin American investigators and have been not only a forum for interchanging ideas, but also for generating new ideas. Their costs can be considered high, but we believe that this type of activity can be highly rewarding in terms of prestige for the program.

3.6 Technical Assistance

The technical assistance work is carried out by the Central Unit; it covers a broad gamut of activities from advising member centers, to advising international organizations, academic institutions, and governmental agencies. In the last two cases, there is the condition that such assistance will be provided with the consent and possible participation of the program's member centers. The Evaluation Panel has heard many times the comment that this type of assistance to governments should also be done in reference to the formulation of population policies and/or in the planning of activities in that area. This situation seems to result, among other things, from the ambiguity and generality with which the program's objectives are perceived. It has been observed throughout the program's history that many times this advisory function is carried out by training the governments' policymakers or investigators of population policies, and at other times by helping to strengthen the national centers (and if that is the case, under the guidance of the Central Unit) so that these can, in turn, assist their respective governments. As of to date, we do not know of any government which has sought the assistance of PISPAL. It is necessary to mention that many of the centers in the program do not find it possible to advise the governmental agencies because they want to maintain their independent status in view of the delicate issues involved in population policies, or because they do not totally or partially share the same political ideology or believe it is appropriate or pertinent. However, in spite of the above, the program has made arrangements (and it has already done so) to work closely together with the regional agencies (such as CELADE, ILPES, etc.); through such collaboration it is hoped that many of the program's results will be disseminated and will reach the Latin American governments at least in an indirect way.

Another controversial point is that of technical assistance to small centers. Without denying that such assistance has been provided in the past, it can be observed that the general strategy has been to strengthen those centers which need it the least.

Even if it is true that in many instances there are centers that are not capable of elaborating a research proposal, other ways of collaborating with them should be sought, not forgetting that such small centers are the rudimental elements needed for the study of the processes which are of interest to the program, particularly in those countries where there is a greater need for such an effort. In this regard, it is important to point out the fact that some centers (for example, CIESU in Uruguay) have been able to guarantee their survival with the help provided by PISPAL. Such cases are very commendable and represent a testimony to the program's ample capability for strengthening those efforts that otherwise could have disappeared.

3.7 Training

This is one of the most neglected activities of the program. Despite the fact that many members of the Central Unit have teaching activities, the program as such has not undertaken any. Since the program's initiation, the possibility of inviting investigators to participate in the projects of the Central Unit was visualized. This type of training could be instrumental in breaking the vicious circle inherent to smaller centers, despite the potential risk of misusing young investigators as cheap labor for routine work. It should be added that recently the program decided to actively collaborate with FLACSO in the awarding of a postdoctoral fellowship in social sciences and population under FLACSO's direction.

4. RESULTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PROGRAM

The Evaluation Panel decided to make an attempt to measure the degree of success of PISPAL in fulfilling the objectives for which it was organized, in terms of its results and contributions. Keeping in mind that this is the most difficult part of the report, inasmuch as it is a risky undertaking subject to the superficiality and biases inherent

to briefness, we proceeded to elaborate a series of questions such as: If PISPAL did not exist, would it be justified to create an organization just like it? Is PISPAL meeting the objectives stated in its initial proposal? What has been its level of success and what are its major problems? What is it that we can find in PISPAL which cannot be found in other programs? (This last question was raised in the terms of reference for the evaluation.)

4.1. Objectives of the Program, Basic Lines and Areas of Priority.

Like with many other ambitious and innovative enterprises, the initial scope of the PISPAL objectives was very broad. While it was clearly stated that there was a need to stimulate interdisciplinary research on the interdependence between socio-economic factors and population factors, as well as on their mutual role in the formulation of population policies, this general objective definitely required further elaboration and specification. However, the specific objectives of PISPAL mentioned before in Section 2, which were initially identified "to fulfill the general objective" were oriented more toward the establishment of a series of implementing mechanisms than toward a greater specification of the general objectives as such.

Two years later, PISPAL established in several documents, the so-called "basic areas of research of the Program":

"a) Historical-structural analysis of the relationship between the modes of production and population processes in Latin America. The purpose behind this being to advance the development of a theoretical frame which would allow an in-depth study of the inter-relationship between socio-economic and political factors, on one hand, and demographic factors on the other, keeping in mind the characteristics not only of the region but also of each country within that region. This area is considered the basic area of the Central Unit (the underlining is ours).

b) Structural characteristics of the various demographic processes. This line leads to the detailed analysis of the relationship between certain economic, social and political factors and demographic variables in different contextual structures and historical periods.

c) Studies of population factors involved in the policy sciences, specifically in relation to the formulation, implementation and evaluation of population policies".

For the first time, the PISPAL documents use terminology (such as "historical-structural analysis", and "modes of production") which has characterized the dominant theoretical school in the social sciences in Latin America in the last decade. In other words, PISPAL accepted the challenge to combine the historical-structural perspective with that of population. In our opinion, the point (b) is not analytically independent from the first (a); and the third (c) clearly established the need to consider population policies within the power structure of each particular country.

While the central objective of PISPAL did not receive, as previously noted, any subsequent specification, three priority areas of research were identified; these supposedly, in one way or another, are related to the basic areas previously mentioned. These priority areas are:

- a) Agrarian structure and population processes.
- b) Urbanization, urban structure and population processes.
- c) Political structure and population policy.

In this last list, we find that the third-priority area is very similar to the third-basic area mentioned before. The first two (a and b) call attention because of their level of generality; in this sense it is perplexing to observe that there is virtually no project which could not be classified under one of them.

4.2 The Program and Demographic Themes

One point which caught the attention of the Panel when reviewing the publications of PISPAL was the limited attention given to the demographic dimension. It is understood that "demographic processes", "demographic variables", and "population dynamics", should be examined in relation to the economic, social and political factors, but nothing is said about that which is being explained. Perhaps the authors of those papers we reviewed, felt that the demographic components are so self-explanatory that there is no need for further explanation.

The demographic dimension is composed of three major processes (dynamics): fertility, mortality and migration, which interact in various forms to produce differential population growth patterns; similarly a demographic composition corresponds to differing population processes. This is a very complex process in which the structure and composition of the population result from the above-mentioned processes and these, in turn, are determined by the structure and composition of the population. The understanding of this process of "genetic restructuring" (or structural genesis) is what enriches demography analysis and makes it useful for more complex theoretical specifications.

The still distressing limitation in the so-called "demographic transition theory" indicates that the level of understanding about the interdependence among demographic variables and their interrelationship with socio-economic factors, is still very poor. Despite great efforts to explain how the transition occurred in those countries where it was experienced, these studies have only demonstrated the inherent difficulty in identifying the pertinent relationship and the near impossibility of generalizing to other contexts. This side discussion was done to manifest the fact that PISPAL's work does not show that it has tried to identify the key variables of population composition (for example, sex and age structure, racial or ethnic categories, marital status, family composition) or their relevance to the study of socio-economic factors. In brief, our interpretation of the program's work indicates that demographic variables have not received the attention they deserve. Our impression is that the authors, as seen in the

documents of the Central Unit as well as in the research projects, workshops, and seminars, consider demography to be no more than a source of data.

It is necessary to clarify that the Panel is not suggesting that the PISPAL personnel and those who carry out its projects should dedicate themselves more to formal demography. This is obviously not the purpose of the Program. The spirit of our observation is to emphasize that the population model, in which demographers have worked for a long time, cannot be either ignored or left out in the study of the interrelationships between population and socio-economics. It would be hoped that the Central Unit members would have benefitted by physical proximity to CELADE, since this organization has the best demographic researchers in Latin America. There are, however, very clear indications that whatever contact existed was not too close.

We believe that the formal demographers at CELADE did not know how to appreciate the significance of the pioneering efforts of PISPAL and, on the other hand, the Central Unit perhaps saw the work of the demographers as a simple source of data. Therefore, this lack of contact prevented the Program from having the opportunity to appreciate the importance of theoretical work in demography (for example, Lotka, Keyfitz, Lopez Toro, etc.) and its possible contribution to historical-structural analysis.

4.3 The Program and the Historical-Structural Focus.

It should be noted, in the first place, that the adopted theoretical focus--the historical--structural model--has been gaining in popularity (unlike other theoretical perspectives such as that of modernization) because it conforms better to the development conditions of Latin American countries. However, the focus is still promissory ^{as} inasmuch/a great number of theoretical and methodological questions are unresolved. One gets the general impression, that this focus serves as a common denominator (umbrella") under which all sorts of perspectives are found. Starting with those who argue that no important phenomenon can be adequately explained without identifying its structural geneses and that these latter are more important than psychological explanations, up to others who maintain a strictly Marxist interpretation, all of these researchers call themselves historical-structuralists. Perhaps it may not be redundant to recall

that the most important innovative effort ever made in Latin America belongs to those who used Marx as a starting point in the identification of significant problems. Within the historical-structural school, it is widely accepted, as stated by Marx, that each society has its own population laws, but frequently this school does not go beyond this statement, thus many questions implied by the principle are left unanswered.

4.4 Theoretical Contributions of the Program's Work

A review of the PISPAL projects leads to the conclusion that the majority of them fall within the historical-structural framework. For example, in the Argentinian projects, Maria M. Chirico studies the introduction of the labor class in the economic formation of Argentina; Adriana Marshall explores the labor market and the syndical movement; Jorge Balan analyzes the role played by the regional centers in the historical development of Argentina and the factors involved in the formation of the labor market, based on the development of the modes of production in Mendoza and Tucuman; and M. Cavarozzi examines the role and impact of the State in the development of the labor force in the manufacturing industry. None of these papers gives a precise explanation of the role played by demographic variables in the processes studied; that is, the subject of population does not appear to constitute the central theme in these studies, nor is it evident what contribution these will make to the study of population and development.

A richer and more coherent example is that of the CEBRAP projects (the center which has had the largest number of projects financed by the Program). This center can be cited as the most successful one, as far as meeting the objectives of PISPAL is concerned, since it is considered to be one of the pioneers in the use of the historical-structural framework. Despite the disparity in quality of the projects supported by the Program, CEBRAP is well known in Latin America for the high quality of its researchers and projects. The seven projects financed by the Program cover a wide range of issues (Colonization of the Amazon, the role of the Church in fertility, agrarian structure and

Brazilian regionalization, etc.). Many of these studies are part of a larger research project on human reproduction (which has in addition other sources of support). The CEBRAP projects do use demographic information and show an effort to delve deeper into the topic of population and development.

Without wanting to make the comments on the projects too long, we feel though that the project of Lucio Geller is worth mentioning since it is the one most involved in the effort of relating demographic concepts and data with a Marxist orientation; it attempts to answer questions raised from a Marxist orientation using modern techniques of multi-variate analysis. Finally, the project of Raul Benitez Zenteno, which is the most ambitious of all, attempts to interpret Mexican history from the pre-Colombian era through the present from the standpoint of demographic structure and processes. One of the merits of this project is the attempt it makes to examine the demographic impact of the Spanish laws, a subject which adds more relevance to the project in evaluating the indirect impact of governmental actions on population.

It has been mentioned many times that one of the tasks of the Central Unit is to develop a theory on the historical-structural relationship between modes of production and population processes. It would appear, from reviewing the documents, that this task has not been adequately carried out. Of the Central Unit members, Angel Fucaraccio, (perhaps the most knowledgeable of the Marxist doctrine in the Central Unit), along with Fernando Gonzalez (Document No. 11), make a presentation of the thoughts of Marx and Engels about population, but without attempting a critical evaluation. Oddly enough, the author that perhaps

has contributed more than anyone else in Latin America to the development of a Marxist perspective in population, Paul Singer of CEBRAP, is barely mentioned in the papers of the Central Unit. His work deserves more attention on the part of PISPAL. The same could be said of Alvaro Vieira Pinto who has approached the theoretical study of demography from the perspective of dialectical reasoning.

Since the establishment of the Program, it was suggested by the Program Committee that a high level seminar should be held to study the contributions of the historical-structural focus to the analysis of population structure and processes. This task, which has been postponed even more than the comparative research project, is considered necessary to the development of appropriate theories and methodologies in the area in which PISPAL is working, and it would be a genuine contribution to the understanding of the relationship between population and development in the Latin American context.

One gets the impression that the Central Unit has not as yet developed its own perspective. It would be too simplistic to just say that the Central Unit members are less inclined to use the historical-structural perspective than their colleagues who work in other centers. If there is any theme which is raised repeatedly in the work of the Central Unit it is that of "structural heterogeneity" which certainly is a component of the historical-structural perspective. However, the Panel has certain doubts about its theoretical potential.

In light of the documents reviewed and as confirmed during our visit to the Central Unit, it is evident that, up to the present, a sense of plurality has been maintained as well as a lack of doctrinal positions in approaching the research problems. However, it should be mentioned that extreme pluralism could become a risk conducive to eclecticism and, consequently, to the conduct of sterile research.

4.5 The Program and Population Policies

It is appropriate to underline here the statement in the general objective of PISPAL that the research of the Program should lead to a better understanding by policy-makers of the demographic issues and the socio-economic linkages to population; thus it is established that policy-makers are the final audience of the Program. Perhaps this last aspect of the program was the most appealing to the donors and, therefore, the success of the Program could be measured by the degree to which the Program has met that objective.

The question of PISPAL's audience is not unrelated to the issue of "relevance to population policies", an ambiguous phrase which is repeatedly mentioned during long discussions of the donors, the Program Committee, and also in this report. It is a well-known fact that for the formulation of population policies a series of inputs are required. These, usually generated by the research, are commonly referred to as elements "relevant" to policies. However, since in reality such inputs are different in character (diagnostic, theories, strategies, etc.), their applicability will depend on the specific conditions in each country. It is, therefore, difficult, if not impossible, to de-

fine in advance what should be considered as "relevant". The difficulties increase as the concepts of what is understood as population policies vary and also depending (as Raul Atria of the Central Unit would surely agree) on the model of development within which such policies are framed.

Because of these ambiguities, it is not surprising that some groups criticize PISPAL for not having produced enough material or provided the necessary technical assistance to governmental agencies interested in developing their own population programs or in reaching their demographic objectives. Without going as far as the above statements, which we believe weaken the objectives of the Program, (since there are other agencies more capable of doing such jobs), it is clear to the Panel that a portion of the work produced by PISPAL has little or no reference to what is commonly called studies of population; this fact makes one think that just adding the word demographic to the title will make its funding easier (a very common situation as long as demography is in vogue, not only in Latin America but throughout the world). The lack of definition already mentioned in this same section, has resulted in the broadening of the concept of population to such an extreme that it has become a synonym for society. But even within the field of population (as understood by the experts in this area) it would seem that sometimes whatever is considered to be related to population is also considered relevant to policies.

Very few efforts (with the noted exception of the work of Raul Atria of the Central Unit) have been made so far to prioritize what should be considered "relevant", in research, to population policies. The

Panel has observed that PISPAL has centered its efforts closer to one of the extremes of a very broad "relevancy continuum", focussing on basic and fundamental studies which are necessary to the understanding and specification of the relationship between population and development. It would be hoped (and we believe so) that such efforts would serve as a frame of reference for subsequent projects, which in greater or lesser degree, would get closer to the other extreme of the "relevancy continuum" (the one of programmatic reality). The Panel also heard several opinions about the contempt of the Program for projects dealing with other demographic aspects such as fertility and marriage, as well as its almost total disregard for the subject of mortality. In addition, the lack of reference in the Program's work to the World Population Plan of Action and to the events and publications which preceded or followed it is striking.

On the other hand, as has been stated many times in this report, the Program has echoed a series of assertions, already well-known internationally, such as the interdependence between population and socio-economic factors, the conceptualization of population policies as parts of a broader development strategy, the utility of analyzing the processes of decision-making as well as the actors, etc. Within this context, perhaps the most important contribution resulting from the mutual contact between the Central Unit and the group at CELADE which deals with population policies, occurs in the identification of particular styles of development and the introduction of population policies (many times implicit) into the strategies which define such styles. It is a shame to say that the Panel did not have the opportunity to learn in detail about the advanced project on this subject at CELADE;

in it the strategies of development of four countries (Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica and Cuba) and their impact on demographic variables are being compared.

The papers presented at the Seminar on Political Structure and Population Policies (Santiago de Chile, 1975) are a valuable contribution to the study of this complex area despite their heterogeneity in content and level. They reflect a series of concerns and conclusions which could be worthy of further exploration.

The fact that governments have never requested advice from the Central Unit does not mean in any way that the Program has not been successful. It was mentioned in Section 3 that PISPAL performs such advisory roles, through the country centers. The Program has also found other indirect ways (and perhaps even more efficient in Latin America) of reaching the governments through international agencies or programs (such as CELADE, IRG), as well through the still very poor channel of its publications. Certainly the Program should seriously consider other means of reaching policy-makers.

4.6 Conclusions

It is difficult to summarize the conclusions reached by the Panel, since this is one of the most difficult sections of the report and also the one which lends itself most to controversies. It is also on these points where the ups and downs of PISPAL are more clearly seen.

On the one hand, the Panel concludes that some of the expectations placed on the Program did not produce the desired results, despite the high level of autonomy and the large budget of PISPAL. Perhaps the weakest point relates to the new perspective for bridging the relationship between

population and development, which is still in its infancy. Certainly the Panel is not fickle in its demands (as was the case with Sergei Diaghilev, the famous manager of the Russian Ballet, who had Jean Cocteau in charge of producing a new ballet; when Cocteau asked him what he specifically would like to see, Diaghilev answered "amaze me". Of course, the Panel was not expecting to be "amazed" when learning about the results of PISPAL's work, but it was mainly interested in the ways in which PISPAL had been opening up new paths in order to fulfill its stated objectives.

On the other hand, the Panel realizes that the above failures stem from deficiencies of a structural nature which affect the organization and performance of the program and, consequently, have prevented the total accomplishment of the objectives; this means that the weaknesses in PISPAL result from weaknesses in its structure and not from errors or omissions on the part of actors associated with the Program. The next section will deal with this subject in greater detail.

During the evaluation period, the Panel had in mind, more than once, the case of another Latin American agency which was able to create and disseminate throughout the region its ideology - this is the case of ECLA. A highly skilled team, under the leadership of Raul Prebisch, was able to create a new line and school of thought, whose influence on the governments and academic institutions, as well as in the international arena, showed the great Latin American potential for producing its own ideas. In the future, we would expect something similar from a program such as PISPAL. Only then could we say without naivety or fickleness that "we are amazed".

5. THE PROGRAM'S STRUCTURE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

1. Introduction

After several months of work and reflection about PISPAL, in an attempt to evaluate and offer suggestions, the Evaluation Panel has reached the conclusion that it would be important to include in the final report a more in-depth analysis of the actual structure of the Program and its effects since we believe that by so doing we can find explanations for certain program deficiencies. The Panel is aware that many of these deficiencies stem from the newness of PISPAL. Many of them could not have been prevented at the beginning but can be corrected now.

Based on the documents which constitute PISPAL, we will try first to examine its structure and the most important functions of the various actors in the organizational structure. We will then attempt to evaluate the relationship among these actors, between the Program and the rest of the academic community, and also between the Program and the governmental agencies involved in development planning.

2. Actors in the Structure of PISPAL

In the basic proposal submitted to the donors in 1971, the present organizational structure of PISPAL was already defined as including: the Program Committee, member centers, associate-member centers and the Central Unit.

In regard to the Program Committee, the proposal stated: "it is believed that the participating centers, should take active part in the decisions which establish general policies. Toward this end, a Program Committee will be formed, set-up as a Working Group of the Commission of Population and Development of CLACSO, which will be the policy body; this group

will include a representative from each of the Program's member centers and the Coordinador of the Central Unit." There are two more points worth-mentioning: 1) All centers collaborating in the Program would participate, in a democratic way, in the Committee, the policy body of PISPAL; 2) The Program would be closely linked to CLACSO as one of the Working Groups of its Commission for Population and Development. As the Program's policy body, it would be the role of the Committee to define PISPAL's program, examine its progress, evaluate its results, propose and adopt modifications. Although, as will be seen later on, the Central Unit was given a substantial role; it was the responsibility of the Program Committee to define the basic lines to be developed.

Among its other functions, it was delegated to the Committee the responsibility of choosing the agency which would function as the headquarters of the program's Central Unit as well as deciding on the admission or suspension of member centers. Since the beginning, two types of participating centers were defined: member centers and associate member centers.

The member centers would be those "centers which, because of their interests and research program, are very much in agreement with the Program's objectives. The Committee, formed by representatives of these centers, would assume before the scientific community and donors, the responsibility of managing the Program.

It should be recognized that the criterion used to define the types of membership is vague. During the history of the Program, there has been no attempt to define in a more precise way the criteria used for acceptance by the Program as a member center. Actually, perhaps this might not have been necessary considering that the current member centers are still those originally admitted at the beginning of the Program.

The selection of the member centers began, as mentioned in Section 2, after the visit of Gerardo Gonzalez of CELADE to 31 Latin American centers; the centers selected were the following: CEBRAP, CEDIP, CELADE, CEUR, the "Colegio de Mexico", ASCOFAME, FLACSO, and ISUNAM*. The Evaluation Panel was not able to determine the criteria used at that time for the selection of those eight centers. One of the people who thought of the idea of creating PISPAL, informed the Panel that initially it was agreed that the membership of PISPAL would expand as new centers with similar interests were being formed. However, after reviewing the original documents and minutes of the Program, it seems very clear that there has been an increasing resistance to the admission of new centers. For example, at the Program Committee Meeting of March 1974, it was decided that centers applying for admission as "members" should first be admitted as "associate members." At the Committee meeting of November, 1975, it was agreed not to admit new centers because of the "critical" situation of PISPAL. According to the report of the donor representative, the Program Committee at the meeting of March 1976, decided that in order for a Center to be accepted by the Program as "associate" it should first submit a research proposal to the Program.

The associate member centers would be those "which only have a tangential interest to participate in the Program or those which have serious limitations in assuming the commitments involved in being members of the Program Committee." In accordance with this definition it seemed to us that the associate-member centers would be those which did not have a professional group dedicated primarily to the study of population (as understood in general terms by PISPAL), or did not have the infrastructure necessary for the performance of the functions required as Committee members.

* Of the eight member centers founder of the Program, 7 have continued;

CEDIP resigned recently due to a reorganization of the University it belongs to.

The lack of a clear criteria for the definition of member center makes it difficult to understand how associate member centers consequently are defined.

If the criteria used for the admission of associate member centers were never clear, neither were their rights and obligations. In the minutes of the Program Committee meeting held in March 1974, it is stated that "it was agreed that the participation of associate member centers in PISPAL should be more precisely regulated". From what we have observed, nothing was ever done in this regard.

In regard to the Central Unit, the initial proposal on the Program stated the following: "The Central Unit will be physically situated in the offices of one of the member centers of the Program and will be formed by a multidisciplinary team of social scientists, which would include experts on a range of factors - demographic, economic, social and political - considered relevant to the general objective". Although the responsibility of selecting the Central Unit members belonged to the Director of the center where it was located, it was always clear that the Central Unit should follow the directives as defined by the Program Committee.

Among the functions of the Central Unit, some of an administrative type and others substantive in nature, it appears that the most important, and certainly the most innovative of all is that of acting as a "think tank", that is, functioning as an identifier not only of knowledge gaps in population studies in Latin America, but also of ways to close them, as well as pointing out new directions for research on the relationship between population and development.

It is not mentioned anywhere in the various documents, what kind of relationship exists between the Program and the donors; there is hardly a reference about the lines of communication between PISPAL and the donors;

communication which is established through a representative of the latter group. At the beginning it was agreed that the donors would financially contribute to the development of the total program and not toward the costs of specific projects (Program support and not individual project support). However, the only exception considered at that time was that of the UNFPA, which provided funds to cover the administrative expenditures of the Central Unit.

5.3 Relationship between the Various Actors

The criteria used initially for the establishment of the Program Committee and the Central Unit, as well as for the assignment of functions to each actor does not appear in any of the documents reviewed by the Panel.

As mentioned in the previous section, many of the problems observed in the research program financed by PISPAL as well as those observed in relation to the results of the Central Unit are due to a lack of a more precise definition of the elements constituting the new focus assigned to PISPAL; this task, in the last analysis, is the responsibility of the Program Committee. Perhaps the very composition of the Committee, which is made up of center directors (inmersed in the thousands of administrative problems known by all) did not provide the best environment for the thinking and definition of more clear lines and a more structured program. The Chairman of the Committee was never exclusively dedicated to the Program because his other responsibilities at the center he is affiliated with prevented this. Under such circumstances, it was impossible to ask the Committee to exercise intellectual leadership within the Program. For these reasons and also considering that the Central Unit was given the job of developing the

historical-structural framework, it seems that the Program Committee always had the expectation that it would be the Central Unit which would possess a better understanding of the new methods for bridging the study to the relationship between population and development.

In addition, the Central Unit could not play the innovative role expected from it because of the lack of experience of its members in the area of population studies, as previously mentioned, and also because of the lack of strong intellectual leadership on the part of the Program Committee, since, while depending on the guidelines provided by the Program Committee, it did not have the opportunity of receiving more specific directions. Throughout the interviews with the members of the Program Committee as well as with those of the Central Unit, the Evaluation Panel perceived an uncomfortable relation between these two groups. On the one side, several members of the Central Unit do not see that the Committee, in general, is defining activity areas for them, nor do they feel that it is giving them the comments and critical elements to their work. On the other side, some of the members of the Committee consider that the administrative expenses of the Central Unit are too high in relation to its accomplishments as well as in relation to the cost of the Program. The actual physical separation of the office of the President of the Committee and the Central Unit has also contributed to the lack of communication and better understanding between these two groups.

Inasmuch as the members of the Central Unit are hired by CELADE, they are also considered United Nations officers and are hierarchically subordinated to the Director of CELADE. It is obvious that because of this situation a good relationship between the Committee and the Central Unit greatly depends on the performance of the Director of CELADE. Because of this set-up some believe that there might be a tendency on the part of the

the members of the Central Unit to consider themselves as part of the staff of CELADE where authority is clearly established and easier to accept and where there is also greater professional stability. This last factor is considered even more important in view of the current situation in Chile and the fact that the majority of the members of the Central Unit are Chileans. These factors could lead to the consideration of the existence of a possible double loyalty on the part of the members of the Central Unit to both CELADE and PISPAL.

Despite having as one of the permanent members of the Program Committee the Secretary to the Commission for Population and Development of CLACSO, the fact that this same Committee is also one of the Working Groups of the Commission poses a problem. The other working groups are formed by investigators interested in the same topic, are very flexible in terms of their composition and count on their own modest resources to carry out their research. The Committee, in contrast, has a rigid composition formed by center directors (or their representatives) who are not always actually involved in doing their own research and in addition have at their disposal a large budget. The linkages between the Commission and the Committee are basically formal and have been the cause of a great deal of resentment on the part of the Commission.

As previously mentioned, the only formal contact between PISPAL and the donors has been made through the donors' representative. This person, since the inception of the Program, does not have access to the meetings of the Program Committee with the exception of the last session of each meeting where he/she is informed about the approved decisions. It appears like there has been an atmosphere of avoidance each time the representative has made suggestions in the name of the donors.

On the other hand, the donors do not have a complete understanding of the progress of the Program and have delegated part of their responsibility to the representative, who because of the magnitude of the task, finds himself/herself overwhelmed by the amount of work involved. This same situation would explain, in part, the different perceptions and expectations the donors have about the Program. These facts do not appear in the judgment of the Panel, to provide the best environment for the conduct of the Program.

The relationship between the Program and the Latin American academic community interested in the study of population, looks to us to be one of the most important aspects of PISPAL, since the Program has as one of its fundamental objectives, the development of a new focus for population studies in the region, and initiating contact with social scientists. The Panel only had the opportunity to visit a few of the many research centers interested in population studies. In spite of the difficulties involved in generalizing, the Panel observed that there was great similarity in the answers given about the degree of knowledge of PISPAL and the relevance of its work. Many of these centers have a fragmentary understanding of PISPAL (which has been obtained through personal contacts with the members of the Committee and of the Central Unit) and do not receive any of its publications. The Directors of the centers interviewed were interested in learning about the criteria for admission to the Program, and the conditions required for proposal submission and financial assistance for their research projects. In spite of this positive image, it is necessary to mention some of the failures of the Program. One center which has five or six social scientists interested in population issues, and which has carried out research on this area before, had its request for admission rejected by the Program Committee. In the communication about the rejection,

the Committee's explanation was very vague and was found to be in contradiction to that given by a member of the Central Unit. We consider this a very peculiar situation in that this same center later on was invited to participate in the comparative research project and its proposal was approved.

It should be observed that the lack of good formal channels of communication between PISPAL and the non-member centers leads to misunderstanding when such channels are substituted by others of a more informal type. A director of a center was informed in 1977 that the maximum amount provided by PISPAL to support research was \$7,000. Another director mentioned in 1976 that the papers describing the requirements and procedures for requesting support were not sent to him because the Program had no money. A third director said that he was informed by someone in PISPAL that his center had first to become an associate member in order to request financial assistance for its projects.

Not one of these centers expressed opposition to the objectives of the Program, on the contrary, all showed great enthusiasm about the new focus PISPAL was trying to give to population studies in Latin America.

The few governmental agencies visited manifested less knowledge, or no knowledge at all, about the activities of PISPAL. The Evaluation Panel assumed in these instances the role of an expositor of what PISPAL is and found great enthusiasm about the Program and also great interest in cooperating with it as well as in utilizing its results.

5.4 Conclusion

The Evaluation Panel considers that the organizational structure of PISPAL and the way it has been operated, caused a series of problems for the Program which should be kept in mind when thinking of a reformulation of the same.

The permanent composition of the Program Committee and the resistance to the admission of new members have led to the suspicion of a lack of objectivity in the approval of new projects. Also, the non-admission of new members has resulted in the lack of contribution by "new blood" to the Program, thus perpetuating the participation of centers whose main interest in population studies can be considered less relevant.

The relationship between the Central Unit and the Program Committee, as mentioned before, has led to a state of hostility with adverse effects, perceived not only internally but also at the level of the scientific community outside of the Program.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The members of the Evaluation Panel considered it necessary to begin this last section emphasizing the Panel's conclusion that PISPAL is a Latin American initiative essentially responsive to the desire of the region's investigators involved in social studies on population problems, to stimulate and intensify scientific reflection of these themes in a manner which fits Latin American reality and meets the national and regional interests.

PISPAL as a program integrates many different functions: financing research projects; getting experts together through its workshops and seminars; providing technical assistance and disseminating the results of all of its activities. (These functions facilitate new and realistic planning for the most ambitious of its Program's objectives, that of generating a Latin American scientific concept of population problems which would be useful in the formulation of appropriate policies in this area. We should also add to this, the innovative character of the Program, insofar as PISPAL is being managed, from its general direction to each specific activity by Latin American experts. This makes it possible to channel international funds coming from outside the region, based on a standard, which by its origin, reflects better the needs of the region. Because of all the above, PISPAL can be used as a model for the development of programs in other social research areas in Latin America.

We should also make it clear that, during all the interviews carried out by the Panel, either with social scientists or with governmental officials who are responsible for developing strategies regarding population problems,

the idea of PISPAL was always positively valued and unquestionably supported, even in those cases where the information on the Program was inadequate or too general. It is evident that in this regard, the creation of PISPAL responds to an actual need of the Latin American scientific community and governmental circles concerned with the population problems.

Because of the above, the following recommendations should only be understood as an effort to find means to improve PISPAL's functioning and increase its accomplishments. We have limited ourselves, here, to present recommendations on the more important factors; in the text of the report we have included in addition some explicit and implicit recommendations on other aspects.

6.1 Expansion of the PISPAL Institutional Base

It is necessary to expand as soon as possible the number of research centers participating as member centers of the Program. The Panel got in touch with several centers (and it is evident that there are others in the region) that expressed interest in formally and fully affiliating with PISPAL. These have the necessary number of experts and conduct social research projects on population problems as a regular and important part of their activities.

The Program Committee should do the following: a) define in detail the requisites for admission, either as a member center or as an associate member center; b) establish in a clear way the obligations and rights of the centers in each category; c) make this information available to all centers interested or potentially interested in affiliating with the Program. These specifications would completely eliminate the present PISPAL image as that

of a closed group and would also permit the expansion of its institutional base with the resultant extension of the Program's results throughout the region.

It should be emphasized that some of the countries which at this time require greater impetus in social research on population problems, because they are in the process of formulating policies in this area, do not have any of their country centers represented within PISPAL. The Program Committee should take this fact into consideration and take appropriate measures for their incorporation. In some cases it might be necessary to arrange means of providing technical assistance to these centers to strengthen their research capabilities on population problems; during this brief period such centers could become affiliated with the Program as associate members. Other research centers, in contrast, meet the conditions to be admitted immediately as full PISPAL members.

Enlarging the institutional base of the Program could result in a need for more financial resources; this should be anticipated in due time, especially if new sources of funding for PISPAL are found.

6.2 PISPAL's Assembly and the Program Committee

Increasing the number of PISPAL member centers would necessitate a modification in the composition of the Program Committee inasmuch as the unlimited enlargement would immediately reduce the Committee's efficiency and operating capacity. We consequently suggest that all of the full member centers affiliated with PISPAL form an Assembly. This new organ would be the program's policy board, responsible for approving its work plan and for setting general guidelines for its direction and development, as well as for electing the members of the Program Committee. The Assembly would meet every two years.

The Program Committee would be considered the arm and the representative of the Assembly, and would have the responsibility of supervising the progress of the work plan and of making the decisions ad referendum of the Assembly. The Committee's functions should be clearly defined both in terms of its relationship with the Assembly as well as with the Executive Secretariat (see Item # 6.3). We consider the existence of this intermediate agency essential in order to simplify the Program's procedures and avoid, at the same time, the risks of personal decisions unrepresentative from the interests of the member centers.

The Program Committee should meet at least twice a year. The Program Committee could be formed by six representatives elected by the Assembly, the Coordinator of PISPAL (see Item #6.3) and the donors' representative; this last individual would have the right to express opinions but not the right to vote. All the centers affiliated as full-members would have the right to elect and be elected as members of the Program Committee, without any kind of special treatment for the founders.

6.3 The Executive Secretariat and The Coordinator of the Program

We recommend the conversion of the actual Central Unit to an Executive Secretariat. The change in name would reflect more accurately the functions assigned to that agency within the general scheme of the Program. In this regard, we have considered two possible alternatives which would imply for the Executive Secretariat a different role and a different order of priority in its assigned functions.

Alternative "A". The Executive Secretariat is constituted as a working team composed of the best qualified experts (4 or 5) of Latin America

in the area of social research on population problems. This expert group, together with a team of young collaborators whom are being trained in this type of research, would assume in a short period of time, the intellectual leadership needed for the formulation and implementation of an advanced and innovative social research program on relevant population problems in Latin America. Its main function would be, in other words, to lead and mobilize Latin American efforts to produce appropriate population concepts - a "PISPAL concept".

This option, which we considered to be the ideal one for the best functioning of the Program, could fail if the best Latin American experts could not be available to become full-time members of the Executive Secretariat for a period not less than two years; if this were the case, this scheme would not work.

Alternative "B". We see it in terms of a group whose main function would be that of encouraging and obtaining the participation of the best-qualified experts of the region in the formulation of the "PISPAL concept", with the understanding that such investigators would not be committed full-time to the duties of the Executive Secretariat. The intellectual leadership would be obtained, then, by contracting for papers on topics selected by PISPAL; such papers would be prepared by the best qualified experts, discussed and analyzed at seminars and workshops organized by the Executive Secretariat and, finally extensively disseminated by the Secretariat as basic papers for guiding social research on population problems relevant to population policies in Latin America.

In order to clarify the conceptual differences of each alternative for the Executive Secretariat, we prepared a summary comparison of their functions by order of priority:

<u>Alternative "A"</u>	<u>Alternative "B"</u>
1) Conduct research and generate the basic theoretical ideas for guiding the Program.	1) Promote the preparation of basis papers.
2) Provide technical assistance to the member centers.	2) Organize seminars and workshops.
3) Organize seminars and workshops.	3) Participate in the evaluation and follow-up of the projects financed by PISPAL.
4) Evaluate and follow-up the projects financed by PISPAL.	4) Provide technical assistance to the centers, directly or through hired consultants.

We have left out the administrative functions which in either option the Executive Secretariat would have to carry out through the appropriate unit.

In summary, the intellectual leadership that should be maintained by PISPAL in the area of population studies could be attained in one case through the direct work of the Executive Secretariat; in the second option, the Secretariat would function as a promoter and a conveyor of the intellectual work carried out by the non-affiliated, highly-qualified experts.

In either option, the Executive Secretariat would have as a leader the Program Coordinator, a highly qualified expert who would function as a central figure for mobilizing Latin American resources required for developing the "PISPAL concept". His specific functions and his authority would be different, depending on the form of the Secretariat, and should be clearly defined. It would be the responsibility of the Coordinator, in either case, to promote research projects within the region in accordance with the basic guidelines defined by PISPAL.

The Executive Secretariat would be located in the offices of one of the research centers of the region, particularly in the first option, since this would provide more opportunity for intellectual exchange with other experts; in Alternative "B" it would be possible to have the Executive Secretariat located independently from a host center. In any event, it would be essential that the relationship between the Secretariat and the potential host center be clearly defined so that no problems would occur in the future performance of their activities.

We would also like to point out a final difference which refers to the participation of the Executive Secretariat in the evaluation of projects requesting financial assistance. In Alternative "A" it should be assumed that the Executive Secretariat would be perfectly capable of carrying out the evaluations directly, guided only by the general guidelines defined by the Assembly and, in some instances, consulting with the Program Committee. In Alternative "B", the evaluation activity would be the responsibility of the Committee, of which the Coordinator is also a member; the Secretariat, as now occurs with the Central Unit, would review the proposals and submit its judgment. In both cases, the approval for financial support should come from the Program Committee. The Program Coordinator might have

the authority to approve directly the financing of those projects requesting less than a certain amount of money (for example up to \$10,000) in order to speed up this process.

6.4 The Promotion of Projects

The Executive Secretariat should take the initiative in promoting research projects which would advance, in general, the progress of the Program. This means a more aggressive policy which would rely less on individual initiatives and more on the needs arising from the development of PISPAL. This would not mean closing the door on innovative and experimental projects in peripheral areas; the Program should support such efforts in order to avoid narrowing its vision and to generate, instead, parallel and complementary views which would enrich its own perspective.

6.5 Dissemination of PISPAL Results and Availability of Same as Potential Inputs for the Formulation of Population Policies.

The members of the Evaluation Panel place great importance on the need for PISPAL to find adequate means to guarantee an information system of broad coverage of the Program itself and its achieved results. In this regard, the task of enlarging its institutional base should be preceded by an informational campaign in order to reach within the region as many research centers and interested governmental agencies as possible, either by mailing publications and papers or whenever possible, through personal contact, a task in which the affiliate centers could be very helpful.

The conduct of social research in Latin America is perceived in different ways in various countries. In some national contexts there is

little incentive for or frank hostility toward social research in general, although not necessarily in relation to population studies; in others, there are incentive and demand for this type of research, but the existing centers are not developed enough to take advantage of the favorable conditions; only a few countries have a stable enough institutional base to guarantee the proper undertaking of research. PISPAL's possible role in each context would be necessarily different, thus the general information on the Program should be complemented with the possibility of direct and personal communications through which it would be possible to find fruitful ways of cooperating in accordance with each center's circumstances.

The decision to form an editorial committee, made by the Program Committee at its last meeting in Mexico City, should make it possible to have a comprehensive policy regarding PISPAL's publications. The dissemination of these materials presents a serious problem, thus we suggest the convenience of using several complementary means: commercial publishing houses, publication in journals (such as, *Economia y Demografia*, *Estudios de Poblacion*, etc.) and direct mailing to as many research centers and governmental agencies as possible; this campaign would have to be subsidized necessarily by the Program's own funds.

We understand that it is not the function of PISPAL to collaborate directly with governmental agencies in the formulation of population policies, but it is one of its objectives that the results of its activities be used in the formulation of such policies. In this sense, a special effort is required on the part of the Executive Secretariat to make available the Program's publication to governmental agencies. This task would be enormously helped by organizing periodic technical meetings attended not only by the experts

but also by governmental officers involved in population policies. These meetings would be informative, and beneficial to both the governmental officers and the researchers.

6.6 PISPAL and CLACSO

It is evident that the official relationship between PISPAL and CLACSO are ambiguous. That relationship should be redefined keeping in mind that the location of PISPAL within CLACSO has been the only and the best possibility for contact with the Latin American academic community of social sciences, and has provided it the opportunity to become widely known which otherwise would not have been possible. The Panel does not think it is appropriate to make a definite proposition regarding this matter, since it involves another institution. However, it does recommend that this problem be approached in conjunction with the authorities of CLACSO in order to find a formula which would guarantee PISPAL's continued location within CLACSO, but at the same time eliminating the current confusion in the relationship.

6.7 FINAL CONCLUSION

The Evaluation Panel is aware of the possibility that certain of the criticisms about the Program can be considered too harsh and in some cases unjustified. Perhaps, in many instances, throughout this report, we did not emphasize enough the positive results, but we wanted to concentrate on those points which seemed to be more deficient. We have done so, because we are completely convinced that there is great interest on the part of all actors involved with PISPAL to proceed with the Program, correcting its deficiencies and reformulating, if necessary, those points which seem to

be the weakest. The Panel is convinced that this evaluation was not requested with "another interest", that is in order to support decisions already made.

At no time, have we found any type of personal motivations on the part of the actors of the Program and we believe that a lot of the less positive results are due to organizational and operational problems which can be corrected with a little effort, without changing the basic character of the Program. None of the criticisms mentioned in this report refer to PISPAL's philosophy and we are convinced that its most positive results could hardly have been accomplished through another program based on different parameters.

For all the comments made in this report, it is apparent that there is still a lot to be done within the perspective of PISPAL. Its contributions will be very valuable not only to the Latin American academic community, but also, and especially, to the entire population of the region.

The Evaluation Panel recommends emphatically the continuation of the Program and hope that its criticism as suggestions will be of help so that the Program can reach, in a more efficient way and in a shorter period of time, its objectives, with which the Panel is fully identified.

ANEXO 1: PERSONAS ENTREVISTADAS POR EL GRUPO EVALUADOR DEL FISCAL

BRASIL

Rio de Janeiro:

IBGE: Isaac Kerstenetzky, Director.
Espiridão Faissol y João Lima Madeira, funcionarios.

ECIEL: Juan Buttari, Coordinador de Proyecto.

CUP: Helena Lewin, Directora, Centro de Estudios Poblacionales.

IPEA: Manoel A. Costa, demógrafo.

IUPERJ: Carlos A. Hasenbalg, investigador.

Fundación Ford: J. Gardner, Representante.
Axel Mundigo, encargado de asuntos de población.
Alejandro Portes.

São Paulo:

CEBRAP: Candido Procopio Camargo, Presidente.
Elza Perquó, Juarez B. Lopes, Paulo Singer, Vinicius C. Brant y
Gerardo Muller, investigadores.

CEDIP: Maria Coletta de Oliveira, investigadora.

CHILE

Santiago de Chile:

Unidad Central del Fispal: Ricardo Jordén, Coordinador.
Raúl Urzúa, Armando di Filippo, Fernando Gatica,
Angel Fucaraccio, Raúl Atria.

CEPAL: Enrique Iglesias, Director.
Susana Aurelius y Marshal Wolfe.

CELADE: Juan Carlos Elizaga, Director.
Susana Torrado y Germán Correa.

ILITES: Sergio Molina.

CIDU-IPU: Andrés Necoechea, Director.

CIESU (Uruguay): Carlos Filgueiras y Susana Prates.

COLOMBIABogotá, D.E.:

The Population Council: Luis Sobrevilla, Representante.
Jerald Bailey

ASCOFAME: Rafael de Zubiría, Director, División de Medicina Social y Población.

C.C.R.P.: Guillermo López, Director y Presidente.
Ramiro Cardona, Director del Area de Distribución Espacial.

UNFFA: William Visser, Representante.

Universidad de los Andes: Fernando Cepeda, Rector encargado.
Augusto Cano, Decano, Facultad de Economía.
Haróldo Calvo, Director del CEDE.
Edgard Revéiz y Alberto Hernández, profesores.

MEXICOMéxico D.F.:

IRG: Carmen Miró, Directora. Exdirectora del CELADE.

Colegio de México: Víctor L. Urquidí, Presidente.
Susana Lerner, Presidente del Comité del Programa.
Gustavo Cabrera, Expresidente del Comité del Programa.

CLACSO: Beatriz Figueroa, Secretaria de la Comisión de Población y Desarrollo.
Edelberto Torres.

CONAFO, Secretaría de Gobernación: Luisa María Loal, Subsecretaria.

Fundación Ford: John Nagel.

ISUNAM: Raúl Benítez Zenteno.

PERULima:

Instituto de Estudios Peruanos: J. Matos Mar, Director.

INE: Eduardo Montajo, Director.
Violeta González, Jefe de la Dirección de Estudios de Población.

Universidad Católica: Orlando Plaza, Jefe del Departamento de Ciencias Sociales.
Mario Torres, profesor.

Fundación Ford: Mr. Trowbridge, representante.
Nita Manitzas y Muñoz Nájjar.

VENEZUELACaracas:

Ministerio de Sanidad y Asistencia Social: Santiago Gaslonde
Jefe de la Oficina de Coordinación
del Programa de Planificación Familiar

Comisión Presidencial para Estudios de
Crecimiento y Desarrollo:

Germán Méndez, Presidente

María Carmona de Chacón, Investigadora

Julio Paez Celis, Director de
Demografía

Centro de Estudios de Desarrollo
(CENDES), Universidad Central:

Luis Lander, Investigador