

Fertility Down, but Population Decline Still Not in Sight

by Carl Haub

A March meeting of demographers at the United Nations captured headlines proclaiming “Population Decline in Sight,” “Shrinking World,” and “Population Boom a Bust.” Although more attention to population trends is welcome news, the media’s focus on a single aspect of the UN’s deliberations produced stories at odds with what many participants took away from the meeting.

What happened at the Expert Group Meeting on Completing the Fertility Transition, the third in a series on future fertility trends, was that population experts endorsed a proposal by the UN Population Division to accommodate fertility levels below the two-child-per-couple replacement level in the division’s 2002 revision of its world population estimates and projections. Endorsement came after examination of the fertility prospects for a large group of less developed countries, those with a total fertility rate less than 5 children per woman, but more than 2.1, or the

Target Fertility Assumptions Used in UN Projections for 2045-2050

Year of Projection	More Developed Countries	Less Developed Countries
1994	2.08	2.10
1996	2.06	2.10
1998	1.82	2.06
2000	1.92	2.17

Note: Rates are total fertility rates, based on average number of children per woman per country.

Source: UN Population Division.

“intermediate-fertility” countries. This group includes Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Iran (see article on page 8), Mexico, and Vietnam.

This step means the UN will consider fine-tuning its assumptions. It is also considering projecting to 2075. This kind of tweaking is done regularly (see table).

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Out of the Closet and Onto the Census Long Form

Sitcoms and talk shows have brought gay men and lesbians into the living rooms of average Americans, and talking about sexual orientation has become less taboo in recent years. But beyond stereotypes, what do we know about real-life homosexuals?

Researchers Gary Gates, of the Urban Institute, and Seth Sanders, of the University of Maryland, have spent years mining standard data sources including the census long form for insights into the gay and lesbian population in the United States. The trickiest part of doing this research, they say, is defining homosexuality.

Existing social science surveys make no attempt to define who is gay and lesbian, said Gates. He and Sanders have made that attempt based on the data available (see the figure on page 6), but they acknowledge the process is not clear-cut. “The problem is, what are we asking?” said Gates. “Are we asking how many people identify as gay and lesbian? Are we asking how

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Back in 1997, the Population Division considered developments in the low-fertility countries, primarily those of Europe. The conclusion of that conference marked a wide-ranging departure from what had been the UN's long-range assumption about fertility for most countries, but not all—that it would either rise or fall to the replacement level of about 2.1 children per woman. While such an assumption may at first appear arbitrary, it had, in years past, several attractive features. For one, a long-term assumption of replacement level ensures zero population growth, avoiding individual assumptions about which coun-

tries might decline in size and which might not. It also provided a readily understood benchmark for the medium variant, the two-child family. (For comparison purposes, the UN also produces high and low variants, which assume long-term fertility above and below replacement, respectively.)

Over time, it became obvious that a rise to replacement fertility in the very low-fertility countries of Europe was, in fact, quite unlikely. The individual countries did not assume that in their own national projections. So, the Population Division's 1998 series dropped the general assumption of a long-run return to replacement-level fertility by 2050.

More recently, differing patterns have become evident

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in the fertility trends of less developed countries. Just as more developed countries were projected to rise to replacement in the medium series, the less developed countries were projected to decline to it and then stabilize at that level. However, it is now clear that fertility-decline patterns are far more likely to exhibit wide disparities in less developed countries. Some less developed countries have already completed the transition to low fertility. Others have seen their rate decline to a middle level and then stall. Still others have shown no sign of fertility decrease whatsoever. That last group was the subject of the second UN conference

future, but that, in many cases, that point is too far away to foresee accurately. Nevertheless, population decline is not in sight, given the young age structure of less developed countries and their persistent high birth rates.

One conclusion from the conference that may stand out is that population projections must be adjusted as childbearing patterns themselves change. Thus, a population projection for a high-fertility country such as Niger may now assume that fertility remains high for a much longer period than was assumed in the past, while a projection for Brazil may now assume that fertility decline moves rather smoothly below the replacement level. If the UN population projections now appear more complex, they are only reflecting the changing world for which they are made. ■

Fertility-decline patterns exhibit wide disparities in less developed countries.

in this series held in July 2001, the Workshop on Prospects for Fertility Decline in High Fertility Countries (see *Population Today*, October 2001).

The next round of UN projections, expected out in the first quarter of 2003, will incorporate a new “floor” for fertility in most less developed countries. Rather than assume a decline to a long-term total fertility rate of 2.1, 1.9 will now be the ultimate value—that is, below-replacement fertility. But the real issue is the path taken to that value. It could occur before 2050 (or even 2075 if the projections are run out to that year) or well after. There could be a “plateau” as fertility decline slows on approach to a lower value.

At the March meeting, there was consensus that below-replacement fertility is likely to occur in some less developed countries at some point in the

UN's PRED Bank 3.0 Now on CD-ROM

The UN Population Division has released version 3.0 of the Population, Resources, Environment and Development Databank (PRED Bank). PRED Bank, available on CD-ROM, brings together data series on population; labor force participation; education; economic and social development; and land, water, and energy use.

The 131 variables on the CD-ROM include regional, subregional, and national data for 228 countries and regions.

The CD-ROM is available for US\$75. It can be purchased by check or international money order in U.S. dollars drawn on a U.S. bank, payable to the UN Population Division. Interested institutions in less developed countries may receive one free copy of the CD-ROM by submitting a request printed on their letterhead paper. Correspondence should be addressed to Joseph Chamie, Director, Population Division, Room DC2-1950, United Nations, New York, NY 10017, or faxed to 212/963-2147.

Census-Taking and the Invisibility of Urban American Indians

by Susan Lobo

When it comes to conducting the U.S. census, a different approach is in order if American Indian people are to be counted.

In contrast to commonly held beliefs, the majority of American Indians live in urban areas. The Federal Relocation program initiated in the 1950s was the catalyst for their urbanization. Since that time, the population of Indian people living in cities has continued to increase as extended family members and friends have invited those on reservations to come to the city, where they are often hosted for extended periods while they settle in.

Non-Indians often comment that Indian people living in cities are invisible. This invisibility or perceived elusiveness is tied directly to urban Indian community characteristics, including a dispersed, rather than a residentially clustered, population and individual mobility. Understanding these characteristics is fundamental to making appropriate decisions for carrying out an accurate census enumeration.

Fluid Households

Some people stay with a rotating set of family and friends, either in one area or over an expansive region. The extent to which they are integrated into a particular household varies from those who are just “floating through” as “couch surfers,” to those who become “sisters” or “brothers” and then are considered family members.

Findings from ethnographic research carried out in the San Francisco Bay area from March 2000 to September 2001 (see box on page 4) illustrate these fluid living arrangements. One household in the study was a two-bedroom apartment rented by a woman, her aunt, and their children. In the course of a month, at least 38 people—a shifting set of other relatives, male friends, and their children—used this apartment. Some nights as many as 18 people stayed over, but never the same set of people for more than a few nights. This is many more than allowed by the apartment management, and certainly more—because of uncertainty as to who officially lived there—than would have been reported on

the census form, if indeed it was ever filled out. This apartment was not located in researchers’ attempts to match it with the census results, indicating that in all likelihood the census form was not turned in.

In another case, two single mothers who met at an Indian organization discovered that they were of the same tribe and that they had both been adopted as children. These two women became close friends and decided, along with their children, to share an apartment. Within a few months, their children began to refer to one another as brothers and sisters or as cousins. The women made extensive efforts to explore their relationship and discovered that they were distant cousins. They came to consider each other sisters and continued to share an apartment.

Parenting by Extended Families—and by Default

Children and youth frequently move among the households of extended family members, including grandparents. Their movements take them to other neighborhoods within the same city, to other cities, or “back home” to reservations. The relatives of these children may be undecided whether to list children who have lived with them for months on a census form, since this may not be their “official” home.

Another type of movement for children occurs if their parents become incapacitated, enter an alcohol treatment program, or are incarcerated. The Indian Child Welfare Act mandates that children be placed, if possible, in American Indian foster homes. Yet in many instances this is not possible, and Indian children are fostered or adopted “out” into non-Indian families. Besides contributing to mobility, this arrangement—especially foster care, which can be short-term—increases ambivalence in answering and correctly identifying children’s race on the census.

Tribal Ties

Many Indians may think that, since they are listed on their tribal role, there is no need to answer the census when they are living or staying in the city.

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Ethnographic Research

This article summarizes some of the findings of an ethnographic research project carried out in the San Francisco Bay area from March 2000 through September 2001. Researchers studied 27 highly mobile American Indians who kept journals for six weeks, indicating where they spent their days, where they slept, and where they obtained food and other necessities. In addition to carrying out formal and informal interviews, researchers engaged in participant observation and took field notes during the normal flow of Indian community events and meetings, greatly extending the reach of the research.

The project was supported by a grant from the Statistical Research Division of the U.S. Census Bureau. The final report, *American Indian Urban Mobility in the San Francisco Bay Area*, is one of four comparative ethnographic studies of mobile populations available from the Census Bureau. Contact Assistant Division Chief Manuel de la Puente, phone: 301/457-4997 or 301/457-2583.

Many living in urban areas return for short or long periods to their home reservations to care for an ailing relative, to attend a funeral, or to assist during a family crisis. Many travel long distances and stay on the road for months at a time to participate in seasonal cultural activities such as pow-wows, the Sun Dance, or sports tournaments. Those who carry out spiritual, Native rights advocacy, or cultural work may travel constantly.

Institutional Homes

There are those who, during long periods of their lives, cycle in and out of health facilities, substance abuse treatment programs, and transitional living programs. In between, they alternate stays with family and friends in the city, stays on the streets, and trips “back home.” These

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individuals may also be incarcerated, in which case jails and prisons become yet another type of “usual residence.”

Census research results strongly point to the existence of undercounts of Indian people living in urban areas. The mobility research in the San Francisco Bay area showed that 14 of those who kept journals as a part of the project were definitely enumerated, while 13 were not matched with census results. This means that they may not have been enumerated and, indeed, to their knowledge they were not.

Successful enumeration of the most highly mobile portion of the urban Indian population most often took place at soup kitchens, at group quarters, or occasionally at apartments or homes. Those who commonly sleep in the home of friends and relatives but are not considered a part of the family were often overlooked in the census process, as were those sleeping on the street, in city parks, in short-term hotels or motels, or in vehicles. Some who frequently travel out of town were not enumerated. Those known to be residents of group quarters such as American Indian residential alcohol treatment centers and women’s shelters were not enumerated or were erroneously enumerated.

Urban Indian communities are networks of relationships rather than geographic locations or neighborhoods. The fluid and flexible nature of the urban Indian community contributes to its resiliency and persistence, as well as to its invisibility from an outside perspective. Locating and working with the American Indian-administered organizations that are nodes in the Indian community network and that serve as the gathering places for Indian people in cities are keys to locating and enumerating Indian people. ■

For More Information:

Lobo, Susan. *Urban Voices: The Bay Area American Indian Community*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press (forthcoming, summer 2002).

Webwise

www.prb.org • www.ameristat.org • www.popnet.org • www.measurecommunication.org

The following were posted recently on the PRB network of websites:

Caribbean Countries “Pay” for Successfully Addressing Population Issues

In a move that marks the Caribbean’s success in various spheres of socioeconomic activity, international funding agencies are reducing their financial support for the region’s sexual and

reproductive health programs. The move could adversely affect the delivery of population services—including those designed to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS—unless alternate sources of funding are found. (www.prb.org)

Global Women’s Health: Reproductive Health Needs

This PowerPoint presentation, given during a briefing for the U.S. Congress

in recognition of International Women’s Day, provides background information and key statistics on the reproductive health needs of women. It also includes demographic information on women worldwide. A companion Excel file contains the data used in the presentation charts. (www.prb.org)

Short Work Lives, Long Retirements Make Saving Difficult

by Murray Gendell

The Enron scandal has highlighted the issue of retirement security achieved through savings and investments inside and outside of pension plans. But the scandal aside, workers' ability to supplement Social Security income enough to maintain their standard of living in retirement depends on the number of years they work (how much they can save) and the number they spend in retirement (how far their savings will go).

Work Lives

Trends in years of work since 1950 have been quite different for men and women (see table). There was a drop in men's average work life from about 39 years in 1950 to 36 years in the early 1990s, followed by a reversal to about 37 years by the late 1990s. Women's average work life, however, rose steadily and rapidly throughout the period, from about 14 years in 1950 to nearly 32 years by the late 1990s. Thus, whereas women's work life was little more than one-third that of men in 1950, by the late 1990s it had grown to 86 percent of men's.

Moreover, higher levels of education were associated with longer work life. The differences shown in the table between the high and low levels of education varied by seven to 10 years among men and by 11 to 15 years among women. The most important feature of these data is that people who did not finish high school have much shorter work lives than those who did finish. Since little education leads to low earnings, nonfinishers are doubly disadvantaged in their efforts to accumulate an adequate retirement nest egg. Their low earnings make it harder to save, and they have fewer years in which to do so. Although the percentage of people ages 25 and over with at least a high school diploma has increased in recent decades, workers with limited education still find it difficult to save for retirement. Poorly educated women are particularly disadvantaged.

Retirement

How long retirees will need their nest eggs depends on when they leave the work force.

Years of Work Life Expected at Age 20, by Sex and Education, Selected Dates^(a)

	Total	Less Than High School	High School and Some College	College Degree
			Men	
1950	39.2 ^(b)	—	—	—
1970	37.3	—	—	—
1979-1980 ^(c)	36.8	32.6	37.6	39.5
1992-1993	36.0	29.5	36.4	39.2
1997-1998	36.9	31.9	36.5	39.7 ^(d)
Women				
1950	14.0 ^(b)	—	—	—
1970	21.3	—	—	—
1979-1980 ^(c)	27.2	20.2	27.7	31.6
1992-1993	30.0	19.5	30.8	34.8
1997-1998	31.6	23.1	31.9	34.9 ^(d)

Note: Data by education are not available prior to 1979-1980.

^(a) All data except those for 1950 were calculated by the multistate method. The 1950 data were obtained by the conventional method. Tables of working life are an extension of life tables, taking into account labor force status as well as mortality. The conventional method uses age-specific labor force participation rates at a single point in time, and it assumes (unrealistically) that men enter and leave the labor force only once during their lives and that women do so only a little more often, usually when they marry or have children. The more realistic multistate (also called the "increment-decrement") method is based on the extent to which adults at each age move into or out of the labor force or die during a specified period, such as a year.

^(b) Adjusted to a level comparable to the multistate method by using a ratio of the multistate to the conventional estimates available for 1970. The ratio for men was 0.9467 and for women 0.9682.

^(c) The education categories for the 1979-1980 data are: less than high school, high school to 14 years, and 15 years or more of schooling.

^(d) At age 21.

Sources: For 1950, 1970, and 1979-1980: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Worklife Estimates: Race and Education," *Bulletin* 2254, February 1986. For 1992-1993 and 1997-1998: Two articles by James Ciecka, Thomas Donley, and Jerry Goldman, "A Markov Process Model of Worklife Expectancies Based on Labor Market Activity in 1992-1993" ("1997-1998"), *Journal of Legal Economics*, Winter 1995 and Winter 1999-2000.

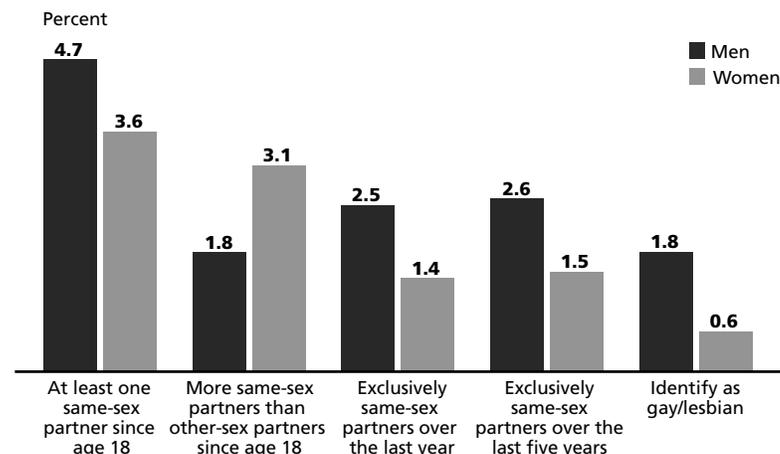
Using estimates of the median age at exit from the labor force among workers 50 years old or older and then calculating from life tables their average remaining life expectancy at that median age provides estimates of the median duration of retirement. Between the early 1950s and the late 1990s, this duration rose from 12 years to 18 years among men (a 50 percent gain) and from 13.6 years to 22 years among women (an increase of 62 percent). (For more on trends in age at retirement, see *Population Today*, April 2002.)

It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that poorly educated workers, who have comparatively short work lives, experience a longer retirement than better-educated workers, who have longer work lives. This means that the poorly educated workers are burdened with yet another disadvantage: the need to make their retirement resources last for a greater number of years.

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Demographics of Gays and Lesbians *Continued from page 1*

Survey Responses Used to Determine the Size of the U.S. Gay and Lesbian Population



Sources: General Social Survey, pooled from 1989-1991, 1993, 1994, and 1996; National Health and Social Life Survey (1992); U.S. Census: 2000 and 1990 (Public Use Micro Samples Combined 1 percent and 5 percent samples and Internal Long Form Files); and Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System.

many people engage in certain behavior? It's really a tough question."

Census results have made the researchers' job easier. For the first time, the 1990 questionnaire allowed heads of household to mark "unmarried partner" in describing their relationship to another adult of the same sex living in the same house. And the processing of the 2000 questionnaire went one step further, with the Census Bureau recoding any same-sex "spouse" responses as "unmarried partner" responses (instead of recoding their gender).

Sources of error in the information collected this way include inaccurate reporting by respondents who fear discrimination, and misunderstanding of the term "unmarried partner" (mistaking "partner" for business associate), though Gates indicated the latter is rare. A third source he mentioned was people who are cohabiting and are in a sexual relationship but do not call it an unmarried partnership.

What have Gates and Sanders learned? They estimate that the gay and lesbian population is at least 2.5 percent of the general population, the estimate for gay men (from 2 percent to 5 percent) exceeding that for lesbians (from 1 percent to 3.5 percent). Removing the definition that refers only to experimentation (the left-most set of bars in the figure above) narrows the ranges to 2 percent to 3 percent for men, and 1 percent to 3 percent for women.

The figure shows more than just the size of the population. It also confirms what other sources have shown about women being more

fluid in their sexuality than men. That is, "Once men identify as gay, it appears to have a stronger kind of staying power than for women," said Gates.

Other findings include:

- **Parenting.** Lesbian couples do more parenting than gay male couples. In 1990, 23 percent of households headed by lesbian couples had a child under 18, compared with 6 percent of households headed by gay men.
- **Military service.** Lesbians have a military service rate higher than the general female population; gays have a lower military service rate than the general male population. In 1990, 7 percent of lesbians indicated they were veterans, compared with 2 percent of all women; 19 percent of gay men described themselves as veterans, compared with 39 percent of all men.
- **Income.** Gays earn less than other men; lesbians earn more than other women. In 1990, wages and earnings for gay men averaged \$28,000, compared with \$32,000 for all men. Wages and earnings for lesbians averaged \$23,000, compared with \$17,000 for all women.
- **Place of residence.** Census 2000 data show that gay men tend to live in big cities, and lesbians tend to be concentrated in smaller metropolitan areas (see table).

Ten U.S. Metro Areas With the Highest Concentrations* of Gays and Lesbians

Gays

San Francisco/Oakland
Miami/Ft. Lauderdale
Santa Fe, N.M.
Atlanta
San Diego
Orlando, Fla.
Los Angeles
Seattle
Austin, Texas
Portland, Maine

Lesbians

Santa Fe, N.M.
Burlington, Vt.
Portland, Maine
Springfield, Mass.
San Francisco/Oakland
Corvallis, Ore.
Madison, Wis.
Albuquerque, N.M.
Eugene, Ore.
Iowa City, Iowa

*Percentage of households that are same-sex unmarried partners.
Source: Census 2000 data.

Answers shown in the table to the "place of residence" question bring smiles to the faces of the researchers and those to whom they present their results because the answers evoke stereotypes. Asked whether that defeats the purpose, Gates laughed and replied: "It tells you you've gotten a good sample." ■

—Allison Tarmann

Australia Drafts Population Plan

Spurred by controversy over the current government's treatment of asylum seekers, Australia has drafted a population plan, heralding the country's first population policy. The plan, the product of a national summit in Melbourne in February, states that Australia can shape its future by shaping the size, make-up, and distribution of its population.

The plan mandates that a formal population policy should:

- Involve all Australians in a bipartisan process leading to its design.
- Recognize the economy, environment, and natural resources.
- Consider population distribution and regional development.
- Distinguish between population and immigration.
- Result from informed debate and research and analysis.

The summit followed months of controversy related to the country's response to asylum seekers from Afghanistan and Iraq. Since last summer, Australia has been intercepting boats carrying these refugees and sending them to remote Pacific Islands for processing. In September, Australia imposed tougher border regulations to deter human smuggling and to keep tight control on the number of migrants and refugees it accepts.

Sticking points at the summit were the propriety of and exact figure for a national population target, according to the *Courier Mail*. Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, who called for an increase in population to 50 million by the end of the century, said: "Our current policies make us appear to be a selfish, narrow, affluent nation." The *Australian Financial Review* reported that one prominent scientist advocated a long-term target of 6 million to 12 million people. The current population is 19 million.

State and territory leaders generally endorsed the plan and agreed that an intergovernmental council should be established to advocate on population issues.

Older People Vulnerable to HIV/AIDS

The impact of HIV/AIDS on older people has been neglected in research on the disease, particularly in less developed countries, according to a new fact sheet by the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS). Although 83 percent of AIDS deaths worldwide have occurred in sub-Saharan Africa, the percentage of older people affected there is unknown. In contrast, in the United States and Western Europe, older people (those over 50) are known to account for 10 percent of reported cases.

Insufficient data on this population is troublesome because older people are particularly vulnerable to HIV, the fact sheet notes. Reasons include:

- The aging process speeds the transformation of the virus from HIV into AIDS.
- Early symptoms of the virus such as fatigue can be confused with signs of aging.
- Doctors tend not to ask older patients about their sex lives and may not give prevention information that younger patients would be given.

The fact sheet is available on the UNAIDS website at www.unaids.org/fact_sheets/files/FSolder_en.html.

Cost of Underemployed Immigrants to Canada's Economy Quantified

Canada may be losing C\$15 billion per year because many of its skilled immigrants are performing menial jobs like flipping burgers or driving cabs. Jeffrey Reitz, professor of sociology and industrial relations at the University of Toronto, believes that C\$2.4 billion is lost because immigrants' skills are underused, and C\$12.6 billion because immigrants are underpaid. Reitz used 1996 census data and labor force surveys to compare earnings of immigrants with those of native-born Canadians by level and type of education, work experience, knowledge of English, and ethnic or racial

background. He found that immigrants earn on average one-half to two-thirds less for their education and experience than native-born Canadians.

"Helping employers deal with the real and very practical problems of using the new global workforce could be a low-cost way of dramatically improving returns from our investment in immigration," said Reitz. He proposes a "mutual orientation" for immigrants and their prospective employers.

Reitz' study is on the Web at www.utoronto.ca/ethnicstudies/research.htm.

European Commission Calls for More Work, More Babies

Addressing the UN World Assembly on Aging, held in April in Madrid, the European Union social affairs commissioner declared that Europeans must have more children and must increase and lengthen work force participation. Both measures should be taken to offset the economic consequences of an "alarming" rise in the proportion of elderly in the continent's population: By 2050, one in three Europeans will be at least 60 years old, and one in 10 will be over 80.

The commissioner, Anna Diamantopoulou, recommended steps to advance both goals simultaneously. Noting that women with children and elderly parents do not work as much as they could due to occupational segregation, a gender pay gap, inadequate child care, unequal access to training, and tax and financial disincentives, she proposed state-provided care for children and other dependent people. She also proposed keeping older people in the work force up to five years longer than today by carrying out pension reform, reducing age discrimination, and offering more training that meets the needs of older workers.

Her remarks are available on the Web at <http://europa.eu.int/news-en.htm>. ■

Iran Achieves Replacement-Level Fertility

Having dropped from around 5 to just under 3 between 1989 and 1996, Iran's total fertility rate has again plunged—this time to 2. Iran, an Islamic country, has followed a unique and rapid path to replacement-level fertility. The speedy fertility decline, which has surpassed demographers' projections, coincided with the revival in late 1989 of government efforts to slow population growth through a national family planning program.

Preliminary results from the 2000 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) for Iran show a decline of 32 percent in the total fertility rate (TFR, the average number of births per woman) between 1996 and 2000, from nearly 3 to 2. The DHS results are important for at least two reasons. Earlier fertility reductions were documented only by Iranian government

Changes in Iran's Total Fertility Rate* and Use of Modern Contraception, by Area

Area	TFR			% Change, 1977-1996	% Change, 1996-2000	% of Married Women Using Modern Contraception, 2000
	1977	1996	Preliminary 2000			
Urban	4.5	2.2	1.8	51	18	55
Rural	8.1	3.5	2.4	57	31	57
Total	6.6	2.8	2.0	58	29	56

*Total fertility rate (TFR) is the average number of children per woman.
Source: Iranian Ministry of Health and Medical Education.

shows that reduced fertility is not a phenomenon of urban areas alone but is occurring throughout the country. Mohammad Jalal Abbasi-Shavazi, a demographer at the University of Tehran and a presenter at the UN Expert Group Meeting on Completing the Fertility Transition (see page 1), points to evidence that the rapid decline in births has been the result of simultaneous reduction at all ages: delay in childbearing by young couples,

try's Islamic leadership's support for family planning. (For background on the country's family planning efforts, see the July/August 1999 issue of *Population Today*.)

The combination of all these factors, while not altering women's legal rights, has improved women's status, according to Farzaneh Roudi, a policy analyst with the Population Reference Bureau. "Many people from outside Iran assume that, because the government obliges women to wear veils, the government also obliges them to use contraception," she said, "but the reproductive health program is based on freedom of choice." She noted, though, that "choice" does not, as it does in some other Muslim countries like Turkey and Tunisia, mean access to abortion, which remains illegal in Iran except to save a mother's life (although abortion is thought to be practiced in some urban areas). With control over their reproduction, Roudi said, women are choosing to have fewer children and to be more in control of their lives. As they spend less time engaged in reproduction and childrearing than they did a generation ago, they have more time to be active in public

Women are choosing to have fewer children and to be more in control of their lives.

surveys and censuses that were not often translated or shared outside the country. The 2000 DHS for the first time provides internationally comparable data, and its huge sample size—which included around 90,000 married women of reproductive age—allows comparison of women's reproductive behavior by urban and rural areas across all 28 provinces and the Tehran Metropolitan Area.

The table above presents changes in TFR for urban and rural areas for selected years between 1977 and 2000. It

increased spacing of births by married women, and cessation of births by older women.

Such widespread acceptance of the two-child norm is largely due to the national campaign encouraging small families; to the national health care network, which has delivered family planning to all parts of the country and to families from all income levels in the context of primary health care while also reducing infant mortality; to government programs promoting rural development and literacy; and to the coun-

life—to engage in volunteerism and to participate and vote in national and local elections. In rural and urban Islamic Council elections in 1999, more than 7,250 women were candidates.

Changes in women’s access to reproductive health services and education are reflected in these additional data from DHS and other sources:

- More than 90 percent of pregnant women received at least two prenatal check-ups. Ninety-five percent of births are attended by a doctor or trained midwife.
- Seventy-four percent of married women use a family planning method; 56 percent of married women use a modern method. The gap between rural and urban areas in modern contraceptive use has closed.
- The average age at first marriage has risen since 1980 from around 17 for rural and urban women to 20 for rural and 21 for urban women in 2000.
- From 1996 to 2000, the percentage of never-married women has increased: for 20-to-24-year-olds, from 40 percent to 47 percent; and for 25-to-29-year-olds, from 15 percent to 21 percent.
- In 2000, the majority of candidates accepted at government universities were women. (Still, the percentage of women who are economically active—in the labor force or looking for work—is only around 19 percent for those in urban areas and around 28 percent for those in rural areas, according to the DHS.)

Where does the country go from replacement? Now that small family size and contraceptive use are well-established, the government is debating whether

Total Fertility Rate by Province, Iran, 2000



Source: Iranian Ministry of Health and Medical Education, UNICEF, and UNFPA, *Demographic and Health Survey Iran 2000*, Preliminary Draft Report (2002).

to discontinue subsidizing or at least to decrease investment in family planning efforts; in 2000, 75 percent of family planning services were provided by the Ministry of Health and Medical Education. According to Roudi, the director of the national family planning program plans to focus on regional disparities in contraceptive use (reflected in the map of TFRs above) and on dealing with unplanned pregnancies, which made up about one quarter of pregnancies recorded in the 2000 DHS. Emergency contraceptives are being added to the services provided by the health network.

As for women, Roudi speculated: “Now that Iranian women have achieved greater repro-

ductive rights, they are asking their government for more rights in general.” Abbasi-Shavazi, too, underscores the improvement in some aspects of women’s lives. He cites Jaleh Shadi-Talab, director of the Center for Women’s Studies of the University of Tehran, as saying that improvement in the status of women, which has come about through these development efforts, has itself become an “accelerating force of development in Iran.” ■

—Allison Tarmann

Risk of Homicide High for U.S. Infants

by Yvette Collymore

In the United States, homicide is the 15th leading cause of death for children less than a year old, according to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

Analyzing death certificate data for 1989–1998, the CDC found that infants faced the greatest risk of homicide during their first week of life. Among these homicides, some 83 percent occurred on the day of birth. The CDC further found that there was a greater risk of homicide during the first year of a child's life than at any other time before age 17.

During the period 1989–1998, just over 3,000 infant homicides were reported, and more than 7 percent occurred on the day of birth, according to the March 8 issue of the CDC's *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*. Of the homicides that

occurred on the first day of life, 95 percent of the children were not born in a hospital.

The period with the second-highest homicide risk for infants was the eighth week of life. The CDC said this might have been related to the reaction of a caregiver to an infant's persistent crying, which is greatest at 6 weeks to 8 weeks of age. Among the homicides at this time, 89 percent of the perpetrators were found to be the victim's mother or another female caregiver. The CDC reported that mothers who killed their infants were more likely to be adolescents with a history of mental illness.

The report notes preventing out-of-hospital births among women deemed to be "high risk" might reduce the risks for day-old children. It also points out that home visits and parenting programs that begin during pregnancy could help reduce the abuse of children during infancy. ■

Yvette Collymore is senior editor at PRB.

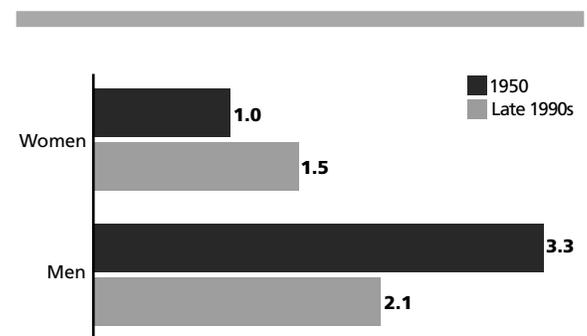
Workers Need Bigger Retirement Nest Eggs *Continued from page 5*

Challenging Combination

The ratio of years worked to years spent in retirement encapsulates the task that workers confront in accumulating adequate retirement resources (see figure). Men's ratio fell greatly from about three and one-third years of work life for each year of retirement in 1950 to barely more than two years in the late 1990s. Women's ratio, on the other hand, rose from about one year of work life per year of retirement in 1950 to nearly a year and a half in the late 1990s as the very large gain (about 125 percent) in their work lives outpaced the large increase (62 percent) in the length of their retirements.

Thus, women workers now have on average about a year and a half of earnings for each year of retirement, while men have about two years. They thus face a considerable challenge to use these years of earnings effectively to prepare for periods of retirement that are already long and may get longer. Many of these men and women

Ratio of Years Worked to Years Spent in Retirement



Sources: Murray Gendell, "Retirement Age Declines Again in 1990s," *Monthly Labor Review* (October 2001); and sources listed under table on page 5.

live together and can share their resources, but many do not. Much depends on future trends in the length of work life and of retirement, trends that are not readily discernible. ■

Murray Gendell is senior research associate at Georgetown University's Center for Population Research.

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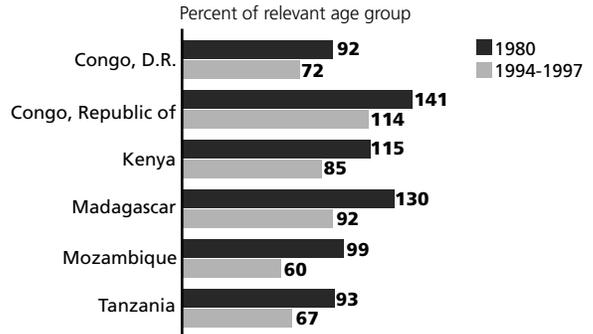
Declining School Enrollment in Africa

A new World Bank report, *African Development Indicators 2002*, shows that AIDS, "anemic" aid and investment flows, and weak commodity prices have reversed progress on social and economic indicators such as education in several countries (see figure).

Although the continent's gross domestic product grew from 2.9 percent in 1999 to 3.2 percent in 2000, the average annual growth rate since 1990 has been 2.6 percent—just even with the rate of population growth, making it difficult for social services and economies to keep pace. Civil wars have discouraged international investment and aid flows, but assistance to stable, reform-minded governments has also flagged, according to the report. Official development assistance per capita to sub-Saharan African countries fell from US\$20 in 1999 to US\$19 in 2000.

A preview of the publication and ordering information appear on the World Bank website: www4.worldbank.org/afri/stats/adi2002/default.cfm#chapters.

Primary School Enrollment



Source: World Bank, *African Development Indicators 2002*.

Estimated World Population

As of May 2002 6,207,000,000
Annual growth 83,000,000

Source: Extrapolated from the mid-2001 population on PRB's 2001 *World Population Data Sheet*.

Estimated Population of the United States

As of April 1, 2002 286,737,528

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (www.census.gov).

U.S. Vital Stats

12 Months Ending With August

	Number		Rate	
	2001	2000	2001	2000
Live births	4,043,000	4,024,000	14.6	14.7
Fertility rate	—	—	67.3	66.9
Deaths	2,411,000	2,410,000	8.7	8.8
Infant deaths	26,600	27,800	6.6	6.9
Natural increase	1,632,000	1,614,000	5.9	5.9
Marriages	2,349,000	2,414,000	8.5	8.8
Divorces	—	—	4.0	4.2

Note: Fertility rate is given per 1,000 women ages 15–44; infant deaths per 1,000 live births; other rates per 1,000 population. Number of divorces not available.

Sources: National Center for Health Statistics, *National Vital Statistics Reports 50*, no. 7 (accessed online at www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr50/nvsr50_07.pdf, on April 16, 2002).

Spotlight Statistic

U.S. Children With Difficulty Speaking English

Six percent of children in the United States had difficulty speaking English in 2000. These children may, according to the Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, "face greater challenges progressing in school and, once they become adults, in the labor market."

Year	Number	% of 5-to-17-year-olds
1990	2.4 million	5
2000	3.0 million	6

Source: U.S. Census Bureau data presented on PRB's AmeriStat website: www.ameristat.org.

Expert Group Meeting on Completing the Fertility Transition (UN Population Division)

www.un.org/esa/population/publications/completingfertility/completingfertility.htm

Documents from this UN meeting held in New York March 11-14, 2002, include total fertility rates of intermediate fertility countries, the meeting agenda, a list of participants, background papers, and country-specific papers presented by the demographers.

Family Care International

www.familycareintl.org

Family Care International is dedicated to improving women's sexual and reproductive health and rights in less developed countries with a special emphasis on making pregnancy and childbirth safer. The organization's website presents information on programs and publications, and links to additional resources. It is available in English, Spanish, and French.

Population Information Network for Western Asia

www.escwa.org.lb/popin/index.html

A comprehensive population information gateway for the Arab

region, this website provides news, links to population organizations, databases, publications, country-specific indicators, and other resources.

The White Ribbon Alliance for Safe Motherhood

www.whiteribbonalliance.org

This group of organizations and individuals is working to raise international awareness about the need to make pregnancy and childbirth safe for all women and infants. Its website provides fact sheets and other publications, information on international and U.S. activities, and upcoming events.

Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service

www.pio.gov.cy/dsr/index.html

This website provides socioeconomic statistics for Cyprus, including population trends, health, labor, education, and Census 2001 data. A publications list and links to statistical agencies of other countries are also featured.

Pakistan's Ministry of Population Welfare

www.mopw.gov.pk

The functions of the Ministry of Population Welfare include plan-

ning and developing policies as well as monitoring and evaluating Pakistan's population program activities. The website provides data on population and family planning and information on the population program and foreign assistance.

Secretariat of the Pacific Community Demography/Population Programme

www.spc.org.nc/demog/

The program collects, analyzes, interprets, uses, and disseminates population data in support of Pacific Island governments. Recent population statistics, news, publications, activities, and program information are available on this site. ■

www.popnet.org

These listings were prepared by PRB librarian, Zuali H. Malsawma, who maintains our PopNet website. For more listings like these, visit PopNet, the most comprehensive directory of population-related websites available (www.popnet.org).



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