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MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

TO/À: Harry Hodder, Vice President, CIDA

DATE: August 24, 1972

FROM/DE: George Brown, Wendy Marson *GB/WKM*

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SUBJECT/SUJET: Issue Paper on Population

Attached as requested is the Issue Paper on Population. An attempt has been made to bring out some of the contemporary issues in aid to population, particularly the need to integrate demographic variables into the planning process, the need to recognize and plan for problems of spatial distribution as well as growth, and of immediate concern, recognition of changing aid relationships in the population field. The bulk of resources to population in a number of countries now come from domestic sources, as does much of the expertise. The traditional donor-recipient relationship must be replaced by cooperation between equals.

It is hoped this paper will serve as a basis of discussion at the seminar. If we can be of any additional assistance, do not hesitate to let us know.

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Issue Paper on Population

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The Issue

Traditional economic wisdom has dedicated itself to the goal of raising per capita incomes as the basic element of solutions to problems of economic development. Yet the population element of the equation has been neglected, relegated to the position of an "endogenous" variable; a problem which will be solved in the course of economic growth. Or so it has been thought. However, the experience of the past two decades has demonstrated that it is not enough to expect that population growth will decline as a consequence or concomitant of development, nor is it enough to expect that family planning measures by themselves will bring about required declines in fertility.

It is the thesis of this paper that development planners and administrators must view population as an inter-related variable in any development strategy. Not only does population growth and its distribution influence achievement of economic gains, but development measures have important, often unanticipated demographic consequences. At the same time, it should be emphasized that while measures to control population growth or manage its spatial distribution are of increasing importance, they are not substitutes for the inputs basic to the promotion of economic development.

The Population Problem

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The basis for the extremely rapid growth of the world's population is well known and will be only briefly mentioned. Contemporary unprecedented rates of population growth result from the technological breakthroughs during the past 30 years, in prevention and cure of communicable diseases and the prevention of famines which formerly claimed millions of lives and kept mortality rates at high levels. This decline in mortality has been occurring in societies in which traditional economic and social structures have only recently, if at all, begun to change. Fertility behaviour, closely dependent upon traditional cultural patterns, has remained at high levels. To some extent too, the absence of simple and effective methods of contraception have contributed to the lag in the decline in fertility rates behind those of mortality. The resulting imbalance has resulted in growth so rapid that the size of the world's population will reach 4 billion in this decade, and will double in 35 years. In Latin America, population size will double in 24 years if current rates continue; in Asia

doubling time approaches 29 years; in Africa 30 years. Developing countries faced with such high growth rates find it increasingly difficult to maintain current living standards, let alone raise them. The World Bank pointed out that in the mid-1960's, about two-thirds of total annual investment in a sample of 22 developing countries was required to maintain per capita income at a constant level, leaving only one-third to raise living standards. Thus, unless economic growth rates increase to unprecedented levels, substantial improvement of the lives of millions living at the margins of subsistence will depend on reduction in population growth.

The objective of population programs during the past 10 years has, therefore, been to bring about more rapid declines in fertility than would otherwise occur. The major means that has been used to achieve this objective has been the provision of family planning information and services to couples willing to use them, particularly through governmental channels.

What Has Been Done

In 1952, India was the only country to have a national family planning policy (although it is generally recognized that the program has existed as an effective instrument only since 1965). During the 1950's and early 1960's, most aid to family planning programs was non-governmental, through private foundations and voluntary agencies. It was not until the mid-1960's that bilateral programs led by Sweden and the United States, and subsequently multilateral programs through UN bodies, began to allocate major amounts of resources to family planning. The World Bank has estimated that in 1971, \$225 million was allocated to family planning activities by all bilateral, multilateral and private organizations; an increase of some 100 times over allocations 12 years earlier. A much larger amount has been allocated by developing countries themselves for their own programs.

By 1972, at least 27 developing countries have official national family planning programs. Many others have large scale non-governmental activity, usually with some direct or indirect government support. The UN, the World Bank and virtually all major development aid agencies have given high priority to the world's population problem. Family planning has been widely recognized to be a universal human right, and accepted as such throughout much of the world.

In some settings, the family planning effort has had distinct payoffs. Dramatic declines in crude birth rates, as large as 30-40% in twenty years, in Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, while accounted for in part by changes in age structure, delay in age of marriage, increased opportunities for women, must also be attributed to increased usage of modern means of contraception

provided through the family planning programs. Furthermore, the provisions of modern means of contraception, albeit once again combined with measures increasing opportunities for women, and occurring in a unique ideological setting, has had an important influence on demographic change in China.

The Problem Remains

Despite these successes, the global population problem remains with us, acute as before. We can no longer be confident of the approaches adopted in the 60's. The limited success of most national family planning programs has clearly shown that in most countries a narrow, simplistic approach will fail to achieve significant fertility declines. Demographic research during the past five years has raised serious questions as to whether family planning programs by themselves are likely to reduce population growth rates, since most couples are motivated to have larger families than those necessary for replacement. Thus, it is now frequently advocated that strategies to lower population growth rates be broadened to include efforts to change values and incentives through changes in social institutions and through influence on economic, behavioural and educational factors in family formation. Only recently has there been a serious effort to examine population on a broad basis, as a fundamental element in social and economic development, and one that cannot be manipulated only through voluntary family planning programs. Awareness of the means to space children and limit family size is frequently insufficient to assure translation into practice, in environments which contain the traditional pressures to maintain high levels of fertility.

New Strategies

It is clear that, on the average, global population growth rates cancel out much of the gains from economic growth. It is also clear that rapid increase in population will continue, by virtue of the large numbers already born, and by continuing high fertility rates.

In looking at disaggregated population projections, it is evident that what will happen to world population as a whole will depend very much on fertility trends in a few large developing countries, particularly China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Philippines, Thailand, Iran, Egypt, Turkey, Nigeria, Brazil and Mexico. Among these countries, several have only recently adopted policies and programs aimed at reducing population growth, and much can be done to supply family planning information and services. However, this is only one element in a whole network which may have direct and indirect influences on demand for such services. These other measures include laws and

social norms raising the age at marriage, increase in the availability of abortion services, and measures to increase both educational and job opportunities for women as alternatives to child-bearing. In village life, the influence of decline in infant mortality and improvement in chances of infant survival through improved nutrition and sanitation have important influences on attitudes to family size.

Many of these measures are gradually being incorporated by countries at policy levels. A number of countries are taking their population programs much more seriously. In India for example, the estimated 1971/72 outlay for its family planning program amounts to more than \$80 million. The program is institutionalized and funded almost entirely from domestic resources; external assistance constitutes a marginal input and is preferred in the form of general budget support. Legal measures have been taken to make abortion more readily available; sterilization is a highly popular service offered by the program. The Korean and Singapore programs are in similar stages of development.

Thus, there is evolving in the population field, a whole spectrum of expertise, much of it indigenous to the developing nations themselves. This state of affairs indicates a trend toward a reversal of traditional aid relationships; the population field is entering into a new phase ~~of~~ cooperation among equals, and this implies a reassessment ~~of~~ international development agencies of their own approaches. In countries with significant experience, support tied to specific projects is increasingly unacceptable. But it should also be remembered that in countries further back on the spectrum of sophistication and commitment, much lead time is necessary; a build-up of infrastructure is needed even before large-scale family planning programs can be established. Furthermore, as has been indicated, a range of measures is necessary to influence factors affecting the demand for smaller families; the supply of services by themselves simply will not do the job.

Although the population field is much less sensitive than it was even five years ago, there is still a significant degree of concern that population "solutions" are being imposed on the developing world by the rich nations. This concern can only be dispelled by developing a true dialogue among equal partners: by the recognition on both sides that there is no simplistic "solution"; and by a clear understanding that population considerations are different in each country. Population policies must be developed by each country within its own unique context.

Neglected Priority

There is another major set of considerations frequently overshadowed by the dramatic problems of rapid population growth. What about providing for and managing the population already born? One of the reasons for past neglect of this problem lies in the fact

that the full impact of this population entering the labor force, searching for jobs in the cities, demanding schooling for their children, will not be evident for some years to come. Most planning projections extend only 10 to 15 years into the future, whereas the heaviest population impact can only be expected after 20 or 30 years. Already rapid rates of rural migration to the cities have led to uncontrolled expansion of urban areas and serious problems with human settlement in nearly every developing country. At the same time, industrial policies and the application of technological innovation to agriculture have also influenced migration in an uncontrolled manner and contributed to unemployment problems. In addition, the planner's attention must focus on future demands for education, social services, jobs, and housing. Beyond these basic concerns is the future impact of population growth on administrative structures and political organizations. No country, including the so-called developed ones, has evolved and implemented an overall population policy to include all of these inter-related issues.

Unfortunately, there is no clear strategy which can be universally applied to predictably reduce population growth and control its spatial distribution. Available evidence indicates that the mix of measures used in one country at one level of socio-economic development is not necessarily applicable to another country at a different stage. National planning priorities must include studies and measures to provide for the population already born.

Future Direction for Development Planners

There is no question that much more needs to be done in expanding and improving existing national family planning programs, and to support newly-evolving efforts in countries where national programs do not yet exist. Three key areas need strengthening:

a) Measures must be taken to expand the availability of family planning information and services to all those who may desire them. The goal of universal coverage of target populations is remote at the present time;

b) Innovative measures must be taken to improve and adapt the delivery of family planning information and services to local cultures and traditions, instead of conforming to the "Western" model of clinic-centered delivery to those already motivated;

c) Improved techniques of fertility control including abortion and sterilization techniques, are necessary to increase the effectiveness and acceptability of the means by which couples can control and space their families.

But of high importance also, is the awareness of, and search for other instruments to influence fertility in both rural and urban

settings. It is essential that planners begin to realize the potential demographic impact of all other development measures. For instance, the impact of river valley, and hydro-electric projects, favorites of aid agencies for two decades, has never been analyzed for its effects on internal migration patterns, or on fertility and mortality in the areas benefitting from their out-puts. Analysis of potential demographic costs and benefits should be included at the planning stage in order that undesirable consequences may be dealt with effectively. Similarly, the traditional development strategy emphasizing industrialization concentrated in important urban areas has not been evaluated for its demographic impact. Yet studies show that industrial policies favoring centralization are, and will continue to be, major influences on the rapid and uncontrolled rates of growth of cities in developing countries. Industrial planning must take demographic and environmental consequences into account and should aim at more balanced strategies, with substantial effort to decentralize industrial locations wherever possible.

This is a neglected field of research, and many development decisions are still made in utter ignorance of their potential demographic impacts. Research is necessary to quantify these impacts, and to point the way toward alternative strategies.

Furthermore, aid agencies should seek to "populationize" their participation in the development process by working towards a broader strategy recognizing, on the one hand, the consequences for economic growth goals of continued high rates of population growth, and on the other hand, the inter-relationship between development projects and their demographic consequences.

In this context, CIDA and other development agencies should avoid the pitfall of equating family planning programs with population programs. Factors in family planning, on the supply side, are quite distinct from factors on the demand side, which derive from the stable conditions of traditional society. Adequate recognition should be given to the demographic importance of the range of policy measures referred to above, for their impact on the demand for smaller families. Secondly, since we need to know much more about alternative methods of providing family planning services, research is also necessary, (for which aid resources are frequently highly acceptable) to develop the most cost-effective approaches.

Most important, however, is the necessity to work towards a stronger relationship among countries and development agencies based on equal partnership and cooperation, with a clear recognition that we are all seeking the answers to the problems of population. Simple solutions do not exist, and each country must approach its issues on its own terms.