

POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

IN SELECTED ASIAN COUNTRIES.

by

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D E C L A R A T I O N

Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis

is my own work.

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ABSTRACT.

Since demographic development and the overall development of nations are interdependent, demographic planning has become a key element of development planning in most developing countries. However the extent to which demographic planning is integrated into development planning varies between countries. This study examines the nature of demographic planning in the development planning in Burma, Bangladesh, Malaysia and Thailand. The different demographic conditions in these countries are reflected in their approaches to demographic planning. Burma, with a relatively small population, has given less emphasis to demographic factors in its economic planning than the other three countries.

Chapter I introduces the different approaches to population and development in different societies and economic systems. Chapter II presents the basic demographic data included in most Development Plans. Population problems faced by the different countries are described in Chapter III. The various population policies adopted in each of the countries in their struggle for development are discussed in Chapter IV and V. Finally, in the last Chapter, the study discusses the institutional context of planning and summarises the integration of demographic planning in overall planning in each country.

The actual demographic situation in each country and its relationship to national development are continuously changing. The study identified a range of perspectives on fertility: ranging from that of Burma with a firm non-intervention policy, to overpopulated and strictly anti-natalist Bangladesh, and Thailand, with generally preventive measures, and Malaysia with a currently ambiguous position. There is also variety in spatial distribution; Burma's population distribution has been strongly affected by non-demographic measures although these were not directly instituted for demographic objectives; Bangladesh is at an embryonic stage in implementing distribution policy because it is more concerned with population growth; Thailand in future may concentrate more on distribution than on population growth, where it has been relatively successful, while Malaysia may achieve its desired distribution mainly due to its economic development rather than to specific demographic policies.

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POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING
IN SELECTED ASIAN COUNTRIES

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

1. Aims of the Study

This study examines the integration of population factors in the development planning of Burma, Bangladesh, Thailand and Malaysia, how these plans incorporate population issues into the planning framework and the role of population issues in development planning. As development planning is now paying more consideration to the social well-being of the entire population rather than mere economic growth, population factors are becoming more prominent. Development planning is more centred on aspects of social well-being such as health, education and regional development in accordance with the spatial distribution of population [Lean, 1978 :103; Ridker, 1976; Ware, 1981: 9]. Some countries plan for old age pension schemes and family planning services, which might affect the size of their future population.

The study examines the nature of planning in the different societies of Burma, Bangladesh, Thailand and Malaysia. Planning may be different things for different societies. In some cases planning may not even be intended to be implemented [Stamper, 1977:44]. It may be considered desirable for political reasons to give the impression that planning is being undertaken, to suggest that there is much more planning in a country than there actually is [Hofeten, 1977:103]. The potential for successful implementation also differs between societies. Hence political, cultural and social norms have to be taken into consideration.

The study also looks briefly at the effect of religious values and social norms on the nature of planning with particular reference to population issues. Religion through its ways of thinking and social norms may affect decision making on family size, use of

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contraceptives and other aspects of planning [Wilber and Jameson, 1980: 469]. Religion is particularly important where the majority of population lives in rural areas and is economically and technologically backward [Goulet, 1980 :484]. Such people tend to closely follow traditional religious values and social norms and are often reluctant to participate in modern activities for planning. Different societies may also have different notions on what is good or bad for the individual or the society [Achian and Allen, 1972 : 14] based on their particular religious philosophies. This may have an impact on economic activities. Before considering the relationship between population and development planning, it would be useful to briefly consider the meaning of 'development'.

1.2. Defining Development

Development can mean different things. It can be defined in very broad and general terms. According to Abadalla [1980], the term 'development' has been borrowed from biology, where it can be either good or bad. In Latin the word 'progressio', which is the root idea of 'development' can also mean 'madness', while in Buddhism 'development' can refer to regression as well as progression [Sivaraska, 1980]. Since Third World countries started to try to change the inherited conditions of their economies, a positive value judgement has usually been attached to the term 'development' [Abadalla, 1980; Seers, 1972:22]. The list of 'developing' countries actually differs between the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, but as Ware [1981:7] forthrightly states, basically developed countries are rich whilst developing countries are poor. However these broad aspects of development are not easily measurable.

As a result, development was initially defined in rather narrow and quantitative terms, which are more convenient to measure. Economists have traditionally defined development in terms of the growth of 'Gross National Product' (GNP). The size of G.N.P. alone is a poor indicator of national well-being because a large country by area with a large G.N.P. but a big population might have a smaller

average income than a small country with a lower G.N.P. but also a smaller population. Thus per capita G.N.P., the sum of national income divided by the population, was commonly used to measure development. Until quite recently there was widespread acceptance of this definition [Todaro,1981: 68; Wilber and Jameson, 1980:467].

However, per capita G.N.P. is often not a good indicator of the well-being of the majority of the population. In a country with an unequal distribution of income, a majority of the population may receive income well below the per capita income level. G.N.P. is really an indicator of the potential for economic growth and is not an appropriate measure of social well-being [Tabbarah,1972:68]. Income inequality is influenced by the nature of the government's efforts for development, which are often biased towards urbanisation and industrialisation [Lean, 1978; Radetzki,1973:39-42].

By the late 1960's and early 1970's, some of the more efficient or advanced developing countries had experienced rapid growth in total and per capita G.N.P.. Despite this, the living standard of the majority of people was not improving, while in some areas it was estimated that the poor had become poorer [Lean,1978:97]. Development policies based on the 'trickle down theory' assumed economic growth would automatically trickle down to the poor and living standards for all would increase without any need to pay specific attention to the distribution of the benefits of development [Lean, 1980; Todaro, 1981:68; Lewis, 1981:30]

This realisation caused economists and development theorists to redefine 'development' in order to measure the overall well-being of all, including the poor [Todaro,1981:68]. The new approach that resulted has been recognised as the Basic Needs (Basic Human Needs) approach. Since 1976, it has achieved prominence in many international agencies [Lewis,1981:30; Leipziger,1981:107; Quibria,1982:286].

The Basic Needs approach directly focuses on the overall level of well-being needed to attain the minimum subsistence level of life in such necessities as foods, health, education, and shelter [Ohlin,1978:13]. On the other hand, it does not deny the importance of economic growth and can be said to encompass economic growth with equity [Lewis,1981:29-30; Leipziger,1981;107-136].

In contrast to the earlier approach, the Basic Needs approach does not imply that all countries must follow the patterns of already developed countries and does not suggest concentration only on industrialisation [Ware,1981:10], which has largely benefited only a minority in urban areas. It is more concerned with the poor and with regional development. In order to be consistent with this approach, planning has to include population factors such as the spatial, age, sex and occupational distributions to enable the identification of people who are in need [Crosswell, 1981:3]. Planning may need to encourage internal migration, for example, from areas with high population density and scarce resources to areas of low density with better resources. Regional development in rural areas through health care, better educational facilities and job creation, may be necessary, not only to aid the rural poor, but also to reduce the population problems in large cities [Lean,1978:104-108].

The Basic Needs (Basic Human Needs) approach is particularly appropriate for developing countries with low technology where a majority of the population is unable to meet its basic needs [Ware,1981:10].

1.3. Population and Development Planning

Planning has a number of different meanings [Bornstein,1975:2]. In this study planning refers to national socio-economic planning.

In general terms, national development planning may be described as a systematic and integrated program to bring about a rational utilization of resources, with certain goals and targets set up by the state to be reached in a definite period of time. The state sponsors

the plan and selects the measures and means necessary to achieve the set goals. [Qayum,1975:4-5; United Nations,1973:589-591; Todaro,1981:430].

In order to carry out state planning the human factor, which is one of the main factors of production and progress, must play an important role in development [Macura,1979:153]. Opinions differ on the role played by population in economic development. The argument that population growth has negative effects on development can be traced to Malthusian theory [Malthus,1978,1958ed,7-10]. This view is based on the 'law' of diminishing returns with finite resources. The 'law' of diminishing returns states that when the number of workers is increased, using a fixed amount of capital, beyond a certain limit, a decrease in the output per worker will occur [Hofsten,1977:114-116]. Malthus' Essays were landmarks in population studies and had considerable influence on social policies [Lucas,1980a:27-28].

The alternative view that population growth has positive effects on development suggests that a larger population would produce more output and that high population density would improve technology, especially in agriculture. Boserup [1975:91-94] focuses her argument on agriculture and stated that even rapid population growth can be seen as a positive factor. According to her theory, there always remains unused agricultural technology because it requires more labour and capital than is currently available. An increase in population would lower per capita costs of investments and services in rural areas. The advantages of a larger population are thus larger than the burden of investment, provided that problems of politics and technology can be solved. This argument rests on population density and resources rather than the absolute size of population.

For most of the Third World the common view is that rapid population growth has negative effects on development. Developed societies tend to have low fertility and thus low rates of population increase, while rapid population growth seems to be an obstacle in developing countries. Ridker [1976:3] stated that the most difficult problem in developing countries arises because they cannot achieve

adequate rates of development in the near future, because of rapid population growth. Harari [1978:171] observed that total population growth in developing countries is now increasing five to six times more rapidly than in early Western industrialisation.

As the population factor has become important, Third World economic development planning has to include at least some consideration of population in development plans. As noted above, when development is viewed from the Basic Needs approach to improve the quality of life of the population as a whole, information such as the age-sex distribution and spatial distribution is essential for effective planning.

1.3.1. Centrally planned economies

In centrally planned economies a plan is essential for economic management in order to allocate resources. Planned economies believe that planned management of the economy will ensure development with high growth rates and provide full employment and efficient use of resources. Although in some centrally planned countries there may be some private small-scale industries, farms, and production cooperatives, most of the important enterprises and resources are owned by the government. There is usually a central planning organisation to set national planning goals and to allocate resources in accordance with these [Berri, 1977:11-14; Qayum, 1975:6; Halm, 1968:19]

The First 'economic plan' was formulated by the Soviet Union in presenting its First Five Year Plan in 1928, although the system of planned management of the economy was set up during the first ten years of Soviet government. In the Soviet Union and other communist countries, the former Western type of free enterprise, market economic system was destroyed after the communist revolution and replaced by a state initiated system to operate the economy through planning [Berri, 1977:15-19; Myrdal, 1968:867; Qayum, 1975:1].

In centrally planned economies, the public sector is the decisive factor in the drive for economic and social development. However, although the major resources are owned by the state, planning and the allocation of resources differ between centrally planned countries [Malinvaud, 1976:41; Qayum, 1975:6-7]. For example, Yugoslavia, in which virtually the whole of agriculture is in private hands, does not allocate many resources directly [Tinbergen, 1967:34]. Although countries choose a particular economic system to promote development, this does not mean that they are following the same doctrines.

Burma adopted a fully planned economic system from 1962, in order to achieve development through central planning. Yet in 1982/83 the private sector contributed more than three quarters of total goods production [Burma, 1983: Table-13]. This large private sector has often led to the criticism that the Burmese Socialist economy is not planned [Fenichel and Khan, 1981:813-822]. However, planning is essential for Burma not only because of its socialist nature and to obtain foreign aid but also because of the need to foster rapid development.

1.3.2. Developed capitalist economies

Theoretically planning is not necessary in capitalist countries because the allocation of resources and economic decisions are usually made by the market. Factors of production are privately owned and production takes place at the initiative of private enterprise. Although there was sometimes a substantial amount of state interference and control, this could not be described as national development planning because there were no clearly stated goals and objectives [Bornstein, 1975:19; Halm, 1968:17; Malinvaud, 1976: 43-44].

However, as a result of World War II, some capitalist nations were so destroyed that complete reconstruction of their economies was necessary. Markets were largely destroyed so that the government had to make decisions on the allocation of national resources. Some key industries and non-profitable sectors had to be initiated by the government. Public sectors providing public goods such as health,

education and transportation, expanded considerably after the war. The government also had to direct and organise the allocation of resources in order to reconstruct market institutions. As a result of such interventions by the government, there was also some movement towards planning [Qayum,1975:1-2]. Planning is also increasingly used in market economies to ensure that production is consistent with social needs and not in the sense of reaching state growth objectives and goals [McDonald et al,1982:2-3].

The Marshall Aid Plan, launched in 1948, for the reconstruction of the war damaged developed economies of Western Europe, demanded a plan as a condition of aid. Countries were required to state the purposes of the aid which they sought so it became essential for countries seeking aid to have some economic planning for financial and technical requirements. This practice was adopted by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.) and later continued by the World Bank when it expanded its aid operations to developing countries. This greatly influenced World Bank policies towards developing countries and also made a national economic plan almost a requirement for many international aid programmes. [Qayum,1975:1-2; Little and Clifford,1965:24-50; Adler,1972:39-45].

1.3.3. Developing countries

Developing countries usually need financial and technical assistance from international lending and aid-giving agencies. As noted in the previous section, to fulfill the requirements of policies concerned with aid, developing countries may have to prepare an overall development plan for their aid requirements (See also Robinson,1975:9). For some this may be the main motivation for planning.

Developing countries need to attain rapid economic growth in order to overcome their retarded social and economic development. However, although most are private enterprise economies, their private markets which would normally allocate resources often perform ineffectively and are poorly developed [Lean,1978:100-101]. Thus the

governments of developing countries felt it necessary to have a plan, particularly as planning had been shown to produce rapid economic growth in planned economies and in view of governments' successful role in the reconstruction of Western Europe. The governments of developing countries have consequently expanded the public sector by establishing state owned enterprises and interfered in the allocation of resources by using plans [Myrdal,1968]. This has shown positive effects in many developing countries.

In developing countries, where population growth has usually been regarded as having negative effects, population growth rates remain high so it is necessary to consider the manner in which population growth responds to changes in the indices of economic development. Population growth seems to contribute to economic and social problems [Spengler,1964:164;Davis,1964:210]. Population factors have thus become more prominent in planning, while development itself is essential to improve the living standard of the population. The Basic Needs approach to development applies most strongly in developing countries, with their needs for financial and technical assistance, and where poverty is greater and general problems in population and the economy remain.

1.4. Social Norms and Development

As development or modernization take place they must accord with religious values and social norms or else the process cannot be stable and may even be an obstacle for development [Wilber and Jameson,1980:467]. Religion can be seen as a belief system and concept upon which human behaviour and social norms are based [Mehden, 1980:545]. In particular, religion often reflects differentials of education, occupation, income, urban/rural residence and other social activities. Religion can affect fertility through doctrines or ideology on family norms and the practice of contraception [Lucas,1980b:83]. According to Immerwahr [1977:187] some social characteristics that bear on fertility, such as tradition and custom are based on religion, though usually these are called cultural

characteristics. Although the relationship between development and religion is not clearly defined, the tangible impact of religion on development can be seen in Iran [Wilber and Jameson, 1980:468].

Traditional values usually include a rich religious content, which can have a positive effect on development depending upon how the problems have been solved and directed. The traditional values can become a driving force for desired development [Goulet, 1980:487; Lissak, 1976:48]. It is important to convince a society, especially where traditional or religious values are strong, that there are laws and customs that need to change in order to promote development [National Academy of Sciences, 1974 :75]. The successes of planning depends partly on the degree of participation by the people and their initiative. Some evidence indicates that the poor often do not participate in national plans unless they can see direct personal benefit in them [Myrdal, 1968:891-892; Ridker, 1976:4-5]. The Basic Needs approach makes it easier for traditional and religious values to be developed, because basic needs are usually religiously acceptable things rather than developed country patterns, which usually are accompanied by unaccustomed ideas and concepts [Lissak, 1976:48].

Buddhism has long played a major role in Burma, Thailand and other Asian countries, while Islam is the major religion and belief system for Bangladesh, Malaysia and the rest of the Muslim World. Buddhism has been criticized as uncondusive to modernization due to such aspects on merit making and the avoidance of taking life of animals because these tend to reduce capital accumulation and saving [Pfanner and Ingersoll, 1962:356-359; Maung, 1971:101]. (In simple terms merit making is understood to mean "do good, receive good and do bad receive bad", or may also be seen as a kind of investment for the future.) Buddhism does not demand blind faith from its adherents. In Buddhism confidence based on knowledge should be substituted for mere belief [Narada, 1981]. This may be one of the reasons why the literacy rate is relatively higher than in neighbouring non-Buddhist countries and there is little constraint on the adoption of technical knowledge. With regard to family planning as there is no supreme authority limiting a person's knowledge, usage of contraceptives depends on

individual concepts. In general, Buddhism has no position regarding contraceptives.

Economists such as Schumacher [1973:50] stress the concept of righteous living as part of Buddhist economics, where wealth is not denied although attachment to wealth is assumed to stand in the way of spiritual liberation. Buddhism by itself is a purely private matter, but according to Wilber and Jameson [1980:471] it can aid development. On the other hand Lissak [1976:209] found that "like the Burmese peasants, the Thai peasants also did not exploit the opportunities which became available ...[and]... the local and national elites of Thailand did not show any willingness to indulge in economic entrepreneurship at the beginning of the twentieth century". This may be because exploitation of human beings is always unacceptable in Buddhism. One of the duties of leadership, from the village-head up to the king, is to maintain social justice without discrimination. In Buddhist societies, the relatively high degree of social, economic and sexual equality, may to some extent be due to religion [Myrdal, 1968:753; Hall, 1911:189-190].

Of the two Buddhist countries studied, Burma has a planned economy while Thailand, which was never colonised has relied more on a market economy [Lissak, 1976]. There are numerous reasons why Burma embarked on this particular course of economic planning, but according to Maung [1971:85-86] the decision was based on its experience of colonisation and the failure of Parliamentary Democracy to maintain social justice and the unity of the country.

Especially in Buddhist societies, advancing the standard of living depends on a strategy of organising the people to recognise that the new way of living is socially good [Jacobson, 1966:49]. Although Buddhism is associated with community actions in merit making, this is not usually related to monetary activities. The basic principle of Buddhism is individual freedom so it is difficult to persuade the people to cooperate in mere monetary activities.

In contrast, religion has played a greater role in Islamic countries, almost all of which have declared Islam to be the state religion [Ragab,1980:520]. Many have tried to provide Islamic penal and economic laws. [Qureshi,1980 :563-573]. Islam is more in favour of collectivism than are Buddhist societies. Islamic societies seem to be in a better position to implement planning than Buddhist societies where individualism makes it difficult to organise and obtain co-operation. [Mehden,1980:546; Maung,1971:154]. In spite of this, although most Islamic governments are in favour of family planning, Muslim fertility is almost universally high [Mas,1980b:84-85]. Moreover, the authority for Moslems, the Quran, makes no prohibition on birth control and method of contraception. Immerwahr [1977:190], noting this, argued that a more important factor in Muslim fertility levels must be the greater degree of male dominance and female subservience in Moslem culture although Kidwai [1978:10] considered that Islam is the only religion that conceded the right, dignity and equality of women.

1.5. The Nature of Planning in the Four Different Countries

The major common feature of the countries studied is the primacy given to centralised socio-economic development planning. In Malaysia and Thailand this is based in the Prime Minister's office; in Bangladesh in the Ministry of Planning; and in Burma in the Ministry of Planning and Finance, which is in the Deputy Prime Minister's office. At present Bangladesh is in the Second Five Year 1980-85 Plan Period; Burma the Fourth Four Year Plan period 1983/84-87/88; Thailand the Fifth Five Year Plan period 1982-86; and Malaysia the Fourth Four Year Plan period 1981-85. Generally medium term plans are approved by cabinet and implemented through annual budgets. Only Burma has regular annual plans, although Bangladesh acknowledged the need for Annual Development Programmes and has suggested that plans be prepared annually. The institutional structure for population planning is part of the Development Plans but is often laid down for the long term. As a result it is not easy to integrate population into short term planning horizons because of the slow nature of

population changes.

Burma formulated a 20 year Long Term Plan to double its standard of living in the Plan period and to achieve proportionate regional development to reduce the existing gaps in living standards between regions. The Long Term Plan is segmented into five four year plans and each of the Four Year Plan is also segmented into annual plans. [The First Four Year Plan commenced from 1-10-71 and ended in 31-3-74 to accordance with the existence of Pyithu Hluttaw (The People's Assembly); and the Long Term Plan was adjusted from 1-4-74 to 31-3-94]. Besides the 20 Year Long Term Plan and Medium Term Plans, annual plans must be submitted to the Pyithu Hluttaw. Annual Plans are formulated by negotiations between the upper and lower echelons of the planning hierarchy but it is the responsibility of the Ministries concerned to implement sectoral plans, and the responsibility of the regional authorities concerned to implement regional plans. There were shortfalls in earlier plans partly due to lack of planning experience and weakness in organisations but also because of the long gestation period for investment. Since 1976-77 implementation has been more successful. Population data are mainly used for manpower planning and estimates of the demand for various goods and services. Since population is not seen as a specific problem and demographic aspects of other development problems are not emphasised there exists no specific machinery for population planning. In this Burma contrasts with the other three countries of this study.

Bangladesh is now in its Second Five Year Plan Period, but has only published the draft plan. As a war ravaged economy the First Five Year Plan 1973-78 was prepared to direct the economy. Its major objectives were reconstruction of the war torn economy, reduction of poverty and achieving social justice [1.7]. After the First Five Year Plan 1973-78, a Two Year Plan 1978-80 emphasised completion of on-going projects. The Second Five Year Plan 1980-85 defined its objectives as: improvement in the standard of living by ensuring adequate supplies of the basic needs; reducing the rate of population growth; a more equitable distribution of income, resources and

opportunities for better social justice and other economic measures [Bangladesh,1980:2.1]. Bangladesh created a powerful planning machinery to guide the economy. About four-fifths of the organised capital was put under public control [1.72], and a Planning Commission was entrusted with the functions of preparing annual, five-year and perspective plans as well as formulating policies for the implementation of the plans. The Commission also determined external aid requirements and negotiates aid with foreign countries. The Planning Commission plays a key role in the in the technical and economic evaluation of development projects [Bangladesh,1973:74]. However there is weakness in respect of both planning and programming processes and inefficient allocation of resources [Bangladesh,1980:para1.73]. For example, some projects are committed to aid before they are available to the Planning Commission. Bangladesh proposed in the current plan to set up a policy Co-ordination Committee in the Planning Commission with the Minister for Planning as Chairman [para11.16]. The Planning process in Bangladesh can be seen as being in the earlier stages of development. Only in 1981, Bangladesh established a Population and Development Planning Unit within the Socio-Economic Infrastructure Division of the Planning Commission [Jones,1982b:34].

Thailand first embarked on economic and social development planning in 1961. The Development Plans drawn up formed guidelines for the mobilization and allocation of economic, financial and manpower resources, and the development of public administration. During the past 20 years 1961-81 the government has drawn up four consecutive National Economic and Social Development Plans and has achieved an impressive economic growth and diversification in nearly all sectors when compared with other developing countries. In the current Plan, Thailand plans to be transformed into a semi-industrialised country and economic activities will be dispersed to the provincial and rural areas [Thailand,1981a:1]. Thailand's national economic policies are formulated both from top down and bottom up, where proposals are made by officers of policy agencies and the policies are formulated by the government. Since the National

Economic and Social Development Board, the Bureau of the Budget and the Civil Service Commission have their own statutory authority and operate independently of each other, Thailand found that programmes and projects had often been inconsistent with one another. In 1981, the cabinet passed a resolution requiring various ministries to present all development programmes and projects to the office of the National Economic and Social Development Board for appraisal and submission to the cabinet for approval. A Population Planning Sector was established within the Population and Manpower Planning Division of the National Economic and Social Development Board [Thailand, 1981b:83-89].

At present Malaysia is implementing the Fourth Malaysian Plan 1981-85, in the second decade of the Outline Perspective Plan 1971-90 [Malaysia, 1981:1], although the First Four Year Plan actually began 1966-70. The Planning Machinery comprises the Economic Planning Unit [EPU] and the General Planning and Socio-economic Research Unit [GPU] in the Prime Minister's Department and planning cells in various strategic agencies and ministries [Malaysia, 1976:para 812]. Statistical information needed for planning is provided by the Department of Statistics. The EPU is responsible to the National Development Planning Committee [NDPC], an inter-agency committee comprising the civil service heads of all major economic development Ministries and chaired by the Chief Secretary to the Government. The NDPC in turn reports to the National Economic Council [NEC] - a committee of the Federal Cabinet [para812]. At state level are State Planning Units under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister of the state [para814]. The Implementation and Co-ordination Unit [ICU] was established within the Prime Minister's Department to ensure the co-ordination and implementation at the national and inter-departmental levels [para820]. In Malaysia population planning takes place both within the Economic Planning Unit (which has a small Population unit) and in the National Family Planning Board although the latter seems to be more an implementing than a planning body.

1.6. Problems of Comparison

This study examines development planning in different societies with different economic systems and different types of economic, social and demographic development. The economic system is becoming so complex, that it is possible to argue that there are only mixed economic systems in practice [Todaro,1971:2]. In planned economies, the degree of centralisation differs from country to country and from time to time. In some centrally planned economies, a degree of decentralisation has taken place while in some capitalist countries government intervention has increased and the role of public enterprises has expanded. The assumption in centrally planned economies that the state owns the resources and has the power to control the market [Berri,1977; Halm,1968; Qayum:1975] is questionable.

Religion is no less complex than the economic system. There are close linkages between the belief system and the social system, particularly in traditional societies. Moreover some societies have tried to incorporate the economic system into the religion [Qureshi,1980:569; Ragab,1980]. This study focuses only on the effect of religion in relation to population and development planning but it is difficult to clearly determine this effect.

1.7. Conclusion

To varying degrees, both planned and free enterprise developing countries have adopted planning in order to meet aid requirements and to achieve more rapid economic growth. Population planning is an important element of general planning because population growth is seen as an obstacle to growth and because the Basic Needs approach to development, and an emphasis on distribution issues, demands demographic data and planning as a means of achieving these goals. In population planning, which touches on sensitive personal matters, the role of religious and cultural values is important although not easily distinguishable.

CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING2.1. Introduction: Demographic Data Requirements for Planning

As developing countries are in urgent need of high rates of economic growth partly because of rapid population growth, demographic data have become more prominent in development planning [United Nations, 1973:5-6; Cheong and Lim, 1982:1]. Even when a country favours a larger population, the extra numbers must be fed, clothed, given medical attention, schooling and many other services [United Nations, 1978:13-14]. Demographic data are necessary to plan these services.

Where population growth rates are excessive, anti-natalist population policies may be necessary to ensure long run, socio-economic development. Demographic data on rates of population growth, marital status, fertility, and birth parity are necessary both for the design of effective family planning programmes and to monitor their impact [Ohlin, 1978:24-25]. The workforce comprises one of the main factors of production so manpower planning is a key element of development planning. Demographic data are essential for such planning [Macura, 1979:143]. Education (both formal and informal) in developing countries is an important aspect of manpower planning. Data on age, socio-economic, employment and educational status are needed to plan effectively for the provision of education [Colclough, 1978:150].

Where development is viewed from a Basic Needs approach development planning requires demographic data to help identify needs and groups in need in order to effectively plan programmes to reduce disparities between regions, sectors and social classes. In all societies public goods such as health, education, transportation and communication must be provided and effective planning for the

provision of these services has to be based upon information on the age-sex composition and distribution of the population [Macura, 1979:143].

In order to produce an effective development plan a wide range of demographic data are required. The size, growth, composition and distribution of the population are basic determinants of the consumption, production and employment characteristics of an economy. Knowledge about those will be required in all sectoral plans [McDonald et al, 1982:chapter 1]. This may be in the form of profiles of components such as children of school-age, the working-age population, old-age groups, and urban and rural residents. Projections of such segments of the population can provide the basis for estimates of future development. Numbers of children can be used to estimate the future need for schools and teachers, while numbers in different age groups will indicate the demand for job creation and the need for health facilities and personnel [Conde, 1978 ;Holacher et al, 1981:216]. Section 2.2 to 2.7 of this chapter identify the major items of demographic data required for planning in developing countries and examine existing data sources for these in the four countries studied. The basic demographic data included in the Development Plans of the four countries are stated in Table 2.1.

2.2. Estimates of Fertility

Fertility is the most decisive factor in determining future population growth in conditions where international migration is usually restricted and where mortality rates are generally declining [Coale, 1972]. Fertility has also been the centre of studies in which economists and demographers have looked for the key to the relationship between population and development [United Nations, 1981a:76 ;Corner, 1982a:12]. Viewed from a broad perspective, [Mauldin and Berelson, 1978:90] fertility can be considered a function of both demand and supply factors. Demand can be seen as the effect of development and its component elements upon fertility, while supply represents the effect of government efforts such as family planning programmes. Although the role of population growth may differ between

countries, the fertility rate is the factor that largely determines the overall structure of the population.

Not only the size of population but also its composition is influenced by fertility. Depending upon the particular population problems and pressures in a country, development planners may choose a policy to achieve lower or higher fertility. In some countries fertility by itself may not be directly important in development planning other than as a basic item of demographic data determining other characteristics of the population. However in others it receives more emphasis because population growth rates are too high and the country needs to reduce its fertility rate. In countries such as China and India, or in small island states such as Singapore, the absolute size of the population is of concern.

Due to their high population densities and past experience of high population growth rates, Bangladesh and Thailand have chosen to try to reduce their fertility rates. Bangladesh, with a crude birth rate in the 1973-78 Plan of 47 per thousand [Bangladesh, 1973:497], aimed to reduce this rate from 43.25 per thousand in 1980 to 31.6 per thousand by 1985 [Bangladesh, 1980:27-32]. Similarly Thailand, although having a relatively lower birth rate of 28.4 per thousand in 1981, set a goal of 22.9 per thousand by 1986. During the past 20 years the Thai population had increased rapidly at a rate of more than 3 per cent per annum [Thailand, 1981a:175].

Based on urban vital statistics, Burma's crude birth rates declined from 38 per thousand in 1972 to 28.5 per thousand in 1982 [Burma, 1983: Table-147]. In the absence of an official family planning programme, Nyunt [1978:100,114] found that Burmese fertility rates had already declined to 34.7 per thousand in 1974. She predicted the decline would continue [Nyunt, 1978:97-115]. However the birth rates for the whole nation are probably much higher than the urban birth rates, as the majority of the population are residing in rural areas. Generally Burma has no objection to an increase or reduction in its birth rates. To the Fourth United Nations Inquiry it

replied that policy options on intervention were not appropriate [United Nations, 1980b:Table-39,35].

Peninsular Malaysia's crude birth rate experienced a relative decline from 33.9 in 1970 to 28.9 in 1980 [Malaysia, 1981:para192]. In Malaysia the government is somewhat ambivalent. The National Family Planning Board [NFPB], a government body, has adopted a low key approach to family planning with the emphasis on family welfare rather than on fertility reduction. Note that all references to the NFPB in the Fourth Malaysian Plan [1981-85] occur in reference to "population health" [para 1064-1093]. A recent statement by the Prime Minister indicating the economic desirability of a larger population (70 million was the figure mentioned) has thrown the whole question of government policy on fertility control open again [PDR, 1983: 389].

2.3. Estimates of Mortality, Morbidity and Health

Mortality data are essential for purposes of demographic analysis and for health planning, as well as for the measurement of population growth and changes in structure. Data on the regional distribution of mortality enables health authorities to determine the need to improve regional health levels and to reduce mortality. Since mortality varies with the characteristics of the community and the physical environment, planners have to consider differentials in mortality. Mortality data are thus essential to allow planners to improve the health situation and standard of living, and all the countries studied have included mortality data in their plans, even though they are sometimes of dubious quality [Stamper, 1977:17; Atchley, 1969:36]. Data on mortality and health services are shown in Table 2.2.

All the countries studied have aimed to improve health, especially in reducing communicable diseases. In Bangladesh 'health for all by 2000 A.D.' has been accepted by the Government as the national objective. Thailand, admitting that the system of public health administration in the past was oriented towards a top down approach [Thailand, 1981a:212], recognised in the Fifth Plan [1982-86] the need for a coordinating agency to collect and analyze data and

information on public health problems in order to present more effective policies(pp213). Except for Malaysia, all the countries studied explicitly recognised the existing inefficiency of health care distribution.

Bangladesh however, also took into account its aspirations for fertility control when setting its target for control of communicable diseases and training of health manpower at all levels. A large proportion of mortality and morbidity is due to communicable diseases and there is a relationship between high mortality, especially of children, and high fertility although the precise nature of the relationship is not clear. This particularly emphasises the lack of health facilities and personnel in rural areas, where both fertility and mortality are high. In its 1980-85 Development Plan Bangladesh expects that mortality and morbidity will be reduced to a greater extent by the year 1985; the death rate falling from 16.75 per thousand to 13.75 per thousand, the infant mortality rate from 150 per thousand to 100 per thousand and the maternal mortality rate from 30 per thousand to 15 per thousand live births, and life expectancy at birth rising from 47 to 52 years for both sexes [Bangladesh,1980:17.56].

Although Burma does not present health data on rural and urban differences, it noted the need to reduce the differences of health accessibility between rural and urban areas. The vital statistic data are poor and often lacking entirely for rural areas. The available vital statistics covered only 87.7 per cent of the total urban population. The urban crude death rate showed a slight decrease from 11.6 per thousand in 1968 to 8.6 per thousand in 1978 [Vital Statistics Report, 1982:1]. Adjusted data showed as 12.9 and 10.1 for the same period in the Annual Plan [Burma,1982: Table142]. The crude death rates of Burma are higher than those of Malaysia and Thailand. The 1983-84 Plan shows an overall improvement in health status. Measures taken included expanding cooperative clinics and indigenous medical units. (Under the cooperative schemes, cooperative societies can obtain loans and assistance from the government). The village tract clinics operate independently and primary health care centres

have also been launched. [Burma, 1983:212-214].

Thailand estimated its crude death rate as 7.7 per thousand in 1981, compared with 5.4 per thousand population in 1977. These figures were taken from the vital registration statistics which have been criticised as being incomplete. (The figures seem rather low.) The doctors to population ratio and nurses to population ratio was for 1969, although the previous Development Plan 1977-81 provided more recent figures which appear to be for 1977. [Thailand, 1981a:211-212; 1977:252].

Malaysian data show an improvement in health and overall status [Malaysia, 1980:para248]. Because the data on mortality and morbidity are not accurate for East Malaysia, statistics given relate to West Malaysia which contains 83.1 per cent of the total population [Malaysia, 1981:para 190, 191]. (Note that sharp differences in the level of development exist between East and West Malaysia.)

The inaccuracy of developing countries' data is well known [Lucas, 1980d:11], and the distribution of health personnel is also highly inefficient. Usually mortality and morbidity statistics are closely related to recording by health personnel. Although vital events are supposed to be registered most rural people do not bother, especially in cases like infant death where sometimes neither the birth nor death are reported. Lack of health personnel also results in misrecording the cause of death. Thus differences exist in estimates of births and deaths between vital registrations and censuses. (The accuracy and adequacy of censuses in developing countries can also be questioned. Even for countries that are relatively developed and improving their technology such as Thailand, Luther [1983] has shown a decline in coverage of developing countries latest censuses.)

2.4. The Rate of Population Growth

The rate at which the population is increasing is of great national importance, and was included in all the Development Plans studied. In their current Plans Bangladesh and Thailand have derived the growth rates from the difference between the crude birth and death rates, assuming net migration to be negligible (Thailand does not count recent refugees in the Census [Thailand, 1980:13]). Bangladesh estimated its growth rate as 2.6 per cent in 1979-80 and Thailand 2.1 per cent in 1981. If measured in this way, the growth rate suffers all the weaknesses of the crude birth and death rates, particularly those associated with varying age distribution [Pollard et al, 1974:82; Stamper, 1977:9-14]. For example, a population with a large reproductive age group generally has a high growth rate, whilst a population with fewer people in the reproductive age group may have a lower growth rate because of lower birth and higher death rates. Thus the weakness in data on births and deaths would add to the inaccuracy of crude rates. However the rate of natural increase is sometimes useful in the absence of more accurate data.

Although Burma and Malaysia have given the crude birth and death rates for only part of their countries they have not used the crude rate of natural increase as the measure of growth. Burma estimated its growth rate as 2.3 per cent in 1982-83, while the crude birth and death rates were derived from urban vital statistics [Burma, 1983: 228]. However the advanced release of the population census has shown the average annual increase as 2.02 per cent during 1973-83 [W.P.D., 1983: 29 October]. According to a Departmental Report the growth rate 2.3 per cent was used in official circles, and yearly adjustments were made from information from the annual report of Population Registration [Demographic Report (no date)]. However no information as to how this rate was calculated was available.

In the Fourth Malaysian Plan [1981-85] the average annual growth rate is estimated at 2.8 per cent for the whole nation during 1971-80 [para 189]. The growth rate is presumably based on indirect methods using 1970 Population Census and perhaps some vital statistics

(personal communication from Dr Gavin Jones). Crude rates are given only for Peninsular Malaysia which showed an average annual rate of increase of 2.6 per cent during the same period. The relative natural increase for Peninsular Malaysia, calculated from the crude birth and death rates, was 2.66 in 1970 and 2.29 in 1980. Recent data on life expectancy at birth for Sabah and Sarawak are not available. [Malaysia, 1981:para 191:192].

2.5. Population Estimates and Projections

Population projections are essentially concerned with the future growth of the population. They may be prepared for the future population, for regional populations or for residence classes, such as urban/rural populations. The essential data from which projections are made are age and sex distributions [Hofsten, 1977:103; United Nations, 1973:591]. Although population projection is very important in order to provide for future needs, Stamper [1977:18] stated that 'they have not been salient features of development planning documents'. However in this study a population projection is defined very broadly; any estimated component of the future size of the population is treated as being a population projection.

TABLE 2.1

Demographic Data Included in Development Plans

(Population in thousand)

Country	Plan Period	Rate of Population Growth	Crude Birth Rate	Crude Death Rate	Crude: Projection of Future Population Size	Estimate of Current School-age Population	Projection of Future School-age Population	Estimate of Current working-age Population	Projection of Future Working-age Population	Estimate of Current Labour Force	Projection of Future Labour Force	Percentage of Agricultural Labour Force	Proportion of Children under 15
		(a)	(b)	(b)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(d)	(d)	(e)	(e)	(e)	(f)
Bangladesh	1973-78	3.0	47	17	85,400	27,131	23,080			25,950	29,930	76.32	50
	1980-85	2.7	43.25	16.75	100,785	24,400	26,174			28,430	32,250	79	(48.1)
Burma	1979-80	2.24	28.3	10.1	33,313			17,433	17,839	12,935		64.6	40.44
	1980-81	2.27	26.8	10.2	34,083			17,839	18,258	13,208		64.5	40.36
	1981-82	2.31	27.2	9.9	34,882			18,258	18,693	13,515		64.2	40.27
	1982-83	2.34	28.3	9.2	35,684			18,693	19,125	13,790		64.2	40.20
Malaysia	1983-84	2.30	28.5	9.2	36,505			19,129	19,575	14,185		63.6	40.16
	1976-80	2.9	*	*	13,976	3,479	3,668	6,665	7,895	4,225	4,973	49.3	42.0
Thailand	1980-85	2.8	28.9	6.0	16,179	3,733	4,019	8,104	9,314	5,380	6,259	40.6	39.5
	1977-81	2.6	34.5	9.0	48,179	17,528		24,578	28,986	19,211	21,601	75	43
	1982-86	2.1	28.4	7.7	52,094	23,298	24,991	16,279	19,267	23,810	27,596	71.3	41.23

SOURCES: Development Plans.
(See notes attached).

NOTES: (a) The Malaysian Plans show growth rates for the previous plan periods.

(b) Crude Birth and Death Rates (around the beginning of the Plan Period). The Burmese Plans are based on incomplete urban vital statistics.

The 1976-80 Malaysian Plan gives a TFR of 4.47 and estimates of e_0 (See Table 2.2 below).

(c) School-Age Population.

The 1973-78 Bangladesh school age population is based on ages 6-19 in 1972-73. 1980-85 does not state the ages. The Bangladesh Plans projected only for primary and secondary school-age population. The Malaysian Plans refer to the school age population for Peninsular Malaysia only. For the 1977-81 Thailand Plan the estimate is based on 7.8 million students representing about 44.5% of the population in 1975. For the 1982-86 Plan, the age group 5-25 is used.

(d) Working Age Population - For Thailand the 1977-81 working age population refers to persons aged 15 and over, and the 1982-86 Plan to ages 26-64.

(e) Percentage Agricultural Labour Force - The 1977-81 Thailand Plan refers to the year 1973.

(f) Dependency Ratio - The 1973-78 Bangladesh, ratio is based on nearly half were under age 15. The 1980-85 Bangladesh Plan did not give the proportion, but stated as unfavourable (data from 1980 Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh (1981a:Table 17.12) is substituted). The 1982-86 Thailand Plan is based on 19.38 million age 0-14 at present.

TABLE 2.2

Mortality and Health Data

Country	Plan Period	Reference Year	Doctors	Hospital Beds	Nurses	Life Expectancy		Crude Death Rate	Infant Mortality Rate
						Male	Female		
Bangladesh	1973-78	1973	1	1.57	0.09 ^a			17	140
	1980-85	1980	1.19	2.56	0.19 ^b		47	16.75	150
Burma	1978-79	1977/78	1.82	7.20	1.28				
	1979-80	1978/79	1.93	7.16	1.29				
	1980-81	1979/80	2.05	7.12	1.3				
	1981-82	1980/81	2.15	7.16	1.3				
	1982-83	1981/82	2.25	7.25	1.24				
	1983-84	1982/83	2.35	7.29	1.29				
" Urban	"	1971				55.9	59.1	11.4	58.1
" "	"	1978				59.3	64.0	10.4	50.8
" "	"	1982						9.2	48.6
Malaysia	1976-80	1975	2.30	15.9					
" Peninsula	"	"	2.5	16.6		61.6	64.9		
Malaysia	1981-85	1980	2.31	15.9					
" Peninsula	"	"	2.53	15.8		68	72	6	28.1
Thailand	1977-81	1977	1.48	15.63	6.99			9	
" Urban	"	"	6.17 ^c	66.66 ^d					
" Rural	"	"	0.32 ^c	11.11 ^d					
" Bangkok	1982-86	1981		18.95 ^e					
" Others	"	"		7.55 ^e		58	63.8	7.7	
" Bangkok	"	1969	8.33	-	17.73				
" Others	"	"	0.59	-	1.82				

SOURCES: Development Plans.

NOTES: (a) Based on 700 nurses (Bangladesh, 1973:501).

(b) Based on 1780 nurses (Bangladesh, 1980: Table 17.6 (ii)).

(c) Based on number of physicians to the size of population size in the central region is 1:1621 persons and 1:30,863 in rural areas.

(d) Based on hospital beds to the number of population 1:150 in urban, and 1:900 in rural areas. (Thailand, 1977:252).

(e) Based on total hospital beds 10,137, population 5,350,000 in Bangkok Metropolis and 31,813 for others (Thailand, 1981a: 211; 1981b: Table 4).

2.5.1. Future size of population

As is usual nowadays, all the countries studied have given population projections in their Development Plans. Some produce sets of projections, updating the figures from time to time, taking account of the rapidity with which the demographic situation is changing [Shyrock and Seigel, 1976:440]. Thailand had projected that its population would be more than 48 million by 1981 in its 1977-81 Development Plans, but has revised its population to 43 million in 1981 for future projections [Thailand, 1981b:Table 1]. Having achieved its target of reducing the population growth rate in the past, Thailand estimated that its population would be 52 million in 1986. The assumption was made that the growth rate would decline from 2.1 in 1981 to 1.5 per cent in 1986. Projections by sex and age group were made for the whole kingdom as well as for regions [Thailand, 1981a:306].

In contrast, Bangladesh, although not having realised any decrease in its growth rate used three sets of assumptions based on reductions in the growth rate. Bangladesh projected its aggregate population, by urban/rural and sex distribution, based on a drastic reduction of the N.R.R. to 1 by 1990, which is obviously unrealistic and will be discussed in section 4.2.1. Other assumptions were also based on moderate and substantial reductions in fertility. The moderate reduction of fertility assumed a N.R.R. of 1 beyond 2000; the substantial reduction of fertility assumed a N.R.R. of 1 by 2000 [Bangladesh, 1980:17.27].

Burma based its projection on broad age groups by sex. It is expected that the population will increase at 2.3 per cent per annum. Although no sources and method of estimation were given, in accordance with the declining (urban) fertility noted above, it projected that the younger age group growth rate was lower than that of the older age groups [Burma, 1982:Table-3, pp13]. The 1973 Census recorded the 0-14 year age group as 41.5 per cent of the total population. However, the slight decrease could still be caused by changes of accuracy, even though there is also a slight decrease in urban birth rates.

Malaysia estimated its population would increase by 2.6 per cent per annum during 1980-1985 while Peninsular Malaysia anticipated an increase of 2.4 per cent per annum in the same period. The growth rate for East Malaysia was estimated as 3.2 per cent per annum. The Malaysian Plan projected that the population of 14 million would be over 16 million by 1985. Malaysia provides projections to 1985 for population, age structure, and others. All were given for the whole of Malaysia except school age population which was for Peninsular Malaysia only [Malaysia, 1981:Chapter XII].

Although methods of estimation were not given in the Development Plans, the different growth rates in age groups, sex, and regions implied that they were being projected by the component method. The component method usually involves separate projection of fertility, mortality, and other changes, and makes explicit assumptions about each of these different components [Shyrock and Siegel, 1976 :439-675]. For example, Thailand has projected that its 0 to 4 age group population would decrease by 1 per cent annually during the Plan period 1981 to 1986 [Thailand, 1981a:177].

Projections are also made for various social and economic subgroups of the population and for other demographic aggregates. The required data for such projections usually include educational and economic characteristics, and social aggregates of the population [United Nations, 1973: 591].

2.5.2. Estimates of School-age population

Planning in education is based on the current school-age population, and does not rely on estimates of overall population growth. However, when the fertility rate is not declining as rapidly as the child mortality rate, school enrolment ratios tend to increase. In order to improve the quality of the future population, the expansion of schools and training of teachers also needs to be taken into consideration [Stamper, 1977: 20-21]. All developing countries under study aim at providing a universal primary education.

Bangladesh estimated its school-age population for ages 6 to 19 years, using 6 to 10 and 11 to 15 for primary and secondary level respectively, and 16 to 19 for higher education. The projections were made for both primary and secondary school age populations. The introduction of universal primary education was an objective of the Second Five Year Plan [1980-85] and it was expected that the primary school enrolment ratio would increase from nearly 64 per cent in 1981 to 91 per cent in 1985 and the secondary enrolment ratio from 18.63 to 20.88 per cent during the same period [Bangladesh, 1980; para 16.28, Table 16.4 and Table 16.6].

Although Burma gives the actual number of students and their progress in each stage of education it does not state the school-age population or provide a projection in its annual plans. In general, children in Burma attend primary school when aged from 5 to 9 years, and secondary school when aged 10 to 14 years. In the 1973 Census the numbers in these age groups were 937,935 and 834,106 respectively [Burma, 1973: Table 4]. The enrolment ratios have been estimated at 91 per cent and 14 per cent in 1980 for primary and secondary school-age respectively, but there was no breakdown by age groups [Asian Development Bank: Key Indicators, 1982]. (Four Year Plans which were restricted to official use at the time of writing, have included school age population and enrolment ratio in detail estimates and projections for the Plan periods.)

Thailand estimated and projected its school-age children from ages 5 to 25 years for the period 1981 up to 1986 [Thailand, 1981a: Table 2.2, 2.3]. In its target for the Production of Students and Graduates in each type of education, projections were made for ages 4 to 23. It has stated that primary education will be expanded to cover all people in the relevant age group and it is estimated that 97 per cent of the age group 6 to 11 would be in primary school by 1986 [Table 3.1.].

Malaysia has given its school-age population as ages 6 to 18 years. (6 to 11 years for primary; 12 to 14 years for lower secondary; 15 to 16 years for upper secondary and 17 to 18 years for

post secondary.) For Peninsular Malaysia it was expected that the school-age population would increase from 3.7 million in 1980 to about 4 million by 1985. The total school enrolment ratio was projected to increase from 69 per cent in 1980 to about 74 per cent by 1985, although the ratio for primary school enrolment would remain at 96 per cent [Malaysia,1981:para548].

2.5.3. Estimates of Labourforce and Working-age population

The manpower of a nation is the totality of persons who could produce goods and services. This would exclude the youngest and oldest age groups and physically and mentally incapable persons. The economically active population or the labour force is that part of the manpower of the nation which is actually engaged, or attempts to be engaged, in the production of economic goods and services. There are a variety of procedures that determine who is engaged in the labour force and the definition may change over time [Shyrock and Siegel, 1976:191-192; Pollard et al, 1974:21].

Although the labour force can be relatively easily defined in industrialised countries it is a complicated problem in non-industrialised countries, where most activities may not fit into conventional (western) classifications. However, the distribution of sectoral activities would indicate at least the potential for future manpower development and the needs for planning in each sector [Harrari,1978:104:170; Ohlin,1978:22]. Thus all countries under study have given some form of estimates and projections.

Working age population is the main component of labour force estimation. The Burmese Plan defined working age as between 15 and 60 years (the age of retirement in the modern sector) [Burma,1982:13], and has given the aggregate for both sexes. It has also given the total active labour force engaged in each sector [Burma,1983: Table-3]

Bangladesh has not given information on its working-age population in the Development Plan. It published estimates and projections of total labour force by sex and urban/rural distribution. Despite a surplus of labour force, there were shortages in semi-skilled and skilled labour [Bangladesh,1980:para 18.33-34]. The previous Plan(1973-78) had estimates and projections of total labour force, agricultural labour force, agricultural employment, unemployment and underemployment [Bangladesh,1973:187].

Thailand differed, stating its working age population as the age group 26 to 64 years, while the school-age population was up to 25 years. However, in its previous plan 1977-81 it calculated the labour force from age 15 years and above but admitted the data could be inaccurate [Thailand,1977:97,118]. In the 1982-86 Plan the labour force was given separately and was larger than the working age population [Thailand,1981a: 177:351]. The difference was caused by the definition of working-age population which would considerably reduce the labour force aged 15 to 25 years.

Malaysia has shown its working-age group only in aggregate for ages between 15 and 65 years. It assumed that the growth rate was 2.8 per cent for the working-age population and expected that the proportion would increase from 56.8 in 1980 to 57.6 by 1985 [Malaysia,1980:Table 12.1]. Moreover it expected a trend towards an older, more experienced and better educated labour force. It estimated that the labour force would grow at a rate of 3.1 per cent per annum. Although sex differentials were not stated, labour force was given by age groups. A higher growth rate of 4.9 per cent was expected in the age group 25 to 39 years [Table 12.5].

2.5.4. Agricultural Labourforce

Most developing countries accept the agriculture sector as the mainstay of their economy. Studies of the agricultural labour force in developing countries and discussions of natural resources and economic improvements including education and labour skills have been presented by various researchers [Hodder,1968:9]. As the agricultural

sector plays a larger role in developing countries, agricultural and related data are given much attention in their Development Plans. As shown below, Malaysia is the only one of the countries that showed a marked decline in the share of the agricultural sector in the G.D.P. and in the proportion of the work force in agriculture. However, even though some of the data are of dubious quality, all of the countries have at least a potential or slight decrease in the proportion of the labour force engaged in agriculture as development proceeds. Agricultural expansion alone is not likely to offer a satisfactory basis for a continuous and self-sustained type of economic development, and thus manufacturing expands as development proceeds [Myint, 1969:52].

Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan stated that 76.3 per cent of the total labour force were engaged in the agricultural sector in 1972-73. Total unemployment and underemployment in the country was given as 36.8 per cent and most of this was assumed to be related to the agricultural sector. The plan intended to reduce this rate [Bangladesh, 1973: 187 and Table VIII.37]. Bangladesh's recent 1980-85 Plan stated that 75 per cent of the labour force were employed in agriculture and that more than half of the G.D.P. was obtained from the agricultural sector [Bangladesh, 1980:para12.12]. The share of agriculture also declined from about 57.6 per cent in 1973 to 54.6 per cent [Table 1.3]. In its employment projection it estimated that the proportion of the labour force engaged in agriculture would decline from 79 per cent in 1980 to 76.1 per cent by 1985. This is not consistent with the 75 per cent in the agricultural section of the Plan [Bangladesh, 1980; Table 6.3 and para12.12].

Burma divided its large agricultural labour force into three broad industrial categories in its Development Plans; agriculture, forestry and live-stock breeding. The annual Plans showed a slight decrease in the agricultural sector. However, the latest figure, 66.3, is higher than the 63.8 per cent estimated in the 1973 Census. [Burma, 1973:xxvii; 1983:Table-4]. This inconsistency may be due to differences in the season of enumeration and partly due to the changes in the definition of employment status, which is usually complicated

in developing countries where people mostly rely on self-employment.

Thailand expected that its agricultural employment would decrease from 71.3 per cent in 1981 to 68.8 per cent by 1986. It estimated that the increase in agricultural employment would be 2.1 per cent compared with a 3 per cent increase in total labour force. The related production share of the agricultural sector would decline from 24.8 per cent of G.D.P. in 1981 to only 22.5 in 1986. The expected cultivated area in 1986 will be only slightly larger than in 1981 but productivity will be as much as 20 per cent higher. However implementation of the previous Plan was not very successful because of the relatively high rate of population expansion in rural areas [Thailand, 1981a:350; 1977:110]. The difference of definition of share of work force in agriculture in Burma and Thailand is illusory, based on different recording of multiple-occupation persons, especially farm wives, classifying themselves as traders (Burmese) or farm workers (Thais).

In the 1976-80 Malaysian Plan the agricultural sector accounted for about 30 per cent of G.D.P. and employed 49.3 per cent of the total work force in 1975 [Malaysia, 1976:para44, Table4-10]. In the current Malaysian Plan 1981-85 the share of the agricultural sector in G.D.P. declined from 30.8 per cent in 1970 to 22.2 per cent in 1980. Agricultural employment was about 40.6 per cent of total employment in 1980 compared with about 50.5 per cent in 1970 [Malaysia, 1981:para 637,640].

2.6. Spatial Distribution of Population

Recent population studies have placed more emphasis on spatial distribution rather than population growth. Countries now frequently include in their population policy not only determinants of high fertility, but also the consequences, such as urban growth, high unemployment and migration. Some of these are countries which do not assume that a high population growth is undesirable [Wolfson, 1979:335]. The United Nations [1980b:40] Fourth Inquiry has shown that there is strong evidence of government concern with

problems of population distribution and rural-to-urban migration. Goldstein [1981:201] noted government concern to assess the relationship between population movement and the problems of cities and rural areas as well as the formulation of policies and programmes designed to cope with these problems and to foster development. However, governments are hampered by lack of data on the various forms of population movements, how they change over time and what functions they perform for the individual and for communities of origin and destination.

The lack of data is most obvious in developing countries which often fail to include any consideration of spatial distribution in their Development Plans. The Burmese Plans has not given any data on distribution and the only data available is for overall density. The 1973 Census also included the proportion urban, almost 23.6 per cent of total population [Burma,1973:ix]. The definition of urban in Burma refers to administration areas which usually have Township People's Representative Councils, a few gazetted towns which have large populations and municipalities [Htain Lin,1976:40]. Although Burma told the United Nations Inquiry that it needed intervention for spatial distribution it has not yet taken any measures.

Although overall density is not a very useful indicator of spatial distribution, Bangladesh Plans emphasised overall density because it seemed that its problems are mostly related to high population density. Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan described in particular the problems of Dhaka (Dacca) City in which the population had almost doubled within a decade [Bangladesh,1973:387]. The current Bangladesh Plan presents the rural-urban population distribution [Bangladesh,1980:Table 6.1]. Bangladesh intended to intervene in its population distribution, but no effective measures were published in the Development Plan [United Nations,1980b: Table-73; Bangladesh,1980:19.95].

Thailand presented the distribution within regions and urban/rural areas and discussed the special problems of the Bangkok Metropolitan areas. Bangkok Metropolis was 51 times larger than the

second largest city, Chiang Mai, and about 50 per cent of the urban population resided in Bangkok in 1978 (Thai Year B.E. 2522). [Thailand, 1981b:74]. The Thailand Population Plan was published as part of the Development Plan [Thailand, 1981a:147]. Thailand has an explicit policy which tries to slow down migration into Bangkok metropolis [Thailand, 1977:105; 1980:147].

Only the Malaysian Plan provided details on spatial distribution and on migration streams within regions. The Malaysian 1976-80 Plan stated that in 1970 the percentage urban was only 28.7 per cent [para 452], 32.0 per cent in 1975, and expected that this would increase to 35.1 per cent in 1980 [para 455]. As Malaysia has emphasised regional distribution of population in accordance with the natural resource base [para 615+616], inter-state migration data were also published [para 629; Table 10-6]. The current 1981-85 Plan noted that the level of urbanisation was 35 per cent in Peninsular Malaysia in 1980 [para 199] and it expected a further increase to 38 per cent during 1981-85 [para 553]. Malaysia experienced substantial inter-state movement during 1971-80, attributed to the response to job opportunities and planned relocation of excess labour from the congested and depressed agricultural areas to other areas [Malaysia, 1981:para260]. Malaysia noted that the investment for reducing regional imbalances would benefit the country as a whole in the long run and help avoid congestion in densely populated areas. It explicitly stated that relocation is necessary to reduce pressure in areas where population density is high [Malaysia, 1976:para615,616]. Moreover, it noted the redistribution of population from the land scarce agriculture states to the land rich states of the south [para632].

The definition of urban differs from country to country; Burma defined urban as gazetted and notified areas; Bangladesh included collections of inhabited of not less than 5,000 persons and also certain other areas having urban characteristics [U.N., 1981b:23]; Thailand defined as urban every municipal and sanitary district with a population density of 1000 per square kilometres and having a

population of 5,000 or more [Thailand,1981b:108]; Malaysia defined urban for analytical purposes as all gazetted towns with a population of 10,000 persons or more at the time of Census [Malaysia,1977:4].

2.7. Ethnic Composition

The definition of race and specific races and subraces is properly the domain of the physical anthropologist. However in demographic studies, racial group tend to be based on how members of a group identify themselves and how they are regarded by their compatriots. [Shyrock and Seigel,1976:145].

Different cultural traditions have different attitudes and may have different demographic situations. Mauldin and Berelson [1978:111] noted that Catholics have higher fertility on doctrinal grounds; Muslims through subordination of women in cultural traditions; and black Africans because of traditional status within the society. They observed that Chinese and Chinese related ethnic groups are associated with lower fertility through pragmatic response to changing conditions.

The collection of data for different ethnic groups was not significant for Bangladesh and Thailand. In its 1980 Census Bangladesh collected data only for the Chittagong Hill tribes (81,060 households) [Bangladesh,1981b:7,54]. Based on its survey report in 1980 [Thai Year BE 2523] Thailand estimated the hill tribes population as 364,693 in an area covering 18 provinces. It also mentioned that 80 per cent of the population living in the Southern Border are Muslims, although no detailed measures were given [Thailand,1981b:57-63]. Although Burma has collected data on its nationalities the data were not mentioned in the Development Plans which do not distinguish between racial groups. (Even though in some States most people belong to a certain ethnic group.)

In contrast Malaysia emphasises racial difference. The Malay indigenous group (Bumiputera) consisted of 54.7 per cent of the total population in 1976 with 34.2 per cent Chinese, 9.0 per cent Indian and

2.1 per cent others [Malaysia,1976: para416]. In Malaysia, general economic policies are specifically directed towards the Bumiputeras. Information on their distribution and position relative to other ethnic groups is an essential requirement for development planning. For example, in 1970 only 14.8 per cent of Malays in Peninsular Malaysia were in urban areas. This had risen to 21.3 per cent by 1980, but although the Malays urban growth rate is high, the Chinese still accounted for 53.8 per cent of the total urban population in 1980, followed by Malays 32.8 per cent and Indians 12.3 per cent [para201]. The New Economic Policy enunciated in the aftermath of the racial riot in 1969 was designed to eradicate poverty and to reduce and eventually eliminate the existing identification of race with economic function and geographical location [Malaysia,1976:para6,26,27].

CHAPTER III

POPULATION PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPMENT PLANS3.1. Population Problems

The term "population problem" is defined here as any situation that is viewed by planners as a problem, the causes of which are recognised in the Development Plan as having some major demographic components. The problems dealt with by development planners are complex in causes and consequences and vary according to a country's ideology, interests and experiences. Some would see unemployment as caused by population growth, while others would see it as a shortage of jobs rather than an excess of people [Stamper, 1977:24]. Even within a country it could be seen differently due to time differences and improvements in economic growth. For example, Malaysia until recently, regarded rapid population growth as a source of problems but now seems to have changed its view (See section 2.2). The problems in developing countries today are more appropriately to be seen in a framework of multiple causation. Hofsten [1977:103] has stated that 'it has been popular on many occasions to put the blame on a country's population for the lack of proper economic and social development'. On the other hand, some countries may perceive certain situations as population problems but intentionally or unintentionally do not describe them so in their plans. [See Stamper, 1977:28-32]. This chapter examines a number of perceived population problems and the ways in which these are regarded and dealt with in the four countries.

3.2. Population Growth as an Obstacle to Development

Population growth may be regarded as an obstacle due to either the increasing absolute demands placed on limited physical resources such as food and cultivated land or due to the increasing demands on limited capital that might retard growth.

TABLE 3.1

Population Problems Related to Natural Increase

Country	Plan Period	Recognition of any Type of Problem	Economic Growth Reduced by Population Growth	Population Pressure on Food or Agricultural Systems*	High Population Density Viewed as Problem	Growth of Working-age Population Viewed as Problem	School-age Increase Viewed as Population Problem	Population Pressure on Government Services	High Dependency Ratio	Population Pressure on Health Services	Population Pressure on Housing
Bangladesh	1973-78	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	1980-85	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-
Burma	1978-79										
	onwards	-									
Malaysia	1976-80	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
	1981-85	X					X	X	X	X	X
Thailand	1977-81	X	X	X		X	-	X		X	
	1982-86	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X

SOURCES: Development Plans.

NOTES: *including natural resources for Thailand.

3.2.1. Economic growth reduced by population growth

In its most basic form the argument is that by reducing the size of total population, economic growth would increase since total population is the denominator used to obtain the average GNP per capita. More properly rapid population growth may be considered undesirable because of the difficulty of providing for a fast growing population from the limited resources of a poor country. An increasing population requires a heavy investment in services that are essentially unproductive, for example, old age health care or have long gestation periods, for example, investment in child health or education. These leave less capital for productive investments.

The long term gains of reduced fertility often focus on the macro-level gains to society at large, through reduced investment expenditure on public goods. (This assumes public goods are efficiently distributed.) [Corner, 1982a:9-10]. However, the contrary is sometimes argued for agricultural countries, which have a lower population density and where natural resources are freely available. For example, it has long been argued that Australia would be unable to achieve its growth potential without substantial international immigration to increase the size of its population [Australia, 1977:2-7].

Bangladesh and Thailand believe their economic growth has been reduced by population growth. Despite achieving its current population growth target of 2.1 per cent, Thailand argues that the population growth rate is still not in proportion to social and economic development, and needs to be further reduced [Thailand, 1981b:1-20].

Bangladesh argues that the fast growth rate of population during the past two decades has frustrated development efforts, and that "any meaningful population strategy must involve the notion that fertility will decline drastically and that decline cannot be delayed". [Bangladesh, 1980:17.27]

Malaysia, in its current 1981-85 Plan showed no concern that economic growth has been reduced by population growth, although in its previous Plan [1976-80] it noted that population growth created a "need for expansion of public expenditure or social services [that] could otherwise be diverted to expanding the productive capacity of the economy" [Malaysia,1976:para 440].

3.2.2. Population pressure on food or agricultural systems (natural resources)

Only the Bangladesh and Thailand Plans discussed this problem. These two countries also have a higher population density and less available land.

The Bangladesh 1973-78 Plan stated that more land was needed to grow more food to feed the growing population but the country was faced with a constant land space. The increase of population on limited land space is described as a disturbing prospect [Bangladesh,1973:538]. The recent 1980-85 Plan noted that due to high population growth the food deficit has increased [para1.5].

Most of the developing countries recognised the problems of high urban or regional densities but only the Bangladesh Plans discussed the seriousness of population density for the nation [Bangladesh,1973:537; 1980:17.57]. Its present density of 1672 persons per square mile is one of the highest in the world. [Bangladesh, 1980:17.74 and Table 17.3]. Population density in Bangladesh is primarily conceived as a problem in relation to the limited area of agricultural land. Moreover, 30 per cent of the land area will be eaten up by homesteads by the turn of century. (At present 15 per cent is devoted to housing) [para19.5]. The Thai 1982-86 Plan also stated that rapid population growth causes a shortage of land for cultivation [Thailand,1981a:175].

3.3. Problems Associated with the Composition of Population

3.3.1. Growth of working-age population viewed as a population problem

Development depends on the working efficiency of the labour force and the quality of the working-age population. Thus most development problems centre on the working-age population [Sauvy, 1969:217-218]. The most common view of the unemployment problem is that the labour force and working-age population are growing faster than the number of jobs in developing countries [Ohlin, 1978:22], although it is still difficult to define unemployment in developing countries [Udall and Sinclair, 1982:50]. The main employment problem is caused by school-leavers who cannot find appropriate jobs. Both Bangladesh [1973:441 ;1980:8.19] and Thailand [1977:106] admitted that the formal education system had produced educated unemployed. The education system were oriented towards white collar employment when the demand is often for skilled blue collar workers. School leavers also have unrealistic expectations of higher wage and clerical jobs [Udall and Sinclair, 1982:56]. Low agricultural prices discourage investment in agriculture and causes farmers to suffer poor returns which sometimes leads to loss of land ownership. Wages are higher in urban areas but the benefit does not spread in agriculture. These factors produce rural to urban migration which adds to unemployment problems [Thailand, 1977:110]. The distinction between unemployment and underemployment (particularly in agriculture and the informal sector) is often difficult to measure, especially in developing countries without adequate data.

All the countries studied recognised the problem of employment. Burma and Malaysia in their recent Plans mention unemployment in relation to job creation but did not draw a direct link between the growth of population and unemployment.

Bangladesh noted that the current level of unemployment and underemployment (30 per cent) will worsen when children already born enter the labour force. It acknowledged that the social overhead costs of maintaining the increase in the dependent population will

leave little surplus for investment in the productive sector. It explicitly stated its intention to promote a manpower export policy and to firmly establish self-employment as an economic institution [Bangladesh, 1980:para18.46) In its previous Plan 1973-78 it noted that the rate of unemployment and underemployment was about 36.8 per cent and job creation could just keep ahead of additions to the labour force [1973:19].

Burma shows unemployment in a 'non-employment' status that is usually assumed to include unidentified labour. Despite attempts to reduce unemployment growth, the actual number of nonemployment status increased even though the proportion declined [Burma, 1983:Table-4]. One reason for this is that the government created jobs in regions which are relatively underdeveloped, and labourers are unwilling to work in those areas. For example, the explanation for the chosen area of the Petro-chemical plant, as stated in Forward magazine [July, 1982:26-29], was that "It was necessary to decide on which side of the river the plant should go up. The eastern bank is full of factories and plants; the standard of living is comparatively high and the population dense and prosperous. It was from a desire to develop the west bank and to extend effective administration there that the present site was selected". Moreover, Burmese society has strong family ties and some young people do not accept the jobs offered to them if they are away from the family home (unless it is an officer post). Thus most of the problems are related to social and economic growth rather than to population. However, the 1982-83 Burmese Plan stated that as the working population increases, employment opportunities must be created, and as the number of dependents in the 60 years and above age-group has increased, it is necessary to raise per capita productivity of labour [Burma, 1982:13].

Thailand estimated that its labour force growth rate will increase at a relatively higher rate than the total population growth rate. However, it emphasises production rather than labour force and employment. (Open) unemployment is expected to increase from 1.2 per cent of the total labour force in 1981 to 2 per cent in 1986 [Thailand, 1981a:175, 351].

Malaysia observed that, due to its rapid economic growth, the unemployment rate was declining and was likely to fall further. It expected that unemployment would be reduced from 5.3 per cent in 1980 to 4.9 per cent by 1985 [Malaysia, 1981:para558]. It also stated that despite the overall reduction in unemployment the labour force surveys showed that underemployment increased from 1.5 per cent in 1974 to 2.6 per cent in 1978 [para219]. However, in the previous Plan 1976-80 it noted the heavy demands on jobs that were created by persons born in the fifties when they entered the prime working ages [Malaysia,1976:para 422].

3.3.2. School-age population increase viewed as a population problem

Almost all governments of the developing countries give priority to education. All the countries under study aimed for universal primary education. However, school attendance not only depends on the cost of education but also on the standard of living [Hallak and Chau,1978: 132-145]. That is, people can only consider education when conditions are favourable and basic needs have been met. This is not necessarily related to GNP per capita.

Problems in developing countries include not having adequate schools, teachers and finance. The proportion of expenditure given to higher education often reduces the chances for the average population to attain basic education. For example, the cost of one university student might teach a hundred primary school children [Simmons,1978:38]. However, the allocation of government funds is a political problem rather than a population problem. Local participation could maintain primary education even if the government could not afford it directly through the national budget. Class-rooms could be provided and additional school-teachers employed at local expense but this can only be done when people have surplus resources and realise the need for education.

Bangladesh estimated that the school-age population would double by the turn of the century if recent fertility prevailed. It implied difficulties in providing facilities even to maintain the current

level of literacy [para 17.57]. The previous Plan 1973-78 showed an increase in the percentage of illiteracy during 1951-61, from approximately 78.9 to 82.4 per cent due to the rapid growth of the country's population. This Plan criticized the former education system which had given high priority to higher education and had led to educated unemployment and social tension [Bangladesh, 1973:441].

Although, Burma did not mention the problem of a rapidly growing school age population, it needs increased educational facilities to meet the growing demand. It discussed the increase in affiliated schools, in which the local community shares the investment in certain types of education. Primary school children increased from 3.7 million in 1977/78 to 4.2 million in 1981/82 representing an increase of 14.3 percent during the four year period [Burma, 1982:246].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan noted the inequality of educational opportunities between urban and rural areas and that the education system was not designed to serve the main occupation of the population. In its current 1982-86 Plan, despite the decrease in the number of children at the compulsory education stage, the rate of extension to higher educational levels is also expected to be high. The problem will still be the expansion of investment to accommodate the increasing number of students in middle and higher level education. It is expected that the trend would continue throughout the next ten years before it declines gradually [Thailand, 1977:241; 1981a:197].

Malaysia merely observed in the earlier Plan that the substantial demand for services such as education was due to the high age-dependency ratio. Although the ratio of dependency had declined, a similar statement was made in the current Development Plan [Malaysia, 1976:para417; 1981:para193].

3.3.3. Population pressure on Government services

The demand for Government services in developing countries is almost unlimited because of the lack of basic infrastructure. The government role is therefore greater than in developed countries where market private production also meets more infrastructural needs. Both the rate of growth of population (ie. the increase in absolute numbers) and the rising dependency ratio (the proportion of the population placing the heaviest demands on health and education services) contribute to the growing pressure on government services in the developing countries. (For a discussion of the former see Section 3.2.1.). Three aspects of population pressure on government services that received special attention in the plans of the four countries were those related to high dependency ratios and to the specific provision of health and housing services.

(1) High dependency ratio

Labour force and working-age population are usually defined as the ages between 15 to 65 years, and the population under 15 and above 65 years are assumed to be dependent as they are too young or too old to work. Developing countries usually have a high dependency ratio which affects the capacity of a country to save and invest [United Nations,1973:298]. This arises from rapid rates of population growth due to high fertility and falling mortality- particularly falling infant and child mortality.

In its 1973-78 Plan Bangladesh showed the population under 15 years as nearly half the total population, which by any standard is extremely high. It recognised this as not conducive to the growth of the economy and forming a heavy burden for development efforts [pp537]. The recent Plan stated that "the existing unfavourable age structure of the population will further aggravate the large proportion of population under age 15" [Bangladesh,1980:17.57].

The Thai 1982-86 Plan noted that the proportion of children was higher than that of working age population and noted the burden this imposed [Thailand, 1981a:175]. In Burma the ratio of children under age 15 to the total population was 40.16 in 1982-83, a slight decrease from 40.50 in 1972/73 [Burma, 1983: Table 3]. However, the changes are so small as to hardly warrant comment, particularly in view of the doubtful quality of the data.

Malaysia recorded that the high age-dependency ratio was the result of past demographic trends. The ratio of 84 per cent in 1975 implies a substantial demand for the basic necessities of life and social-services. A similar statement was made in the recent Plan, although the ratio declined to 76 per cent in 1980. The corresponding ratio for children under age 15 was 42 per cent and 39.5 per cent for 1975 and 1980 respectively [Malaysia, 1976:Table 8-3; 1981:Table 4-1].

(2) Population pressure on health services

Health facilities in developing countries are generally inadequate both in number and distributional efficiency. Thus health planning is an important element of development planning. Although the ratio of population to health workers and medical facilities are generally used as indicators of the availability of health care delivery [United Nations, 1980c:11], data on the actual distribution of health services are only recently becoming available for health planning.

Bangladesh regards its growing population as a pressure on health services and notes in the [1973-78] Plan that the existing health facilities are inadequate both in quality and quantity [pp538]. Moreover, it admitted that the absence of any organised system of collection of health data constitutes one of the major defects in health sector planning [Bangladesh, 1973: 497-500]. The recent Plan 1980-85 did not explicitly relate pressure on health services to population growth, but observed that minimum health care has yet to reach the vast majority of the people, particularly in the rural areas where accessibility to modern health care is very limited

[Bangladesh, 1980: para 17.7].

Burma's Plans did not discuss population pressure. However "to narrow the gap of health facilities between rural and urban areas" is one of the main objectives for the social sector during the Fourth Four Year Plan Period [Burma, 1983: 211]. Rural Health Centres, grew at about 5.2 per cent per annum during 1978/79 to 1982/83 [Table 141]. The People's Health Plan training scheme started in 1980/81. In 1982/83 the number of health workers trained was 18,058, auxiliary midwives was 5,700 and traditional birth attendants was 5,524 [Table 142]. (The primary health care programme received assistance from the Australian Government, and has been described as a largely successful program [Phillips, 1982:8].)

The Thai 1977-81 Plan claimed that due to the high rate of population growth and unequal distribution, public services were scattered and uncoordinated [pp241]. Some problems were specifically related to in-migration to congested urban areas [Thailand, 1977:241, 252-256], and the 1982-86 Plan noted that the provision of public health had not expanded to keep up with the rising demand [Thailand, 1981a:212]. (Thailand also emphasised primary health care and received assistance from the Australian Government.)

The Malaysian 1976-80 Plan recorded pressure on health services due to high age-dependency, and described the major problems as an inequitable distribution of health infrastructure and the inadequacy of health services in rural areas [Malaysia, 1976:para417, 1407]. Although there was considerable improvement in the distribution of health services, a similar statement was made in the 1981-85 Plan [Malaysia, 1981:para247-248].

(3) Population pressure on housing

Housing problems are more complicated than those of other services in developing countries. Rural residents usually take care of their own housing in agricultural countries. However, urban housing is still a problem for planners and administrators. Some of the

problems include decisions such as whether public housing should be provided or not [Laquain,1981:101], and if so what type of housing and at what cost. The provision of housing for government employees is also a problem, particularly where government salaries are low and where housing is seen as a fringe benefit, or where government employees are frequently transferred.

Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan stated that since population during 1973-78 was likely to increase by 12 million, at the rate of 6 persons per dwelling unit, an additional 2 million new houses would be required to cope with the increase in population alone. Moreover, housing shortages in urban areas were also acute. An estimate of urban housing revealed that only 27 per cent of the houses were permanent or semi-permanent [Bangladesh,1973:386]. Only 4.3 per cent of the total requirement for government employees in 1979 was being met [Bangladesh,1980:para19.3]. Some problems were specifically identified as being due to in-migration to urban areas [para19.37;17.57].

The Burmese [1983] Plan provided figures only for government residences, which increased at about 4 per cent annually from 1978/79 to 1982/83. Although one of the plan's objective was to provide construction material to the private sector, private housing was not included in the plan. [Burma,1983:146,Table-97]. Thailand's 1982-86 Plan related housing problems mainly to urban slums, where problems include deteriorating, insubstantial and crowded housing [pp49]

In Malaysia's 1976-80 Plan the more immediate problem confronting urban areas was overcrowding resulting from both the natural increase of urban population and in-migration. The high age-dependency ratio was also a demand factor [Malaysia,1976:para1102,417]. In the 1981-85 Plan the high age-dependency was mentioned as implying a substantial demand for housing [Malaysia,1981:para193].

3.4. Population Problems Related to Population Distribution

For many years, development has been equated with economic growth [Wilber and Jameson, 1980:467], while industrialisation and urbanisation were taken to be almost synonymous with development. Monetary and trade policies tended to favour capital intensive industries. This resulted in unplanned import-substitution and excess capacity, as well as a slower than expected expansion in employment opportunities. The industry-oriented strategy assumed that the benefits of development would trickle down to the rural masses and to the poor through market relations [Bangladesh, 1980:7.6]. However, the effect of deliberate development planning for over two decades has been striking disparities in living conditions and opportunities in different regions [Mabogunje, 1981:19].

More recently development has increasingly been viewed as growth with equity. As a result the distribution of the population in relation to resources and services has become a major development issue. Mabogunje [1981:19] saw the regional disparity of opportunities through population distribution as one of the most serious challenges facing governments in developing countries.

3.4.1. Aspects of urbanisation

(1) Urban bias

All the countries studied have shown an undesirable pattern of urban bias. Even Burma, which concentrated on both regional equity and rural urban disparities [Party Affairs, 1969:19], has found that urban bias still exists in some sectors, for example, health facilities. Bangladesh and Thailand have experienced considerable difficulty in reforming existing biased infrastructures.

The Bangladesh 1973-78 Plan considered that health care so far had been urban-oriented, neglecting the vast majority of the people in the rural areas. Even though an attempt was made to extend care to the rural population, this was not properly manned or equipped

[Bangladesh, 1973:498-499]. Over 90 per cent of the people live in the villages, where the proportion of those below the poverty line is much higher than the national average of about 80 per cent. Urban poverty and slums are often a reverberation of rural poverty, as the underemployed rural poor migrate to cities in search of income opportunities, and previous development efforts have mostly by-passed the rural people [Bangladesh, 1980:7.6]

The Malaysian 1976-80 Plan described the existence of a larger amount of poverty in rural areas [Malaysia, 1976:para490]. Services and facilities provided by the government were more readily available in urban compared to rural areas. [Malaysia, 1976:para507]. The recent Plan noted that the employment opportunities and higher wages in the industrial and services sectors had resulted in a flow of migrants from rural areas [Malaysia, 1981:para208].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan explained that urbanisation is accompanied by industrialisation, and large cities have better facilities such as transportation and other infrastructural services compared to small towns and communities [Thailand, 1977:168]. The current 1982-86 Plan also discussed urban bias in relation to economic pressure and the structure of government services which are oriented towards a top-down approach. [Thailand, 1981a:286].

As stated in section 3.3.3.(2), there still exists a gap of health facilities between rural and urban areas in Burma. However, in general, Burmese Plans did not discuss population problems and consequently did not focus on the question of urban bias.

TABLE 3.2

Population Problems Related to Population Distribution

Country	Plan Period	Urban Bias	Negative Effects of Urbanization	Increased Demand for Urban Jobs	Increased Strain on Urban Services	Uneven Distribution	Selective Emigration (Brain Drain) and Immigration	Impact on Environment
Bangladesh	1973-78	X	X		X			
	1980-85	X	X	X	X		X	
Burma	1978-79 onwards	X						
Malaysia	1976-80	X	X	X		X		X
	1981-85		X		X	X		
Thailand	1977-81	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	1981-85	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

SOURCES: Development Plans.

(2) The negative effects of urbanisation

Although there are advantages and disadvantages in urban growth, the growth of an unbalanced pattern of urbanisation has generally negative effects. Bangladesh and Thailand both emphasised the negative impact of rapid urbanisation.

Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan discussed the problems of a rapid influx of rural migrants to the metropolitan areas and large cities and the mushrooming of squatter settlements and urban slums which would undermine any effort at rational planning of the urban community [Bangladesh, 1973:386-387]. The 1980-85 Plan thought that the increase in rural migrants would aggravate existing problems of urban areas [Bangladesh, 1980:17.57].

The Thai Plan 1977-81 stated that rapid urbanisation without planning and without a city plan generates a number of urban problems. These deteriorating conditions have their effects on the physical and social conditions and quality of life of urban inhabitants. Without this growth, even the maintenance of the existing system in urban area is problematic [Thailand, 1977:168,226].

Malaysia's 1976-1980 Plan stated that overcrowding in urban areas, resulting from both the natural increase of urban populations and from in-migration, creates pressure on urban areas for the provision of basic amenities [Malaysia, 1976:para1102]. The Malaysian current 1981-85 Plan attempted to regulate urban expansion and to seek a balance between the positive and negative features of urban growth [Malaysia, 1981:para 252].

(3) Increased demand for urban jobs

According to Classical Economic Theory, migration was a geographical adjustment of labour supply between competing markets or regions and was an integral part of the process of economic development [Corner, 1982b:2-4]. One of the main reasons for rural to urban migration is to obtain satisfying employment, particularly in

the wage sector [Young,1980:131]. Even though job creation has failed to keep pace with migration, migration continues because, although life is difficult in urban areas, it is apparently worse in many rural areas [Simmons,1981:88].

Although faced with substantial urban unemployment, Bangladesh identified a need for overall job creation, rather than concentrating only on urban demands. The 1980-85 Plan explained that non-agricultural employment cannot increase very rapidly and anxiety was expressed about the volume of future demand due to migration.

The Thai 1977-81 Plan stated that the rising level of urban unemployment was mainly due to a flow of agricultural labourers released by crop failure in 1973-75, and mentioned that over crowding in the urban areas, especially in the Bangkok Metropolitan district caused a serious problem of unemployment [Thailand,1977:28,105]. The problems arising in large urban areas are also due to an inability to increase job opportunities as rapidly as required in relation to population increase [Thailand,1981b:77].

The Malaysia 1976-80 Plan stated the rapid growth of urban population, exacerbated by inflows of excess labour from the rural areas, resulted in urban poverty and required that the demand for labour be progressively expanded [Malaysia,1976:para551]. However, in the 1981-85 Plan, this statement was presented as a determining factor in the need for rapid urbanisation [Malaysia,1981:para200].

(4) Increased strain on urban services

As Bangladesh and Thailand are facing rapid growth of large cities, they discussed the seriousness of pressure on urban services.

Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan argued that rapid rural-urban migration posed a serious menace to urban sanitation and health, and also caused a tremendous pressure on public utility services and urban transport systems. The increase in rural-urban migrants would aggravate further

the problems of urban areas although the Plan observed that the overall level of urbanisation is relatively low [Bangladesh,1980:17.57]. The Thai Plan explained that problems created by rapid urbanisation without planning include scarcities of public utilities and other services [Thailand,1977:168], while overcrowded slum areas also create social tensions [Thailand,1981a:212].

3.4.2. Uneven distribution

The pattern of uneven distribution depends on historical factors and availability of resources. Development efforts have also added to the uneven distribution and all the countries studied were aware of this problem.

Bangladesh concentrated more on overall density rather than spatial distribution, since it is facing problems of high population density and lack of available land. Only in the 1973-78 Plan was the unfavourable situation of Dhaka City (Dacca) noted as a distribution problem [Bangladesh,1973:386].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan noted that only 15 per cent of the total population live in urban areas and only three cities have more than 100,000 inhabitants. It is only in the Central region that urban dwellers account for more than 30 per cent of the total population of the region. In 1960 about 52 per cent of all urban dwellers lived in Bangkok compared with 60 per cent in 1975 [Thailand,1977:224-5]. The unbalanced distribution of population in both urban and rural areas in relation to the local resources endowment has created inter-regional income gaps and an imbalance between population and availability of natural resources [Thailand,1981a:187; 1981b:73].

Burmese Plans did not state uneven population distribution as a problem. Although Burma apparently began regional development earlier than its contemporaries [Burma,1974:28; Party Affairs,1967:19]. its response to the United Nations' Fourth Inquiry indicated that it intends to intervene if distribution should be considered undesirable,

although no direct measures have yet been presented.

Malaysia's 1976-80 Plan stated that it had a highly uneven pattern of population distribution with major differences between Peninsular Malaysia on the one hand and Sabah and Sarawak on the other and between the East and West Coasts of Peninsular Malaysia [Malaysia, 1976:para451]. Malaysia wished to reduce pressure in rural areas where population density was high and the environment less favourable, as well as to provide the labour force needed for land settlement and other development projects in population scarce areas [para615].

3.4.3. Selective emigration (Brain Drain) and immigration

Although this study does not try to cover international migration, two important problems were found in the Bangladesh 1980-85 and Thailand Development Plans. Bangladesh stated that it has facing problems due to selective migration (Brain Drain), which created strains for the national development, especially a shortage of teachers in Engineering Colleges [Bangladesh, 1980: para18.33, 18.38]. This should be accounted as a serious problem because replacements cannot be easily produced [Petras, 1981:63]. Thailand described how the influx of foreign political refugees from the wars in Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia have grown in significance and created social problems [Thailand, 1977:105-6; 1981b:68-69].

3.5. Impact on Environment

Most countries saw environmental problems largely in terms of sanitation, health and water supply services in urban areas. However, in Thailand the current Plan discussed water pollution in terms, not only of the lack of waste water disposal systems in urban areas, but also of the impact of the extension of cultivated land on natural water courses. Air pollution and the solid waste problem which are now critical in the Bangkok Metropolitan area were also discussed in relation to industrialisation [Thailand, 1981a:187]. Moreover, the Plan noted that population growth and the pattern of human settlement

have also rapidly depleted forest land through shifting cultivation [Thailand, 1977:29; 1981a:187]. Five major rivers are facing critical pollution problems due to industrial pollution and to cultivated land causing soil erosion and siltation. Malaysia's 1976-80 Plan discussed environmental problems arising from the discharge of undesirable waste products or effluents into the environment [Malaysia, 1976: 219]. In general only Thailand seemed aware of the kind of environmental problems and the impact of development on the natural environment that are increasingly the focus of attention in more developed countries.

3.6. Conclusion

Population problems related to the rate of growth of population, were centred on economic conditions. Rapid population growth can either divert limited investment funds from productive uses to social overhead capital, especially government services such as health, education and other public goods, or cause absolute pressure on resources, particularly cultivated land and food supply. The problems can be relieved by either improvements in the economy or by reduction of population growth.

Population problems related to the composition of the population are due to changes in both fertility and mortality. Since in general, health status is improving and mortality falling the age structure depends mainly on fertility patterns. The size of the working-age population is an element of the productive force of a nation. Problems arise when it cannot be fully utilized. School age population as a proportion of total population, although providing potential for production, may cause a heavy burden of education expenditure on limited government funds because education and training are essential to realise this productive potential. Age dependency demands the provision of government services to an increasing proportion of the population in those ages that are the largest consumers of health, education and other government services.

Problems relating to spatial distribution are more complex issues than the growth of population, although they are related. Urbanisation tends to accompany modernisation or industrialisation and is closely related to the development of the economy. Uneven distribution is also closely linked with economic growth and the extent to which it is a problem varies according to government perceptions and whether government policies focus on obtaining maximum current growth or look further ahead to the potential costs of unbalanced development.

Environmental problems are caused by both population growth and migration. However, both are related to the expansion of production and industrialisation. Specific problems such as selective emigration or immigration of refugees depend on the particular country's political and economic system and geographic situation but can affect the attainment of development objectives.

It is clear that all four countries perceived some development problems as due to population related factors. This was particularly noticeable for Bangladesh and Thailand. However, the emphasis on demographic aspects of development problems was markedly less in the case of Burma. Presumably this is due to relatively lower population density and moderate population growth. It could also be due to the more moderate development of Burmese cities in contrast to areas such as Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur which reflect both urban bias and the expansion of their industrial and service sectors.

CHAPTER IV

POPULATION POLICIES PROPOSED IN DEVELOPMENT PLANS4.1. Population Policy

As population became an important development issue and population related problems were recognised in addition to basic demographic data, a specific population policy was also included in many Development Plans [United Nations, 1973:631]. Although there is no generally accepted definition of population policy [U.N., 1973:632], Borrie [1982] defined population policy as legislative measures designed to change the existing levels of growth of population either upwards or downwards, in the interests of national welfare. Measures may have as their aims pro-or anti-natalist objectives, equity goals through income distribution, the social welfare of vulnerable groups or the provision of indivisible services for the whole community. This definition is surely not adequate since many countries wish to keep growth at the existing levels. A broader definition was presented by Berelson [1971:173]. This included governmental actions that are designed to alter population events or that actually do alter them. An even broader definition was given by the National Academy of Science (NAS) in the USA which included population-responsive policies [NAS, 1974:86-7].

However a too broad definition will include unintended or very indirect effects on population events [Fuchs and Demko, 1981: 70-71] and may extend to include almost the whole of development policy. Therefore in this study a narrower definition will be used, confining population policy to population-influencing policies where government actions are intended to influence population growth, size, distribution or composition [Lucas, 1980c:196; Monsted and Walji, 1978:196]. Although this narrow definition would exclude population responsive policies these should not be entirely ignored [Lucas and Waddell-Wood, 1982], since population responsive policies may lead to population influencing policies. For example, unemployment growth may force a government to create more jobs (a population-responsive

policy) and also to reduce the migration rate to urban areas (a population-influencing policy).

Population policies may be divided into various types. Population policies can be either: direct or indirect; explicit or implicit; or policies of intervention or non-intervention [Lucas, 1980c:197]. Direct policies affect population variables directly: for example, family planning services and legal abortion can have a direct effect on population size by reducing the numbers of births. Decreasing tax exemptions for dependents may indirectly reduce the number of births by influencing parental decisions on family size [NAS, 1974:86-87]. Explicit policies are the stated intentions of a national government to influence population events, for example, encouraging immigrants [Lucas, 1980c:197]. Implicit policies are unstated, sometimes because they encompass an obvious and commonly accepted objective, such as lowering mortality (although some countries stated that their mortality rates are acceptable), or the policy may be intentionally unstated because it is politically divisive. Some governments may, for example, intend to extend family planning programs, but may prefer to describe this as an expansion of maternal and child health services [Stamper, 1977:44]. Malaysia appears to be an example of this to a certain extent in earlier plan periods. (See Jones, 1982a:5)

In the reply to the U.N. Fourth Inquiry, intervention to modify fertility as a mean of reducing population growth had been adopted by 53 per cent of the ESCAP countries and 83 per cent of the governments directly supported access to modern methods of birth control. Bangladesh, for example, reported that its first national priority was to reduce its rate of population growth [U.N., 1980b: Table 18-19, pp13]. However the U.N. [1980b:8] emphasises that non-intervention is also an option which governments may choose and is, in a very real sense, also a policy. Lucas [1980c:199] also explained that "This situation could also arise when, perhaps after substantial investigation, the government concluded that intervention was unnecessary or undesirable."

This study will mainly focus on fertility and spatial distribution policies. In order to understand a country's population policy, one must study various other dimensions that are outside the planning process. For example, many of the population policy programs stated in plans are never implemented. On the other hand, some countries implement programs not mentioned in their Development Plans [Stamper, 1977:44]. However the importance of Development Plans is increasing so that, more commonly, important objectives are explicitly included in Development Plans. There has also been an increase in the number of countries whose plans and policies treat population as an important component of national development [Macura, 1978:263]

In the past development planners in the Third World have often been influenced by Western demographers who have only European experience [Stycos, 1977:104]. Policymakers in developing countries were criticized for generally ignoring the social and cultural aspects of people's lives when devising public policies. The design and execution of population policies sometimes takes little account of local conditions and peculiarities and blindly follows the already developed foreign models and methods [NAS, 1974:75]. However, as Stycos [1981:530] suggested "European experience....should not be taken as a standard". Planners from developing countries should understand local conditions and need to find suitable models for their own countries.

4.2. Population Policies Related to Natural Increase

Natural increase is the excess of births over deaths, and is an important measure because it can change the population structure. In the developing countries mortality and morbidity have been more responsive to government intervention than has fertility [Wolfson, 1979:333; U.N., 1980b:24-27; Lucas, 1981:29-30]. One United Nations [1980a:14] view is that all governments have some form of national population policy since every country tries to improve health status and this will reduce death rates. However, Eldridge [1968:383-4] argued that if the objective is solely to improve the

health of the population then health policy is not necessarily a population policy. Thus the study focuses on fertility. Developing countries are trying, within a short time, to adjust to the changes in society resulting from industrialisation, a task for which Western countries took over 100 years. Most developing countries have experienced total population increases five or six times higher than those experienced in early Western industrialisation [Harari, 1978:171]. It is thus not surprising that most developing countries try to intervene in fertility. Out of 19 countries of ESCAP area that reported intervention in fertility, 17 countries were trying to reduce fertility rates while the rest considered their rates to be too low [U.N., 1980b: Table 17].

The causes of fertility decline are very complex. Not only is fertility decline influenced by new innovation such as family planning, but it is also affected by socio-cultural factors [Freedman, 1979:68]. Fertility rates in many developing countries have in fact declined and although the role of family planning in some cases of rapid decline cannot be denied [Brackett et al, 1978:314], narrow clinic based family planning programmes are not sufficient to meet the challenge of rapid population growth in developing countries. Measures have to be taken beyond family planning activities [ESCAP (NO:12), 1982:1]. As Caldwell [1977:3] remarked "Most of the rural population and the urban poor seemed to have large families not because they were helpless victims of uncontrollable fertility but because they preferred it that way and did not believe that they would gain by having smaller families."

This chapter examines a number of fertility-related population policies including both family planning activities and other measures that influenced fertility.

TABLE 4.1

Policies Related to Fertility in Development Plans

Country	Plan Period	Population Growth Targets	Support of Family Planning for Demographic Reasons	Integration of Family with Health Services	Extension of Family Planning Services	Family Planning Acceptors Target	Socio-economic Development and Fertility Decline	Population Education	Delay of Marriage to Reduce Fertility	Motivation Schemes for Smaller Families	Policies on Abortion	Improve Status of Women and Fertility Decline
Bangladesh	1973-78	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	1980-85	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Burma	1979 onwards	-								(X)*		
Malaysia	1976-80	X	X	X	X	X		X				
	1981-85	X		X	X	X		X				
Thailand	1977-81	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	
	1982-86	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	

SOURCES: Development Plans.

NOTES:* The Malaysia (1976:para 1433) Plan recognized the approach but no measures were being given.

4.2.1. Population growth targets

Population growth targets are important in quantifying development objectives, but as Stamper [1977:56] has noted, many of the early population growth targets in the Third World were over-optimistic and highly impractical. Planners frequently set targets without examining their assumptions in terms of their goals [Shaw, 1976:17-26]. For example, Bangladesh analysed its previous policies as having unrealistic targets which, in the absence of intensive supervision, even led to fictitious reports [Bangladesh, 1973:537]. Even the current Bangladesh 1980-85 and Thai 1982-86 Plans have shown good intentions rather than realistic objectives. Bangladesh explained that there is no instance of achievement of such a drastic reduction of NRR to 1 by 1990 in such a short time, and only expressed the target as a hope for the future [Bangladesh, 1980:para17.58]. Thailand acknowledged that its target will be hard to achieve because the remaining non-users are difficult to motivate and live in remote areas far from service points [Thailand, 1981b:20].

Of the four countries under consideration, only Burma had no population growth target. Bangladesh, Malaysia and Thailand had both population growth targets and, as shown in section 4.2.2.(4), family planning acceptors targets. The Bangladesh 1973-78 Plan set a goal of a reduction in population growth rate from 3 per cent in 1973 to 2.8 per cent by 1978 [Bangladesh, 1973:540-541]. The current 1980-85 Plan set a new goal of a fall from 2.7 per cent in 1979-80 to 1.8 per cent by 1984-85 [Bangladesh, 1980:para17.74]. The Thai 1977-81 Plan's target was to reduce the growth rate from 2.5 per cent per annum at the beginning of the Plan to 2.1 per cent by the end of the Plan period. Although in the previous Third Plan the goal had been to reduce the growth rate from 3 per cent to 2.5 per cent, the rate fell only to 2.7 per cent in 1976 [Thailand, 1977:96]. The 1982-86 Plan expected that the growth rate in 1981 would be 2.1 per cent and that this would reduce to 1.5 per cent by 1986 [Thailand, 1981a:176].

Malaysia's 1976-80 Plan stated the objective of the national family planning programme to gradually reduce the annual rate of population growth from 3 per cent in 1966 to 2 per cent in 1985. The Plan hoped to bring down the birth rate from about 31 per 1,000 in 1975 to 28.2 by 1980 [Malaysia,1976:para 1430]. The recent 1981-85 Plan's aim of Family health planning was to bring down the crude birth rate 28.9 of per 1,000 in 1980 to about 26 by 1985 [Malaysia,1981:para550].

4.2.2. Family Planning Policies

(1) Family planning for demographic reasons

The role of family planning in the rapid decline of developing countries' fertility is widely acknowledged [Brackett et al, 1978:314]. Family planning has usually been introduced to reduce population growth rates and birth rates when a country considers that the population growth rate or, in some cases, the size of the population is retarding economic growth and development. On the other hand, family planning programs can also help to prevent infertility and in some cases provide basic infertility services [Population Reports, July 1983: L-141]. There has also been official support of family planning activities for other than demographic reasons, such as for health and family welfare where any anti-natalist effect is a by-product rather an objective [Mauldin and Berelson, 1978:114]. The Fourth Malaysian [1981-85] Plan may be categorized in this way because it emphasised family welfare. However, the family planning programmes of Bangladesh and Thailand have clearly been for demographic reasons, namely the reduction of fertility. Burma, in contrast, has no official family planning programme at all.

Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan noted that about 65 per cent of women were under 20 years of age with many reproductive years ahead of them [Bangladesh, 1973:537]. The 1980-85 Plan also described the government's adoption of a comprehensive population policy in June 1976, reflecting a high priority to population control programmes as an integral part of development policy [Bangladesh,1980:para 17.59].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan similarly aimed at reducing population growth and recognised it as a problem [Thailand,1977:96]. The 1982-86 Plan stated that the population growth rate of 2.1 per cent in 1981 was too high and planned for a further reduction [Thailand,1981a:175, 1981b:9].

The Malaysian 1976-80 Plan stated that the objective of the National family planning programs was to bring down the population growth rate [Malaysia,1976: para 1403] but the 1981-85 Plan placed family planning in the context of the health programme and placed more emphasis on family welfare than on reduction of population growth. In relation to Family Health services it stated that "The main objective of this programme is to promote the development of a healthy family, well-being of women in the reproductive age-groups and the optimum health and development of children from infancy to school-leaving age." [Malaysia,1981:para1076] The government's perception of the overall acceptability of the current level of natural increase seems to have changed between August 1976 and July 1978 [United Nations,1980b: Table-42 and above, section 2.2].

(2) Integration of family planning with health services

All the countries studied, in seeking to extend their provision of family planning, have emphasised its integration with the national health system. Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan integrated family planning with Health Services for face to face motivation, delivery of services and follow-up [Bangladesh,1973:541]. The current 1980-85 Plan gave responsibility to the health division for family planning clinical services, particularly for sterilization and management of complications arising out of clinical contraception [Bangladesh,1980:para 17.112, 3.45]. In Thailand the National Family Planning Program (NFPP) is administered by the Ministry of Public Health and was incorporated in the Third Development Plan [1972-76] [Thailand,1981b:19] The Primary Health Stations, under the Ministry of Public Health, are the centre for auxiliary health personnel and voluntary health workers, who share in the provision of family planning [Krannich and Krannich,1980:33]. In both Thailand and

Bangladesh the main reason for integration of family planning with health services appears to be to increase the effectiveness of family planning.

The Malaysian 1976-80 Plan considered health and family planning programmes together to achieve the objectives of the New Economic Policy and stated that the integration of the family planning programme with rural health services was aimed at intensifying family planning activities [Malaysia, 1976:para1384, 1432]. The 1981-85 Plan noted the improvement due to the integration of the family planning programme with rural health services and presented an integrated approach to population health services [Malaysia, 1981:para1085]. As discussed above section (4.2.2.(1)), Malaysia emphasises "population health" rather than "family planning" and the motivation for integration now appears to be to improve family health and welfare.

(3) Extension of Family Planning Services

The three countries implementing family planning programs aimed at increased coverage and effectiveness. Bangladesh planned to cover the high birth potential group, Thailand planned to reach remote areas, and Malaysia hoped to improve overall family welfare by extension of family health services.

Bangladesh 1973-78 Plan proposed a broad extension of services aimed to reach women under the age of 30. It also recognised that the vast majority of population were living in rural areas where younger women needed more social support and encouragement for adopting family planning methods [Bangladesh, 1973:542]. The 1980-85 Plan described the immediate target population as being primarily the poorest, the educated unemployed and the low-income couples who constituted nearly 66 per cent of eligible couples [Bangladesh, 1980:para7.76].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan hoped to expand to cover 3 million new recipients and 1.63 million old recipients by organising 40 mobile promotion units and 45 mobile family planning services units [Thailand, 1977:259]. The most recent 1982-86 Plan extended both

private and public sectors family services via an increase of mobile units and promoting the use of contraceptive methods particularly for people in remote and disadvantaged areas [Thailand, 1981a:179-180].

The Malaysian 1976-80 Plan strengthened family planning through the establishment of centres and clinics in government hospitals and rural health centres and gave priority to the lower income group [Malaysia, 1976: para 1405, 1431]. The Malaysian 1981-85 Plan constructed 36 new urban clinics to improve urban family planning services and intended that this programme would be extended to all health districts [Malaysia, 1981:para 1085].

(4) Family Planning acceptors target

As stated by Stamper [1977:60] family planning acceptors target are important because they tie in population growth targets with program efforts. Although the definition of the term acceptor is not straightforward [Laing, 1982:31], this study tries to identify countries that have family planning acceptor targets. The data on acceptors is usually broken down by method accepted. Thailand's target was decomposed by type of method but, although Bangladesh estimates the contraceptive prevalence ratio, data on choice of method was not provided [Bangladesh, 1973:543, 1980:para17.77, Table-17.4].

Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan stated that to achieve the current objectives the number of continuous users would have increase from 14 per cent of eligible couples to 38 per cent by the end of the Plan period. In absolute terms the current continuous users numbering 2.4 million would have to increase to 7.3 million couples by 1985 [Bangladesh, 1980:para17.73, 17.75].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan aimed to reduce the rate of population growth to 2.1 per cent by the end of the Plan and expected to be at least 3.0 million new acceptors during the Plan period [Thailand, 1977:259]. (Thailand actually achieved its acceptors target [Krannich, 1980:27-29].) The current 1982-86 Plan will recruit 4.6 million new acceptors, including more than 1 million sterilizations,

over the Plan period and retain 4.1 million continuing acceptors, including 1.65 million sterilizations, at the end of 1986 [Thailand, 1981a:178; 1981b:25].

Malaysia's 1976-80 Plan cover one million new acceptors in order to bring down the birth rate from 31 in 1976 to 28.2 by 1980. [Malaysia, 1976:418:para1430], and all the previous plans had achieved at least 80 per cent of the target set [Boon-Ann,1983:73; Lim, 1983:93]. The recent 1981-85 Plan will cater for about 732,000 new participants, less than in the previous Plan, to bring down the crude birth rate from 28.9 in 1980 to about 26 by 1985 [Malaysian,1981:para550]. However it did not mentioned continuous users in the Development Plan [Malaysia,1981:para:1065].

4.2.3. Socio-economic development and fertility decline

The slowness of fertility decline in countries where family planning programs were started early spawned the argument that socio-economic development is more important than family planning services in reducing birth rates [Yinger et al, 1983:6]. After the 1974 World Population Conference at Bucharest, it has been largely accepted that development is the best way of reducing fertility [Wolfson,1978:331]. This was also argued by Glass [1965:23-24] who felt that the use of birth control would itself be spread by development. Stamper [1977:59] suggested that countries having no explicit policy to reduce fertility, and who do not recognise any population problem in their Plans, probably anticipate that development will reduce their fertility or enable them to accomodate it. Burma might fall into this category since population has never been cited as an immediate problem. Demographers such as Mauldin and Berelson [1978: 124] have also shown that birth rates declined faster in countries with both relatively high socio-economic development, which helps create a demand for family planning, and strong family planning programs to meet this demand.

Although Bangladesh, Thailand and Malaysia agreed on the importance of socio-economic growth, only Bangladesh's Plans explicitly related fertility decline with development. The Bangladesh 1973-78 Plan discussed the link between development and fertility and called for the study of development efforts in relation to population growth [Bangladesh,1973:545]. The current 1980-85 Plan aimed to create socio-economic conditions conducive to the acceptance of a small family norm among the masses [Bangladesh,1980:17.60]. (Note that Bangladesh has slower economic growth than either Thailand or Malaysia.)

Thailand, having a higher rate of economic growth which tends to create conditions favourable to falling fertility, did not emphasise the role of socio-economic factors in determining the level of fertility. The Thai 1982-86 Plan, although recognising the importance of socio-economic factors in fertility, discussed the relationship the other way round in the role of high population growth rates in determining the level of socio economic growth [Thailand,1981b:13]. In Malaysia family planning was emphasised as an element of general family welfare and not as a part of the socio-economic growth-fertility relationship. Probably this is due in part to the generally favourable socio economic conditions that encourage lower fertility [Jones,1982a:5] and also to the fact that high population growth rates seem generally not to have retarded economic growth in Malaysia.

4.2.4. Population education

Stamper [1977:61-64] divides population education into three categories: family planning education, population education, and use of mass media for family planning information but in this study it proved difficult to differentiate between them. Population education has been defined as program for the study of the population situation in the family, the community, the nation and the world to produce rational and responsible attitudes and behaviour towards population matters. Such programs began during the 1970's in countries, mainly in Asia, including Bangladesh,Thailand and Malaysia [Population Reports, March-April 1982:M-201].

Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan urged a major education campaign to draw attention to the seriousness of population growth and proposed to set up group discussions and various programs to disseminate information [Bangladesh, 1973:539]. The Plan proposed the use of radio television, newspaper, posters and pamphlets in addition to the proposed educational schemes of the various Ministries [Bangladesh, 1973:542]. Population education curricula and instruction materials have been introduced in schools. The multi-sectoral programmes included population education in the formal school system and also created informal groups as change agents including primary school teachers, members, trade union leaders and the like [Bangladesh, 1980:para17.66, 17.94]. It also set up organisation in various ministries for motivational work and recruitment of acceptors, for example, through establishment of population cells in Radio Bangladesh [para17.66], and organised various groups such as religious, youth, and womens' organisation to support family planning activities [para17.71].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan noted the need for population education [Thailand, 1977:102]. The most recent Plan 1982-86 expanded population education [Thailand, 1981a:179, 181], and encouraged local leaders to assist in the coordination of the provision of education and motivation in family planning and child health at the village level. The Plan laid down policy on population education both in and out of schools [Thailand, 1981b:25, 29], and described the dissemination of information about family planning through the mass media and the organisation of seminars [Thailand, 1981a:179, 182].

The Malaysian 1976-80 Plan mentioned the incorporation of population education in the school curriculum and the establishment of a population studies and research programme at the Universiti Malaysia [Malaysia, 1976:para412]. Although Cheong and Lim [1982:Table 5.3] classified population education as being included in the 1981-85 Plan, no direct statement was found.

4.2.5. Delay of marriage to reduce fertility

Delayed marriage will obviously reduce overall fertility rates [Stamper,1977:63] due to shortening the reproduction periods and changes of age patterns [Nyunt,1978:95]. The average age at marriage of females in Burma was 21.3 years in 1973 [Nyunt,1978:96], compared with 23 years in Malaysia [Malaysia,1981:pars545]. In Burma the legal age of marriage for women is 14 years with parental agreement, or 20 years without [Burma,1976:39]. However raising the legal age at marriage would not be effective in countries where the actual age of marriage is usually higher. Policies designed to encourage changes in marriage patterns are only discussed in detail in Bangladesh's 1980-85 Plan and briefly in Thailand's 1982-86 Plan.

The Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan intended to promulgate a law raising the legal age at marriage during the Plan period although no details were given. The current 1980-85 plan stated that the minimum legal age for marriage would be raised from 16 to 18 for females and from 18 to 21 for males and measures would be included to enforce this [Bangladesh,1980:para17.120]. It also suggested various social reforms aimed at raising the age of marriage. Since the mean age at first marriage of females was 16.9 years in 1979 [Shaikh,1982:24], delaying marriage would probably reduce fertility rates in Bangladesh. The Thai 1982-86 Plan stated that it would reduce the tax on unmarried persons in order to raise the age at marriage [Thailand,1981a:180].

4.2.6. Motivation schemes to encourage smaller families

Motivation to encourage smaller families is important because often people have large families because they prefer them. Motivation schemes can either motivate people to desire smaller families or penalize those who have large families [Stamper, 1977:64]. Only Bangladesh and Thailand considered motivation.

Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan considered restricting ration cards to a maximum of two children and debaring couples with more than two children from the benefits of fair price shops [Bangladesh,1973:539].

Past systems for fiscal incentive schemes had led to corruption and inflated reporting [Bangladesh, 1973:544,545]. The current 1980-85 Plan suggested amendments to the Income Tax Act to allow benefits for up to three children, in the case of children already born, and up to two for those born after the amendment. Moreover it proposed that preference be given to single candidates for government jobs and considered charging for the third and subsequent child deliveries in government hospitals and maternity centres, and providing no paid maternity leave for government employees after the second child [Bangladesh, 1980:para 17.124 to 17.129].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan tried to restrict subsidies and benefits to the first four children [Thailand, 1977:101] and studied fiscal incentives used successfully in other countries. In the most recent 1982-86 Plan it suggested special benefits to small families and induced people to use family planning services, particularly sterilization, by conferring payments or awards on acceptors and those who motivate others [Thailand, 1981a:181].

4.2.7. Policies on abortion

It has been said that contraception would be incomplete without some consideration of induced abortion, and some countries have shown that abortion has rapidly reduced the birth rate [Nortman, 1977:24]. Abortion is a sensitive issue for religious belief, since it is related to human life. NAS [1974:94] pointed out that widespread abortion in Latin America has not been legalized largely because of religious opposition. Thai society had fewer religious objections to abortion than Bangladeshi society but abortion is not fully legalized. However, abortion is permitted on medical grounds. In Burma abortion is still illegal except where there is risk to the life of the woman, and in Malaysia it is also permitted on juridical grounds [People wallchart, 1980; United Nations, 1982:Table-43]. Only the Bangladesh and Thailand Plans even discussed policies on abortion.

The Bangladesh 1973-78 plan acknowledged the effectiveness of abortion and considered how this method could be adopted in Bangladesh [Bangladesh, 1973:539:545]. The current 1980-85 Plan stated that "Medical termination of pregnancy within 12 weeks, to save the life of the mother, when there is a risk of the child being born deformed, under certain socio-economic conditions, like pregnancy occurring out of rape or incestuous relationship be allowed by authorised medical practitioners" [Bangladesh, 1980:para17.130].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan expressed a desire to revise the Criminal Code relating to abortion in order to perform abortion for other valid reasons than to preserve a woman's health or social position [Thailand, 1977:101]. The current 1982-86 Plan wished to permit legal abortion for unplanned pregnancies due to failure of contraception [Thailand, 1981a:180].

4.2.8. Improved status of women and fertility decline

It is widely accepted that improvements in the status of women will lead to decreases in fertility and increases in production [Leibenstein, 1975:482-483]. However an improved status of women with its presumed negative effect on fertility was discussed only in the Bangladesh Plans.

The Bangladesh 1973-78 Plan expected that a major educational and motivational drive would bring about women's emancipation but no clear statement was made [Bangladesh, 1973:539]. In the most recent 1980-85 Plan it declared that a high status of women is favourable for family planning and discussed plans for improving the status of women [Bangladesh, 1980:para17.114].

4.3. Conclusion

Burma has to be discussed in a different manner since, it appears to be satisfied with its current population growth rates. (The present intercensal average growth is around 2 per cent). From the few studies available Burma has neither stated that it had high population growth nor a definite population problem. Although knowledge and attitudes towards fertility are not fully understood, increasing literacy rates and few doctrinal constraints on family planning would enable the people to manage family size at desired levels. Desired family size has typically declined fairly quickly as development proceeds [Jones, 1982a:12]. Burmese society seems to prefer fewer children, perhaps because parents are traditionally responsible for bringing up their children well. Since the basic needs expand as development proceeds, parents would prefer fewer children to meet these requirements. (Even if Burma wished to reduce its birth rate it might be wiser for planners to concentrate on this indirect mechanism rather than interfering in sensitive family norms.) Some writers have drawn an analogy to the Marxist ideology of surplus population theory [Mass, 1976:183-186] seeing Burma as having a pronatalist orientation [Lucas, 1981:31; Nortman, 1982: Table-6]. However, no consonant has been found in Burmese ideology, since the Burmese way is not strictly based on Marxist doctrines [Burma, 1963; 1964]. Moreover, as in Thailand [Jones, 1982a:4] there were never any major religious objections or consideration of ethnic balance to birth control at the individual level. As Besemeres [1980:260] explained, many social policies in planned economies that were instituted for non demographic reasons appear to have a considerable impact on demographic development. Modern methods of contraception are not limited although no official support is provided [United Nations, 1980b: Table-56]. However the government recognises family planning as valid on maternal and child health grounds [Nortman, 1982:Table-6]. (Contraception may not be easily available compared with other family planning supported countries, but this does not mean that it is unobtainable.)

Population growth targets are only set when current levels differ from the desired level and this is not the case for Burma at present. Similarly in Malaysia at its present development level it may not be considered necessary to set a target growth rate, although until now it has set modest targets. By contrast in Bangladesh population targets have high priority although it is recognised that the socio economic structure might be a constraint for their implementation. The Thai target of 1.5 per cent per annum growth rate is interesting because of changes in age structure, where by the population of reproductive ages is growing much faster than the population as a whole [Jones, 1981:22; 1982a:8].

Although the importance of family planning activities can not be denied in achieving the desired family size and the rate of population growth, other incentive and disincentive measures that influence fertility are also important. Knowledge of these may help make clearer the relationship between development and population and between socio economic variables and population.

CHAPTER V.

POPULATION POLICIES RELATED TO MIGRATION5.1. Population Policies Related to Migration

Policy makers have traditionally viewed changes in the rate of population growth as the fundamental demographic issue. However the massive urbanisation and rapid growth of urban areas (especially primate cities) have highlighted the maldistribution of population in most countries, including developed countries [Schroeder, 1973:16; Simmons, 1981:87]. A majority of countries now agree that population distribution is their major population problem. This concern can be seen the increased recent literature on population distribution [United Nations, 1981:1; 1980b:40].

The dissatisfaction of a vast majority of developing countries with their existing population distributions is reflected in the way they have come to realise the significant relationship between population distribution and socio-economic development [U.N., 1981:1]. The situation in developing countries is acute because urbanisation is running ahead of the process of economic development. It is clearer in poorer countries, where urbanisation is not based on the industrialisation of the cities but rather on economic stagnation in the countryside [Schroeder, 1973:16]. Spatial distribution is not the only problem. The nature and extent of spatial disparities in labour availability and opportunities and rapid migration to large urban centres are also matters of concern [U.N., 1980b: 40]. According to Willis [1974:1] "The genesis of migration lies in dissatisfaction with the contemporary environment. Disparity of opportunity provides the main motive force behind migration, whether this is to enjoy levels of living in terms of income or the physical social environment.". Corner [1982a:83] also explained migration as a response to differentials in economic opportunities, noting that economic development has greatly contributed to the growth and influenced the direction of migration flows in developing countries. Past

development efforts have been concentrated in urban centres so it is not surprising that the rural-urban flow of migrants has dominated in developing countries.

The distribution of a country's population is closely related to the distribution of job opportunities. As Spengler and Myers [1977:23] explained "Employment, in turn, tends to expand in areas where a great deal already exists, signifying the presence of both employment opportunity and diversified manpower, and in areas of potential opportunity, where 'job makers' seek 'job takers.'"

Two patterns are similar for most developing countries; urban growth is faster than total population growth; and there is continuous net migration from rural areas to small and medium-sized cities, and then to large cities. The reasons for these flows, as discussed above, can be seen as primarily economic, since larger cities provide better earning and employment opportunities [Mera, 1981:33; Corner, 1981:11; Simmons, 1981:88]. Economists are interested in migration because of a wider concern to understand the operation of the whole economic system [Corner, 1982b:14]. As noted in chapter 3, even though life is difficult in urban areas, it is better than in many rural areas. Thus most of the developing countries have to some extent been dissatisfied with the spatial distribution of their population, and the main spatial policy effort has been to reduce interregional disparities in income and welfare and to limit the rural-urban migration flow [Richardson, 1981:16; Beier, 1976:12].

All of the four countries under study replied positively of their intention to intervene in population distribution to the Fourth Inquiry of the United Nations [1980b: Table 39]. Burma and Malaysia took the view that their existing spatial distributions were slightly unacceptable and that limited intervention was appropriate, whereas Bangladesh considered that it was substantially unacceptable and therefore substantial intervention was appropriate. Thailand felt that the existing distribution was extremely unacceptable and that only radical intervention would be appropriate [U.N., 1980b: Table-73].

According to Mera [1981:33-34] the objectives with respect to spatial distribution can be either to maintain the status quo in patterns of distribution, or to equalize the distribution of population and activities among all regions within a country. However in practice although these two objectives may be held simultaneously, the emphasis varies from one country to another. The first objective can be seen in attempts to halt the flow of rural-urban migrants and the growth of urban centres while the second can be seen in resettlement policies. Mera [pp38-39] also pointed out the importance of alternative policies which may have an indirect affect , such as industrialisation, or the degree of power held by the central government.

The issues involved in the spatial distribution of population and economic activities are, in many cases, not properly formulated [Mera,1981:40]. One of the reasons for the weakness in implementing distribution goals is the limited capacity of planners to influence distribution. The impact of planning is often only by means of infrastructure location and through decisions and actions affecting the location of private industry. The spatial distribution of economic activity is a by-product of both public and private sector actions and private sector actions may operate quite independently unless policies concerning the distribution of industry are very strong. It is often difficult for government to resist pressure to make infrastructural investments in locations favoured by the private sector [Richardson,1981:17]. Although most developing countries have mixed economies, Schroeder [1973:16-17] argued that "Since the movement from rural to urban areas is primarily based on a desire for economic improvement it is difficult or nearly impossible for countries with market economies to restrict such internal migration..". He noted that socialist countries such as China and Soviet Union have attempted to limit the flow to the cities but even they have met with only limited success.

This chapter presents the major policy measures affecting population distribution. Metropolitan cities are always seen as important to population distribution [Simmons, 1981:88-89;

Richardson, 1981:10-11; Hasen, 1981:113] and have been given much attention. Rural development, both to reduce urbanisation [Simmons, 1981:95] and promote agricultural development [Findley, 1981:151-153] are discussed in two aspects while secondary growth poles are treated separately as measures to reduce metropolitan growth rates or restrict economic disparities [Simmons, 1981:94]. Motivation, such as the education system's orientation towards rural living is also important since the rural youth are the future leaders of rural development [Findley, 1981:150].

5.1.1. Metropolitan areas and optimal cities

The deceleration of metropolitan population growth is almost a universal goal of developing countries, even where total population is relatively small. Targets to reduce the growth of cities can be expressed in different forms [Richardson, 1981:11]. Although there is no clear theory of optimal city size, most countries have some idea of maximum city limits. Bangladesh is concerned about the growth of metropolitan areas while Thailand had already set a target population for the Bangkok Metropolis.

In Bangladesh's 1973-78 Plan measures were only taken to reduce the overall natural increase, which is seen as the major problem [Bangladesh, 1973:383]. The most recent 1980-85 Plan discussed the future unmanageable size of Dacca, Chittagong and Khulna and mentioned that policies were needed for the long-term distribution of population including appropriate policies for rural-urban balance and an optimum pattern of urbanisation [Bangladesh, 1980:para 19.92, 19.101].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan proposed that the growth of the Bangkok Metropolitan areas should be limited at some appropriate level to check urban congestion and improve the existing environment. Its population in 1975 of 4 million, 60 per cent of all urban dwellers in the country, was increasing at a rate of 4.8 per cent per year [Thailand, 1977:224-226]. In spite of efforts to reverse the flow of migrants to Bangkok [Thailand, 1977:105], the recent 1982-86 Plan admitted that the policy has not been properly implemented because of

ambiguities policies and lack of coordination between government agencies [Thailand,1981a:148]. By 1980 Bangkok's population as a proportion of the national urban population had increased to 63 per cent, and was 50 times larger than the second largest city, Chiang Mai [p147]. The Plan proposed to limit Bangkok's population to 6 million in addition to 2.3 million in five surrounding towns by the end of 1986 [Thailand,1981a:149].

Although not stated in the Burmese Development Plans, the population of Rangoon City was 2,458,712 according to the 1983 advance release Census data. It showed an increase of 443,482 (an annual average of 2 per cent) between 1973 and 1983. Next in size was Mandalay with 532,895 persons and Moulmein with 219,991 persons. The total population of Rangoon city was about 7 per cent of the Union population, and 29 per cent of the national urban population (24 per cent of the total population was urban). The average annual increase of Rangoon city is less than the total average annual increase of 2.02 per cent [WPD, 29 October 1983] suggesting that the growth of the urban population has not been a major problem in Burma. At present there is no strict regulation of population distribution although Peoples' Councils have authority over individuals wishing to move into an area. In practice this is rarely used and can be over-ruled by Township Councils. The Burmese Constitution gives citizens the right to settle and reside in any place according to the law [Moscotti,1977:111] and at present there are no laws to restrict movement. Under the revised Citizenship Rules and Regulations now being formulated it may be possible, in theory at least, to introduce some controls. The present Population Registration System, although in theory persons must register changes of residence, is not very effective. To enforce the regulation, the above mentioned revised Rules and Regulations would be necessary but these would probably be introduced in relation to political and military, rather than population planning objectives. However, city authorities have often organised city dwellers to be more disciplined where city growth has resulted in traffic congestion and littering [Party Affairs July 1982:20-27].

TABLE 5.1
Policies Related to Migration in Development Plans

Country	Plan Period	Metropolitan Areas and Optimal Cities	Rural Development to Reduce Urbanisation	Secondary Urban and Rural Growth Centres	Rural Development and Agricultural Development	Educational System Oriented Towards Rural Living	International Migration Policies
Bangladesh	1973-78						
	1980-85	X	X	X	X	X	X
Burma	1978-79 onwards	-					
Malaysia	1976-80			X	X		
	1981-85			X	X		
Thailand	1977-81	X	X	X	X	X	X
	1982-86	X		X	X	X	X

SOURCES: Development Plans.

In contrast, the Malaysian Plans expressed more satisfaction with the existing urban distribution, although excessive and uncontrolled growth of large Metropolitan areas will be avoided by giving priority to other areas [para 640]. The recent 1981-85 Plan recorded a relative lessening of the dominance of the four largest towns of Kuala Lumpur, George Town, Ipoh and Johor Bahru [para 252].

5.1.2. Rural development to reduce urbanisation

Rural development is one way of solving urbanisation problems. Although rural development can reduce urbanisation, none of the countries under study are likely to reduce current levels of urbanisation. Simmons [1981:95] showed that concentration on rural and agricultural development is one way to slow metropolitan growth, but he also pointed out the danger of reducing rural-urban income differentials at the cost of overall economic growth.

Rural development as a strategy to reduce urbanisation was discussed by the Thai 1976-81 Plan and mentioned by the Bangladesh 1980-85 Development Plan. The Bangladesh Plan noted that poverty is a rural phenomenon and that even urban slums are reverberations of rural poverty. Widespread landlessness and unemployment and under-employment are the manifestation of this poverty [para7.6]. Although detailed measures were not presented, the Plan expressed the need for a strong industrial location policy for an optimal pattern of rural-urban migration [para19.92]. Only the Thai 1977-81 Plan expressly stated that "To slow down rural-urban migration, more rapid implementation of rural projects will be necessary." [Thailand,1977:116]. The Thai current Plan did not discuss the problems of reducing urbanisation. Burma and Malaysia have implemented rural development but not to reduce urbanisation. These measures will be mentioned in section 5.1.4. below.

The problem in spatial distribution is not that developing countries are overurbanised, but arises from the overconcentration of people and investments in a few metropolitan areas. This limits the development potential and constrains the spread of benefits outside the metropolitan areas [Rondinelli and Ruddle, 1978:18-19].

5.1.3. Secondary urban and rural growth centres

As development proceeds, there is a tendency towards greater interregional decentralization and intraregional dispersion. Through development, congestion in metropolitan areas can be relieved if the secondary urban or rural growth centres are successfully located to attract new migrants and urban workers [Simmons, 1981:94]. A controversial argument, some countries have rejected this approach after experimenting with various growth strategies, for a variety of political and practical reasons [Conroy, 1973:371-380].

Encouraging regional development could be justified as a means of decentralisation [Hassen, 1981: 126]. Secondary urban centres can be developed into regional industrial and commercial centres as well as locations for decentralised transportation, marketing, educational services and government functions [Rondinelli and Ruddle, 1981: 81-82]. However this requires a huge amount of capital investment with long gestation periods. Although the effectiveness is not yet clear, Bangladesh and Thailand proposed secondary urban and rural growth centres. Malaysia employed a similar strategy but in order to balance regional disparities rather than to solve problems of urbanisation.

The Bangladesh 1980-85 Plan proposed the development of about 1200 growth centres outside the present urban locations [para 19.4 and 19.16]. The Plan recognised the necessity of a decentralised administration and political system associated with local level planning and implementation [12.301]. These were principally to solve rural problems of poverty and underemployment but were also to relieve pressure on existing urban areas.

The Thai 1977-81 Plan encouraged urban growth outside the Bangkok Metropolitan area partly to stem migration into Bangkok [Thailand, 1977:224]. It preferred intra-regional migration since this would eventually increase regional urban growth [p105]. The current 1982-86 Plan hoped to develop regional urban growth centres and low-order centres in all regions to balance growth [Thailand, 1981a:147].

Although not discussed in the Burmese Development Plans, an element of the basic political structure is to develop a balanced distribution of socio-economic activity, in other words, to narrow regional disparities. Thus it is essential to promote underdeveloped areas to achieve the equal distribution goals [Party Affairs, 1967:19]. As noted in section 3.3.1. new industries and plantation are chosen in relatively underdeveloped areas. This requires some central policies on industrial location because the potential of underdeveloped regions will not otherwise be realised. However these policies have not been formally constructed in terms of secondary growth centres. These measures, as discussed in section 4.3., although adopted for nondemographic reasons have an impact on demographic development.

The Malaysian 1976-80 Plan [Malaysia, 1976:para181] hoped "to encourage the growth of a large number of urban centres dispersed across the country not only to relieve the pressure on existing metropolitan areas but also to expand the number of marketing outlets for the rural hinterland". Urban growth is inter-related with industrial expansion so development of urban centres plays a key role in the strategy to reduce regional disparities [para639]. The current 1981-85 Plan described urban studies undertaken in order to ensure the systematic and integrated development of new townships and growth centres [para254 and 255]. As Malaysia is achieving relatively high economic growth, it is capable of shifting manpower and capital resources on the scale required [para260+261].

5.1.4. Rural development and agricultural development

Whenever rural development is encouraged in market economy, even although the original strategy was not meant to promote large land-owners, peasants may be driven to landlessness in the new commercial situation. Implementation of new technologies requires substantial cash outlays for inputs such as seeds, fertilizer, water, pesticides and others, which the poor farmers usually cannot afford. As a result land-owners may become richer and farmers are left behind. Moreover, agricultural product prices may also decrease as output increases [Griffin, 1973: 243-250] placing further strains on peasant producers. These problems were discussed by the Bangladesh and Thailand Plans.

The Bangladesh 1980-85 Plan approaches rural development by means of a comprehensive strategy [7.5]. Rejecting both capitalist and communist agriculture, it chose a third alternative described as agrarian growth with equity [7.24]. The Plan assumed that poverty is particularly a rural phenomenon and that urban poverty and slum areas are reverberations of rural poverty. It aims to create employment opportunities in the rural areas at a rate faster than the growth of the labour force [12.5]. Although measures were not yet formulated, it mentioned that spatial planning would be taken during the plan period [1980-85] to foster comprehensive rural development [7.19].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan explained that crop failure increased the flow of migrants into urban areas [p28], and decided to support comprehensive agriculture development [p116]. The current 1982-86 Plan will accelerate rural development and support more stable employment in rural areas to reduce migration from rural to urban areas. It will organise land cooperatives and land reform cooperatives in areas suitable for increasing agricultural production in order to encourage migration into these areas, and support and encourage population in low income, high density areas to move into unpopulated but potentially high productivity areas [Thailand, 1981b:78-80].

Burma is also predominately an agriculture country, but compared with market economies has fewer agrarian problems for farmers. The Peasant Protection Act was passed in 1963 as part of extension land reform measures in the land to the tiller programme under which land is owned and controlled by the state. The agricultural sector is in peasant hands and production depends largely on their efficiency. In 1982/83 there were still 21 million acres of cultivable waste land against 20.3 million acres net area sown [Burma, 1983: Table 15]. Under the long term perspective policy, cultivable waste land will be provided for whoever wishes to work it, whether individually or as a commune [Burma, 1974: 247]. However, nearly three-quarters of cultivable waste land lies in the frontier states [Burma, 1972: 17, Table 12] which are sparsely populated and isolated from markets by lack of transport facilities. Thus in Burma it appears that a shortage of capital and population to cultivate land, rather than a population surplus pressing on limited land resources, is the major demographic problem for rural development policy.

The Malaysian 1976-80 Plan continued the development of new land to promote growth in agriculture, manufacturing and services in the poorer States [para 631]. In 1975 there were still 17 million acres of cultivable land to be developed however most of this land is in East Malaysia [para 191]. The Outline Perspective Plan [1971-90] presented the broad objectives including enlargement of opportunities for those engaged in low productivity occupations to move to more productive endeavours in agriculture and other sectors [para 185]. The Plan stated that "The government will ensure that there will be adequate urban to rural flow of capital and skills to provide for the employment needs of the rural population and check the rural urban migration [para 296]. The recent Plan [1981-85] also gave highest priority to agriculture and rural development [para 227]. Over 886,100 hectares of new land were developed under different agencies such as FELDA, FELCRA, RISDA [para 659]. The Federal land development agencies alone has resettled more than 42 thousand families [para 663]. Thus Simmonds [1981: 98] classified Malaysia as having a strong rural development policies in relation to population distribution.

5.1.5. Educational system oriented towards rural living

It is widely accepted that formal education in developing countries has encouraged migration from rural to urban areas. Many studies found that rural youths migrated to cities either to find suitable non-agricultural jobs or to continue their studies [Findley, 1981:150]. Other studies confirm that more educated people are more likely to migrate to urban areas than less or uneducated people [Simmons et al, 1977:55; Urzua, 1981:59-60]. Yet of the four selected countries, only Bangladesh and Thailand formally recognised in their Plans that their education systems need to motivate the younger generations towards rural living.

The Bangladesh 1980-85 Plan stated that its universal primary education system would emphasise environmental studies and relevance for rural life and occupations and that non-formal programmes would be linked with productive activities like farming, rural industries and others [7.43].

The Thai 1977-81 Plan realised that its present education system had not been consistent with the local requirement, especially the agricultural economic system and proposed modifications [Thailand, 1977:244, 247]. However the current 1982-86 Plan still claimed that the education system is totally unrelated to social needs and the requirements of the local market. It argued that the system had not been adequately designed to improve the living standards of farmers, and proposed more measures to bring education into line with the economic and social development of the country [Thailand, 1981a:164, 202].

5.2. International Migration

Although this study does not cover international migration, two significant features exist in relation to more general development problems. Bangladesh's 1980-85 Plan identified a brain drain problem and intended to adjust the emigration of skilled manpower in order to avoid loss of output [para18.50].

In reply to the Fourth United Nations Inquiry all the countries under study had reported that they were satisfied with their international emigration pattern [United Nations,1980b:Table 97]. Thailand was the only country which stated that international immigration was too high and favoured a policy of curbing immigration in future [United Nations, 1980b: Table 79,82]. (Malaysia is also indicated in the same category with Thailand in United Nations, 1982: Table 45,46]. The Third 1977-81 Plan stated that the influx of refugees should be halted, and that they should be encouraged to return to their homelands or to other third countries [Thailand,1977:106]. The current 1982-86 expressed similar hopes to alleviate the difficulties and hardships facing Thailand and its people due to the inflow of refugees [Thailand,1981b: 69].

5.3. Conclusion

Spatial distribution is closely related with economy of a particular country or region and in market economies, distribution is largely the result of the market forces. Population tends to be concentrated in large urban market areas. In planned economies, allocation decisions are generally planned for equitable growth and distribution. It is necessary to have strong policies to achieve distribution goals and coordination across various levels of government is also essential [Simmons,1981:98-99]. Burma as a planned economy has a certain degree of control over internal and international migration, and greater central power over the allocation of resources that might reduce its distribution problems in comparison with the other countries. In Burma, strict regulation of the rural/urban distribution of economic activity, by reducing the

incentives for rural-urban migration and encouraging regional dispersal of population, has resulted in an apparently low level of concern over demographic distribution issues. However, this is really due to the fact that these issues have been tackled directly by economic policies that controlled demographic distribution before it became a problem. Of the other three countries, all showed awareness of the demographic aspects of an uneven distribution of economic activity (both as causes and consequences) but only Malaysia seemed to have achieved some progress in its distribution goals [Simmons, 1981:98-99].

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION6.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the institutional framework within which planning takes place in each of the countries to allow a more complete assessment of the particular relationship between population planning and general planning in each country.

6.2. Population Planning and General Planning in the Study Countries

Population planning is essential for development whether a country adopts a pro or anti-natalist policy, at least to provide basic information for general planning. For Burma population is seen as providing basic data for manpower planning and the organisation of the distribution of goods and services. Due to the past moderate population growth rate population is not seen as a major problem. The recent average annual intercensal growth rate was 2.02 per cent.

In contrast, Bangladesh because of its large size of population and present high population growth rate since 1951 has used planning for reduction of the growth rate. The 1981 Census recorded a total population of more than 87 million and a 2.85 per cent average annual growth rate during 1974-81 [the rate adjusted for underenumeration was 2.36 per cent] [United Nations, 1981b, 13; Bangladesh, 1981b:2].

Thailand also experienced a high population growth rate in the past and aimed for a reduction of the growth rate. Until 1960 Thailand had adopted a pro-natalist policy and experienced a high population growth rate but after this it decided that the high population growth rate was not desirable. However the latest 1980 Census recorded a population of more than 44 million [Thailand, 1980:14] and a 2.56 per cent average annual intercensal

growth rate during 1970-80. The estimated population growth rate in 1981 was 2.1 per cent [United Nations, 1976:11; Thailand, 1981b:14].

Malaysia also experienced a high population growth rate since 1911 and estimated that its population increased at an average 2.8 per cent during 1970-80. The previous census 1970 had recorded the intercensal annual growth rate as about 2.9 per cent during 1954-70 [Aziz, 1981:36]. However Malaysia's total population is small [14.3 million in 1980] in relation to its geographic area and natural resources. The recent 1980 natural increase is estimated to be 2.3 per cent and at present government intentions for the population growth rate are difficult to classify. [Malaysia, 1981:para189-192, See also above section 2.2.].

Population planning in Burma is mainly used for manpower planning and to estimate the demand for various goods and services. In respect of development objectives Burma seems to regard population growth factors to be irrelevant, and wishes neither to reduce nor to increase its growth rate. Like Malaysia, there is no real population pressure on resources. Bangladesh sees population as a barrier to development and aims to reduce its population growth rate. The large size of population and high growth rate is not appropriate to the limited available land area and increased unemployment and poverty problems. Thailand regards both the rate of population growth and its distribution as development problems. Malaysia seems to be moving to a view that population is perhaps too small for development because of the small size of the domestic market, but regards better distribution of population as an integral part of its development goals.

Thailand and Bangladesh have a direct approach to fertility control. In Thailand family planning has been quite successful and the government is now introducing a more direct approach to distribution policies. Fertility control is integrated with health and rural development but the emphasis is on fertility. The main objectives of Thailand's distribution policy is to reduce the high growth rate of the Bangkok area. Bangladesh declared the population problem to be the major national problem and top priority was given to

the population programme [United Nation,1980b: 22]. Although Bangladesh had a direct and broad and integrated approach to fertility control it has not been as successful as in Thailand. Jones [1982b:32-33] explained that there was very limited capacity to undertake population planning in the broader sense until 1981 when Population and Development Planning Unit was established.

Malaysia's approach to the demographic aspects of development is more indirect. Family planning is conducted as part of the health and welfare policy and population distribution policies are part of regional development and regional planning policies.

6.3. Conclusion

In the real world there are no completely planned or unplanned economies, and planning is increasingly only a matter of degree. The essential difference between planning in market economies and centrally planned economies is the nature of inducements and control [Todaro,1971:2-3]. Plans in non-capitalist countries tend to have more follow up and implementation programmes that are used to provide direction or policy guide lines. Plans are meant to be implemented because they are part of the process of economic management. By contrast, in market economies plans are not used to control but rather to provide directions to the economy.

The Basic Needs are in general included in the development programme of socialist oriented countries and thus the most rapid progress in satisfying Basic Needs at relatively low income levels has been made mostly by countries of socialist orientation [Cassen,1979:403].

Burma has been acknowledged as achieving significant progress on life expectancy [Stewart,1979:24]. As discussed above, Burma does not see population growth as an obstacle for development. Economic growth in recent years at above 6 per cent per annum [Naya,1983:Table 13; Steinberg,1983:4-5] would indicate that population pressures have not yet distorted the economy, although there is some evidence of

shortages of labour at peak seasons [Steinberg, 1983:11]. The recent population growth rate of around 2 per cent cannot be regarded as too high, but future policies might place more emphasise on the quality of population. However at present, Burma is beginning to recognise the role of population in development planning and the importance of obtaining precise and reliable statistical data for systematic and effective formulation and implementation of socio-economic plans [W.P.D., 1984: 14 January].

Bangladesh is typical of countries with a large population and a high growth rate. Population issues are a problem, for such a country with limited land area and resources. Economic performance has also been weak partly because it is a newly independent country and population issues can be expected to continue to dominate planning in Bangladesh into the future.

Thailand with fairly high economic growth [Naya, 1983:Table 9], although aiming at reduction of its population growth, does not have as serious a population problem. Its major development problems seem to be related more to economic and political questions rather than to population. Thus Krannich and Krannich [1980:72] have predicted that Thailand may even adopt a pro natalist policy in the future.

Malaysia compared with the other developing countries has a higher level of economic growth and better data on demographic phenomena. The Malaysian recent official view on population growth is ambiguous. It appears ready to prefer a larger population. Problems of development in Malaysia that have an important demographic aspect are mostly associated with racial group problems and the implementation of the New Economic Policy to eliminate the existing identification of race with economic activity and level of economic wellbeing.

Population related objectives are usually secondary development objectives that are necessary for the achievement of the economic goals that are the vital primary goals for a country. The particular model that is appropriate to attain maximal economic growth may vary

from country to country and optimum population characteristics will also depend on the particular country's economy and society. The relationship between population and development is not yet clear and may vary according to a country's economic and social structure. However, where ever development is meant for the entire population (Basic Needs approach), the collection of demographic data and the integration of population planning in the general socio economic planning process will continue to be of vital importance for the achievement of general development objectives.

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