

happen, to ensure that all contributed to rapid growth and all shared some of the benefits. Development became the logic and the central objective of domestic policy.

Campos and Root are right in crediting domestic factors and made-at-home policies for the economic success of the Asian Tigers. This sets them apart, for example, from the World Bank's 1993 study, *The East Asian Miracle*, which credits neo-classical market force as the determinant of miracle growth in East Asia. While Campos and Root look for enlightened and effective leadership to trigger GwE, the WB prescription, as is well-known, puts the emphasis on the standard neo-classical medicine of structural adjustment with virtually no concern (until very recently) for political institutions, leadership and the cultural determinants of development.

In their concluding chapter, Campos and Root briefly discuss the rise of East Asia in a comparative perspective. Their admiration for the East Asian success story is slightly tempered by the realization that in future the Asian high performers will face increasing political challenges. Having conquered the economic challenge of replacing poverty with prosperity, these countries will have to "accommodate a policy dialogue" (p. 177) amongst divergent interest groups often cutting across multi-ethnic identities.

What are the subjects of this dialogue? On these matters *The Key to Asian Miracle* is largely silent. There is hardly any discussion of the future of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, in particular in Malaysia and Indonesia, where ethnicity remains a sensitive, taboo issue. Similarly, the issue of how to balance worker rights and labour standards in an increasingly affluent society is also ignored. The role of the army in economic development and in politics is not discussed. The question of gender equality is also put aside. While there is a passing reference to rent-seeking behaviour, the topic deserves much more serious attention. Rather surprisingly, the rapid emergence of China, and the implications of this fact on the rest of the East Asian economies as well as globally, are avoided. Quite surprisingly, the book

relies too heavily on Western sources; for example, in the case of Malaysia and Indonesia hardly any local scholars (for example Syed Husin Ali, Ungku Aziz, Jomo to name but a few) are cited. This omission is especially awkward in a work intended to stress the importance of domestic policy; after all, much of the credit for redistributive policies in these countries belongs to local scholarship, which provided solid empirical and analytical support for GwE strategy. It is about time that Western scholarship freed itself from Eurocentric tendencies, explicit or implicit.

These limitations aside, the authors have produced a well-written, well-presented work which should be of great benefit to any serious student of development. *The Key to Asian Miracle: Making Shared Growth Creditable*, is a welcome addition to the literature on the subject.

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Population in Asia. By Warren C Sanderson and Jee-Peng Tan. World Bank Regional and Sectoral Studies. Washington DC: IBRD/World Bank, 1995. Pp. 243.

Although the commendably simple title of this book sounds impossibly ambitious, the content is more modest: a description and appraisal of selected aspects of family planning policy and services delivery for selected countries of Asia. While the topic is clearly that of population, it is not a book by demographers or for demographers. "The primary audience is policymakers with a general and broad interest in population matters" (p. 1) "... policymakers with a broad rather than a specialized interest in population problems" (p. 5).

The book is well written, clearly presented, and strongly supported by some 60 tables and 29 figures with the authors providing their own brief guide to the contents (p. 4). There are eight

chapters which they describe as being divided into three parts. The first part, comprising chapters one to three, provides what they term *the demographic context for population policies*. This terminology gives a rather inflated view of the content. The “demographic context” is largely confined to discussion of population growth rates, crude birth and death rates, a brief mention of other measures of mortality, and a slightly more substantial discussion of the impact of age structure on fertility. The “population policies” relate, not to population *per se* (migration and most other non-fertility variables are lightly touched upon or expressly excluded), but to family planning.

The authors make much of what they refer to as the “crossover” concept: “low-fertility countries in 1985–89 tended to be countries with relatively low mortality in the 1950s, whereas high-fertility countries in 1985–89 tended to be countries with comparatively high mortality in the 1950s” (p. 46). Their discussion documents population growth rates from 1950–54 through 1985–89 but focuses largely on fertility and does not appear to acknowledge the increased significance generally accorded mortality decline as a precursor to fertility reduction in the transitional experience of many countries. In the course of this discussion the authors, somewhat grandiloquently, refer to the decomposition of the crossover phenomenon, not to refer to any real statistical decomposition but to the depiction of crude birth and death rates separately, rather than as *total* growth rates. Later they describe Bongaart’s method for decomposing the Total Fertility Rate (TFR), but it is erroneously cited in the decomposition equation as the TRF. In Chapter 3, the discussion shifts to consider the efficacy of policies in reducing fertility levels and slowing population growth with particular reference to what they term such “policy-dependent factors as contraceptive prevalence and method mix” (p. 4).

The second part of the volume, again consisting of three chapters, represents the main core of the study and focuses on current “programmatically interventions” which aim to influence fertility and population growth. Chapter 4 documents the cost of these programmes and how they are financed,

emphasizing the division of responsibility between the public and private sectors, noting the limited opportunity for private sector participation in most instances at present and recommending its expansion. Because the government is the predominant actor in service delivery in most Asian countries, they argue, Chapter 5 is devoted to providing additional details on how those services are organized, whom they benefit, and how those services can be strengthened through partnership with non-governmental organizations and other private providers. Chapter 6 examines the family planning programmes in China, India, and Indonesia, countries chosen for two reasons: because of the large size of these countries their choice of policies affecting fertility trends influences the lives of more people; and the data for some of the smaller countries are less complete and reliable (contestable observations in specific cases).

The third part of the book comprises two chapters which examine the population prospects of Asian countries. In Chapter 7, the discussion is concerned with future population sizes of Asian countries, the underlying assumptions and the sensitivity of the World Bank population projections to alternative policy scenarios, particularly the timing of the achievement of replacement fertility levels. Finally, because the projections predict that all the developing countries of Asia will experience considerable population growth in the foreseeable future, Chapter 8 focuses on the implications of future population growth for environmental management, the provision of social services, employment related policies, and the development of urban infrastructure.

In addition to these eight chapters, which occupy the first 196 pages of the text, there are three substantial and relatively technical appendices and two lengthy lists of references but, disappointingly (in accordance with the World Bank’s policy of regarding such books as “reports”) no index.

The approach is strictly a top-down one in which enlightened “intervention” (the word recurs frequently) and the optimal deployment of resources as determined by established institutions

will effectively implement policies and achieve acceptable objectives within the strictures of approved economic policy. Consistent with the World Bank's established perspective, the Foreword makes quite clear the utility of this study (and indeed of population analysis generally) in the overall scheme of things: essentially, population is yet another variable requiring attention to enlighten the process of economic policy development.

In recognition of the significant impact that population has on economic and social development, the World Bank ... continues to play an active role ... in support of countries' efforts to address population issues. The present study adds to the Bank's growing stock of analytical work on population [and] capitalizes on the large amounts of data typically collected by World Bank staff ... (p. xv).

From their overview of findings in the introductory chapter the authors identify what they regard as "three key messages". First, they assert that family planning programmes in Asia have helped to lower fertility and population growth by increasing the spread of contraceptive knowledge and contraceptive use but their effectiveness in sustaining further fertility decline can be improved.

Additional resources are warranted in countries at earlier stages of fertility decline ... In many other countries, better allocations and targeting of available resources are needed (p. 6).

Secondly, they consider that investments in family planning services are essential but not sufficient. Also needed are investments to improve social and economic conditions. In the early stages of fertility decline,

bottlenecks in the supply of family planning services often limit fertility decline, but as services become more widely available and accessible, progress towards lower fertility depends increasingly on strengthening the demand for small families (p. 6).

Thirdly, the youthful age-structure momentum will continue to generate population increase, and coping with enlarged numbers, changing age

structures and rural-urban distribution "will continue to present significant challenges for economic policy developments" (p. 6).

The proposed solutions to the issues raised are either more resources (investment) or more efficient deployment and targeting of them. There is a conspicuous absence of references (such as the Donald Warwick [1982] critique) in which the writers suggest that populations differ in their value systems, in their responsiveness to official directives or propaganda, and in their motivation to accept small families or that a less mechanistic less resource-based approach, operating from the bottom up, might have a significant contribution to make to the reduction of fertility levels. This is epitomised by the authors' use of the analogy of the reduction of mortality levels by the provision of public health services as a model for fertility decline.

To reduce mortality, governments or private institutions must provide medical facilities, trained staff, and medicine ... The sorts of institutional arrangements necessary to provide modern health care are similar to those needed to provide family planning services (pp. 7, 47).

Leaving aside the historical issue of the efficacy of medical intervention in reducing mortality, there are fundamental differences between population's attitudes to reductions in mortality and reductions in fertility, and therefore equally fundamental differences in people's responsiveness to the institutional measures provided to achieve those changes. The universal desire to reduce mortality is not paralleled by a universal desire to reduce fertility. If *motivation* is ignored, the best-intentioned and best-funded institutional arrangements for implementing fertility reduction may well remain unsuccessful. This is not a view adopted by the writers of this volume who consider that, if institutional measures are not proving effective in the reduction of fertility it is attributable to some countries lacking the

social capacity ... those characteristics of the social, political, and economic organization of a country that enhance the capability of institutions, particularly the government, to provide social services to the population as well as to

enhance the capacity of individuals to use those services appropriately (pp. 7, 47).

Given this apparent reluctance to acknowledge behavioural differences in individuals and populations, a serious difficulty arises when apparently similar levels of participation in family planning practices produces different results.

Although increases in contraceptive prevalence were the main reason for the decreases in fertility, the authors assert at the conclusion of a set of country case studies, the comparison among the five countries underscores the possible variation in total fertility rates, even when rates of contraceptive prevalence are comparable.

So, in a rather plaintive observation, they have to add:

People can and do influence their fertility in many ways, some of which can offset or complement the fertility-reducing effects of increases in contraceptive use. (p. 63).

The predisposition to adopt a particular perspective on the issue of fertility reduction results in a strong emphasis on World Bank and similar sources and omission of a substantial literature on Asian fertility. The demographic literature *per se* is only lightly drawn upon, and the extensive discussion of Asian population issues appearing over the last decade in journals such as the *Population and Development Review* and the *Asia-Pacific Population Journal* (in which the overwhelming majority of articles are on fertility and family planning) does not rate a mention. Even on such demographically fundamental matters as the determinants of fertility, the brief evaluation of the literature reflects a consistent viewpoint based on a particular value judgement.

On the determinants of fertility, the literature generally consists of statistical analyses involving individual, contextual and policy variables. The best of these studies offers insights into the responsiveness of fertility to specific intervention. When combined with cost information, the results can guide the design of appropriate policies to influence fertility (p. 2).

Perceptions of the effectiveness of this study

will largely depend on the extent to which this approach accords with readers' own views. In the areas of the subject which the volume addresses, the treatment is both competent and comprehensive. But for those who view the populations concerned as active participants in the process of change rather than merely respondents to institutional management of their fertility there remains a substantial world unrecognised by this analysis.

REFERENCE

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***Singapore-India Relations: A Primer*. Edited by Yong Mun Cheong and V.V. Bhanoji Rao. Singapore: Singapore University Press, National University of Singapore, 1995, Pp. xvii, 299.**

This volume is a thematic compilation of 10 articles on the historical, political, social, cultural, economic and legal dimensions of Singapore-India relations authored by contributors forming the Study Group on Singapore-India Relations (SGSIR) in the National University of Singapore. It seeks to present a multi-disciplinary framework to study the multi-faceted Singapore-India linkages and interactions right from the point of the founding of modern Singapore in 1819 unto the present times and the prospects of enlarging and strengthening those relations in the future. Aptly titled as a primer, it grew out of a conference held in Singapore in 1994 titled "Singapore-India: Gearing up for the 21st Century" under the sponsorship of SGSIR. The diverse topics covered by the contributors are thematically introduced by the editors in the introductory chapter, and the eleventh chapter, the