

ABSTRACT

Two great debates—whether population growth is a problem and how to address the problem if one exists—dominated population policy discussions in the 20th century. The debate about *whether* pitted those who saw rapid population growth as a problem against those who believed the cries of alarm were false. The debate about *how* was conducted between advocates of the direct delivery of contraceptives through family planning programs and those who counseled a broader, more holistic approach. The debate about *how* was largely resolved by the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development at Cairo; the debate about *whether* remains unresolved.

Environmentalists, ecologists, and physical scientists generally support the view that rapid population growth is harmful, but economists remain largely unconvinced. Contemporary declines in fertility and the end of the population crisis mentality of the mid- to late 20th century could, ironically, diminish public support for precisely those programs that have been responsible for the rapid fertility decline of the past 3 decades—programs that will be required to complete the “demographic transition” in those parts of the developing world where fertility remains very high. (*Am J Public Health*. 2000;90:1841–1845)

The Great Population Debates: How Relevant Are They for the 21st Century?

Steven W. Sinding, PhD

Few subjects have engendered more heated debate in the development field over the past 50 years than population growth and what, if anything, to do about it.^{1,2} These debates have dominated the 3 international conferences on population that have been convened since 1974, and they persist in one form or another to the present day.^{3,4} Will the subjects of high fertility, rapid population growth, and family planning stir intellectual and political passions in the proximate future to anything like the degree they have in the recent past?

Before trying to answer that question, I need to review the bases and the substance of the debates of the past several decades and where things stand today. The great debates of the population field have revolved around 2 core questions: Is there a global population crisis? If so, what is to be done about it? There are, of course, many subsidiary questions, some of which I will review, but these core questions are the ones policymakers have been most concerned about and have thus produced the most passionate debates. I should also note that I am well aware that demographic issues have stimulated intense conflict since at least the time of Malthus, 2 centuries ago, but the conflict has played out in the global political arena only since the end of World War II. This is because explosive population growth became a significant global issue, as well as a significant issue for individual countries, only in the past half-century.

The Debate About Whether

The question, Is there a population crisis? has stirred both empirical and ideological debate—what I call the “debate about whether.” At the empirical level, the question has tended to pit intellectual disciplines—for example, economics and ecology—against one another.^{1,2} It was agriculturalists and demographers, particularly those who were concerned about Asia, who first warned of the dire consequences of unrestrained population growth.^{5,7} The postwar boom in Asian populations alarmed the generation of internationalists who were concerned about building a more stable postwar world and who worried about potentially destabilizing conditions. High on the list of such conditions was the prospect of widespread hunger and even famine in South Asia and East Asia.

A team commissioned by the Rockefeller Foundation that visited Asia in the late 1940s strongly urged that a concerted international

effort be mounted to study ways of dealing with the relatively newly discovered phenomenon of rapid population growth.⁸ Coming as it did in the years when the United Nations was being formed, the subject quickly gained legitimacy in international development discourse. For nearly 2 decades, rapid population growth was accepted as a legitimate matter of concern and an appropriate target of international cooperation efforts. Through the 1950s, most of the action was on the research side. True, India organized the first family planning association and promulgated the first national population policy, but most of the rest of the developing world was not yet ready for policy or program action. It was a period when information was being gathered and the ground was being laid for future interventions.^{9–10} The great debates were yet to emerge on the global stage.

The situation began to change in the 1960s. The international donor nations and the multilateral agencies they created and largely controlled began to push for action by governments in the developing world.¹¹ This heightened activism on the part of governments and international agencies stimulated a corresponding increase in intellectual and academic interest in the subject. Once the province of the relatively tiny field of demography, population became an important subject across a variety of academic fields: economics, sociology, anthropology, public health, and even political science.¹² Interdisciplinary centers were created at leading universities in several countries, both industrialized and developing, and the volume of publications on population increased exponentially.¹³

From this explosion of research came an intense debate between neo-Malthusians and anti-Malthusians, a debate that revolved around core disagreements over what causes poverty and about the capacity of systems to adapt to high fertility and rapid population growth. Foremost among those who were dubious about the capacity for adaptation were physical scientists, especially ecologists and other biological scientists (e.g., Ehrlich¹⁴). To them, population

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The American Population Debate

RJ Alexander



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