

# 世界銀行

# 効果的家族計画

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企画部



# 目 次

サマリー・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・	• • •		•	1
パート1:途上国の家族計画		i		٠.
1. 果てしなき出産革命・・・・・・		• •	•	5
2. プログラムの成功と障害・・・・	• • •	• •	• 1	1
3. 家族計画のコスト・・・・・・	• • •	•	• 1	7
バート2:基本的有効プログラム				
4. サービスの質・・・・・・・・	· • • • • •	• • <u>.</u>	· 2	1
5. マネジメント戦略・・・・・・・		• •	· 2	7
6. 民間事業の家族計画・・・・・・	• • •	• •	• 3	4
7. 家族推進計画・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・・	• • •	• •	• 3	9
8. 政府及びドナーの役割・・・・・		•	• 4	3

- 0.1 本論文の第一章では、途上国の家族計画プログラムの実施状況をその効果とコスト面から変定し、第二章では、プログラム推進の入門書を提供するのではなく、何がプログラムを成功させるかについて広範囲に調査することによって、効果的なプログラムに不可欠な特質とアプローチを確認している。本論文は家族計画プログラムとその運営に焦点を当てるものの、開発に介在する他の社会的要因も進行中の出産革命(次第に人口予測及び個人の生活を変えていく)に貢献していることに言及するが、詳細に述べるものではない。
- 0.2 出産革命は、全ての途上国で出産率が下がる時に顕著となる。過去20年間、女性一人あたりの子供の平均数は3分の1に落ちた。出生率が落ちるにつれ、乳幼児死亡率及び出産死亡率も落ちた。女性がその生涯で出産と育児に費やす時間は短縮された。
- 0.8 進歩はしているが、出生率は依然全体的に高く、多くの女性にとり、自らの選択で妊娠することは幻しである。中国を除く途上国の出生率は女性一人あたり4.3人である。これは1950年、1960年代の3分の2だが、依然として先進国の2倍であり、この30年間で世界人口は2倍になっている。世界人口は毎年9千万人増えるが、大方は途上国からの増加で、この増加は人類史上比類がない。途上国の出産死亡率は先進国の10倍である。整くまでもなく、既婚女性の4分の1が、避妊が需要に追いついていないことを訴えている。
- 0.4 避妊需要に効果的に答えるために、プログラムは必要者の立場を考慮し、戦略的マネージメント、効果的促進、プライベートセクターの広い参加を伴う質の高いサービスを提供すべく促進されるべきである。プログラムへの政府の積極性も強化されねばならない。ドナー財源は昔から不可欠であるが、そのニーズに追いついていない。

#### 家族計画プログラムの存拢とその拡大

- 0.5 政府及び民間による家族計画プログラムは、高出産率(一女性あたり6-8人)から低出産率(一女性あたり約2人)へ移行するために必要とされる期間を2分の1に短縮することを目指してきた。初めはヨーロッパよりも高い出産率で、様々な文化的政治的障害があったにもかかわらず、今日では20年ほどで低出産率を達成している。1980年代のプログラムは、途上国で2億5千万人の出生を避妊により食い止めた。80年代末には1千人あたり74人となった乳児死亡率は、家族計画プログラムなしには10ポイントほど多くなっていたであろう。
- 0.6 プログラムは文化及び社会経済発展の異なるレベルの国々で、避妊を増加させた

低所得、教育の機会が少ないこと、女性の社会参加機会が少ない等の逆境下においても、 家族計画プログラムは人口増加を抑制し、家庭福祉を改善した。しかし、社会経済条件、 特に女性教育が進んでいる場合、プログラムはより速く避妊を浸透させてきた。

- 0.7 避妊需要を満たさない例がかなりある。最近の調査によると、各途上国の出産可能な既婚女性の少なくとも10%、多くて40%は、出産を望まないのに避妊を行なっていない。このような需要を満たせば、サブサハラアフリカ周辺の多数の国で、一女性あたり2人にまで出生率を低下できる。
- 0.8 遊妊具を広く、無料または低コストで供給する組織的プログラムなしには、ユーザーは、年間所得あたり平均3-4%をその購入に充てねばならず、それは年間では百ドル (米ドル)以上となる。その為、更なる出産低下は確実とはならず、遅れ、また個人にとり制約となる。従って、母子の健康条件の改善は甚だ遅れる。

# 利用者のニーズに配慮したプログラムの質の強調

- 0.9 プログラム成功の鍵は、利用者のニーズを考慮し、そのニーズにあった避妊手段を提供することである。多くの国で、避妊手段へのアクセスが依然として問題である。十分に情報が伝わっていなかったり、カウンセリングが不適切であったりし、しばしばプログラムの中断を招く。利用者も羞恥のみならず、長く待つことになったりで迷惑を被る。
- 0.10 質の良いプログラムとは、現場スタッフ(クリニックの看護婦や衛生士、コミュニティのフィールドワーカーや配給者、薬剤師や他の商的配給者)に十分なサポートを提供することである。彼等とその監督側の結び付きは弱く、ほとんど役に立っていない。監督者の現場視察は希であり、官僚的形式主義に陥りがちである。論理的システムはうまく機能せず、現場スタッフには避妊具がタイムリーに配給されていない。
- 0.11 マネージメントがプログラムの質を優先し、常に注視するならば、その改善は殆 ピコストもかからず達成されよう。質の評価とモニターは、少なくとも避妊具のストック やフローと同様、より強化されるべきである。

## 戦略的マネージメントの重要性

0.12 各プログラムは、避妊需要が増えること、政府や民間のサポートがシフトすること、スタッフ及び設備が変化することを考慮に入れて戦略的に計画されるべきである。非常に弱体なプログラムはまず、地域のサポートを得ることである。やや弱体なプログラムはマネージメントを強化する必要がある。普通のプログラムは事実上のプログラムの拡大と、アウトリーチに取り組まねばならない。優れたプログラムはその効率性を最大化し、

コストを回復する必要がある。

0.13 マネージャーとスタッフへの情報フローを改善することが、多くのプログラムを 強化することになろう。マネジメントの情報システムは必須情報に焦点を合てる必要があ る。タイムリーに処理され、分析され、配布され、使用されねばならない。様々な決定を 下すための判断情報を提供するためにプログラムオペレーションの実態調査を計画し、デ ザインすることが必要である。

# プラ(ペート・セクターは広範な潜在価値を有し、より強力に興助されるべきである

- 0.14 アライベートセクターは、各国家あたり5ー75%の避妊具使用者に直接的に避妊具を提供する。セクターは多岐にわたり、非営利や営利団体のチャンネルを通じて、多くの人々に享受される。しかし、非営利団体は、大勢かつ忘れられがちな人々へ十分にサービスを提供できないし、営利団体は貧者に十分なサービスを提供するインセンティブに欠ける。
- 0.16 政府の活動、不活動はプライベートセクターのサービス能力を決定づける重要な要素である。公的及び公共助成プログラムは、プライベートセクターでの成長の障害とならぬようデザインされねばならない。様々な避妊具の支給量への制限は撤廃されるべきである。また避妊具マーケットを発展させ、技術かつ資金面で民間機関に援助を差し伸べる必要がある。
- 0.16 公的・民間協力が実現した好例は社会的マーケティングである。この場合、助成を受けた避妊具を商業ルートで売り込んだり、広範に避妊具を配布し、消費者が求めやすいようにするとともに、プログラムを少なめにすることが必要である。避妊具を個人的に求めるケースの場合、融資を行なうことについて、例えば医療保険を通じた雇用ベースのサービスというのも開発に値する。

#### 効果的な家族計画の促進

- 0.17 家族計画のメリット、サービスを受けられる場所、及び効果的使用方法を、人々に知らせることは重要である。家族計画の促進活動も享受されている。すなわち、多くの国で、マスメディアによる避妊の宣伝は許可されている。しかし、多くの促進活動は適切な評価を受けておらず、おそらく効果的でない。十分に考えられたキャンペーンは、避妊への関心を高めるのみならず、使用率も高める。
- 0.18 効果的促進活動は、他のプログラムと調和しかつ調整がきかねばならない、専門 的に設計され、かつ、入念に予備検査し、しかも競争の激しいメディア市場で視聴者を掴 むことができる材料をもって近代的なマーケットアプローチを行なうことが大変重要である。

#### 野麻及びドンーの異期的サポートの必要性

- 0.18 家族計画への政府の効果的サポートとは、強力な公的声明の下で、有能なリーダーを選び、サポートし、プログラムの障害となる規制を改革したり首尾一貫した人的開発 戦略、特に女性教育の増加に適切に予算を分配することである。
- 0.20 途上国の家族計画にかかる政府及び民間支出は、現在年間40-50億米ドルに及んでいる。これは一人あたりにすると、平均1-1・25ドルの負担である。避妊具利用者の増加に対応するためには、90年代にはこの支出を毎年5%ずつ増やしていかねばならない。現在、利用者による支払はコストの4分の1にも満たないので、使用者負担を拡大したとしても、ドナー及び政府支出の拡充を必要としないということにはつながらない。
- 0.21 ドナー財源をより効果的に使用するには、人口問題に対して、現在のドナーの限られた専門性をさらに拡大する必要がある。また、将来にわたってドナー援助が適切であるかについての不確実さについても立ち向かわなくてはならない。

# パート 1 途上国の家族計画

#### 1. 果てしなき出産革命

- 1.1 家族計画プログラムは、途上国の出産革命、性行為の改革、男女関係に貢献して きた。本章は、革命とその利益について述べ、家族計画が果たす役割を考え、その将来を 論じる。
- 1.2 後続の章は、革命の実現のための家族計画プログラムの効果的利用法を考える。 第2章は、特定国での最近の経験を再考する。第3章はこれら努力へのコストを考える。 残りの章は、プログラムの効率、すなわちサービスの質の確保、戦略的マネージメントの 提供、プライベートセクターとの提携、より広範な人々へのプログラムの促進、政府及び ドナーサポートの確約に不可欠な行動に焦点を当てる。

#### 革命の範囲

- 1.3 出産革命の中核は人口の実質的減少にあり、出産の変化として時折言及されるプロセスである。この変化は、出産革命を集約的に構成する多様な人口学的、行動学的、組織的変革と、結果的または起因的に結びついている。 出産の変化は人口学的用語で語られ、ヨーロッパの初期の変化と比較され、次に出産革命の結果が描かれる。
- 1.4 大田学的変化:出産の変化は家族サイズの縮小、人口成長の減速、低死亡率の促進に現れる。
- 1.5 途上国の出産の変化は、ラテンアメリカ、東アジアで最も進んだ。例えばチリの 総出産率(女性一人あたりの子供の数)は1964年あたりから減り始め、初期の5・3 から現在では2.6に到達した。東アジアの変化は通常、より早い、<del>割鉾民士・茂人民共</del> 石田では、総出産率は1960年頃から落ち始め、25年間で6.1から2.1へと落ちた。これは本質的に一世代である。変化は世界的な現象となっている。サブ サハラン アフリカを除く途上国の各地域において、過去20年間で、現在まで出産率は女性一人あたり少なくとも一人は減っている。
- 1.6 ヨーロッパの初期の出産率の変化のように、出産率の減少は経済発展を伴いかつ、親が子供を、経済的資産というよりも宝と認識するようになる社会的変化と関連する。 しかし、高出産率から始まった現在の出産率の減少は急速に進み、死亡率の低下にもつながり、より広い人口に影響を与えている。多くのヨーロッパ諸国は、19世紀後半や20

世紀初期に出産に変化が見られ、1920年代及び1930年代までに、次第に交替出産 事(低死亡事で、女性一人あたり約2.1人)となっていった。

- 1.7 出産変化の重要な成果は人口成長の減速である。死亡率は世界的に低下したが、 途上国の人口成長率は1970年頃まで上昇し、年間で2.5%に到達した。人口成長率 は現在、約1.7%まで落ちている。それにもかかわらず、途上国の出産変化期の人口成 長は、ヨーロッパの成長をはるかに凌いでいる。現在の人口成長率は0.06%の人類史 上の長期率(産業革命前の過去2000年)をかなり上回っている。出生率が減少しても 、現在の世界人口全体の増加は、年間9千万人を超え、実際これらは全て途上国での増加 である。
- 1.8 出産革命の人口学的他局面は、乳幼児及び妊婦の死亡率を大幅に下げることにある。乳幼児の死亡率の減少は、出産変革期に起因し、またその結果でもある。低死亡率は、少数が生き残るために多産するという悪循環を減らし、初出産の年齢を引き上げ、寿命を伸ばし、高齢での子育てを避ける。これらは全て子孫の生存率を増す。1960年以来、途上国の乳児死亡率は千人あたり150から73への半分となった。特定の東アジア諸国の例は更にドラマチックである。現在、香港、シンガポールの乳児死亡率は、実際、米国よりも低い。
- 1.8 途上国の妊婦死亡率も減ったが、依然として高い。途上国での妊娠出産は危険である。特に危険な堕胎という手段に訴えずに低出産率を達成できる場合、低出産率は犠牲者を減らす。途上国の限られたデータから推定擦れと、1985年頃、15-44歳の女性10万人あたり毎年約26人が、妊娠合併症のため死んだ。これは先進工業国の数字(10万人中3人)をはるかに上回る。それにもかかわらず、この数字は、10万人中41人が死んでいた1970年よりもはるかに少ない。
- 1.10 行動学的、組織的変化:女性の消費願望を増したり、自分の時間に価値を見いだしたり、家族制度を変えることにより、出産革命は女性の人生のリズムを変える。
- 1.11 出産率を下げることは、妊娠、出産、育児により定期的に中断される女性の人生を緩和する。1975-1987年の間、平均的タイ女性がその一生で妊娠に費やした期間は、40ヶ月から20ヶ月へと減った。1987年間で似、平均的タイ女性で6歳以下の子供を持つ期間は、ほんの10年に過ぎなくなった。逆に、1977-78年の平均的ケニヤ女性の6歳以下の子供を持つ期間は23年間で、これは女性の妊娠可能期間中の3分の2である。
- 1.12 これら状況の変化は、子供を持つことと矛盾する個人的欲求を増すので重要出ある。というのは、子供の世話には手間がかかり、おとなの個人的及び社会的機会を減らす

ので、家族サイズを縮小することになる。この傾向は、3人以上の子を持つ家庭の場合わずか10%に顕著となるが、低出産率レベルでは平均40%と急激に高まる。

1.13 出産革命以前の伝統的家族とは、数世代に渡る親族も含む外に広がる相互義務のネットワークである。平均的家族サイズが縮小するに連れ、家族は内に転時、次第に多岐な役割に細分化し、とりわけ家族のメンバーにとり個人感情の安息所となった。仲間付き合いは、子供から期待される価値として顕著であるばかりでなく、結婚の中心である。家族形態は夫婦を軸に内側のユニットで構成し、小型になり、個人主義が発達する。そこでは長期にわたり愛情を維持し合い、一定の規範を無条件に享受し合う。しかし、家族形態は多くの文化的要因に影響されるので、その進展度は様々である。

#### 避妊利用と家族計画

- 1.14 出産変革期の主なメカニズムは、避妊や堕胎により、婚姻枠内での増加を押さえることである。本章はなぜ夫婦が自発的に家族数を制限し、どのような避妊方法があり、それらがどのように世界で利用されているのか、そして、家族計画プログラムは何に貢献しているのかについて述べる。
- 1.15 全ての女性が早く結婚し、母乳を制限することにより出産後即座に妊娠できるようになり、故意に妊娠制限をせず、出産を最大化する精条件に追従するならば、通常15人の子供を生めるであろう。およそ全ての出産決定分子を網羅するこれら要因んも重要点は、ボックス1.1に説明されている。先進工業国出は、平均子供数2人が達成されている。その理由は、これら決定分子中あるバリエーションが作用しているからであるが、とりわけ出産制限が浸透しているからである。
- 1.16 なぜ出産制限は広がるのか?:子供の経済的貢献度が比較的低く、子供を持つことにより個人的及び社会的コストが高くなることを夫婦が認識するにつれ、出産の回数が減り、出産制限は社会経済的発展の内に広がる。
- 1.17 小家族を達成するには、夫婦は出産を制限するため、利用可能な許容できる手段を実践せねばならない。いつでもやめられるような比較的非効率的な手段はいつでも利用できるが、肝心なのは利用する意思である。多様な社会における高出産率及び低出産率のグループは、好ましい子供の数だけでなく、その好みに合わせて出産を制限する。能力や意思においても異なる。出産率低下の歴史的バターンは一しばしば社会経済的変化とは無関係だが、人種及び社会言語学的グループ中に同時に起こる傾向がある一その主な促進要因として、避妊に対する肯定的態度の広がりを挙げる。
- 1.18 避妊手段と普及:避妊手段(テーブル1.1)の効果はまちまちであるし、夫婦が

適切にそれらを利用する度合もまちまちである。これら手段は時として健康を危険にさらす。しかしこのリスクはわずかで、健康上の利点になることもあり、妊娠、出産の危険よりはるかに軽く、また危険な状況下での堕胎のリスクよりは小さい。全ての避妊手段はめったに利用可能ではない。というのは、副作用、医学的条件、コスト、不便さ等、ある失婦はその利用を不適切と考える。サーベイによると、より良い方法があれば、さらに多くの失婦が避妊を行なうという結果が出ている。既存の方法へのより良いアクセスは役に立ち、新手段の開発につながる。しかし避妊の研究開発は、製造物責任と規則の遅れによりかなり遅れている。

- 1.19 途上国全体出は、出産可能期にある既婚女性の約50%が現在避妊を行なっている(テーブル1.2)。世界全体では概算出、100の新しい生命中35は堕胎されている、ある途上国は先進国並みの避妊普及率に到達した(約70-80%)、多くの途上国は30-60%の普及率に到達している。しかし、主にアフリカと中東の多くの国が10%以下の普及率にしか満たない。避妊普及率の格差は、途上国ごとの出産率の格差の少なくとも3分の2を説明する。
- 1.20 多種の避妊手段中、不妊は最も人気が高く、現在全避妊実践者の半数以上が利用している。従来の手段は、依然として実践者の10%強である。
- 1.21 家族計画の効果:組織的な家族計画プログラムは避妊の実現性と受容性及び出産 率の低下に大きく貢献した。その人口学的インバクトは一層広がっている様だ。またその 効率性は、政府のサポート状況如何である。
- 1.22 プログラムの効果のほどは、世界中の様々なフィールド実験にて証明されており、国家家族計画への取り組みはスコア分析により正確に示されている。プログラムの単なる存在は、適切なインディケーターとはならない。何故なら、プログラムは、うまく組織され効率的なものから、申訳程度のものまで様々であるからである。LaphamとMauldin(1985)は、各プログラムごとに少なくとも4人の専門家(プログラムを熱知する)から、約100の国家プログラムあたり30の様々な要素に関した評価を得て、プログラムへの取り組みのスコアを改正した。LaphamとMauldinは、コントロールに社会経済要因を用い、出産率の1983年度スコアの効果に関してリグレッション分析(統計分析)を報告下。彼等の1991年報告は1989年度分析と同様の結果であった。出産率への家族計画の取り組みは、社会経済的要因とは統計学上無関係であることが示された(すなわち、出産率は家族計画と密接な関係があるということである)。
- 1.23 家族計画は既に、世界人口のサイズと将来の展望を大幅に書替えた。もしプログラムが途上国に紹介されてなかったならば、1980-85年にかけての途上国の総出産

率は、一女性あたり4.2ではなく、5.4であったであろう。概算でも、プログラムは 千人あたり10ポイント、途上国の乳児死亡率を下げた。

1.24 家族計画への政府の貢献も、プログラムが重要なサービスを提供する際に必要なリーダーシップ、宣伝、資源を獲得しやすくなり、途上国の出産率低下に不可欠である。出産率の低下は、組織的なプログラムがなくても必ず始まったが、個人に負担を課し、より長いプロセスを経ることになるだろう。財政的に、市販の避妊具は、世界中の多くの夫婦の手に届かない(第3章)。仮に市販の避妊具がそんなに高いものでなかったとしても、多くの夫婦は、避妊具や家族計画の重要性に関する必要な情報と掛け離れている。

#### 果てしなき使命

- 1.25 途上国での出産に既に変化が起きているにもかかわらず、出産革命は完了したと言うにはほどとお位。このセクションは、出産革命の不足部分について述べ、必要なサービスを考える。
- 1.26 不足:出産変革は数十年では完了しないだろうし、その利点の多くは、大方の途上国で否定されている。人口成長は依然として高い。乳幼児及び母親の死亡率は先進国の数倍は高く、多くの女性の人生は、抑制のきかない、無計画の出産という負担を負っている。ある社会グループは、出産革命の効果をわずかに感じ始めているに過ぎない。
- 1.27 途上国全体での出産は高く、地域によりものすごく高い。ある国の全出産は、一女性あたり2人に近くなっているが(中国他)、その他の国では一女性あたり約8人である(ルワンダ、イエメン)。後者のケースは、全女性の3分の1は10人の出産をすることになり、人口は20年間で2倍になる。中国を除く途上国は、3組に1組の夫婦が現代的選妊方法を使っているに過ぎず、全出産率は4.3人であり、この調子でいくと30年で人口は2倍となろう。
- 1.28 繁殖力が低下しても、人口は数十年にわたり成長していく。急速な繁殖力の低下が合っても、その間に人口は拡大する。一夫婦に2人の子供というレベル(世代交替レベル)に到達しても、大勢の若い世代(出産可能な)の勢いは人口を押し上げ続ける。例えば、このレベルに到達した中国出も、向こう20年間に25%の人口成長が予想される。 圧倒的なエイズの流行は、ある国では一世紀に一度の大量死亡を招くが、最悪の条件下でも、人口成長の1%を減らすに過ぎず、実際、避妊サービスの負担を増すであろう。

- もし避妊が危険な堕胎に取って代わるなら、死亡率のかなりの減少が見込める。例えばバングラディシュでは、出産死の18%まで防げる。合法かつ技術的に十分な堕胎を提供することは、その危険性がわずかなことから、避妊と同じ効果をもたらすであろう。
- 1.80 女性の人生と家族構成の形態は、計画しにくい問題であるし必然的ではない。これらについては人口学的傾向が変化を促進するが、それが全てはでなく、その他の近代的努力も必要とされる。例えば女性の教育を増すことは、これら形態に貢献し、また家族計画プログラムを始めやすくなるし運営しやすくなるであろう。
- 1.81 出産革命は、主に夫婦と家族に関わってきた。未婚者、特に若者も性的に活発かもしれないが、種々の理由から余り出産革命に影響を与えていない。出産革命の広範な展開にもかかわらず、人種のような社会表面上の問題もしばしば無視される。
- 1.32 将来の避妊の必要性:将来における避妊必要者の数は、多くかつ増加する。潜在的な避妊の市場性を考えるならば、将来お客を欠くことはなく、最終的に出産変化を完了するためのかなりの潜在性を秘めている。
- 1.33 現レベルの避妊普及率を維持するには、出産期の人口が増えるので、途上国の避妊利用者の数は、1990年の3億6千5百万人から2000年の4億3千6百万人へと、20%増えねばならない。現予想では、10年間で増加はこの2倍(サービスが存在すると仮定して)すなわち、2000年までに5億1千4百万人(テーブル1.2)に増えるだろう。これは、依然として、女性一人あたり約3.2人の全出産率となる。
- 1.34 出産傾向から生じるこれら予想は、つじつまが合いそうである。何故なら潜在的な避妊市場の研究は、妊娠を避けており、不妊や他の手段に講じず、避妊を実践していない女性の割合を掴んでいるからである。これら割合(以下"取り残された需要"と記載)は出産可能な女性の少なくとも10%を占め、ケニヤやトーゴのような国では40%を占めている(テーブル1.3)。世界中で、取り残された需要は、避妊普及率が約15%の所で顕著である。約15%の普及率の所では、取り残された需要は、地方の、教育に恵まれていない女性に集中する傾向にある。この種のグループに効果的なサービスを与え、その意向に応じることにより、取り残された需要が生まれた理由が明らかとなる。
- 1.86 サブサハラアフリカ周辺の多くの国にとり、現存する全ての取り残された需要を満たすことは、先進工業国の70-80%のレベルにまで(出産率と一夫婦2子の交代レベル)、避妊利用を増すことになる。ブルンディやマリのような依然として避妊市場が小さい国では、需要を十分満たすことはできないだろう。しかし、もし社会開発(第2章)と質の良いサービスが提携すれば、市場の拡大は可能出あろう。この報告書の中核は、どのようなプログラムが実施され、既存の取り残された需要を満たすためには何が必要なのか、及びいかにして一層の需要を形成するかということである。

- 2.1 家族計画プログラムの記録を辿る。東アジアとラテンアメリカではより発達した プログラムに焦点を当て、南アジアとアフリカでは非常な難局に直面しているプログラム を再検討する。本章は包括案ではなく、家族計画が直面し、直面し続けている種々の障害 と、効果的プログラムの方法を説明する。
- 2.2 国家家族計画プログラムは、途上国で40年以上にわたって制定されてきた。政府が開発欲求に対して、急激な人口増加が提起する脅威を次第に理解し、出産選択の必要製を受入れるようになったからである。初期のプログラムにおけるドナーの影響は、常に重要であった。 国家開発のあらゆる分野で、人口は最もドナーの影響する分野であった。 でれにもかかわらず、外部財政援助の額はプログラム効果と相関関係を示さない。国家自身の姿勢がより重要である。

#### 東アシアの家族計画

- 2.3 最も早い家族計画プログラムをいくつか持つ東アジアは、選妊普及の急速な増加と、その結果の出産低減を示す。図2.1派、この地域の何ヶ国(東南アジアも含む)の選妊普及の傾向を示している。人口政策を採用した日と必ずしも一致しないが、国家家族計画プログラム開始の日もまた表されている。年間約3%の選妊普及率の落ち着いた増加は(それにより国は25年間で出産変革を成し遂げられたのだが)大韓民国、タイ、インドネシアの調査データに現れている。普及は、今や、最初の2国で70%近くまたはそれ以上、インドネシアでは50%に近づいている。普及は、フィリピンではより遅く平均年間1.7ポイントのみ増加し、図に示されていない国々では、よりゆっくりか殆ど増加しなかった。
- 2.4 これら東アジア諸国の本質的な社会経済的、文化的条件は、出産変革に特に有利ではなかった。出産変革が始まる予定時期のみならず、国家家族計画プログラムが始まった時期の、これら諸国と他国の開発レベルのインディケーターは、テーブル2.1に現れている。総体的に、初期の時点で、これらの東アジア諸国の社会経済条件は、今日の平均的低所得経済の条件と大体一致していた。出産低減への文化的障壁は、例えば、家族の中央集権を強調する大韓民国の儒教の伝統を含んでいた。大家族が一般的である、父系家族構成は、両親が子供達の出産決定に大きく影響できた。家族計画に対する政治的反対もまた、様々なところで現れた。これは、しばしば宗教に基づいていた。例えば、インドネシアのイスラム正統派やフィリピンのローマカトリックである。

- 2.6 障壁にもかかわらず、小家族願望もあり、これは時代を超えて増大した。大韓民国、タイ、インドネシアの出産変革の初期には、理想家族サイズは約6人であった。次10年、20年では、各国で年約0.08ポイント減少した。理想家族サイズの減少につれ、社会経済条件は改善された。テーブル2.1もまた、人口プログラムが始まった年化ら、1990年までの社会経済インディケーターの年率変化を示している。特に、資本あたりのGNP(フィリピンを除く)と効児死亡率において、東アジアの国の急速な改善は明らかである。
- 2.6 家族計画プログラムは、政治サポートを利用し、既存の選妊無要を見つけ、選妊サービスを配給する革新的方法を開発することにより、これら諸国で成功した。政治が比較的安定することと、強力な政府派、このような社会的プログラムが効果的に行なわれる条件を造った。しかし政治動乱は、時として真のプログラム推進誘因となった。大韓民国では朝鮮戦争終了後10年、新政府により始められた大量再建努力の一環として、プログラムは始まった。インドネシアでは、スカルノの人口増進政策は、スカルノ失脚後の反出産政策により即ざに置き換えられた。インドネシアのジャカルタのパイロットプロジェクトのように、選妊顕望の広がりを示すパイロットプロジェクトは、避妊の既存需要を掴みだした。そして、朝鮮民主主義人民共和国のPlanned Parethood Federationのような民間のボランティア組織によって、これは避妊の政府プログラム化を導いた。家族計画の配給システムはで、広範囲な実験を経ていた。タイはPotharamプロジェクトで効率的配給システムはで、広範囲な実験を経ていた。タイはPotharamプロジェクトで効率的配給システムとで、大韓民国はSungdong Guでの都市プログラムとKoyangでの地方プログラムを実験した。
- 2.7 避妊普及の増加に対するプログラムの貢献は顕著であった。例えば、1963ー73年の大韓民国での出産率低減の40%は、プログラムを通じての避妊であった。しかしながら、東アジアの出産率は、遅い出産革命の苦境に陥ったままである。成功した国でさえ、人々の相当数はまだ避妊に十分アクセスしていない。インドネシアでは、外側の島は、ジャバやバリ島より非常に遅れている。地方の総出産率は、バリ島の2、4から東南Sulawas|とIrlan Jayaの5、3の範中である。

#### ラテンアメリカの家族計画

2.8 ラテンアメリカは、東アジアより遅れて国家家族計画プログラムを発展させたが、民間ボランティア組織がしばらく活動しており、避妊需要は高かった。図2.2 (前図と同じスケールで描かれている)は、何ヶ国かの避妊普及傾向と国家プログラムが始まった期日を示している。各ケースとも、避妊の実質的使用は、国家プログラム以前に始まっ

たようである。昔及は、今やこれら諸国中3国で70%のレベルになり、地域全体で55%に近い。

- 2.8 出産変革プログラム開始の際〈繁殖力変遷の開始の際と同様〉、これらの国は、 今日平均低・中級所得経済条件に匹敵する東アジアより、出産変革により有利な社会経済 条件であった。避妊への文化的障壁は存在したが、政治的障害はより重要であった。これ ら賭国で支配的なカトリックは、個人の避妊利用を妨げはしなかったが、政治的影響を持 つものに反対した。
- 2.10 出産変革の初期の避妊需要は顕著であり、おそらくプログラム能力を超えており、その需要は社会経済開発とともに増加した。あるアナリストは、地域の出産低減への主要要因として、女性教育を挙げている。需要を明示することは、公共サービスの末端機関において重要であった。公共サービスは、メキシコでは最終的に、組織的民間サービスを 凌いだが、コロンビアでは民間サービスがより重要な役割を果たしている。
- 2.11 初めは民間そして後には公共サービスが提供される、比較的高レベルの社会経済開発は、出産変革を導かなかった。公共サービスは、1978年頃メキシコで避けられた出生の42-48%を占めていたと見積もられている。公共サービスの貢献は、家族計画の広範囲の契励と、特にターゲットとされた地方の貧困層へのアクセスの拡張を含んだ。例えば、コスタリカでは、初期の出産低減は1960年と1970年の間に見られたが、このときは特権階級層に浸透した。低減の第2の波は、1968年に始まった政府プログラム開始後に起こり、より遠隔地域にサービスを提供し始めた。
- 2.12 東アジアのように、数ヶ国は尚出産変革にはほど遠く、より発展した国は、人口 抑制のきいていない様々なセクターがある。避妊普及は、ボリビアで30%のみであり、 ハイチでは10%のみである。普及が既に高いところでは、避妊失敗は一般的であろう。 ブラジル女性は年間、10-12%避妊に失敗し、これは教育水準の高い女性に顕著であることから、情報やカウンセリングの深刻な不足を示唆している。 依然存在する問題点は、 堕胎を活発化する方法が広まっていることである。これは殆どの国で違法で、それゆえにこっそり処理され、危険である。より効果的な避妊が、この問題を低減するであろう。

#### 南アシアの家族計画

2.18 南アジアは家族計画プログラムを早く始めたが、一般に出産変革が始まるは遅かった。図2.3は、これら諸国中最も成功したケースであるスリランカで、年間2.3ポイント避妊普及率が増加していることを示す。インドでは、避妊は年間1.7ポイント増加したが、もしプログラムの開始から全期間を勘定に入れるなら、せいぜい1年に1.2

大も成功したケースであるスリランカで、年間で、3ボイントの割合で増加している機材 「普及を示している。インドでは、避妊は年間上ー・2ボイント増加した。しかし、もしつロー グラムの開始から全期間も勘定にいれるなら、最高の割合は丁年にエーマボイントのみであった。

2.16 選妊の拡張は、不利な社会経済状態だけでなく、プログラム制限によって阻止された。これらの政府プログラムは、特にパキスタンでは、非常に官僚的でトップから主に監督されていた。そこでは、クライアント要求に標準を合わす試みはほとんどされず、前列スタッフのニーズに殆ど注意は払われなかった。インドのプログラムは、その多様性と関々の州によって行われた制御のために 特徴付けがより困難である。しかしながら、一般に プログラムは全ての源からの需要を利用することに失敗した。ターゲットは、階級制度の上部におかれ、トップの役人はほとんど農村生活に接触しなかった。

2.17 クライアントのニーズへのプログラム感度の不足は、インドと これらのプログラム間で最も高結果のスリランカ間の比較に示される。この成功は、一部にはより有利な社会的指標によるけれども、プログラムの相違もまた、役割を果たした。スリランカのプログラムはより広範囲の方法を提供した。これは、ピルと「UDsのような仮の方法を含んでおり、地方でコミュニティに基づいた配給者に用いられた。インドのプログラムは、他の方法のコミュニティ配給を避けている避妊で留まった。インドのプログラムには、援助のより公共的声明とより良い広告があったが、スリランカのプログラムは避妊異を供給した。

2.18 成功したプログラムの他の例は、南アジアに在り、それは国家プログラムより 小規模で、主に クライアントのニーズに対する オリエンテーションの重要性を 説明 している。インドのケララ州の家族計画プログラムは、一部には高水準教育と低死亡率の ため、そしてまたよりサービス配給ポイントにより良いアクセスを供給したために 他の 州のプログラムより効果的であった。バングラディッシュのマトラブ家族計画プロジェクトは、強力なクライアントオリエンテーションをすることにより、貧困な層に避妊普及を起こした。それは、避妊法の選択をより提供し、カウンセリングと受諾省の追跡調査を強調し、そしてまた補助的ケアを供給した。インドのクンダムプロジェクトは、それは丘陵性地域の優勢に種族人口を持つ65村をカバーしているが、5年間それ自身をクライアントのニーズに適応させられるコミュニティ関係の高い等級を用いて 避妊普及を20から68%に高めた。

#### **拉克沙拉拉斯斯**

2.19 少数のアフリカのプログラムは、1960年代後半と1970年代初期に始まった。それは、結果的に避妊の鈍い増加を供給している。これらのプログラムは、理論上いくつかのラテンアメリカのプログラムと同年代頃であるが、それらは 実質的により弱い避妊需要に直面した。普及は10年間は平坦で、1980年代まで10%以上上昇しなかった(図2.4)。避妊普及は、広く異なる割合で増加した。例えば ジィンバブエでは年間3.1%ポイントで、ボッワナでは年間2.1ポイントで、ケニアでは年間1.7ポイントで、ガーナでは年間0.9ポイントで増加した。(国家データは ザイールとルワンダについては手に入らない。)

2.20 プログラムが開始したとき、これらの国の社会経済状態は、およそ東アジアと南アジアの国の中間の状態であった。ボッワナとケニアとジィンバブエは、繁殖力変遷が始まった。と見なされるときまでに、変遷がそこで始まったとき達した東アジアのレベルにまで一それは、特にGNP <del>Zoap + ta</del> に関して 今日の低一所得経済の平均よりわずかに良かった一本質的にそれらの指標を持ち上げた。領域の家族計画への文化障壁は重要であったが、克服できなくはなかった。調査員は、子供たちは 年配の世代に対し重要な資産であり、将来の保障を供給し、そして、拡張家族の影響のために出産を制限する決定をすることは困難であると 主張していた。それにもかかわらず、繁殖力は これらの3ヶ国で低減した。そして、類似の障壁は 直面され 他の領域で征服された。

2.21 これらの3ヶ国に存在する避妊の需要は、主に 一定の間隔を保つ出産に対してであった。社会経済の発展、それはこの需要に影響を及ばすべきであったが 国々に全く一様でなく進んだ。テーブル2.1のあらゆる他の国と比べて、普及は少なくとも年2ポイント成長したが、ケニアはより鈍く、そしてジィンバブエは実質上鈍い収入成長であった。しかしながら、それらの社会指標は 東アジアのそれと匹敵する割合で改善した。2.22 ボツワナ、ジィンバブエ、ケニアでは、プログラムは、子供の間隔を取ることの恩恵を強調することと、しばしばピルだが、一時的方法を供給することとにより 存在している需要に呼びかけることを 試みた。しかしながら、配給システムは 全く異なっ

ていた。ボッワナは、国を全く公平にカバーする公共ヘルスシステムと同様、社会経済要因のために 恐らくより強い需要があり、避妊を供給するためのヘルスポストやヘルスセンターを これまでは信頼していた。ジィンパブエは地方人口へのコミュニティに基ずいた配給に 第一の重きを置いていた。ケニアもまた、越えることを強調していたが、ジィンパブエより 公共サービスの補足のための民間任意組織をより信頼していた。

2.23 テーブル2.1のガーナ、ルワンダ、ザイールのアフリカ3ヶ国は、繁殖力変 選が始まっていなかったが 初期社会経済状態ーそれは実際に少し高いGNP / e a p i へってあったーにおいてでなく、プログラムが制定されて以来の社会経済傾向において 他のアフリカ3ヶ国と異なっている。それらは、プログラムが開始して以来 マイナス経済成長であり、社会指標の全ての最小改善であった。このような不利な社会経済傾向にも かかわらず、家族計画プログラムは 小地域である効果を上げていた。

カナンガとザイールの市で、Institut Medical Chretien du Kasiは、その2つの家族計画クリニックを 彼等のサービスがより得やすいように再方向付けをした。例えば、12 または他のクリニックからの看護婦のための年期奉公を供給し、それらの手続きの再組織を助けた。そして、30の薬局と店を通して、社会的マーケティングを確立した。Institut'sクリニックへの訪問者は、15倍に増加し、近代的方法の普及は18ヶ月で4から8%になった。

ガーナでは、助産婦協会は メンバーを 家族計画のトレーニングや管理や供給の補助に供給した。最初の130人の訓練された助産婦は、1~2年後、平均100の新家族計画クライアント各々に付き、彼等の80%が初めて選妊を使用していると報告した。 \*\*\*。

ルワンダのRuhengeri地域では、Abakangurambaga(人々を目覚めさす人)は、家族の小グループに発展トピックスの情報を供給するが、家族計画情報と クリニックへの照会を 供給していた。彼等がもっとも活動的なコミューンで、調査は、近代的方法の普及は10ヶ月で5から29%に上昇していることを示した。各々のこれらのアプローチは、異なっていた。それは、相対的に不利な経済状態においてさえも、家族計画が 効果的に配給されるような方法の多様性を示唆している。

#### 結診

2.24 このブリーフと抜粋されたレビューは、多くの国やいくつかの地域さえ除外したにもかかわらず、家族計画の持つ重要なインパクトと その効果を調節する複合要因を示していた。1世代内で 繁殖力がリプレイスメントレベルにまで下がるほど、避妊使用の増加した国もあった。避妊使用の広まりはより鈍いベースで、またはほとんど上昇しなかった国もあった。

- 2、25 選妊が広まったスピードは、初期の社会経済状態に余り関係がないが、その改善にかかっている。初期のGNP/CRP-LLeが200米ドル程に低い(今日の低-所得経済の平均より下)少しの国は、その<del>CRP-LLe</del>が200米ドル程に低い(今日の低-所得経済の平均より下)であるいる方がの国は、その比率が2倍である他の国より 普及のより迅速な増加を示した。他方、国々のこの選択に対して、各々のこれらの指標のより迅速な改善は、避妊のより迅速な拡張に関係されている。関係は、図2、5に示されるように、女性第2入学に関してもっとも強い。
- 2.26 避妊が広まったスピードは、家族計画プログラムの効果にもよっている。図2.6は、これらの国々の実質的な関係を示す。これらは、1982年の家族計画努力スコアを用いている。(これらのスコアは、1章で説明されたように、30地域の国家プログラム努力の専門家の等級である。)
- 2.27 他より より効果的にいくつかのプログラムを作った様々な要素は、先の論文に記されていた。例えば、避妊に対し存在する需要に敏感であること、人々が希望する方法へのよいアクセスを供給すること、クライアントのニーズに反応すること、パイロットプロジェクトの戦略的使用と、公的援助を築く他の手段は いくつかのケースにおいて批判的であった。避妊の配給の様々な手段は、約束を示し、プログラムにより戦略的に使用された。民間セクター配給組織は、ラテンアメリカや ケニアにおいてのように どこかにも重要な貢献をした。情報を供給することや またはサービスを促進することの重要性は、ルワンダからの地域ケースに示された。これらの名々の要因は、一サービスの質とユーザーのオリエンテーション、戦略的管理の必要性、民間セクターの貢献、家族計画プログラムの必要性、であるが一後述の章でより詳しく検討されるであろう。

#### 3、家族計画のコスト

3.1 開発途上国の家族計画の財政的コストは、ドナー、政府、個人によって分担されていた。この章は、これらのコストを 一般に、開発費用や個人が払える額と比べて、正確にすることを試みる。家族計画の成功は、開発ドルの少量の1片で買われた。予想される将来資源の必要性は、それから 考慮される。これらは、避妊ユーザーの非常な増加によって営まれるであろう。

#### ZHAMI

3.2 1990年の家族計画の総費用は、少なくとも40億米ドルか恐らくそれ以上であり、50億米ドルまで上がる見税であった。(これは、開発途上国人口に対しのapita当り1米ドルから1.25米ドルに相当する。)テーブル3.1の見積は、全く可

変的である。なぜなら、政府貢献は決定しがたく、ユーザー支払はどこにも探知されていないので、ドナー貢献できえ、定義の変動性と2重カウントが可能なために 正確に固定されることはできない。調査の2つは、テーブル使用に 1988年の避妊普及の見積を47%以下と引用した。1990年の目下最も有効な見積。(テーブル1.2)。より高い普及に対する 調整Janowitz及びその他の見積(1990)は、40億米ドルにまでなる。存続する相違は、主に、単位コストの相違によって説明される。Janowitz及びその他(1990)は、ホンデュラス、メキシコ、タイで国家研究から潜かれたのだが、これにベストデータがあり、それは 文献からのほかのデータにより補足されている。しかしながら、国々のこれらのサンブルは、良いブログラムと 合理的に避妊の強い需要に役立つ。それは、普通低い単位コストに移る。このように40億米ドルは、最低見積である。

3.3 ドナー・人口に対してのドナー費用は、公共開発援助(ODA)の割合ほど大きくなく、受け入れ国の人口の増加のペースをほとんど維持しない。ドナーは、補助的資産に8020億米ドル、ローンに1690億米ドルを1990年に供給した。この年は、データが集められた最後の年である。180主なドナーに対し、1990年に 人口援助は、ODAの1.2%を構成した。1980年代ではおよそ代表的だが、ちょうどODAの2%以下であった1970年代の割合より低い。一定のドルの元で、1990年の人口援助は、1985年と1986年の人口援助より13%上であった。数年後、それらのレベルより18%下がっていた。1990年の人口援助は、開発途上国に対し0.24/cap;ta米ドルに程当し、1985年を過ぎて一定ドルで、2%より少ない増加であった。

3.4 政府・開発途上国政府は、プログラムの可変的部分を蓄積する。機して実質上的に、ドナーによりカバーされるそれらより より大きな部分である。総計で、政府はドナーが供給する家族計画の積立に 2倍または3倍供給するかもしれない。実際の見積は、50%以上から200%以上に及ぶ。中国とインドは、プログラムコストの85%を払う。そのため、大多数のほかの国は、より少ない割合に貢献する。1980年代半ばからのデータによる国については、家族計画に及ぶであろう政府のヘルスと総中央予算の割合は、ヘルス予算の0.3%とほとんど30%の間、総予算の0.01%と1%を少し越えた間に及ぶ。大韓民国のもののように、いくつかの成功したプログラムは、拒対的に政府ヘルス予算の大きい割合を受理するが、南アジアのいくつかのように、効果的でないプログラムもまた、相対的に、15%かそれ以上の大きいシェアを受理する。

#### THE SECOND

3.5 個人が家族計画に費やすのは、政府が費やす35%と55%の間、または ドナーが費やすのとおよそ同じである。非常に嚴略的に見積られる見積は、中絶に費やすも

のは含まない。それは、知られていないが、相当にトータルを上昇し得る。

- 3.6 個人が、公共支給または補助金の欠乏に費やさねばならないものは 重要である。避妊ピルの年間供給の小売価格は、コンドームの年間供給の小売価格がそうであるように、6ヶ国開発途上国で 100米ドルを越える(テーブル3.2)。ピルに支払うために、24のサブーサハラアフリカの15の国のユーザーは、平均年間収入の5%またはそれ以上が必要であり、これらの国のうち6ヶ国のユーザーは20%またはそれ以上払うであろう。アジアでは、ラオスとミヤンマーとフィリピンのユーザーは、ピルの年間供給に平均年間収入の5%以上を払わねばならないだろう。ラテンアメリカでは、収入は高いが、ポリピア、ドミニカ共和国、エクアドル、グアテマラのユーザーは皆、平均年間収入の5%以上を払わねばならないだろう。コンドームの価格は、根本的に類似している。例えば、中東及び北アフリカで、ビルかコンドームの年間供給は、イエメン、モロッコ、レバノンの平均収入の4%以上を必要とするだろう。
- 3.7 工業国では、遊妊は 平均年間収入の1%以上は減多にかからない(価格が開発途上国の2倍でも)。5ヶ国の開発途上国のうち4ヶ国では、避妊ビルはこれよりもっとかかる。消費者は、価格に敏感である。高いブログラム報酬は、使用を思い留まらせ、価格の低下は、需要を刺激する。一旦、避妊の需要がしっかりと確立されたら、高いコストは重要な要因ではない。第一に、価格は ユーザー増加の数のために下落する。第2に、すでに避妊に慣れたユーザーは 価格上昇の後も中断しそうにない。

#### 将来の財政の必要性

- 3.8 途上国での家族計画に必要な将来的予算を算定するには、広範な要素を加味せねばならないが、成長が予想される点では大方一致する。テーブル3.1の4つのスタディは、1990-2000年までの毎年の避妊普及増加率と、毎年の支出増加率(3.1図)の予想である。4つ中3つのスタディは、普及率が年約0.8%増加し、それゆえ年間予想支出は、年約4.6%伸びねばならないという初期の算定(テーブル1.2)と一致する。(対照的に、1980年代にわたるドナーの積極性に対する基本的傾向予想は、支出中の3.3%の成長率を示している。)10年間で55-60%の支出増加は予想されるが、使用者負担を含む資本支出あたりの増加は、1.25-1.50ドルと、控え目であろう。
- 8.8 これらスタディ中に使われた仮定と異なる仮定をすれば、支出は増減どちらにもなる。もし途上国で出産が著しく早く減ったならば、2000年の公共支出は36%高くなるだろう。もし利用者の3%がノアープラントを使うようになれば、5年間の教育にかかるコストは2000年までに(全利用者数は変わらないとする)、その年既に2.7%高くなるであろう。
- 3.10 既存の避妊方法の一利用者あたりのコストは変わらないと、多くが予想する・コストは落ちるはずとも議論できるが、決定的な証拠はない。プログラムの拡大に伴うコスト低減は、もし設備が飽和状態に近くなければ、エコノミーズ オブ スケールの点から予想されるし、スタッフが仕事をより効率的に學ぶという点からも予想される。サービスを享受しにくい層に到達するために、プログラムを拡大し精密にするならば、コストの上昇は見込まれる。一般に、避妊普及率の高いプログラムほど利用者あたりのコストは低い。しかし、アジア諸国の利用者あたりのコストは、シャープに下降していた初めの約3年間をぬかし、上昇、下降様々である。種々のコストスタディをまとめた結果も、様々である。
- 3.11 それゆえ、プログラムが拡張するにつれての利用者あたりのコストの傾向は、未だ掴みきれないし、おそらく様々であろう。しかし、コスト削減の可能性はある。例えば、モロッコの17の医療設備付き救急車の使用時間数とコスト調査によると、労働コストの34%は患者を待つ時間である。この種の非効率を減らし、資源を再配分し、利用を増すことにより、理論上、将来利用者あたりのコストは減らせる。
- 8.12 将来コストの推定額のどれも、利用者が負担するコスト(使用料)の増加を考慮していない。仮に使用料が全体の20-25%と推定されるなら、公共支出の負担を軽減するために、使用料の実質的増大が必要となるだろう。例えば公共支出を4.6から2.

## 基本的有効プログラム

避妊用具提供サービスは家族計画プログラムの初歩的な課題である。4章ではサービスの質や避妊用具供給者とクライアントの関係、さらにこれに続く基本的なプログラムのリビューについて述べている。5章では、プログラムを有効に使う手段、6章では、企業の十分な参加、7章では家族計画に対し知識の乏しい階級への振興、8章では政府やドナーからの財政および政策支持がそれぞれ述べられている。

#### 4・ サービスの質

- 4・1 クライアントのニーズに合ったサービス
  - \* 各国の国情に合った避妊方法の提供
  - \*クライアントの不安を和らげる十分なカウンセリング
  - \* 医学的検地に立った技術的に有能な選妊方法の提供

上記の質への要求は今後討論されるであろう。どのように質を向上させるか、また効果的なプログラム作成や費用に関する討論もなされる。

#### 引続き使用ためのアクセス

- 4・2 クライアントが要求する家族計画とサービスは明確な避妊方法である。両方の問題はこのセグションで述べられている。特に避妊用具の受入体制を促進することにあるり、良いアクセスとは計画を引続き使用させるためにも現在それぞれの国で使用されている方法も考慮にいれることである。
- 4・3 選妊用具提供サービスは過去10年間で改善されているが、国によりばらつきが見られる。現状のサービスは数多の販売路、それらは公立病院だけだなく、クリニック、診療所、薬局、コンビニエンスストアー、スーパーマーケット、訪問販売により多くの避妊用具が提供されている。4・1では家族計画用具を手に入れるまでにかかる時間を表している。ウガンダや多くの他の国々と違いタイの地方都市における家族計画は国によって職員の配置が保証されている。たとえアクセスが総体的によくても若者はいまだに多くの問題を抱えていおり、若者は一般的にプライバシー保護のため別々のサービスを要求している。
- 4・4 早急なアクセスは若干例外を省いて選妊器具の使用に役立っている。この努力は他の要素と独立しており、16の研究結果によれば方法論が大きく違っている。例としては、ガテマラのラデイノ地区の人口の約10%は選妊用具調達のために割く時間が5分~30分であるなら自発的に調達に行くが、2時間以上になると6%台に落ち込んでしまう

。時間短縮に対する努力はクライアントに再び避妊を行き渡らせるためにも必要な方法である。例えば、施設が一か所に集中している(エジプトでは避妊用具調達にかける時間はわずか数分である)ジンンバブエでは指導員の家庭訪問形式を採用している。このように固定している施設であれば近いことがきっかけとなり普及率も増えるであろう。

# 4・5 適切な方法へのアクセス

かりに設備が改善されたとしても、クライアントに適切な選択方法を提供するにはまだ考慮すべき問題点がある。1982~1989年の家族計画の総てのプログラムに対して多数の問題点があり、下記に述べるような適切でないものがあった。プログラムの53%が改善されなっかたことや32%がいまだに十分でないことは、いずれも1982年と1988年の5の方法のいずれにもアクセスしてなっかたことがこのような低い水準となった。付け加えれば、1989年のプログラムの10%は同じ水準で成功している。

- 4.6 一つの避妊方法だけが全員にとっても良い方法とは限らない。4.2表は異なった出産サイクルの実例である。一時的な方法(コンドーム、ビル)は早期において適切であり、永久的な方法(避妊手術)は出産サイクルの終わりに向けて適切な方法である。他の特質は母乳期間中かその後、安定した性生活の最中か後、により違いが生じて来る。インドネシアではこれらの方法が試され20%の女性はプログラムを取り入れ20%の女性は不妊のために違う方法を取り入れている。
- 4.7 何故ならば、これらの方法は、さまざまなユーザーに魅力的であり、幅の広い選択ができるからである。. 72ケ国のデータからは1982年の方式は高い率で行来渡っているが、社会経済のレベルや他の家族計画プログラムの影響により若干の減少が見られる。台湾、香港、韓国、タイおよびインドにおける研究では、この方法の他にもう一つのプログラムを加えるユーザーが増えている。
- 4・8 国家プログラムは最低限多くの方法を取り入れるべきであるが、4・2表の実例でも分かるようにあまり適切でない方法は使用すべきではない。だからといって、直ぐにも新しい方法を導入することは実用的なことではなく、初期の予定にしたがい、クライアント拡大のためより良いサービスを保証するべきである。さまざまな状況から判断して配達システムを選択すべきである。また、特別に委託システムを活用することもクライアント拡大の方法である。
- 4・9 加えて、初期の供給アクセスとして、プログラムはユーザーの避妊用具使用の存続を考慮せればならない。現在開発国の半数のカップルは避妊方法を活用しており・避妊

が面倒くさいものでないと宣伝することにより新しいユーザーに与えるインパクトが大きくなる。しかし、このような方法をとらずともサービスを充実させるととにより短期的な利用者を増やすより長期的利用者の確保ができるはずである。タイやコロンビアで実施されている強力なプログラムは間違った方法を取り入れたためによる失敗から毎年6%のユーザー減少をまねいている(途中でやめた理由は避妊の失敗や妊娠願望による者も含まれている)。パラグアイでは年間18%が避妊を中断している。

- 4.10 多くの女性は避妊用具の供給が不十分であったり、避妊の失敗から途中でやめてしまう例が報告されている。供給サービス、特にいかに供給体制を整えるかがユーザーを脱落させないための重要なポイントである。重要な方法選択の実例はインドネシアにおいてその方法を取り入れたか取り入れなかったかで大きな違いが生じた。前者の20%、後者の85%は間違った方法のため18ヵ月もの間避妊を中断していた。クリニック等におけるクライアントとの相互信頼関係不足も中断の原因になった。
- 4.11 当然クライアントとの良好な関係は避妊中断やプログラム成功への原因となっている。各種の避妊方法は副作用があるのでという言い訳は避妊を中断するときに引用される理由である。健康面からの配慮で体内に避妊器具を埋め込む方法も検討されている。専門職員によるカウンセリングも不安を和らげる助けとなる。
- 4.12 クライアントとの頻繁な連絡や情報交換をすることも脱落者を防ぐことになるがその反面費用がかかることも否定できない。また、ユーザーに定期使用を要求することはクライアントにとって費用がかさむことになる可能性も大であり慎重をきすべきである。定期的な家庭訪も費用がかさむので、ビル使用者には完璧な使用説明書、または必要であれば絵入の説明書を家庭に持ち帰らせることも費用削減になりえる。

#### カウンセリングと相互信頼関係

4・13 クランアントとの相互信頼関係を築くことが避妊指導を推進するための課題である。次の3つの相互関係が考えられる、第一に情報とカウンセリングの提供、第二にクライアントの不安を和らげる、第三に個人的な問題の相談。

これらの結果が避妊を躊躇している人々や中断しようとしている人々に勇気づけることになる。

#### 4・14 カウンセリングと情報の選択

クライアントに正しい避妊方法と利点およびリスクに対する的確な情報を提供することが このプログラムの大きな責任である。現在避妊している人のなかでも誤った情報を過信し ている例が多く見受けられる。例えば、現在ビルを使用している340人の女性のうち5 8%が誤った方法を採用しているとの研究論文がコロンビアで発表されている。誤った情報は中途脱落者を増やす結果となる。

- 4・15 情報提供者は数師、カウンセラー、心理学者および大学の聴講生であることが 望ましい。基本的なカウンセリングはその頭文字を取り"GATHER"とサマライズさ れた。以下はカウンセラーのすべきことである。
  - \*クライアントに対する礼儀正しい挨拶
  - \* クライアントの家族計画の必要性を聞く
  - \*家族計画の説明と正しい選択指導
  - \* クライアントの避妊方法選択への助官
  - \*正しい使用法の説明
  - \*クライアントの定期訪問必要性の説明
- 4・16 カウンセリングの改善はクライアントと提供者の信頼関係を形成するのもであるから高度な教育が必要となる。調査、チェックリストと初期のガイドラインの作成および訪問のフォローアップ(このようなカイドラインは1989年度 Cooperation Agencies Task Foreceによる)をすべきである。基本的なことになるがでこれ以外にもクライアントと多くの時間を過ごすことが要求される。初期の研究成果では、プエル・トリコでは医者がクライアントを診療する時間は一人に対しわずか3~5分、トリニダとタバゴでは一人の医者から34人の女性全員が内科的診断を受けるの25分という短さである。
- 4・17 クライアントの不安心理:クライアントの不安を和らげるためには特別な配慮 と礼儀作法が必要とされる。待ち時間はジンバブエのクリニックでは14%が、大病院で は82%が長過ぎると回答している。
- 4・18 長過ぎる待ち時間は共通の問題である。1988-90年のラテンアメリカ での研究論文では病院での平均待ち時間は1時間20分と発表されている。おもな原因と しては、病院職員の遅い出動、長過ぎる昼食時間、不正確な動務体制、カルテ等のファイ リングシステムの非行率さやクライアントの遅い訪問などである。
- 4・19 クライアントに対する誤診もまた共通の問題である。これらにはクライアン

トの理解不足に対する職員の非礼な態度や我侵不足、身体検査の最のプライバシーのなさ 及び、個人的な性生活を大勢の前で話すという配慮の欠ける数々の行動が見受けられる。 特に、低所得者に対する扱いは目に余る。いくらかの医者の中には犯罪と同等の行為をす る者もいる。

4・20 情報管理システムと教育に加えてこれらの問題に関係のある3つ可能性のある解決方法としては、クライアント及び患者への調査、研究と "さくら" または "ミステリー" クライアントの利用である。患者利用状況調査とは、クライアントの流れを記録し診察状況やそれにかかる費用を調査することであり、この調査分析によってはクリニックの非効率性を明らかにすることができる。エクアドルのクイト地区のあるクリニックでは、この調査の結果を見て職員が8人から10人に増えまた、この調査結果をみるとクライアント数は33%増えた。クライアントの待ち時間もいっせいに平均62分から32分短縮された。クライアントサテイスファクシンスタデイ(サービス内容の替し悪し等)とは観測、グループごとの見通しインタビュー含む色々な方法論である。ケニアでは厚生省の配達拠点2ヵ所を選び調査された。例えば、この時点で88%の職員がクライアントに礼儀正しい挨拶をしたが、卵管結さつ手術を受ける病棟ではわずか17%であった。ミステリークライアントはさくらのようになんの予告もなく他の本物のクライアントと混ざり職員や医師の態度を後で報告するように義務づけられている者のことである(ボクッス4・1参照)。

4・21 グライアントが考慮すべき点: クライアントは避妊のほかに様々な問題を考慮すべきである。プログラムについても避妊だけについて述べるのだけでなく補助形式で性病に関する情報も強化すべきである。性的能力、性病のカウンセリングと出産に関する記述の他にAIDSの知識はすでにラテンアメリカと他のプログラムで付け加えられている。例えば、コロンビアのPROFAMILIAでは避妊指導員にはエイズに関する話し合いが要求されいるがそのために避妊指導の時間が削減されと言うことはなかった。避妊指導と平行して健康管理に対する話し合いも必要である。家族計画を推進させるためにも避妊を受ける側の経済的向上が求められる。

4・22 しばしば、家族計画も他の企画と連携して推進すべきであり出産後のプログラムはその意味で魅力的でありクライアントに広範に試されている。卸売業者、薬局、コンビニエンスストアなどでも避妊用品販売されれば、クライアントは他の商品と一緒に気軽に避妊用品を購入することができる。

#### 技術競争

4・23 プログラムの質を向上させるためにも技術的競争が要求される。技術競争の意味することはスタッフが十分な情報と特殊な避妊方法を修得し、知識と技術を正確使いこなせることである。そしてクライアントは供給者の態度を査定するのでなく、技術的なミス等に目を向けることができる。

4・24 技術競争は智護婦や医療補助員にも要求されるものである。内科医はプログラムのバックアップに必要であり医療教育の現場ではこの訓練は授業の一部に含まれていので訓練を受けるべきであるが、実際の調剤は医者でない者がすべきである。

#### サービスの質の改善

- 4・25 全体に渡るサービスの質の改善要求は以下の3である
  - \*プログラムのリーダーシップへのコンミトメント
  - \*機関の再教育
  - \*質の評価と報酬

これらの要求で考慮されるべきはコストである。

- 4・26 コミトメント: トップマネージメントの質に対するコンミトメントは、計画を詳細に述べることと具体的配慮が重要である。本質的に大部分のプログラムは方策が非常に不自然あっても、若干の質の改善は可能である。マネージャの選択は質の影響を与え組織改善の方向へ導くことになる。
- 4・27 組織変革:マレージメントの行動の一つとして、もし質が向上したならば、典型的な官僚主義を廃止し、クライアントのニーズあった機関を目指すことである。より良いサービスの提供とフィールドワーカーが直接クライアントと連絡をとれるような組織に再編成すべきである。これら第一線で働く職員の人選には細心の注意が必要で、訓練、明確な仕事割り当てと職務達成のためには後方業務(人員配置や物資運搬等)や的確な指導が行なわれなければならない(5章参照)。階級差別の激しい社会や閉鎖的な地域ではこのような改革は容易ではない。草根運動のボランテイア組織の助力で目的達成は簡単なように見えるが、厳格な階級組織や政府の官僚主義にはばまれ非常に難しいものとなっている。
- 4.28 評価と報酬:サービスの質の向上は改善した次点で評価されるべきである。ユーザー成功観測とクライアント調査は早い次時期にその方法が述べらていた。クライアントの個別追跡調査が一番重要とおもわれるので、International Plan

ned Federatin/Western Hemisphere Reginで開発されたクリニック マネーシメント システムでこれに対する例が述べられている。

4・29 質の向上は報酬の対称とされるべきである。ある組織では金銭でない報酬システムが検討されているが、これはある期間に多くの対称者がいる場合に限定されている。 プログラムが成功しているとすれば成功報酬を考えなければならない。

4・30 コストの質:若干のサービス向上にはほかの政策が要求されるがコスト面では少く、質の改善にはそれ程コストはかからない。施設の拡張、備品の設置、職員採用、技術向上、新しい方法の提供、と調剤サービスには莫大な費用がかかる。他方では、クライアントとが支払うコストは少ない。シフトサービスの準備コスト削減時には医師から医療補助員へ雑用は引き継がれるべきである。避妊薬を飲用する前の骨盤検査要求のような必要性のないものはそれにかかるコストの削減をするべきである。

4・31 もしも、プログラムの非効率や避妊指導改善のためその方策の改善が要求されても一人一人のユーザーにかかるコストはそれ程でもない。これの実例の比較はバングラデイシュのものである。バングラデイシュのWomen's Health Coalition はダッカ周辺の都市や村落に6ケ所のクリニックを持ち、月経調節、避妊指導、妊婦および幼児の健康診断、胎児健診、予防注射、と婦人科医療を提供している。これらのクリニックでは個人カウンセリングや様々な指導も行なっている。3~4%のクライアントは月経調節クリニックで避妊用品をもらう。. 避妊手術にかかる費用は政府プログラムの10倍と見積っている。バングラデイシュのMatlabプロジェクトはかなり大きいが、質については同題がある。政府の避妊プログラムと関連して、もっと適応性のある方法、徹底的管理された信頼性のある職員の採用、地域職員による家庭訪問と妊婦、小児のための健康診断を充実すべきである。1978年~1984年にかけて、避妊普及率は隣接した地域の9%から11%の上昇に比べ実行地域では9%から43%の高い上昇となった。Matlabプロジェクトの実行地区ではこれと隣接比較する地域よりも3倍の避妊復旧率であるが、一回の避妊手術にかかるコストはプロジェクト以外の地域のUS240ドルと比べUS220ドルと低いレベルであった。

何故ならば、これらの地域はプロジェクト実施地区と隣接しているので、実施地区でのサービス情報が流れ避妊手術の費用は一回につき実施地区のUS196ドルに比べ競合地区では逆にUS298ドルとなっている。

マーネージメント戦略

- 5・1 プログラム・マネージメントは過去数年で改善されているが、まだ多く残されている分野がある。多くの改善分野はプログラムの基礎のメカニズムであり、もっと専門職員の教育や人選、確実な後方業務が必要である。ここでは始めに広い意味でのプログラム戦略が述べられており、次に公共のプログラム支持が期待される。以下4ラインはプログラム構成にかかせない機能である。
  - \* 機関の基本的構成要因
  - \* 長前線職員の完全な把握体制
  - \* 基本的構成要因
  - \* コントロールと適応性の供給
- 5・2 家族計画結果の判定によれば、1982年と89年にはマネージメントプログラムの大福な改善が見られた。職員の管理体制、訓練や職員の業務評価など約80%の国家プログラムの改善された。大幅な改善は27のプログラムのうちの上記に述べた3つであった。後の24のプログラムに関しては引続き改善が必要とされる状態である。中近東、北アフリカでのプログラム改善は低い結果となった。サブサハラ地区でのプログラムは若干改善された。機能の面では、多くの国々で職員管理と後方業務が十分に働かなかった。

#### 戦略へのアプローチ

- 5・3 家族計画プログラムにおいては数々の戦略へのアプローチ方法がある。基本的には戦略計画はそれぞれの組織の任務にあった状況に基づいて(現在と未来)プランが立てられるべきである。
- 5・4 調和: 戦略プログラムの基本概念は組織の構成が組織任務と適合していなければならず、環境の変化に伴い組織の任務も変化すべきである。経済問題や社会問題は政治解決には中央集権化の地方分権を要求するものである。
- 5.5 家族計画プログラム世界共通で他の環境問題と同質である。開発国 におけるプログラムの発達はボール (1983) は共通の問題点を証明した。特別の家族計画プログラムにおける普及向上はクライアントの観察結果や公共の支持とプログラムの機能である

- \*プログラムの永続グライアントの限界は方策である。サービスはクライアントにとって利用価値があるべきで、マネージャーは障害を取り除くことに努力すべきである。
  - \*公共の支持を得ることは至難の技で家族計画プログラムは政治圧力を受けやすい。 この状況は確実なプログラム作成、地域社会、進歩的グループ、と要求を結集する 妨げとなる。

改善段階: プログラムとその環境は常に変化に富んでいるので継続的な戦略プログラムが 望ましい。

- \*避妊方法を試みているカップルで、今後出産する予定のない、または延期している 標準的な少家族で教養のあるカップルを探し出す。
- \*ドナーや個人ボランテイアからの財政のサーボートは政府機関、各エージェンシー 、公共ネットワークを拡大するためにも必要である。
- 5、7 家族プログラムの改善が成功か失敗かはこれらの変化によって強調去れる。テーブル5、1 はその一覧表である。プログラムが支持を受けていない場合ーマネージングはドナーの支持から政府支持に代わっている。主な任務機能が弱い時ーマネージングは限られたネットワークから大幅に拡大する。プログラムがやや関心をもたれてるとき一政府により支持される。プログラムが強い関心を持たれているとき一政府から大衆の支持に代わる。これらのプログラムは自然に1つの段階から他に移項しない。

#### 大衆支持の動員

- 5.8 家族計画プログラムは強力な支持が大切である。何故なら、それは永続的な利益に結び付く大衆や政府は慈善與行に関しての知識が乏しいので広い大衆の受入と政策のしじが必要である。
- 5、9 政策上の支持:国家的指導者や政策の決定は強力な大衆への支持である。そして 、家族計画プログラムにとっては設備拡大や避妊用品輸入費用の入手が簡単になる。
- 5、10家族計画にとっての論争は政治政策支持要求を引き起こし、そして大衆に影響を与えるようなグループによって支持が得られるはずである。地方の専門家や国のデータを用いて家族計画に対する政治討論を起こすのも有力な方法である。家族計画にたいするパイロットプログラム利用も価値がある。

- 5、11 政治的支持の程度によって家族計画プログラムは思いがけない状況になる。例 として、1980年代のサハラ地区での政治的支持により国民の人口上昇による経済問題 に対する意識が目覚め人口抑制こそが経済回復の影響を与えるとさっとた。
- 5、12 地域社会による支持: 国家レベルでの地域社会の支持が重要である。インドでは政治リーダーの介入により家族計画プログラム推進に支障をきたした。地域社会の参加こそが避妊必要としているカップルに勇気を与えることになる。

#### 5, 13

- 5、14 プログラムは他のエージェンシー、機関の構成上の違い等あるがもっと、避妊 用具配達方法の向上を目指さなければならない。配達システムはクリニック以外でも必要 とされているしシステム改善により多くの人々が避妊をより身近なものに感じられる。
- 5、15 配達システム:あらゆる配達システムが過去数年に渡り改善されている。特に地方の病院やクリニックには多くの人は来ないので別の方法で手渡すべきである。地域共同社会が基礎となるところでは、1960年中頃から住民を訓練して配布の役目を負ってもらうシステムを取り入れている。地域社会に貢献することは一般的に給料の支払はなく売上の数%かまたは金銭以外の報酬に値するものが支払はれる。避妊用具のマーケッテイングは薬局や小さなコンビニエンスストアーにおいて売られ丁るがS、数年後には他の方法も考えられて改善された。他の方法とはクリニックと提携している職員、避妊促進グループおよび中年の女性達の助けである。
- 5、16 クリニックにおける配達システムで問題となるのが安全性とそれに関わるコストである。地域共同社会ベースの貢献は避妊用具使用向上をもたらしている、特に低階級そうの利用に目覚ましいものがある。バングラデイシュ、エジプト、メキシコ、モロッコ、ルワンダ、スーダン、テイユニジア、ザイールとジンバブエのような開発途上国での利用が増えている。地域共同社会の貢献は安全でかつ、健康に与える影響がないことがタイ、メキシコ、ケニアで証明されている。例えば、1982年の地域社会の貢献によりピルを飲用している女性は他の方法(薬局等)でピルを得ている女性と比較しても健康面においては優れているとの研究がメキシコで発表された。
- 5、17個人的に共同社会ペースでピルを手にいれるには高すぎるがクリニックと同時 に利用すればコスト面ではかなり安くなる。10か国 63のプロジェクトの配達システムを利用したカップルに係る費用はターブル5、2に表されているがどのケースを選らぶ

かにより違いが生じる。ソーシアルマーケッテイングは一般てきには安く手にはいるが何度も供給する必要があるばかりでなくカクタマーに対するカウンセリングは一切ない。避妊手術専門クリニックでも避妊用具の提供は安く受けられるが長期使用の場合には割高になる。地域社会とクリニックか提携しているところでは安く提供することができる。

5、18 国際組織との提携: まったく異なる機関、私的エージェンシーを含めて国家的家族計画プログラムに加入すべきである。配達は多種多様な方法でサービスが受けられる上、一般的にインンパクトも強くなる。このようなプログラムの機能は政府機関、厚生省や私的機関の調査および振興が重要である。大きな機関は世界をカバーしているので幅広い情報やプログラムの柔軟性を持っている。

5、19 組織の構成:国家プログラムには多数のエージェンシーの幅の広い参加、さまざまな配達システムの効果拡大にむけて既婚女性だてでなく男性や若者の協力の必要である。過去の家族計画の主要な構成要件は公衆衛生としての妊娠女性と小児の健康管理と避妊用具配達のみであった。しかし現在ではただ公衆衛生のみを考えるのでなく多くの私的機関と共同してもっと幅の広いクライアントに対するサービスが要求されている。ネットワーク組織の概念は公衆衛生システムだけでなく他の機関と私的供給者の動員による大衆獲得である。組織の概念としては最前線で働く職員に対する十分な責任が要求される。

# 5、20 最前線職員に対する管理

直接クライアシトにサービスを提供する最前線職員の増員と訓練には管理が必要である。 新職員募集と訓練は改善されてはいるがまだ若干の問題が見受けられるのでこの点を克服 することが大事な課題である。職員は家族計画職員のなかでは重要な位置を締め、全世界 で100万人に達する勢いである。各種専門技術をもつ職員は、高度技術を持つ医者やボ ランテイアと協力し他職員の教育に当るべきである。プログラムが高度であるにもかかわ らずボランティアや医療従事者のレベルが低い場合には新職員募集は彼等の重荷になるし だからといって、予め高度技術をもった職員を採用することは容易ではない。訓練は改善 されてはいるものの、もっと強力な訓練内容を新職員は必要としており、また他の職員の 再教育も重要である。経験の乏しい職員が共通する問題でありこれがプログラムの向上を 妨げる原因ともなっている。

も、21 新職員募集:新職員採用に関してはプログラム強化のためにも慎重を記するべきである。 採用基準がどのようなものであるかはほとんどの場合地域の指導者や職員によって決められるが、永続的なクライアント開拓のためにも優れた指導力をもつ職員の採用が求められる。 既婚女性で子供のいる人には、彼女自身が避妊経験者で同地区に長く住んでいること が条件である。また、他のプログラムから家族計画プログラムに職員を配置転換させることは良い考えではない。

5・22 訓練と指導: 1980年代の職員訓練改善はオブザーバーとしては無視できない評価となった。1990~91年では家族計画プログラムと妊婦および小児健康に関する500の短期訓練が世界中で行なわれた。アフリカのサハラ地区ではアジア北部地区と同時に訓練が行なわれた。また、中東と北アフリカでの訓練はサハラ地区に比べて結果はよくなかった。

5・23 継続的な訓練と再訓練はプログラムを向上させる為の効果策である。しかし、 訓練のみが総ての機関が抱えている問題の解決策ではない。何故なら、政治的コンミトメ ントや十分な財政援助はプログラムを強化するためにも職員の訓練以上に大切である。

5・24 訓練プログラムは臨床だけをカバーするのではなく選妊を含む財政支援、マメージメント、人員の配置、コムミケーションとカウンセリング、クライアントとの相互信頼関係と様々な要素が含まれている。しかし訓練には訓練生の仕事に対する直接的指導が要求される。訓練が各機関のニーズと一致したときその職務遂行は好転する。知識と技術に対する個人的コミットメントは機関が最終的に目指しているものである

5・26 監督:最前職員による指導の善し悪しがアログラム成功への決定的な要因となる。指導は訓練から学ぶ技術と知識の定期的な補強を行なうことができる。それがアログラムの問題点かいぜんに貢献する。

5・27 指導は十分行なわれるべきである。指導者の高揚は高まっておりナイジェリアやガテマラでは指導者に導かれた地域社会の貢献が著しく見られれ、トルコでは看護婦や中年女性の活躍が見られる。指導者はプログラムが振興している最中に各職場を頻繁に訪れるべきである、人員移動計画も無視できないものがある。彼等の役目はチェックリスト作成や職員の職務向上のためあらゆる手段あお登えることにある。野外調査員との連絡や

調査も役に立つ、指導者がクライアントを頻繁に訪問したことでバングラデイシュでは調査員の職務向上が見られた。各機関からの指導向上要求は、完全は職員訓練や職務遂行や 責任を定義所いている。

- 5・28 人員移動の確実性: 避妊用具やそれに付属する備品の効果的な供給システムを確実に実行することがプログラムの基本的義務である。しかしだいたいは有効に作用していない。最近のサハラ近郊で発表された論文では予想、ショッピング、船舶の入港、交通機関、情報システムと卸売鈍やがすべての地区で不足していることが明らかになった。供給不足は避妊利用者の脱落をまねき、職員のモラル低下やプログラムに対する不信を植え付ることになる。
- 5.29 人員の移動システムはマネージメントの悪さや不適当な処置等の影響であまり有効に作用していない。避妊用具在庫の調査においては人員の配置機能が全く作用しておらず将来の在庫管理のための人員でさえ確保できない状態である。40ヶ国で人員移動に関する調査が行なわれたがアジア地区は他の地区よりも優れていることが輪っかた。サハラ近郊では人手不足から避妊供給に支障をきたすケースもでて着ている。また反面供給過剰による浪費も度々起こっている。
- 5・30 訓練、効果的指導と人員配置の為の技術的なアシスタントが望まれる。人員配置システムには人員配置管理職員の指導が必要で阿利、また再訓練は総ての職員に対して必要である。同時に手続は簡素化が求められる。
- 5・31 人員配置システムの改善は最も優先されるべきである。それは避妊供給面からだけでなく、秘てのプログラムにおいても同様である。人員配置システムに多少でも問題があればプログラムのみなおしをするべきであり、他のネットワークと共同して配置システムの再検討が考えられる。
- 5・32 効果的なプログラムとは刻々と変化する情報提供であり、マSネージャーの臨機的変な態度が要求される。良い情報とは一般的なものでなく職務遂行に結び付くようなものである。3つの主要なものとしてはマネージメントのシステムに基づいた情報、プログラムの評価と職務調査である。
- 5・33 監視と帰還:成功したSプログラムの情報収集は基本的指針である。例えば、インドネシアの月間報告書は3の兆候を表して居る。指導に従っている人々の受入、数々

のサービスの提供、在庫供給である。これらの報告書は本部へ送られそこで情報分析がなされ1ケ月以内にはこの結果が管理者の基へ送り返される。一般に基礎になる指針とは\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

5・34 評価:一般的な評価は様でのプログラムの活動が幅広く生かされなければならない。調査は避妊における供給者の質、及び社会的観測にある。連続されるべき調査は変化するプログラムをカバーする。

5.35 国際的レベルでの家族計画プログラムの有効的評価はNRCのPRでありUNFRAのアセスメンMトである。くわえて調査の概要とアドバイスは将来におけるプログラムの方向を示すのに必要なものである。プログラムのインンパクと似たいする評価では家族計画努力の結果が集められている。これらの情報はこんご他のプログラムの参考として役立つものである。

5.36 オペレーション調査:プログラムの調査は一般的にオペレーション調査と呼ばれておりプログラムの改善戦略に利用されて居る。開発国におけるプログラム調査はすでに終了しているが3の批判が残った。パイロットプログラムは国や文化の違いが問題点あると証明された。プログラムの担当マレージャーはオペレーションに力を入れるべきで、特殊プランはスタートの時点で考慮され新しいプログラムはしだいに紹介されるべきである。

#### 6. 民間事業の家族計画

- 6・1民間事業は豊富な避妊用具の提供を行ない多くの国々で政府の支持の元で多くの永 統的な避妊用具利用者に貢献している。民間事業は下記に示す内容を取り入れている。
- \*非政府組織、私的ボランティア組織、と支持者のよって設立された事業所、私立 大学および代理店。
  - \*個人開業医師、クリニック、病院と職員によるサービス
  - \*薬局やストアーによる避妊用具の販売

民間事業は避妊用具配達施設を整え、管理プログラムや財政基盤は企業自身かまは使用者 によってなされる。民間の協力がえられてはいるものの完璧には活用されていないのが現 実である。

#### 適応と可能性

6・2 民間事業ではすでに避妊器具準備を整えている。半数以上の家族計画サービスの

個人販売先はほとんどがラテンアメリカとアフリカである。アジア地区は政府の指導が行き届いており個人的販売サービスの利用者はユーザーの20%である。(テーブル6・)

- 6・3 家族計画における民間事業の占有は整異的ある国々では私的家族計画共同と商業 売上は政府のプログラムより勝っている。政府が意としていることは家族計画における私 的機関からの上納金である。方法の選択と設備の可能性は民間事業の一部分である。例え ば1982~1987年のメキシコでは、民間事業はIUDの使用による女性の避妊法は ビル飲用によりその利用率を下げた。1980年以降は避妊法が人気を集め短期的な方法 となった。
- 6・5 民間事業の行動は政治支持のあるなしにより左右され、直接的なアシスタンスは 要求されるであろう。貧困そうには多額の助成金が必要とされる。なぜなら避妊用具の大 部分のマーケチングからの利益は低く利益追求企業は避妊用具使用者獲得のための高い広 告費用や宣伝行動への投資には積極的ではない。
- 6・6 民間事業は以下のサービスをも行なっている
  - \*事業の柔軟性にあわせた家族計画サービスと特殊タイプのサービス
- \*事業の構成上における有効性の向上多くの支援グループとの連携とユーザーの幅 広い選択
- \*政府とドナーからの財政支援と事業の有効性と可能性に対する投資 民間事業の違う部分での見通しに関する若干の相違が見られる:サービス紹介のボランテ イア機関や商業販売と個人開業医者の幅広い活動と個人配達の選択、しかし財政選択も公 共事業費を提供する。

家族計画の紹介

- 6.7 ほとんど総ての国々で、組織化された家族計画サービスはボランティア機関によって紹介されている。その中でも顕著な家族計画はInternational Planned Parenthood Federationと提携したプログラムで配達サービスや初期の目的の遂行を目的としている。これには多数の他のボランティア機関も含まれ地方色を出している。
- 6.9 政府の金銭面だけではなく、クリニックやoffice空間、避妊用具、人員、 商品、供給と自由な放送活動補助には限界がある。そこでよき協力企業がサービス拡大の 助けとなる。例えば、ペルーのボランティア機関は勤務終了後約3時間厚生省の施設で家 族計画クリニックを開業した。一年後、家族計画受入者はベースラインレベルの2~7倍 の上昇となった。このクリニックは、特に正規の診療時間に産婦人科や婦人科系クリニックにいきづらかった男性の間で人気が合った。
- 6・10 ボランテイア機関は家族計画紹介に指導的役割をはたし、その分野での長期的役割は結果として要求を再考することになるかもしれない。コロンビアとスリナメでは、ボランテイア機関が主要な供給者となっている。家族計画は大衆に受入られ、政府に管理された私的サービスまたは、統合された私的、公共サービスはクライアントにとって非常に魅力的なものになる。ボランテイア機関は自身の特別な適所を開拓しなければならない、職務遂行のための支持活動の見通し、訓練、新しい方法開拓と研究方法等の市場分割に全力を注ぐべきである。

#### 他グループとの連携

6・11 私的エージェンシーはそれぞれの公共選妊貢献ネットワークとの連帯を拡張しなければならない。幅の広いグループは特に健康関連施設の少ない場所や全くない場所のメディアや小売店の総ての人々に影響をあたえる可能性がある。他のグループは現在と可能性のあるクライアントの個人開業医、健康設備とに繋がりがある。加えれば、他の目標となるグループは私的エージェンシーを通して、このセクションだけでなくこの章のどこでも述べられているが、ボランティア機関のクライアント、企業の従業員と彼等の扶養家族と健康保険プランのメンバーと連絡が可能である。

- 6・12 商業販売とソーシアルマーケテイング:全世界で、5分の1のカップルが薬局より避妊具を購入している。加えれば、利用しやすさ、クライアントへの薬局やストアの秘密保守、匿名、ただの情報提供、と迅速なサービスが受入られている。これらの不利な点は高い値段販売員の家族計画の情報欠如等で;ソーシアルマーケテイングを通しての商品販売準備、特別訓練プログラムは政府の規制により変化することである。
- 6・13 ソーシアルマーケテイングは市場調査、避妊用具販売広告のような商業コマーシャル等を活用している。地方エーゲンシーの支持は卸売業者と生産者および家族計画協会のような非利益団体である。コンドーム、ビル と殺精子剤は販売されており、少ないが I UD sと体内埋め込み式避妊方法もプログラムにある。ソーシアルマーケテイングアログラムは約30ケ国で実行されており、年間800万人の避妊を支える量が売られている。利用者の5-15%は出産を引続き可能な年齢のカップルである。バングラディシュ、コロンビア、エジプトではもっと集中プログラムが行なわれ30%以上の利用者が総ての方法を使用している。薬局の利用主であるが、小さいコンビニエンスストアーも利用されているし、ガーナ、ナイジェリア、ベルーではマーケット取引員も効果的に利用されている。
- 6.14 ソーシアルマーケテイングプログラムではいかにクライアントへのケアーがK 重要である。5~6ヶ国では新しい利用者ほど大量に途中脱落していている結果が現われ ている。新利用者が避妊を採用するかしないかの結審は決心はなかなか難しい
- 6・15 個人開業医: 開業医はクライアントにとっても利用しやすいが反面医療費は 制高である。政府は開業医の避妊用品販売を規制し、民間事業の販売者を有利にすること ができる。(テーブル8参照)、マスメデイアや政府の許可を受けた職員の時間外労働を 通しての避妊用具販売、提供は可能である。このような提供は古くからの開業医や避妊用 具販売許可を受けた者が低所得階層住民を優先して行なわれている。インドネシアのBI ue Circleキャンペーンは政府の訓練をうけた質の高い提供者が開業医と連携して 変妊用品を供給しているよい例である。

#### 公共費用の節約

- 6・16 個人配達システムはより効果的であり個人財政は若干そのコストをカバースる
- 6・17 有効性:健康サービスは政府のサービスよりも効果的である。ボランティア機関は民間事業よりもっと効果的に費用を使っている。例えば、5つのべるーのボランティ

- 6・18 個人財政:加えれば、ボランテイア組織の家族計画をりょうするに合った手は、避妊用品購入にクライアントは費用が係っており、保険がある程度カバーするが、保険を利用して間で避妊に対する意識が高まっていると企業は見ている。
- 6・19 多くのグループは避妊用品にかかる費用を払うことができる、特に需要が高い似で卸売価格が佐賀っているか等である。1987年のタイでは、地方在住の57%の高学歴の女性は公共組織から避妊指導を受けており、それに対する費用を支払っている。商業情報と開業医の利用が公共費用の浪費に役立っている。コスト
- 6・20 健康保険:健康管理機関、ソーシアルセクリテイサービスと職員サポートプログラムは人口の5-15%の補助をしている。ラテンアメリカでは、健康ほけんは人口の60%を補助している。もし、保険とリーペイイドプランが常に家族計画にかかる費用をカバーできれば、出産や小児健康管理
- 6・21 職員ペースサービスは中国を含む開発国では全体の15-25%となっている ・雇用サポート家族計画プログラムは20カ国 以上で実行されている。職員に対する\* \*\*\*は家族計画にかかる費用と竿再 されている。

#### 民間事業の奨励

- 6・22 民間事業奨励のためにも政府は次の4タイプの行動を起こすべきである。
  - \*事業の法人組織を戦略プランに組み入れる。
  - \* 医療制限を加えた法律と規則の改正
  - \*家族計画の促進
  - \*基金とテクニカル補助の準備
- 6・23 戦略プラン:政府計画者は私的機関の可能性のある寄付金を公共プログラムの中にくみ入れるべきである。そうすることでゆーざーの補助きんは個人供給者よりも安く買うことができる。供給方法や販売のサービス等を政府機関と私的プログラムはお互いもの行動や情報を交換するべきである。計画者は私的機関の障害を感知し、\*\*\*\*\*\*
  計画者はそれぞれ違うクライアントを獲得するというように私的と公共事業がお互いに補充しあうべきである。

- 6・24法律と規則の改正:ほとんどの国で寄付金が制限されたり、方法が違法となったり、潜在的ユーサーの非現実的な押付けや、私的だけでなく公共プログラムも数々の規制が足加瀬となっている。いくらかの規制は誤用を避けるためには必要である。たとえば多くの制限は時として直接的に避妊一家族計画費用の上昇、クライアントの方法選択の限界。規制の多くは避妊のみを管理しているわけではまい、しかし、まだ私的供給者を制限している。今後の政治政策で主要なもの拝かである。
  - \*家族計画の供給と輸入
  - \*外国為替のコントロールと避妊用品の価格安定
  - \*税制改革
  - \*価格操作による商品の安定
  - \*避妊用品広告掲載規制
  - \*私的医療の下ける証明書提出要求と規制
  - \*薬品取り締まり業務
  - \*期限切れ薬品とその規制
- 6・25 家族計画推進:政府は家族計画プランに実質上の責任を負うべきで、または民間事業と協力してその向上に勤めるべきである。(チャプタ7参照)利益追求企業は広告掲載には広告にたいする公共の反応を考慮し、また政府の避妊広告規制等えを考えるとそのリスクが大きくなるのであまり乗り気ではない。
- 6・26 財政とテクニカルアシスタンス:多くの企業からの民間事業に対するボランティア機関の財政、テクニカルアシスタンスを含むクリンイクへの設備投資、雇用者の税金下げ、健康保険による家族計画費の負担など直接支持は可能である。また、政府は私的機関のマネージメントと技術向上を支援することもできるし、適正な価格による配達システムとパイロットプログラムの繁紀による民間事業の拡大。

#### 家族推准計画

7・1家族推進計画(情報一教育ーコミニケーションIEC)は家族計画サービスの完全な部分である。新しいプロジェクトのように避妊用具は潜在的なユーザーにより購入されているしのは商品の魅力と安全性が好感されている。これは他人の使用状況を聞いて新たな使用者が増えるという効果を狙った教育の成果である。秘ての技術と斬新なテクニック、公共関係、および広告とを競合させた結果家族計画にたいするメッセージは大衆の意識をめざませることになる。

- 7.2 ユーザー(女性、男性)、その両親、と家族全員、青年を含めた未婚のカップル、現在避妊実行注のカップルによる推進行動が他人に影響を与え。政治かや評論かによる活動の結果避妊はごく普通の行為であり家族だけの問題であるという意識を都営の族。
- 7・3 推進行動は徐々に効果を表している。東北アフリカで行なわれた248の教育とコムニケーション計画の概要は聴衆の\*\*\*、聴衆への調査不足、\*\*\*曖昧な目的、意味不明のメッセージ、予備調査不足と不十分なプロジェクト評価など多くの難点が明らかになった。家族計画とコムニケーションプログラムで働いている4分に1の職員はその分野における知識がない。高度なテクニカルアシスタンスがなければノミニケーションプログラムは不足だらけである。
- 7・4 推進行動とプログラムの戦略プランの融合という特別な目的を完全に理解せずに は改善はありえない。全体的な推進努力の質も改善が必要である。この章では何が推進の 改善になるのか、どのように効果的な構想が必要か、それにかかる費用を考慮している。

#### 推進行動の影響、効果

- 7・5 相互信頼関係とマスメデイアは家族計画への理解を深める武器となる。この2つは競合すべきではなく協力すべきである。マスメディアは多くの聴衆に素早く情報を供給することがきるし、対人コムニケーションは考慮され、大衆の素早い反応とより深い理解が得られる。
- 7・6 対人関係コムニケーション: 顔を突き合せたコムニケーションは非常に協力な説得力がある。対人関係コムニケーションは、素早い反応と個人的な質問やニーズに即答できる優れた2つの作用がある。ひとつの重要な対人関係ルートは地域社会の影響である。他の2つは避妊成功者との討論である。\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*
- 7・7 情報提供者としての訓練をうけ、地域住民とおなじ生活背景をもっている\*\*\* ボランテイアーは多くの国々で活躍している。バベドストメキシコではボランテイアーは 病院の看護婦よりも住民と密着した活動をしている。トルコの繊維工場では、女性労働組 合の主任が組合員の女性たちに避妊用具使用をよびかけた。多くの国々では同年代のカウンセラーを使用してが青年の避妊教育を行なっている。ケニヤではカウンセラーが若い母親を訪問し家族計画だけでなく母乳や幼児の栄養摂取に関する話し合いをしている。
- 7・8 またカウンセラー自身が避妊を実行していることもクライアントに影響を与える ・コロンビアでの研究では避妊成功者は男性の精管切除手術を決意することが決まりであ

ると述べている。3分の2の精管切除希望者は誰が手術を受けたか知っている。

7・9 マスメディア: マスメディア利用は住民の意識を目覚めさせるだけでなく避妊 用品に対する心構えに役立つことがこの数年間で証明されている。マスメディアとのアク セスが開発国において急激に拡大しており、これは将来の暗示と亡るであろう。さらに重 要な事は、22の開発国での調査ではテレビ・ラジオを通じての家族計画情報に約3分の 2の聴衆から称賛の反応が見られた。マスメデア利用効果は証明された。

7・10 メディア利用の効果は多種多様なスタジオから来る。例えば、トルコで3カ月集中的マスメディアでキャンペーンを実施したところ、89%の生殖(出産)可能期間な既婚女性のうちの69%が家族計画意識を向上させ、63%の女性はキャンペンの影響で家族計画にたいする話し合いがなされ、その結果、避妊利用者は39%から42%に増えた。他の例では、ナイジェリアのアナンバでは55%の新しい家族計画クライアントはテレビのバラエティーショーや広告を避妊の情報源としている。特管切除手術にしても、メディアを通じて宣伝なされるべきである。テレビ、ラジオ、雑誌広告や他のメディアでの宣伝の末1986年度の精管切除手術の普及率はブラジルのサンパウロではリオ・デジャネイロの12倍であった。

推進キャンペーンのデザイン

7・11 コミュニケーションプログラム効果には4の特質がある:それらは長期に渡る 聴衆の反応と環境、ルートの統一とサービスと基本的な質である。

7・12 長期プログラム生産はメディアを通して十分に配慮されたメッセージが何度も 繰り返し聴衆に届いている。長期コミュニケーション戦略は段階的 に進歩している。それぞれの段階でのメッセージとチャンネルは聴衆の健康知識のニーズによりさまざまに変 化している。例えば、始めの段階では家族計画の大衆称賛の増大。次の段階では避妊方法 に対する誤った情報や正しい使用方法説明などである。

7・13 それぞれの段階では、コミュニケーションキャンペーンは引続き聴衆の反応を得るためと共同社会の問題解決のために伝えられるべきである。調査はこのプロセスの問題発見のために行なう聴衆の調査、プログラムのモニター、聴衆の反応、とプログラムの評価がキーボイントとなる。予備調査において政策担当者の不安を和らげるための利益違元は大衆の家族計画推進に否定的反応を起こすことが分かった。

7・14 キャンペーンは様々なチャンネル、エージェンシー、要請とこれらの要求だけ

でなく供給サービスも含まれる。推進の停滞はサービスの低下をまねく。クライアントの ための推進活動が刺激となりクリニック職員は質の高いサービスを試み、クリニックの方 針に影響を与えるであろう。他方では、\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

7・15 メディアでの家族計画メッセージは高度なコマーシャルプログラムと広告と競合しなければならない。質の高いマテリアルは時間と金の無駄でるがそれだけ影響は大きい。加えれば、放送関係者やエディターは質の高いマテリアルを無料かまたは安いコストで使用できる。法人支持者やドナーは素人くさい外見よりもプロフェッショナレルてきなマテリアルを好む。

7・16 マテリアルの外見は聴衆魅了するには十分である。コミュニケーション専門かは娯楽番組の伝える教育メッセージの効果を認めている。このアプローチはいくつかのソーシアルメッセージ伝達に効果を表している。娯楽番組とは、歌謡、メロドラマ、コミックブックと映画で多くの聴衆を捉えることが出来、聴衆の関心反応を呼び起こす頃ができる。

#### 費用と財政促進

7・17 マスメディアではかなりの費用を費やすことになるが素早く大勢の人々に繰り返し届くのでその費用は相殺される。テレビはコスト高であるがその分影響は大きい。たとえは、テレビのゴールデンアワーのたった30びょうでつまらない雑誌の全ページ広告をのせるよりも、村の集会よりも多くの聴衆をひきつける。

7.18 いくつかの家族計画プログラムは低下価格なマスメディアキャンペーンを準備 しいる。多おエバ、ナイジェリアでは2の歌のコストは一人あたりたったの2セントであ る。トルコでは、3カ月のマルチメディアキャンペーンのコストは660万人の子育女性 の数で割ると一人につき4セントという見積であった。新しい避妊方法にかかったコスト は97セントであった。

7・19 質の高い娯楽とは、歌謡曲、映画、テレビショウとコミックブックで特に聴衆が独身者であればその効果は高い。ガーナでは数企業が垂れ幕の費用を寄付しインドネシアではビルボード費用を寄付した。フィリピンでは家族計画促進の音楽プロジェクトにかかったコストが250、000ドルであったが法人からの寄付金が55、000ドルありり、また、テレビ、ラジオステーションからは100万ドルはかかる放送番組を無料提供してくれた。

#### 8. 政府及びドナーの役割

8.1 政策決定者とドナーは、過去においてそうであったように、将来においても、家 族計画の更なる発展に大変重要な役割を果たすであろう。本章はまず、前章に述べた適切 なプログラムの方向性を再検討し、次に政府及びドナーの役割について論じる。

#### プログラムの方向

- 8.2 前章では、家族計画プログラムをより効率的にするための種々の提案が紹介されてた。プログラムは、避妊方法の選択の幅を広げ、カウンセリングを強化し、利用者との関係を査定及び向上し、利用者の必要に応じたプログラムを指導し、質をチェックし、政治的サポートを培い、地域に溶け込み、地域ペースの配給先を確保し、監督機能を向上させ、物資供給を強化し、業務・リサーチに適応し、ボランティア機関に援助の手を差しのべ、社会的マーケティングを利用し、プライベートセクターを拘束する規則を改正し、プライベートセクターの他の活用法を試したり、使用料を集め、プログラムに促進活動を取り込み、メディア材料を改善するべきである。勿論このリストはこれで完了ではないし、他にも、役に立つ特定のアプローチやテクニックはたくさんある。
- 8.8 個々のプログラムにとり、これらの例からプログラムに役立つ提案を選択する事は、戦略的に価値がある。プログラムの遂行には、多くの点(粗轍的、歴史的、政治的、文化的、経済的)をそれぞれの状況に合わせて考慮せねばならないので、特別な期間に特定のプログラムに特有な計画を実践してこそ、満足な結果を得ることになる。
- 8.4 プログラム全体にとって、前章で挙げられた最大の弱点は以下の2点ある。

- 8.5 プログラムの再考は、2つの重要な分野を明らかにする。

第三次、メディグを活用して潜在的利用者に到達するチクニックは利用されているが、不 計分である。 人々へ到達する上で、人的手段と共にメディアを効果的に使っているアロ グラムもある。 アログラムがより広範な人々に届くように、うまくメディアを利用すべき ある。

#### 政府の政策

- 8.6 プログラムに欠陥があって機会が失われているなら、政府の適切な政策が分野ご とに必要となる。政策は次の点で重要である。
  - \*政策は、家族計画をサポートするかも、しないかもしれない。
  - \* 規則は、プログラムの遂行に役立つかも、役立たないかもしれない。
  - \* 政策は、社会経済開発を好むかも、好まないかもしれない。
- 8.7 強力な政治的サポートはプログラムの成功には不可欠であるが、勿論それだけでは不十分である。強力な政治的サポートは、妥当な財源と予算に体現されねばならない。すなわち、もし政府が人口プログラム予算の0.5%ほども積極的でないならば、ある意味でサービスを拡張することは可能となる。1989年に125の途上国政府は、人口学的、医学的、人権主義的見地及び、部分的貧困緩和の見地から、避妊をサポートしている。これは、人口成長や出産低減へのサポートを明言する国家数の2倍である。しかし、サポートの程度は測りにくく、おそらくかなり隔たりがあろう。国連の質問に応じた131ヶ国中、16ヶ国は、まだなんのサポートもしていない。
- 8.8 法律や規則は、家族計画に対する国家の積極性を強化する上で、象徴的意味合いがある。更に重要なのは、種々の規則は避妊方法や堕胎への実現可能性、配給、宣伝に影響し、プライベートセクタープログラムを拘束し、政府プログラムにも影響する(テーブル8.1)。避妊具(素)の輸入ライセンスはサブサハラアフリカを除く主な国で要求されるし、40%の国で輸入税を課す。これら税はかなり高い。コロンビアでは、1987年、主要配給元のProfamiliaにより輸入された全避妊用品に57%の税率で課税された。
- 8.8 常にとは言えないが、多くの政府が避妊薬の処方や不妊処理を規制する形で、間接的に非出産手続を制限する。調査によると、家族計画のフィールドワーカーは、安全にピルを配布し、適切なトレーニングを受けた衛生士は安全にIUDsを挿入できるし、不妊処理を行なえる。それにもかかわらず、3分の1の国では医者だけがピルの処方箋を書け、

60%の国ではIUDsを挿入でき、80%の国では不妊処理を行なえる。更に、不妊処理を 違法化している国もあるし、70%の国では不妊処理に際し失の許可を必要とする。多く の途上国では、母親の命や健康が危険にさらされる場合でも、堕胎を法的に認めず、結果 的に母子ともども危険にさらされる。

8.10 政府が社会経済的開発の促進に成功している場合、避妊の利用は急速に進み、出産率は早く落ちる。第二章で、女性教育への貢献が避妊普及率を高めることを述べた。女性教育を促進する政策及びプログラムは、以下のことが試されているところで効果がある。例えば、文化的に適切な設備、特別奨学金制度、柔軟かつ都合のよいスケジュール、年長児の子守の役目の緩和、妊娠及び結婚を遅らせるプログラム、低質金及び雇用差別への対抗策等である。このような政策を選んで実践する事は、女性の地位に直接影響を与え、また出産率低下に貢献する。他分野での開発、例えば、医療向上や死亡率の低下も重要である。

#### 35十一提助

- 8.11 以下に家族計画におけるドナー援助のメカニズムについて述べ、ドナー財政の現在及び将来の妥当性について考え、ドナー協力の問題点を指摘する。
- 8.12 **※ 国家及び機関:** 人口問題への主なドナー援助は18ヶ国からなされ、その中10ヶ国でファンドの96%を占める。1990年度、これら10ヶ国は、米国、日本、ノルウエー、 ドイツ、カナダ、スウエーデン、イギリス、オランダ、フィンランド、デンマークである。
- 8.13 援助の約3分の1は被援助国に直接供給され、同時に、米国の国際開発庁(USAID)はその種の2国間援助の4分の3を供給する。別の3分の1は、主に国連人口寄金(UNFPAIのような多角的チャンネルから還流する。残りの3分の1は非政府系組織に流れる。例えば、代表格のInternational Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)は、現在150の国家家族計画協会を包含し、40年の実績を有する連合である。更に世界銀行からの援助は(グラントではなく、特別利子での融資)直接的2国間援助の額よりも少ない。国連も人口同盟に限らず、基金から少額の援助をする。そして、国際非政府組織が、最後に小額援助する。
- 8.14 2国間、多数国間機関はそれぞれ、特定の強み、弱みを有する。ある状況下では、特定機関は互いに補完し合う。人口分野のスタッフのサイズ、専門性はまちまちである。2国間ドナーにとり、スタッフはかなり限定される。USAIDはその例外であり、USAIDは、非営利団体、大学、企業を含む米国ベースのコンサルタントの大ネットワークを利用で

きる。フィールドスタッフは密接なアプローチを可能にするが、ドナーによってはスタッフを確保できない。政治的拘束も様々である。例えばあるドナーはある状況を好むが、他のドナーは好まなかったりするし、ドナーの態度は特定のアプローチ及び行動に依存する。IPPFの歴史上、このようなドナーの影響は明白であり、IPPFはそのたびにリスクを冒してきた。IPPFは地域ベース配給、新避妊方法、女性の避妊医療のパイオニアであり、避妊研究に長期的に携わり、避妊後の家族計画のカウンセリングを強調する。人口問題を扱う各機関の仕事内容は様々であり、家族計画のみに関心を寄せるものから、人口調査や移住にも幅を広げるものもある。

- 8.16 総体的に、1960、1970年代における援助は、途上国政府の受容能力をオそらく超えており、1980年代になって概ね一致した。援助額は、一定条件下で少しずつ上昇したが、被援助国の資本あたりの変化はなかった(第3章)。1990年代及び21世紀初頭の予想は不透明であるし、楽観はできない。無要サイドに関しては、かなり多くの利用者が現れ、サービスの増加が望まれよう(第1章)。多くの国家プログラム(特にサブサハラアフリカのプログラム)は新しく、その拡大に伴いまとまった資金を必要とするである。発達したプログラムが終了するより早く、新しいプログラムがやってくる。というのは、前者は大量の使用者への供給物を確保したり、貧困者、または最下層の人々に届こうとする過程において数々の困難に直面するからである。供給サイドに関しては、10の主要ドナーの約半数は人口援助の増加に積極的である。しかし、国内政治の圧力や、他の目的への援助の必要性から、実際どれほど物資に結び付くかは確かではない。避妊需要に追い付ためには、総人口支出はこの10年間で年間4.6%成長する必要があることから、将来のドナー資金の不透明さの解決は望まれる。
- 8.17 アジア諸国は、人口過多と援助受入れに柔軟な政府の姿勢を反映し、今迄最大の被援助国である。しかしサブサハラアフリカへの援助も急成長しており、1982-1990年間では25%に到達し、これは2倍強の増加である。中東と北アフリカへの援助は全体の9%に過ぎず、この数字は正確ではないが、これら諸国は政治的に、援助受入れに消極的である。地域ごとに巨額の援助を受けている国もある。バングラディシュ、ブラジル、インドネシア、ケニヤ、メキシコ、タイは、かなり遅れはしたものの、この援助のおかげで出産率を引下げた。エジアトとバキスタンは今のところあまり援助成果は現れていない。アルジェリア、ベトナム、ザイール、ブルンディ、イエメン等は、ひどく援助を

必要としている国だが十分に受けていない。1980年代全体を通じて、これら最初の3国は、毎年資本あたり10セント(米ドル)にも満たない援助しか受けていない。残り2国は少し多く受け取っているものの、小国であり、プログラムは小国ほど資本あたりのコストがかかりやすい。

8.18 機能面におけるドナーサポートは、おそらくある地域全般では適切であろうが、他で不適切であろう。ポートの大方は配送システムへと消えるが、その周期コストは依然として合わない。必需品のコストをカバーすることは最近問題となっていきている。USAI Dは長年にわたり必需品のバイヤーかつ配給者であるが、他機関にもこの種の役割強化を求めている。特にコンドームと、将来、注射器と注入器の不足が明白である。避妊研究はひどい資金不足に苦しんでいる。国際医薬品企業が研究分野から撤退して、研究はほんの一握りの場所で行なわれている。他方、かなりの額の資金が、確実なマーケットアプローチをするでもなくして、不適切に概念化された未評価の教育及び促進活動に、無用に使われている。

財源不足を想定して、ドナーは益々サポート対象を絞るようになってきた。より 8.19 うまくプロジェクトの効果を査定することは、ドナー投資の益を最大化するのに役立つ。 プロジェクトの確実性を強調することは一効果的プロジェクトは、行政機構に統合されや すく、実質的な地方資金を獲得する一プロジェクトを長持ちさせることになろう。プログ ラムの成功の鍵に注目することは、支出を合理化するだろう、鍵とは、上に挙げたような サービスの質、現場監督、避妊物資、洗練された促進キャンペーン等である。社会マーケ ティングのような費用効率アプローチは強調され、より大きく発展されるべきである。そ うすれば、質は犠牲にされない。アライベートセクターとの一層の関わりをサポートする 事は、最終的には実を結ぶ、政府は一層発展したプログラムを通じて、サービスを必要者 に届けねばならないし、コスト回復に関して他のプログラムにも力を入れねばならない。 ドナー調整:ドナー調整は一般に本部レベルよりは国家レベルでうまく行なわれ 8.20 る。特別プロジェクトに資金を提供しているドナーは、時々現場でともに働く。調整は主 に、被援助国政府の管理能力に依存する。タイやインドネシアはこれをうまく実践してき た。しかし、他国は外部援助を調整する貴務を負うのに、適任かつトレーニングを積んだ スタッフを配置していなかった。ドナー自身が適切な現場スタッフを欠き、現場で意思決 定に携われない場合、2国家間で調整問題が生じる。世界全体では貴務は幾分不特定なの で、調整の欠落はよくあることであり、各機関自ら、プログラムへの使命感と先入観を抱 いている。ドナーからの一貫したメッセージとアドバイス及び形式と必要条件の呈示は、 多くの被援助国の負担を軽減するだろうが、ドナーの望む目標達成はかなりの努力を必要

としよう.

8.21 調整の強化とドナー財源の効率的活用は、一般に人口問題スタッフの量と質の両方を改善する。より適任なスタッフの採用は、ドナー財源 がうまく活用されていることを意味する。

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From: Vice President and Secretary

April 21, 1992

#### Effective Family Planning Programs

Attached is a paper entitled "Effective Family Planning Programs".

This paper will be considered at a Seminar of the Executive Directors to be held on Monday, May 11, 1992.

Questions on this document may be referred to Mr. Bulatao (ext. 33432).

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## Summary

- O.1 This paper assesses the performance of family planning programs in developing countries, looking at their contributions and their costs (Part I). Then it attempts to identify the attributes and approaches critical to effective programs (Part II), drawing on research to provide not a primer on running programs but a broad overview of what makes programs succeed. Focusing on family planning programs and their operation, the paper notes but does not elaborate on the contributions that other social development interventions also make to an ongoing reproductive revolution, which is gradually transforming demographic prospects and individual lives.
- O.2 The reproductive revolution is evident in transitions to lower fertility in all developing-country regions: over two decades, the average number of children per woman has fallen by a third. As fertility falls, infant, child, and maternal mortality also fall. Women spend decreasing proportions of their lifetimes giving birth and caring for young children.
- O.3 Despite progress, fertility is still high overall, and real reproductive choice for many is often an illusion. The fertility rate in the developing world, excluding China, is 4.3 children per woman. This is two-thirds of the rate in the 1950s and 1960s but still twice the number in industrial countries, and high enough to double the population in 30 years. The developing countries produce most of the 90 million people added to world population every year, these increases being the largest in human history. Maternal mortality in developing countries is ten times as high as in industrial countries. Not surprisingly, a quarter of married women express some (nmet need) for contraception.
- 0.4 To effectively meet such needs, programs should be organized to provide quality services, with such features as a strong client focus, strategic management, effective promotion, and broad participation of the private sector. Government commitment to effective programs needs to be reinforced. Donor resources have been essential in the past, but are not keeping pace with the need.

## Family planning programs are succeeding and should be expanded.

- o.5 Family planning programs, public and private, have helped cut in half the time required for the transition from high fertility (six to eight children per woman) to low fertility (around two children per woman). This transition takes as few as 20 years today; despite initially higher levels of fertility than in Europe, at the start of its earlier transitions, and a variety of cultural and political barriers. Over the 1980s, programs helped avert 250 million births in developing countries. Infant mortality rates, which were 74 per thousand by the end of the decade, would have been 10 points higher in the absence of family planning programs.
- Programs have raised contraceptive use in countries of varied cultures and a range of levels of socioeconomic development. Even in adverse circumstances—low incomes, limited education, few opportunities for women—family planning programs have meant slower population growth and improved family welfare. Still, programs have produced more rapid growth in contraceptive prevalence when socioeconomic conditions, and female education in particular, were improving more rapidly.
- 0.7 Considerable unmet need for contraception exists. At least 10 percent and as many as 40 percent of married women of reproductive age in each developing country surveyed recently want to avoid a birth but are not contracepting. Filling all unmet need would bring

fertility down, for the majority of countries outside Sub-Saharan Africa, close to two children per woman.

0.8 In the absence of organized programs to provide contraception widely, free or at low cost, users would have to spend on average 3-4 percent of annual per capita income for contraception, which, when available commercially, can cost over US\$100 a year. Further fertility decline would therefore be uncertain, delayed, and burdensome for individuals, and improvements in maternal and child health greatly slowed.

#### Program quality that clients respond to requires emphasis.

- 0.9 Where programs have succeeded, they have been responsive to client needs and provided good access to methods clients want. In many countries, access to a good range of methods is still poor, and clients are uninformed and inadequately counseled, leading to frequent discontinuation. Clients also suffer through long waits, as well as other indignities.
- 0.10 Better program quality requires good support for front-line staff—nurses and paramedics in clinics, fieldworkers and distributors in communities, pharmaeists and other commercial distributors. Their supervision is weak and seldom supportive; supervisory visits are infrequent and often focus on bureaucratic procedures. Logistical systems do not provide them in a timely manner with contraceptives to distribute.
- 0.11 Program quality can be improved, sometimes at little cost, if management gives it high priority and pays it continual attention. Quality needs to be measured and monitored at least as intensively as stocks and flows of contraceptives.

#### Strategic management is critical.

- 0.12 Each program should plan strategically, to take into account evolving contraceptive demand, shifting political and public support, and changing staff and facilities. Very weak programs first need to ensure local support; weak programs need to strengthen management; intermediate programs must cope with substantial expansion and outreach; and strong programs need to maximize their efficiency and recover costs.
- 0.13 Improving the flow of information to managers and staff would strengthen many programs. Management information systems need to focus on essential information, which must be processed, analyzed, distributed, and used in a timely manner. Operations research needs to be planned and designed so that it provides key inputs for decisions.

#### The private sector has wide potential and deserves stronger encouragement.

- O.14 The private sector in family planning directly supplies anywhere from 5 to 75 percent of users in a country. The sector is diverse, and many more people could be effectively reached by a nonprofit or for-profit private channel. However, nonprofit agencies often lack the capacity to provide services for large and difficult-to-reach populations, and for-profit agencies lack incentives to provide affordable services for the poor.
- 0.15 Government action or inaction is critical in determining the capacity of the private sector. Public and publicly subsidized programs need to be designed so as not to impede growth in the private sector; restrictions on the provision of various contraceptives need to be lifted; and assistance needs to be provided to private agencies in developing the market for contraceptives and in technical and financial areas.

0.16 The most successful form of public-private collaboration to date is social marketing, with subsidized contraceptives moving through commercial channels, providing wider distribution and convenience for consumers and, some program savings. Various other arrangements for private financing of contraception, such as employment-based services and coverage through health insurance, are also worth developing.

### Promotion of family planning needs to become more effective.

- O.17 Promotion is essential because people need to know why family planning is advantageous to them, where supplies and services are available, and how they can be used effectively. Promotion is also acceptable: most people approve of contraceptive advertising in the mass media. However, much promotion is inadequately evaluated and may be ineffective. Well-designed campaigns have been shown to increase not only awareness but also contraceptive use.
- 0.18 Effective promotion must be integrated and coordinated with other program activities... Modern marketing approaches, with materials professionally designed, carefully pretested, and able to capture an audience in the competitive media marketplace, are essential for greatest impact.

#### Long-run government and donor support are needed.

- O.19 Effective government support for family planning involves strong public statements, selection of and support for competent leaders, and adequate budgetary allocations; reform of regulations that hamper programs; and a coherent human development strategy, especially for increasing female education.
- O.20 Public and private expenditures on family planning in the developing world now total US\$4-5 billion a year, or about US\$1 to US\$1.25 per capita. Expenditures will have to increase about 5 percent annually in this decade to provide for the expected number of contraceptive users. Since user payments now cover not more than a quarter of costs, rapid expansion in user charges would not obviate the need for growth in both donor and government expenditures.
- 0.21 More efficient use of donor resources would require an expansion of limited donor expertise in population. Uncertainty about the adequacy of future donor assistance also needs to be confronted.

## PART I FAMILY PLANNING IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

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## 1. The Unfinished Reproductive Revolution

- 1.1 Family planning programs have contributed to a reproductive revolution in developing countries, a revolution in the intimate behaviors and relations of men and women that has far-reaching consequences. This chapter describes the revolution and its benefits) considers the contribution that family planning has made, and discusses the distance the revolution still has to go.
- 1.2 Subsequent chapters will consider the most effective ways in which family planning programs can contribute to completing the revolution. Chapter 2 will review recent experience in selected countries, and Chapter 3 will consider what the effort costs. The remaining chapters will focus on actions critical for program effectiveness: ensuring service quality; providing strategic management; engaging the private sector; promoting programs to a wide audience; and securing firm government and donor support.

#### The scope of the revolution

- The central observable event in the reproductive revolution is a substantial, irreversible decline in human fertility, a process often referred to as the fertility transition. This transition is linked, partly as consequence and partly as cause, with a wide variety of demographic, behavioral, and institutional changes, which collectively make up the reproductive revolution. The fertility transition will be discussed in demographic terms and compared with earlier transitions in Europe, and the ramifications of the reproductive revolution will then be illustrated.
- Demographic change. The fertility transition reduces family size, slows population growth and contributes to, while also being partly impelled by, lower mortality.
- 1.5 In the developing world, the fertility transition is most advanced in Latin America and East Asia. For instance, in Chile, total fertility (the number of children a woman would have if her childbearing followed current patterns) began to decline around 1964 from a pretransition level of 5.3 and has now reached 2.6. East Asian transitions were in general much faster: in the Republic of Korea, total fertility began to fall around 1960, dropping from 6.1 to 2.1 in 25 years, essentially within one generation. The transition is increasingly becoming a worldwide phenomenon. In each region of the developing world except Sub-Saharan Africa, fertility has now fallen by at least one child per woman in the past 20 years.
- 1.6 As in earlier fertility transitions in Europe, the declines accompany economic development and associated social changes that make parents value-children more for themselves and less as economic assets. However, current fertility declines are much faster, start from higher levels of fertility, are preceded by even more rapid declines in mortality, and affect much

Most unattributed demographic statistics are World Bank estimates. See Bulatao et al. (1990).

#### 2 FAMILY PLANNING IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

larger populations. Many European countries started fertility transition in the late 19th century or early 20th century and gradually declined close to replacement-level fertility (around 2.1 children per woman when mortality is low) by the 1920s and 1930s. Fertility fell by one child every 16 years or so, half the rate of the typical transition in developing countries.<sup>2</sup>

- 1.7 A major consequence of the fertility transition has been slower population growth. With worldwide declines in mortality, population growth rates in developing countries were rising until around 1970, when they reached 2.5 percent a year. They have now fallen to around 1.7 percent. Nevertheless, population growth during fertility transition has been much greater in developing countries than it ever was in Europe, and current population growth rates are considerably above the long-term rate for the human species (over the two millennia before the industrial revolution) of 0.06 percent. Even with fertility decline, the current annual increase in the world population as a whole, at over 90 million a year, virtually all in developing countries, is higher today than it has ever been.
- 1.8 Another demographic aspect of the reproductive revolution has been significant reductions in infant, child, and maternal mortality. Declines in infant and child mortality are partly a cause and partly a consequence of fertility transition. Lower mortality reduces the need for large numbers of births to ensure that a few survive. Lower fertility, in turn, reflects delays in initial childbearing, longer birth intervals, or avoidance of childbearing at advanced ages, which all tend to increase the survival chances of offspring. Since 1960, infant mortality rates in the developing world have fallen by half, from 150 to 73 per thousand. Again, the experience of certain East Asian countries is the most dramatic: infant mortality in Hong Kong and Singapore is now actually below infant mortality in the U.S.
- 1.9 Maternal mortality in developing countries has also fallen but is still high. Pregnancy and childbirth are risky in developing countries, and lower fertility, particularly when it can be accomplished without resort to unsafe abortion, reduces the toll. A rough estimate from limited developing-country data is that, around 1985, about 26 of every 100,000 women aged 15-44 died each year from complications of pregnancy, far above the number (3 per 100,000) in industrial countries. This was nevertheless a substantial reduction from 1970, when 41 per 100,000 died.<sup>3</sup>
- 1.10 Behavioral and institutional change. The reproductive revolution alters the rhythm of women's lives, raising their consumption aspirations and the value they set on their time, and transforming the institution of the family.
- 1.11 Falling fertility partly releases women's lives from regular punctuation by pregnancy, childbearing, and child care. Between 1975 and 1987, the number of months in her lifetime that the average Thai woman spent pregnant fell from 40 to 20. By 1987, the average Thai woman could expect to spend only 10 years with a child under the age of six. In Kenya in 1977/78, by contrast, the average women could expect to spend 23 years—two-thirds of her reproductive life—with a child under six (Figure 1.1).
- 1.12 Changes in circumstances such as these are significant because they are accompanied by rising personal aspirations, which increasingly conflict with having children. The sense that children tie parents down and reduce personal and social opportunities contributes to smaller families. This attitude is salient among no more than 10 percent of parents when total fertility is above three children per woman, but rises sharply in salience, to an average of 40 percent, at

Bos and Bulatao (1990).

Bulatao and Stephens (1989).

Freedman and Blanc (1991:16).

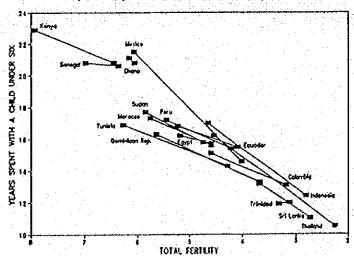


Figure 1.1. Number of years women spend with a child under six, by fertility level, for countries with two fertility surveys (around 1976-80 and 1986-90)

lower fertility levels.5

1.13 Before the reproductive revolution, the traditional family is a network of mutual obligations extending outward to include relatives of several generations. As average family size shrinks, the family turns inward, gradually shedding multiple roles and becoming above all a private emotional haven for its members. Companionship becomes central to marriage, as well as becoming more salient as a value expected from children. The transformation of the family to a conjugal, inward-looking unit, where the norm is unconditional acceptance among members who maintain affective relations over a long period, is congruent with the shift to smaller families and growing individualism. However, it proceeds at varying rates because it is subject to many cultural forces.

## Contraceptive use and family planning

- 1.14 The main mechanism for fertility transition is increased fertility regulation within marriage, through the use of contraception or abortion. This section considers why couples voluntarily limit their families; what the contraceptive methods are and how patterns in their use vary worldwide; and what family planning programs have contributed.
- 1.15 Average fertility levels of around 15 children will be attained if all women marry early, limit their breastfeeding and therefore become able to conceive quickly after a previous birth, entirely avoid deliberate fertility regulation, and are subject to other conditions that maximize fertility. The importance of all these factors, collectively labeled proximate fertility determinants, is explained in Box 1.1. Average levels of completed fertility close to two are attained in industrial countries because of variation in several of these proximate determinants, but most of all because of widespread fertility regulation.

Bulatso (1979:29).

Shorter (1975); Caldwell (1977).

- 1.16 Why fertility regulation spreads. Fertility regulation spreads in the course of socioeconomic development as couples increasingly curtail childbearing, recognizing that the economic contributions of children are relatively limited and the personal and social costs of having them are high.
- 1.17 To achieve small families, couples require available and acceptable methods to

#### Box 1.1. The proximate determinants of fertility

- The biological and behavioral variables that directly affect fertility, called proximate determinants, are
  - entry into marriage or sexual union.
  - contraceptive prevalence and effectiveness
  - Induced abortion
  - postpartum infecundability
  - ▶ sterШty

- the frequency of intercourse
- the walting time to conception
- intrauterine mortality.
- 2. The effect of each variable can be represented by an index ranging from zero to one, with zero indicating some value of the variable that completely prevents any reproduction and one indicating some value of the variable that, were all the other indices also one, would allow fertility to reach its theoretical maximum. Bongaarts (1978) constructs such indices, for populations rather than for individuals, for the five determinants in the first column above. (The other three are extremely difficult to measure and may not vary substantially across populations.) These indices have a multiplicative effect, so that the total fertility rate is equal to the product  $TF \times C_{\omega} \times C_{\varepsilon} \times C_{\varepsilon} \times C_{\varepsilon}$  where TF is total fecundity (estimated at 15.3) and the other indices represent successive proximate determinants from the list above.
- Comparing indices across countries illustrates the role of these determinants in fertility transition. Bongaarts (1982:185) groups countries with survey data by total fertility rate and gives these averages for the indicators (excluding sterility):

Contraction of the Contraction o	and the second second second	CAN CONTRACTOR OF THE	er villa da kusaran san	Z 300 TO 2000	485-000410-00-2-00
				J	ostpartum
Total	No. of 1	Iarriage	Contra- ception A	bortion	infecund- ability
(1.75 100°200°)		ACC 2000 L TOX OA 9200	(C)	(C)	(C <sub>i</sub> )
-				<u> </u>	
Over 6.0	, 7 · · ·	.78	,91	1.00	.65
4,5–6,0 3.0–4.5	11 4	.63 .55	.68 .63	1.00 .96	.78 .76
Under 3.0	9	.55	.30	.89	.93
					2018 D. J.

4. The contraception index declines most across fertility levels, indicating the central importance of contraception in fertility fransition. The marriage index also declines substantially. Rising age at marriage contributes to fertility decline, particularly in the earlier phases of the transition. Increasing education for women is one important factor in this. The postpartum infecundability index rises, indicating that declines in breastfeeding actually increase fertility. These declines usually accompany modernization but can be moderated—as recent increases in breastfeeding among educated women in some industrial countries indicate—by proper education and programs to make breastfeeding more acceptable and convenient. The abortion index is difficult to interpret, because it is mostly based on incomplete data or on the assumption, in the absence of any data, that abortion has no effect; the correct values of the index are probably lower.

regulate fertility. Although such relatively ineffective methods as withdrawal are always available, willingness to use some method is critical. High and low fertility groups in various societies mainly differ "not in their reported preferences [for number of children], but in their ability or willingness to restrict childbearing in accord with these preferences." The historical pattern of fertility decline—often independent of socioeconomic change but tending to occur simultaneously within ethnic and sociolinguistic groups—points to the diffusion of favorable attitudes toward contraception as the main precipitating factor.

- 1.18 Contraceptive methods and prevalence. Methods of contraception (Table 1.1) vary in their effectiveness, and couples vary in the degree to which they make proper use of them. These methods are not without health risks. However, the risks tend to be small, balanced by some health benefits, considerably outweighed by the risks of pregnancy and childbirth, and dwarfed by the risks of induced abortion in unsafe circumstances. The full array of methods is seldom available, and for a number of reasons—side effects, medical conditions, cost, inconvenience—some couples find the choices inadequate. Survey results suggest that more couples would contracept if offered better methods. Better access to existing methods would help (Chapter 4), and new methods could be developed. However, contraceptive research and development have slowed considerably with concerns about product liability and regulatory delays.
- In the developing world as a whole, about 50 percent of married women of reproductive age now practice contraception (Table 1.2), and worldwide there are very roughly 35 induced abortions for every 100 births. A few developing countries or territories (such as Hong Kong) have reached contraceptive prevalence levels equal to those in industrial countries (around 70-80 percent). Many more developing countries fall in a middle range, with 30 to 60 percent prevalence. And a substantial number, mainly in Africa and the Middle East, have prevalence levels under 10 percent. Variation in contraceptive prevalence now explains at least two-thirds of the variation in fertility across developing countries.
- 1.20 Among the various methods, sterilization has become the most popular, and now accounts for about half of all contraceptive users. Traditional methods still account for over 10 percent of users.
- The effect of family planning. Organized family planning programs have contributed significantly to contraceptive availability and acceptability, and therefore to fertility reduction. Their demographic impact to date appears to have been large. Their effectiveness has often depended on critical government support.
- Evidence for the effect of programs has accumulated from a variety of field experiments around the world, but is most easily put in perspective by analysis of national family planning effort scores. Simple presence or absence of a program is not an adequate indicator, because programs can range from highly organized and effective ones to those that are little more than nominal. Lapham and Mauldin (1985) devised scores of program effort by obtaining ratings on 30 separate dimensions for 100 or so national programs from experts, at least four in each case, who knew each program well. They report regression analysis for the effect of 1983 scores on fertility, controlling for socioeconomic factors, and Mauldin and Ross (1991) report similar analysis for 1989. A significant independent effect of family planning effort on fertility was demonstrated.

Ctcland and Wilson (1987:26).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Knodel and van de Walle (1979); Coale and Watkins (1986).

Forrest and Henshaw (1989:177).

<sup>1985).</sup> 

Method and share	What it is and how it works	Advantages	Disadvantages
Vasactomy (male sterilization) 9%	Permanent method in which the vas deferens, through which the sperm travel from the testes to the penis, is blocked so that sperm can no longer enter the semen. A simple, minor procedure taking 5–10 minutes under local anesthesia.	Highly effective (0.15–1% failure rate), safe, one-time procedure. Independent of intercourse. No confirmed long-term side effects.	Requires skilled medical practitioner. Common minor complications include swelling and pain. Blood clots, infection, and epididymitis occur in 1-2%. Another method must also be used for some weeks until all sperm are expelled. Reversal through microsurgery expensive, risky, successful only half the time.
Tubectomy, tubel ligation (female sterilization) 37%	Permanent method in which the Fallopian tubes are blocked so that egg and sperm cannot meet. A relatively simple surgical procedure often done under local anosthesis. With a small incision in the abdomen (mini laparotomy) or a small puncture using a laparoscope (laparoscopy), tubes are cut and tied, clipped, or cauterized.	Highly effective 10.2-1% failure rate) one-time procedure.  Independent of intercourse. No confirmed long-term side effects.	Requires skilled medical practitioner. Minor complications include pain and discomfort. Rare but serious complications include bleeding, infection, injury to other organs, anesthesia complications. Reversal through microsurgery expensive, risky, not always successful.
Implent <1%	6 silastic tubes (Norplant®) inserted under the skin of a woman's upper aim slowly release the progestin levonorgestrel, which suppresses ovulation, thickens cervical mucus, and may thin endometrium.  Effective for 5 years.	Highly effective (<1% failure rate), long-term, reversible method, independent of intercourse. Fertility returns promptly after removal. Does not reduce breast milk.	Requires trained personnel for insertion and more difficult removal (after 3–5 years for replacement). May cause irregular menstrual bleeding. Insufficient data on long-term risks and benefits.
Injectable 2%	Progestin injected intramuscularly, every 3 months (Depo-Provera <sup>17</sup> ) or every 2 months (Noristerat <sup>17</sup> ), suppresses ovulation, thickens cervical mucus, and sometimes thins endometrium.	Highly effective (<1% failure rate), long-acting method. Independent of intercourse. Does not reduce breast milk.	Requires regular, timely visits to provider. Often causes missed periods, irregular bleeding. Also weight gain, headache, abdominal discomfort. Some increased cervical cancer risk; no confirmation for endometrial or breast cancer risk. Return to fertility often delayed.
Intrauterine device (IUD) 25%*	Small device in various shapes placed in the uterus induces an unsuitable environment for both sperm and eggs. Effective for 1 year (Propestasert*) or 4–8 years (copper-bearing (UDs).	Highly effective (1-6% failure rate; rate is lowest for the Copper T 380Al, long-term, reversible method. Independent of intercourse.	Requires trained personnel to insert and remove, Common side effects include increased bleeding or spotting, cramping, and pain. Perforation of uterus is rare. Increases risk of pelvic inflammatory disease (PID), especially for those at risk of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs).
Oral contra- ceptive pill 11%	Pills taken daily in 21-day cycles combine synthetic female hormones estrogen and progestin or contain low doses of progestin only (minipill). Presence of hormones suppresses evulation, thickens cervical mucus, and thins endometrium.	Highly effective (1-10% failure rate), easily used method. Independent of Intercourse. Causes regular menstrual periods with decreased pain and blood loss, reducing fron loss. Reduces risk of certain pelvic infections and ovarian and uterine cancer. Protects against benign breast cysts and ovarian cysts. Risks under disadvantages may not apply to newer low-dose formulations.	Requires strict pill-taking and regular supply. May reduce breast milk (except minipill) and increase risk of genital warts and chlamydia. Reported side effects include nausea, breast tenderness, weight change, headaches and migraines, spotting between periods, vaginal discharge, fatigue or depression, oily skin or aone. Increased risk of venous thromboembolism, myocardial infarction, and stroke, particularly in older women who smoke. Long-term use increases risk of early-onset breast cancer, cervical cancer at younger ages, and liver cancer.
Condom 5%	Latex (thin rubber) sheath placed on the erect penis prevents sperm from entering the vagina, Female condom or vaginal pouch has recently become available.	User-controlled method, effective if used properly and consistently. No systemic or long-term effects. Easily available in many countries at low unit cost. Protects against STOs, PiO, and cervical cancer.	Requires consistent use and regular supply. May disrupt sexual activity. Deteriorate when stored in too much heat, humidity, or sunlight. Relatively high failure rate (5-20% in first year) in typical use; breakage and slippage during use are common.

Table 1.1. Characteristics of major contraceptive methods

Method and share*	What it is end how it works	Advantages	Disadvantages
Diaphragm, cervical cep 1%	Saft rubber cup covers the cervix, used with spermicide in it to inactivate sperm. Cap is more compact and may be left in place 24 hours.	User-controlled method. No systemic or long-term effects. Provides some projection against several STDs.	Requires fitting by health personnel, training in placement, reliable spermicide supply. May be dislodged during intercourse. Inappropriate for women prone to bladder infections. Rare association with toxic shock syndrome. Relatively high failure rate (5-25%) in typical use.
Spermicide ~1%	Foam, cream, jelly, tablet, or suppository, inserted into the vagina before intercourse, inactivates sperm and blocks entrance to the uterus. Effective about an hour, beginning 10-15 minutes after insertion.	User-controlled method with no systemic or long-term effects. Does not require prescription. Provides limited protection against some STOs.	Requires regular supply. Must be used 5-10 minutes before each act of intercourse. May produce slight genital irritation. High, variable failure rate (10-30%) in typical use.
Withdrawal 3%	Penis is withdrawn from vagina before ejaculation.	User-controlled, always available, no-cost, method requiring no training.	Requires strict compliance in all acts of intercourse. High failure rate (5-25%) in typical use.
Periodic abstinence 4%	Couple refrains from sexual intercourse during fertile period of menstrual cycle, determined using a calendar, noting temperature rise after ovulation, or from amount and consistency of cervical mucus.	User-controlled method requiring no drugs.	Requires up to 2 weeks abstinence per menstrual cycle. Both partners must be strongly motivated. Increased risk of spontaneous abortion when method fails. High, variable failure rate (10-30%) in typical use.
Lactational amenorrhea method (breast-feeding)	Full breastfeeding, with inability to conceive verified from amenortheic status, ignoring bleeding before 56th day postpartum. For contraception, recommended only within 6 months postpartum.	Requires no drugs or devices. Provides optimum nutrition for infant at least up to 4 months, and protects from infection.	For contraception, useful in a limited period. Another method needed after 6 months, if menses return, or if woman abandons strict regimen. Can interfere with woman's other activities.
4:	Other (	ertility regulation methods	
Vacuum aspiration, menstrual regulation	Small metal or plastic tube used to extract uterine contents, with or without minor cervical dilation. Appropriate in 1st trimester. For menstrual regulation fist month only), small syringe with soft plastic cannula often preferred.	Very safe under proper conditions. Anesthesia and dilation often not required. Does not impair future fertility.	Requires trained personnel and aseptic conditions. Some infection risk, bleeding, vaginal discharge, and disconfort. 2-5% of procedures fail, requiring another procedure.
Dilation and curettage	Cervix dilated and uterine contents scraped with metal curette. Used in 1st trimester. (Dilation and evacuation—or drug—used instead in 2nd trimester.)	Safe under proper conditions.  Does not impair future fertility.	Requires trained personnel and aseptic conditions. Requires more anesthesia. Bleeding, infection, and injury to the cervix and uterus can occur. 2% of procedures fall, requiring another procedure.
Menses- inducing drug	Taken orally, RV 486 (misepristone) causes uterine lining to shed. Prostaglandin is taken 2 days later to cause contraction of the uterus and expulsion of the lining. (Prostaglandin by itself and saline methods have more side effects but can be used in 2nd trimester.)	Effective and safe in 1st 7 weeks. Avoids surgical risks.	Takes several days and 2 or more visits to provider. Cramping, nausea, and diarthea may occur. Heavy bleeding in 2% of procedures. Som risk of heart attacks in those with cardiovascular risk factors. 4% of procedures fail, regulring another procedure.

Source: Adapted from Population Crisis Committee (1990). See also Lee et al. (1989).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Average share of users relying on method in developing country national surveys in lete 1980s (Weinberger 1991). Estimate for developing countries of the percentage experiencing accidental pregnancies in the first year of typical use. Failures are less frequent in developed countries (Trussell and Kost 1987).

Close to 60 percent of users are in China.

Listed provisionally, given disagreement among experts about whether it is properly considered a contraceptive method (Trussell and Sentow 1991; Kennedy et al. 1991). Among women selected as having practiced full breastfeeding and being amenorrheld (see next cell), under 3 percent become pregnent within 6 months postpartum (Kennedy et al. 1989).

Table 1.2. Current and projected fertility, contraceptive prevalence, and number of users, by geographic region

	Total	fertilit	v rate		ntracep valence		Contra	ceptive millions	
Region			2010		2000		**********	2000	2010
Developing countries	3.8	3.2	2.8	51	58	63	365	514	673
West Africa East Africa North Africa	6.2 6.5 4.8	5.6 6.0 3.7	4.5 5.0 2.9	14 15 36	22 21 50	36 33 60	6 7 8	13 14 14	28 30 22
Southwest Asia South Asia East/SE Asia/Oceania	5.0 4.4 2.7	4.3 3.4 2.3	3.6 2.8 2.1	44 41 67	52 53 72	60 61 74	91	16 149 246	24 213 280
Latin America/Caribbean	3.3	2.6	2.2	59	69	73	42	62	77
Industrial countries*	2.0	1.9	2.0	70	70	69	127	131	127

Note: Total fertility rates (TFRs) are World Bank projections. Contraceptive prevalence rates (CPRs) are calculated from these using an equation estimated from survey data:  $CPR = 94.8 - 12.7 \times TFR$  ( $R^2 = .83$ ). Numbers of users (actually numbers of couples using contraception) assume that marriage rates are constant over time and include unmarried users when data are evallable.

Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and Northern America.

- Family planning has already significantly altered world population size and its future prospects. If programs had not been introduced in the developing world, total fertility for developing countries in 1980-85 would have been 5.4 instead of 4.2 children per woman. Up to 1990, family planning programs had averted over 400 million births. By rough estimate, they have also reduced infant mortality rates in developing countries by 10 points per thousand.
- Government commitment to family planning has been essential to fertility decline in various developing countries, enabling programs to obtain the necessary leadership, publicity, and resources to provide essential services. Fertility decline would undoubtedly have begun even without organized programs, but it would have been a much more lengthy process, posing great difficulties for individuals. Financially, commercial contraceptives are beyond the reach of many couples around the world (Chapter 3). Even were they affordable, many couples would not have sufficient access to them or to the necessary information about the importance of family planning.

#### Unfinished tasks

- Despite the changes that have already taken place in human reproduction in developing countries, the revolution is far from complete. This section illustrates the way it falls short and considers what services will be needed.
- 1.26 Falling short. The fertility transition will not be complete for some decades, and many of its benefits are still denied to large portions of the developing world. Population growth is still substantial; infant and child and maternal mortality are several times as high as in industrial countries; many women's lives are still burdened by uncontrolled and unplanned

<sup>&</sup>quot;Bongaarts et al. (1990).

childbearing; and some social groups have barely begun to feel the effects of the reproductive revolution.

- 1.27 Fertility remains high in the developing world as a whole and very high in some regions. Although total fertility in certain countries has come down close to two children per woman (in China and a few other countries), in some other countries it remains around eight children per woman (in Rwanda and Yemen). At a fertility rate of eight, one-third of all women may have as many as ten births, and populations double in only 20 years. Excluding China, the developing world has only one couple in three using a modern contraceptive method, giving a total fertility rate of 4.3 and a population that will double, at current growth rates, in 30 years.
- 1.28 Despite continuing fertility decline, population growth will remain substantial for many decades. Even rapid fertility decline allows populations to expand in the interim. When replacement-level fertility is reached, the momentum from large numbers of young people, who are potential childbearers, continues to produce rising populations. For instance, China, which is near replacement, can still expect its population to grow 25 percent in the next two decades. A devastating AIDS epidemic could reverse the secular decline in mortality rates in some countries, but even in the worst-hit, will reduce population growth by less than 1 percentage point, and actually increases the burdens on contraceptive services.
- 1.29 The prospects for continued mortality decline are clouded by the threat of AIDS, but the potential for family planning to contribute to decline is still considerable. Health benefits for mothers are particularly significant for those likely to suffer pregnancy complications, such as high-parity women, very young and older women, and women with major health problems. Substantial mortality reductions are also possible if contraception replaces unsafe abortions: up to 18 percent of maternal deaths could be eliminated in Bangladesh, for instance. Providing legal and competently performed abortions would have the same effect, since these carry very low risks. 137:
- 1.30 Transformations in women's lives and family structures are much more difficult to project, and are not inevitable. Although demographic trends may facilitate changes in these areas, they do not dictate them, and other modernizing efforts will also be needed. Increasing female education, for instance, would contribute to these transformations and also make family planning programs easier to institute and run.
- 1.31 The reproductive revolution has been mostly about married couples and families. Unmarried people, particularly the young, may also be sexually active, but for various reasons have not been affected as much. Other groups too, such as ethnic groups on the peripheries of societies, are often left out despite the wide sweep of the reproductive revolution.
- 1.32 Future needs. The numbers who will need contraception in the future are large and rising. Estimates of the potential market for contraception suggest no lack of future customers and a significant potential for eventually completing the fertility transition.
- 1.33 Merely to maintain current levels of contraceptive prevalence, the number of contraceptive users in developing countries would have to rise 20 percent, from 365 million in 1990 to 436 million in 2000, because of the increasing numbers of people of reproductive age. Current projections are that the increase in the decade will be double this (assuming the services are available), to 514 million by 2000 (Table 1.2), which will still leave total fertility at around

<sup>12</sup>Koenig et al. (1988).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>National Research Council (1989).

#### 3.2 children per woman.

1.34 These projections, derived from fertility trends, appear reasonable because studies of the potential market for contraception identify substantial proportions of women who want to avoid pregnancy, are not protected by sterility or other involuntary factors, but are not using contraception. These proportions (labeled unmet need) are at least 10 percent of reproductive-age women, and as high as 40 percent in such countries as Kenya and Togo (Table 1.3). Across countries, unmet need is highest where contraceptive prevalence is around 15 percent. At prevalence levels above 15 percent, unmet need tends to be concentrated among rural, less educated women. Many of the reasons for unmet need can be addressed by better services that respond to the preferences of such clients and effective promotion among such groups.

1.35 For the majority of countries outside Sub-Saharan Africa, filling all current unmet

Table 1.3. The market for contraception, as a percentage of married women of reproductive age, selected countries, 1985-89

Region and country	Total market for contra- ception	Potential market, or unmet need	Percent of market served
		<del>کی کی در کی در کی در کی کردنو کی در کی </del>	
Sub-Saharan Africa			- 4
Botswana '	62	27	54
Burundi	34	25	26
Ghana	48	35	. 27
Kenya	65	38	41.
Liberia	39	33	16
Mali	28	23	17
Togo	52	40	23
Uganda	32	27	15
Zimbabwe	65	22	67
North Africa			
Egypt	65	25	58
Morocco	61	22	59
Tunisia	71	20	70
Latin America/Caribbean			
Bolivia	70	36	43
Brazil	81	13	82
Colombia	81	13	80
Dominican Rep.	71	19	70
Ecuador	71	24	63
El Salvador	74	26	64
Guatemala	53	29	43
Mexico	79	24	67
Peru	78	28	59
Trinidad and Tobago	71	16	74
Asla			
Indonesia	65	16	74
Sri Lanka	76	12	81
Thailand	77	11	85

Source: Westoff and Ochos (1991:7).

Note: The total market for contraception includes actual users, those whose method falled, and those with unmet need for both specing and limiting births. Only actual users are counted as being served.

need would raise contraceptive use to industrial-country levels of 70-80 percent, bringing fertility close to replacement. Filling unmet need would not be enough for such countries as Burundi and Mali, where the total market for contraceptives is still small, but good services themselves can be expected to expand the market, "particularly if linked with social development (Chapter 2). The central issues for the remainder of this report are what programs have done and what more they should do to fill the substantial existing unmet need for contraception, and how they can generate additional demand.

## 2. Program Successes and Obstacles

- 2.1 The record of family planning programs will be briefly reviewed, focusing on more mature programs in East Asia and Latin America, and moving to programs that have faced greater difficulties in South Asia and Africa. Without seeking to be comprehensive, the review will attempt to illustrate the variety of obstacles family planning has faced and continues to face and the ways in which programs have been effective.
- National family planning programs have been established in the developing world over four decades, as governments increasingly came to realize the threat posed by rapid population growth to their development aspirations and to accept the need for reproductive choice. Donor influence in initiating programs has always been substantial: "Of all the spheres of national development, population has been the most donor driven." Nevertheless, the volume of outside financial aid does not correlate with program effectiveness. National commitment is more important.

## Family planning in East Asia

- 2.3 <sup>12</sup> East Asia, with some of the earliest family planning programs, has shown rapid increases in contraceptive prevalence and consequent declines in fertility. Figure 2.1 shows trends in contraceptive prevalence in some countries of this region (for present purposes defined to include Southeast Asia). Also represented are dates for the start of a national family planning program, not necessarily identical with dates for adopting population policies. Steady increases in contraceptive prevalence of around 3 percentage points annually—which would allow a country to complete the fertility transition in 25 years—appear in these survey data for the Republic of Korea, Thailand, and Indonesia. Prevalence is now close to or above 70 percent in the first two of these countries, and approaching 50 percent in Indonesia. Prevalence has increased much more slowly in the Philippines, by only 1.7 points annually on average, and even more slowly or hardly at all in some other countries not shown.
- 2.4 Initial socioeconomic and cultural conditions in these East Asian countries were not particularly favorable to fertility transition. Some indicators of levels of development for these and other selected countries at the time a national family planning program started, as well as at the time fertility transition is estimated to have begun, appear in Table 2.1. Overall, socioeconomic conditions in these East Asian countries at both initial points were roughly comparable to conditions in the average low-income economy today. The cultural barriers to reducing fertility included, for instance, Confucian traditions in the Republic of Korea that stress the centrality of the family. The extended household was common, and the patrilineal family

<sup>&</sup>quot;Cochrane and Guilkey (1991).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Warwick (1982:44).

<sup>14</sup>Ness and Ando (1984:155).

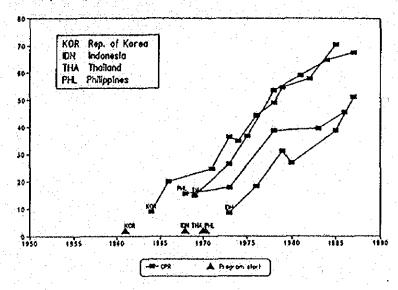


Figure 2.1. Start of a family planning program and contraceptive prevalence trend, selected East Asian countries

structure allowed parents to influence their children's reproductive decisions. Political opposition to family planning also appeared in various places, often based on religion: Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia, Roman Catholicism in the Philippines.

- Despite the barriers, some desire for smaller families did exist, and increased over time. Near the start of fertility transition in the Republic of Korea, Thailand, and Indonesia, ideal family size was recorded at around four children. Over the next decade or two, it fell an average of about .08 points a year in each country. As ideal family size declined, socioeconomic conditions were improving. Table 2.1 also shows annual rates of change for the socioeconomic indicators, from the year a population program started up to 1990. Rapid improvement for the East Asian countries is evident, especially in GNP per capita (except in the Philippines) and infant mortality.
- 2.6 Family planning programs succeeded in these countries by taking advantage of opportunities to mobilize political support, exploiting the existing demand for contraception, and developing innovative ways to deliver contraceptive services. Relative political stability and strong governments created conditions in which such social programs could be effectively run, but political upheaval sometimes provided some initial impetus. In the Republic of Korea, the program started in the context of a massive reconstruction effort started by a new administration a decade after the end of the Korean War. In Indonesia, a pronatalist population policy under Sukarno was promptly replaced by an antinatalist policy after his overthrow. Existing demand was exploited in pilot projects that demonstrated widespread desire for contraception, such as the Jakarta pilot project in Indonesia, and by private voluntary organizations, such as the Planned Parenthood Federation of Korea, which was instrumental in leading up to the government program. Delivery systems for family planning went through extensive experimentation. Thailand tested optimal delivery systems in the Potharam project, and Korea experimented with urban programs in Sungdong Gu and rural programs in Koyang.
- 2.7 The contribution of programs to the rise in contraceptive prevalence was substantial. For instance, 40 percent of the fertility decline in the Republic of Korea in 1963-73 was

Table 2.1. Socioeconomic indicators at the start of a population program and at the start of fertility transition, and annual rates of change from program start to 1990, selected countries, and comparative current data

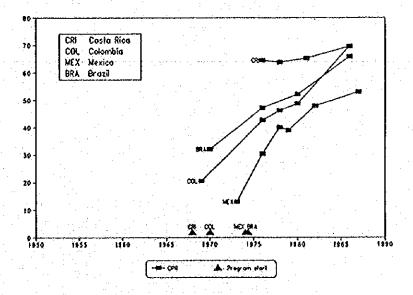
	Š	Start of por	oulation	pulation program	· .	S.	Start of fertility transition	mility tra	nsition		O <sub>1</sub> O	Rate of change, oram date to 19	Rate of change, program date to 1990	Ç	
			Infant	Female	Per	"Tran-	gNP GNP	Infant	Infant Female	Per	GNP	Infant	Fernale	Per	
Region and	Program	per	mort.	Sec.	cent	sition	per	mort.	sec.	cent	per	mort.	sec.	cent	
country	date	capita	rate	enrol.	urban	date	capita	rate	enrol.	urban	capita	rate	enrol.	urban,	
1															
East Asia			-	_	_										
Indonesia	1968	189	122	တ	7	1975	253	109	ដ	<u>ტ</u>	4.3	-3.1	1.7	9.0	•
Korea, Rep. of	1961	563	2	16	53	1960	550	20	4	78	6.7	6.E.	2.4	15	
Philippines	1970	488	99	20	33	1970	488	99	ည	33	4	-2.4	1.2	2.	
Thailand	1970	471	73	<del>ر</del> ت	5	1970	471	73	<u>د</u>	13	4.7	-4.8	į.	0.5	
Latin America		٠		• .											. ′
Brazil	1974	1656	88	28	8	1965	888	104	16	20	0.9	-2.5	e,	6.0	
Colombia	1970	780	77	24	57	1965	9/9	86	16	54	2.1	13.5	2.0	0.5	
Costa Rica	1968	1247	8	27	33	1965	1109	72	25	38	ري ري	-5.7	0.8	40	
Mexico	1974	1467	99	56	62	1975	1504	49	28	63	1.0	-3.2	6	0.7	
South Asia								1.							
Bangladesh	1971	155	140	∞	<b>∞</b>	1975	138	138	Ξ	တ	4.0	5.5	0.2	0.4	
India	1952	203	190	∞	17	1965	218	150	3	9		6.	0.6	03	
Pakistan	1960	147	155	က	22	1985	304	113	00	30	2.8	113	C	C C	
Sri Lanka	1965	216	ဗ္ဗ	32	20	1965	216	8	32	20	2.8	-4.6	8	0.1	
Sub-Saharan Afric	•	-						;							
Botswana	1971	287	86	ထ	တ	1980	721	င္ထ	22	15	φ (2)	9.4	9.	1.0	
Ghana	1969	469	112	œ	28	D	ı	1	l	1		4	1.2	0.2	
Kenya	1967	235	108	<u>ෆ</u>	တ	1980	358	8	16	16	6.	-2.1	0.8	9.0	
Rwanda	1981	366	134	ന	យ	0			ı	1	-3.0	1.5	0.4	φ ξ	11.3
Zaire	1973	329	125	တ	3	0	i	1	ı	1	-3.0	8.1	0.6	0.5	13
Zimbabwe	1968	440	66	မွ	16	1970	544	96	ဖ	17	1,4	-3.8	1.8	0.5	13.
Comparative data	ıta														1
Low income economies (except China	nomies (exc	ept China	and India)	lia)		1989	300	94	2	22	1.4	8	9.0	0.5	1, 2
Lower-middle income economies	ome econor	nies	: .			1989	1360	က	54	53	2.0	-2.9	<u>رن</u> دن	0.5	
Upper-middle income economies	ome econor	nies				1989	3150	50	58	99	2.6	-2.3	1.4	0.9	5. 7
Source: World Bank files: comparative data a	files: comparat		e from Wo	e from World Bank (1991).	1991).		Exponential rate of change	i rate of c	hanoe.						
Some figures are interpolations.	rpolations.						Annual percentage change.	centage c	hange.						
-Not available.							Mean annual increase.	al increas	ď						*
"World Bank (1984).							Fertility transition has not started.	nsition ha	s not start	j.	•				
Constant 1987 U.S. dollars.	7 U.S. dollars. od Fluen (1995)						Pemaie secondary enrolment eximates are for 1988.	ondery or	roiment e	stimatas	Bre tor a		Rates of change are for	s are for	

contributed by program-supplied contraceptives.<sup>17</sup> However, fertility transition is far from complete in East Asia. A number of countries, such as the Philippines and Viet Nam, remain mired in slow fertility transitions. Even in the more successful countries, significant numbers of people still do not have adequate access to contraception. In Indonesia, the Outer Islands are well behind Java and Bali. Provincial total fertility rates range from 2.4 in Bali to as high as 5.3 in South East Sulawesi and Irian Jaya.

#### Family planning in Latin America

- 2.8 Latin America developed national family planning programs later than East Asia, but private voluntary organizations had been active for some time, and demand for contraception was high. Figure 2.2 (drawn to the same scale as the previous figure) shows contraceptive prevalence trends in some countries and dates at which national programs started. In each case, substantial use of contraception appears to have started before a national program. Prevalence is now at the 70 percent level in three of these countries, and for the region as a whole is close to 55 percent.
- At the start of their programs, as well as at the start of fertility transition, these countries faced socioeconomic conditions more favorable for fertility transition than conditions in East Asia, roughly comparable to conditions in the average lower-middle-income economy today. Cultural barriers to contraception existed, but the political obstacles were more significant. The predominant Catholicism of these countries did not deter individuals from adopting contraception but provided arguments against it that had political impact.
- 2.10 The demand for contraception in the early years of fertility transition appears to have been substantial, probably exceeded the capacity of programs, and increased with socioeconomic development. Some analysts have identified the gains in female education as a particularly important factor in fertility decline in the region. Demonstration of the demand was critical in the eventual institution of public services. Public services eventually eclipsed organized private

Figure 2.2. Start of a family planning program and contraceptive prevalence trend, selected Latin American countries



<sup>17</sup>Khoo and Park (1978).

<sup>18</sup> Stycos (1982); Weinberger (1989).

services in Mexico, but in Colombia private services continue to be more important.

- Relatively high levels of socioeconomic development did not lead to fertility transition until services, initially private and later also public, were provided. Public services are estimated to have accounted for 42-48 percent of births averted in Mexico around 1978. The contributions of public services included wide promotion of family planning and the extension of access to the large rural and less privileged classes, who were specifically targeted. In Costa Rica, for instance, an initial fertility decline was observed between 1960 and 1970, but mainly affected the more privileged classes. A second wave of decline occurred after the government program, started in 1968, began to improve services for more remote areas. 20
- As in East Asia, several countries still have a considerable way to go in the fertility transition, and more advanced countries have various sectors of their population being poorly served. Contraceptive prevalence is only 30 percent in Bolivia and only 10 percent in Haiti. Where prevalence is already high, contraceptive failure may be common. Brazilian women have failure rates of 10-12 percent a year, with the higher rates appearing among the more educated, suggesting a serious lack of information and counseling. Another indication of the considerable problems that still exist is the widespread practice of induced abortion, illegal in most countries and therefore clandestine and dangerous. More effective contraception would reduce this problem.

## Family planning in South Asia

South Asia started family planning programs early and then generally had to wait a long time for fertility transition to start. Figure 2.3 shows contraceptive prevalence rising at a rate of 2.3 points annually in Sri Lanka, the most successful case among these countries. In India, prevalence rose 1.7 points annually, but if one counts the entire period from the start of

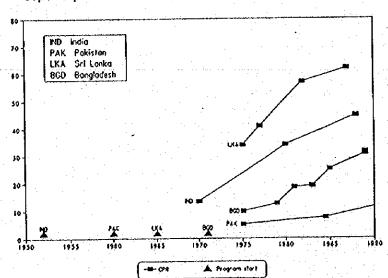


Figure 2.3. Start of a family planning program and contraceptive prevalence trend, selected South Asian countries

<sup>&</sup>quot;Sherris et al. (1985:749).

<sup>20</sup>Stycos (1982).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Moreno (1991:17).

the program, the rate at best was only 1.2 points a year.

- 2.14 Socioeconomic and cultural conditions were distinctly unfavorable for fertility transition in these countries (Table 2.1). Whether one focuses on the date the program started or the date fertility transition started, these countries were less developed than the average low-income economy today. On the other hand, as a group these countries did not differ greatly in GNP per capita and urbanization from Indonesia, though they did have higher infant mortality. Cultural barriers to lower fertility in South Asia have been much noted, and include traditional family structures, the subordinate social position of women, and some continuing dependence on child labor. Political barriers, on the other hand, were largely insignificant at the national level.
- 2.15 Demand for contraception was weak to begin with in South Asia, and slow social development did little to advance it. Although growth in GNP per capita over the entire period from program start was at roughly the pace for low- and middle-income economies as a whole, improvements in infant mortality and especially female enrolment were painfully slow. Sri Lanka stands out, however, with improvements on these social indicators comparable to improvements in the East Asian and Latin American countries.
- 2.16 The spread of contraception was retarded not only by unfavorable socioeconomic conditions but also by program limitations. These government programs were heavily bureaucratic and largely administered from the top, especially in Pakistan, where little attempt was made to gauge client demands and little attention paid to the needs of front-line staff. The Indian program is harder to characterize because of its diversity and the control exercised by individual states. In general, however, the program failed to capitalize on demand from all sources. Targets were set high up in the hierarchy, and officials at the top were largely out of touch with village life. <sup>22</sup>
- 2.17 The lack of program sensitivity to client needs is shown in a comparison between India and Sri Lanka, the most successful among these programs. Although this success is partly due to more favorable social indicators, differences in programs also played a role. The Sri Lanka program provided a greater range of methods, including such temporary methods as pills and IUDs, and used community-based distributors in rural areas. The Indian program stayed largely with sterilization, avoiding community distribution of other methods. The Indian program had more public statements of support and better advertising, but the Sri Lankan program delivered the contraceptives.
- Other examples of successful programs exist in South Asia, on a smaller scale than national programs, mostly illustrating the importance of an orientation toward client needs. The family planning program in Kerala State, India, was more effective than other state programs partly because of higher education and lower mortality, but also because it provided better access with more service delivery points.<sup>23</sup> The Matlab family planning project in Bangladesh raised contraceptive prevalence in a poor region by taking a strong client orientation. It offered more choice of contraceptive methods, emphasized counseling and follow-up of acceptors, and also provided ancillary care. The Kundam project in India, covering 65 villages in a hilly area with a predominantly tribal population, raised contraceptive prevalence from 20 to 68 percent in five years using a high degree of community participation that allowed it to orient itself to clients' needs.<sup>24</sup>

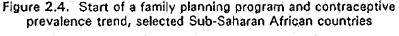
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Freedman (1990:39).

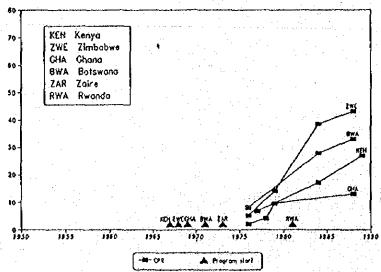
<sup>&</sup>quot;Zachariah (1984).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Nag (1990).

#### Family planning in Africa

- A few African programs started in the late 1960s and early 1970s, eventually producing slow increases in contraception. These programs are theoretically about the same age as some Latin American programs, but they faced a substantially weaker demand for contraception. Prevalence was flat for a decade, and did not rise beyond 10 percent until the 1980s (Figure 2.4). Contraceptive prevalence increased at widely divergent rates: in Zimbabwe at 3.1 percentage points a year, in Botswana at 2.1 points a year, in Kenya at 1.7 points a year, and in Ghana at 0.9 points a year. (No national data are available for Zaire and Rwanda.)
- 2.20 Socioeconomic conditions in these countries when programs started fell roughly between conditions in the East Asian and South Asian countries. Botswana, Kenya, and Zimbabwe brought their indicators up, by the time fertility transition is assumed to have started, essentially to the level East Asia attained when transition began there—slightly better, especially for GNP per capita, than the averages for low-income economies today. The cultural barriers to family planning in the region are significant but not insurmountable. Researchers have argued that children are important assets to the older generation and provide security for the future, and that decisions to limit childbearing are difficult to make because of the influence of the extended family.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, fertility has declined in these three countries, and similar barriers were faced and overcome in other regions.
- 2.21 What demand for contraception existed in these three countries was largely for spacing births. Socioeconomic development, which should have affected this demand, proceeded quite unevenly across countries. Compared to all other countries in Table 2.1 where prevalence grew at least 2 points a year, Kenya had slower and Zimbabwe substantially slower income growth. However, their social indicators improved at rates comparable to those for East Asia.
- 2.22 The Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Kenya, programs attempted to address existing demand by emphasizing the benefits of child spacing and providing temporary methods, often the pill.





<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Caldwell and Caldwell (1990).

However, delivery systems have been quite different. Botswana, with presumably stronger demand because of socioeconomic factors as well as a public health system that covers the country fairly evenly, has relied so far on health posts and health centers to provide contraceptives. Zimbabwe has placed primary emphasis on community-based distribution to the rural population. Kenya has also emphasized outreach, but has relied to a much greater extent than Zimbabwe on private voluntary organizations to complement public services.

- 2.23 Ghana, Rwanda, and Zaire, the three African countries in Table 2.1 that have not started fertility transition, differ from the three other African countries not in initial socioeconomic conditions—they actually had slightly higher GNP per capita—but in socioeconomic trends since programs were established. They have had negative economic growth since their programs began and the smallest improvements of all in social indicators. Despite such unfavorable socioeconomic trends, family planning programs have had some effect in small areas.
- In the city of Kananga, Zaire, the Institut Medical Chrétien du Kasai reoriented its two family planning clinics to make their services more accessible; provided apprenticeships for nurses from a dozen or so other clinics and helped reorganize their procedures; and established social marketing through 30 pharmacies and shops. Visits to the Institut's clinics increased 15-fold, and the prevalence of modern methods went from 4 to 8 percent in 18 months.<sup>26</sup>
- In Ghana, the midwives association provided its members with training in family planning, supervision, and assistance with supplies. The first 130 midwives trained reported, after one to two years, an average of 100 new family planning clients each, 80 percent of them using contraceptives for the first time.<sup>27</sup>
- In the Ruhengeri region of Rwanda, Abakangurambaga ("wakers of the people"), who provide information on development topics to small groups of households, were used to provide family planning information and referrals to clinics. In the commune where they were most active, a survey showed the prevalence of modern methods rising from 5 to 29 percent in 16 months.<sup>28</sup>

Each of these approaches was different, suggesting the diversity of ways in which family planning can be effectively delivered even in relatively unfavorable socioeconomic conditions.

#### Conclusion

- This brief and selective review, despite leaving out many countries and even some regions, has illustrated the significant impact that family planning has had and the complex factors modulating its effects. Some countries have seen increases in contraceptive use that have brought fertility down to replacement leyels within one generation. Other countries have seen contraceptive use spread at a much slower pace, or barely rise at all.
- 2.25 The speed at which contraception has spread bears little relation to initial socioeconomic conditions, but does depend on their improvement. A few countries with initial GNP per capita as low as US\$200 (below the average for low-income economies today) demonstrated as rapid increases in contraceptive prevalence as countries with several times that per capita GNP. Some countries with initial female secondary enrolment ratios of 15 or so (also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Bertrand and Brown (1990).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>McNamura et al. (1990:11).

<sup>&</sup>quot;McNamara et al. (1990:18).

Figure 2.5. Annual change in female secondary enrolment from program start and annual change in contraceptive prevalence, selected countries

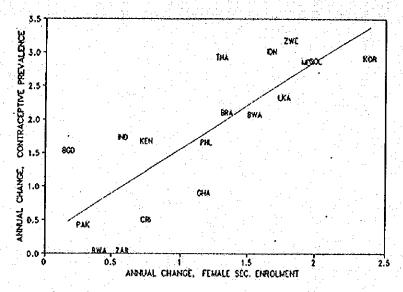
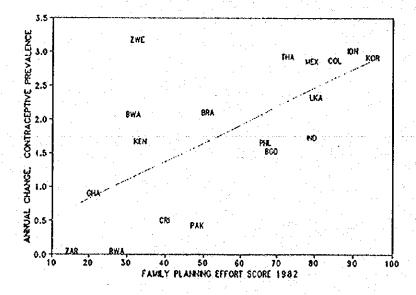


Figure 2.6. Family planning effort score, 1982, and annual change in contraceptive prevalence, selected countries



List of countries Bangladesh Brazil BGD IDN Indonesia PAK Pakistan IND BRA PHL. India **Philippines BWA** Botswana KEN Kenya RWA Rwande COL Colombia KOR Rep. of Korea THA Thalland Costa Rica LKA CRI Sri Lanka ZAR Zaire GHA Ghans MEX Mexico ZWE Zimbabwe

below the average for low-income economies today) demonstrated more rapid increases in prevalence than other countries with twice that ratio. On the other hand, for this selection of countries, more rapid improvement in each of these indicators is related to more rapid spread of contraception. The relationship is strongest for female secondary enrolment, as illustrated in Figure 2.5.

- 2.26 The speed at which contraception has spread also depends on the effectiveness of the family planning program. Figure 2.6 illustrates a substantial relationship across these countries, using family planning effort scores for 1982. (These scores, as explained in Chapter 1, are expert ratings of national program effort in 30 areas.)
- 2.27 Various elements that have made some programs more effective than others were noted in the preceding discussion: being sensitive to existing demand for contraception, providing good access to the methods people want, and being responsive to client needs. Strategic use of pilot projects and other means of building public support have been critical in some cases. A variety of means of delivering contraceptives showed promise, and were used strategically by programs. Private-sector delivery systems made significant contributions in Latin America and also elsewhere, as in Kenya. The importance of providing information and otherwise promoting services was shown in the regional case from Rwanda. Each of these factors—the quality of services and their user-orientation, the need for strategic management, the contributions of the private sector, and the need for family planning promotion—will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.

# 3. The Cost of Family Planning

3.1 The financial costs of family planning in developing countries have been shared by donors, governments, and individuals. This chapter attempts to put these costs in perspective, comparing them with development expenditures generally and with the amounts individuals are able to pay. Family planning successes have been bought with a small slice of the development dollar. Expected future resource needs are then considered; these will be driven by large increases in contraceptive users.

### Public expenditures

- Total expenditures on family planning in 1990 were at least US\$4 billion and probably higher, with estimates ranging up to US\$5 billion. (This is equivalent to US\$1 to US\$1.25 per capita for developing-country populations.) Estimates in Table 3.1 are quite variable because government contributions are difficult to determine and user payments not monitored anywhere. Even donor contributions, because of variability in definitions and possible double-counting, cannot be pinned down precisely. Two of the studies cited in the table use 1988 contraceptive prevalence estimates below 47 percent, the best currently available estimate for 1990 (Table 1.2). Adjusting Janowitz et al.'s (1990) estimate for higher prevalence brings it up to US\$4 billion. The remaining differences are largely explained by differences in unit cost. Janowitz et al. (1990) have the best data on this, drawn from country studies in Honduras, Mexico, and Thailand, supplemented by other data from the literature. However, their sample of countries tends toward good programs and reasonably strong demand for contraception, which usually translates into lower unit costs. Thus US\$4 billion is a minimum estimate.
- 3.3 Donors. Donor expenditures for population are not large as a proportion of official development assistance (ODA) and have barely kept pace with population growth in the recipient countries. Donors provided US\$802 million in grant funds and US\$169 million in loans in 1990,

Table 3.1. Estimates of total expenditures on family planning in developing countries

Source: author and date		Assumptions				Results (millions of 1988 US dollars), excluding:		
	Refer- ence year	Contra- ceptive preva- lence	Method mix <sup>b</sup>	Cost per user (1988 US\$)*	China	User expen- ditures	None	
Bulatao (1985)°	1990	50	Current mix <sup>d</sup>	19.55		4,057	5,150	
Gillespie et al. (1989)	1988	43	Ster: 28% OthMod: 48% Trad: 20%	19.72	2,998			
Janowitz et al. (1990)	1988	39	Ster: 42% OthMod: 36% Trad: 22%	14.10	2,164	2,605	3,132	
Kocher and Buchner (1991)	1990	52	Ster: 45% OthMod: 44% Trad: 11%	10.30			4,089	

Note: Some estimates are adjusted for comparability. See Cochrane et al. (1990).

the last year for which data have been compiled. For the 18 major donors, population assistance constituted 1.2 percent of ODA in 1990, roughly typical for the 1980s but lower than the proportion for the 1970s, which was just under 2 percent of ODA. In constant dollars, population assistance in 1990 was 13 percent above population assistance in 1985 and 1986, after several years when it had fallen as much as 18 percent below the level of those years. Population assistance in 1990 was equivalent to US\$0.24 per capita for the developing world, an increase of less than 2 percent in constant dollars over 1985.

Governments. Developing-country governments fund variable proportions of their programs, generally substantially greater proportions than those covered by donors. In the aggregate, governments may provide double or triple the funding for family planning that donors provide. Actual estimates range from 50 percent more to 200 percent more. China and India pay for 85 percent of their program costs, so that the majority of other countries contribute a smaller proportion. For countries with data from the mid-1980s, the proportion of government health and total central budgets going to family planning ranged between 0.3 and almost 30 percent of health budgets, and between 0.01 and just over 1 percent of total budgets. Some successful programs, such as the Republic of Korea's, have received a relatively large proportion of the government health budget, but less successful programs, such as some in South Asia, have

<sup>\*</sup>Figures are for all countries combined. Calculations generally used country-specific or region-specific figures.

Methods are classified for comparison as statilization, other modern methods, and traditional methods.

<sup>\*</sup>Unlike the other estimates, which use recent data, these are projections from data circa 1980.

<sup>\*</sup>Costs were calculated per user of any method, so that the mix was irrelevant.

<sup>\*\*</sup>UNFPA (1992).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Janowitz et al. (1990:30); Bulatao (1985:11).

<sup>35</sup> Sadik (1991b:35).

also received relatively large shares of 15 percent or more.

### User expenditures

- 3.5 What individuals spend on family planning is very roughly estimated at between 35 and 55 percent of what governments spend, or about equal to what donors spend.<sup>32</sup> Estimates do not include spending on abortion, which is unknown but could raise the total considerably.
- What individuals would have to spend in the absence of any public provision or subsidy is substantial. The retail price of an annual supply of contraceptive pills exceeds US\$100 in half-a-dozen developing countries, as does the retail price of an annual supply of condoms (Table 3.2). To pay for pills, users in 15 out of 24 Sub-Saharan African countries would need 5 percent or more of average annual income, and users in 6 of these countries would pay 20 percent or more. In Asia, users in Laos, Myanmar, and the Philippines would have to pay more than 5 percent of average annual income for a year's supply of pills. In Latin America, incomes are higher, but users in Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Guatemala would all have to pay more than 5 percent of average annual income. Prices for condoms are essentially similar. For instance, in the Middle East and North Africa, an annual supply of either pills or condoms would require more than 4 percent of average income in Yemen, Morocco, and Lebanon.
- 3.7 In industrial countries, contraceptives seldom cost more than 1 percent of average

Table 3.2. Average cost of contraceptives from commercial sources, by region

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Method and region	No. of countries	Price of annual supply (US\$)	Cost as percent of per capita GNP
Pilis (13 cycles)			
Developing countries	71	36	3.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	24	27	9.3
Middle East and North Africa	14	43	1.9
Latin America and Caribbean	19	48	3.1
Asia	14	14	1.6
Industrial countries	22	65	0.5
Condoms (100 pieces)			
Developing countries	69	27	3.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	23	27	8.4
Middle East and North Africa	12	36	2.8
Latin America and Caribbean	19	29	2.0
Asia	15	16	2.0
Industrial countries	23	66	0.6

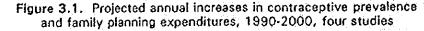
Sources: Ross et al. (forthcoming); Population Crisis Committee (1991). Note: The average used is the trimean (Tukey 1977:46), with the last column giving the trimean of the ratios. Prices are a smaller proportion of household income, which is a multiple of per capito GNP.

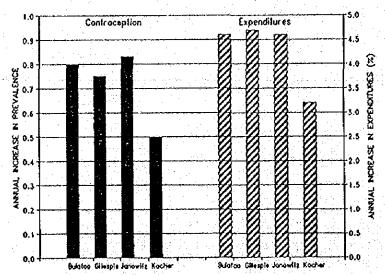
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Janowitz et al. (1990:31); Bulatao (1985:12, 20).

annual income (even at prices double those in developing countries). In four out of five developing countries, contraceptive pills cost more than this. Consumers are sensitive to price; high program fees discourage use, and price decreases stimulate demand.<sup>33</sup> High costs are less of a factor once demand for contraception is firmly established. First, prices decline as the number of users increases.<sup>34</sup> Second, users already habituated to contraception are less likely to discontinue after a price increase.<sup>35</sup>

### Future resource needs

- 3.8 Estimates of future budgetary requirements for family planning in developing countries cover a broad range, but studies mostly agree on expected rates of growth. The four studies listed in Table 3.1 provide alternative projections from 1990 to 2000 of annual increments in contraceptive prevalence and annual percentage increases in expenditures (Figure 3.1). Three of the four studies are consistent with the earlier estimate (see Table 1.2) that prevalence will increase about 0.8 percentage points a year, and project that annual expenditures will therefore have to grow about 4.6 percent a year. (By contrast, projecting the underlying trend in donor commitments over the 1980s suggests a growth rate in this component of expenditures of 3.3 percent.) Over the decade, a 55-60 percent increase in expenditures can be expected, but per capita expenditures, including user payments, should remain modest at US\$1.25-1.50.
- 3.9 Alternative assumptions to those used in these studies could raise or lower expenditures. For instance, if fertility declined faster, say as fast as among developing countries with the fastest fertility declines, public expenditures in 2000 would be 36 percent higher.<sup>36</sup> If 3 percent of users switched to Norplant, a five-year implant with high up-front costs, by 2000 (but the total number of users stayed the same), costs in that year would be 2.7 percent higher.<sup>37</sup>





<sup>13</sup>Lewis (1985).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Bulatao (1985:16-18).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Lewis (1985).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Bulatao (1985:34).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Gillespie et al. (1989)

- 3.10 Most of the projections assume that costs per user for a given method stay constant. It can be argued that costs should fall, but the evidence is not conclusive. Falling costs with expanding programs might be expected from economies of scale, unless facilities are near saturation, and from staff learning to do their jobs more efficiently. Rising costs might be expected if program extension or elaboration is needed to reach less accessible populations. Across countries, programs with higher contraceptive prevalence have lower per-user costs. However, the trend in per-user costs over time in Asian countries is sometimes upward and sometimes downward—apart from the trend over the first three years or so, which is steeply downward. A summary of various cost studies also produces some downward and some upward trends.
- 3.11 The actual trend in costs per user as programs expand is therefore still undetermined, and probably varies, but some potential to reduce costs does exist. For instance, a time-use and costs survey of 17 ambulatory health facilities in Morocco showed that 34 percent of labor costs cover time spent waiting for patients. 1 Reducing inefficiencies of this sort, by reallocating resources or increasing their use, could in principle reduce future costs per user.
- 3.12 None of the estimates of future costs makes provision for an increase in the proportion of costs paid by users. If user payments are, as estimated, 20-25 percent of the total, a substantial increase would be needed to reduce the required growth in public expenditures. For instance, to cut the required rate of growth of public expenditures in half, from 4.6 to 2.3 percent, user payments would have to grow 10 percent a year over the decade, which could hold down the demand for contraception.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Knowles and Wagman (1991).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Bulatno (1985:31-33).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Gillespie et al. (1983).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Knowles and Wagman (1991).

# PART II ELEMENTS OF EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS

Providing contraceptive services of acceptable quality is the primary task of a family planning program. Chapter 4 considers the quality of services, focusing on the relationships between providers and clients; subsequent chapters review program elements essential to support quality services. First among these is effective management (Chapter 5), to provide sound and strategically appropriate use of program resources. Second is adequate participation by the private sector (Chapter 6), which increases coverage and provides competition on both quality and efficiency. Third is broad promotion of the program (Chapter 7), because the public is often poorly informed about family planning. Fourth is political and financial support, from governments and from donors (Chapter 8).

# 4. Quality of Services

- 4.1 To attract clients and to meet their needs, a good service
  - provides access to a range of appropriate contraceptive methods and facilitates their continued use
  - provides adequate counseling, respects client sensibilities, and responds to client concerns
  - > is run by technically competent providers according to proper medical standards.

These requirements for quality services will be discussed in order. How quality can be improved, and what difference it makes to program effectiveness and costs, will also be discussed.

#### Access and continued use

- 4.2 Clients require access to family planning facilities and services generally, as well as to specific contraceptive methods. Both levels of access are considered in this section. Access is usually seen as facilitating contraceptive acceptance, but good access also contributes to continuity of use, a topic of enough importance to consider separately.
- Access to services. Access to contraceptive services has improved in the last decade but remains quite uneven across countries. Services are now provided in many types of facilities and through many outlets, not only in public hospitals, clinics, and health posts, but also in private facilities, in pharmacles, in convenience stores, in markets, and even in the homes of or door-to-door by community distributors. Table 4.1 provides some estimates of access, including measures of distance and time to facilities. The presence of a family planning worker in a rural community is virtually guaranteed in such countries as Thailand, more likely than not in a number of other countries, and quite unlikely in such countries as Uganda. Even where access is good overall, special groups such as adolescents may still have problems. Adolescents generally

<sup>&</sup>quot;Cf. Bruce (1990).

Table 4.1. Access to services in rural areas, selected countries, 1987-90

	Percent of w facility in c Community-	ommunity	Median distance and travel time to nearest facility		
Country	based	planning fieldworker	Distance (km.)	Time (minutes)	
Sub-Şaharan Afri	ica			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Burundi	75		<del>-</del>		
Togo		<u> </u>	6.5	31	
Uganda	2	2	19.2	60	
Zimbabwe North Africa	76	<u></u>	5.2	31	
Egypt	55	66	< 1.0	<30⁴	
Tunisia Latin America	70	28	4.4	30	
Colombia	61	49	3.8	31	
Dominican Rep.	79		4.4	20	
Ecuador	46	43	2.8	13	
Guatemala <i>Asla</i>	27	14	3.1	21	
Thailand	5	91	3.2	15	

Source: Wilkinson et al. (1991).

require separate services attentive to their needs that safeguard their privacy.

- Quicker access leads to greater contraceptive use, with some exceptions. This effect is independent of other factors, according to a review of 16 studies widely differing in methodology.<sup>43</sup> For instance, in Guatemala among the Ladino population, prevalence was 10 percent when travel time to a service point was 5-30 minutes, but declined to 6 percent when travel time was more than two hours. The effects of access on prevalence are stronger for methods requiring resupply. However, once facilities are sufficiently dense (as in Egypt, with the median required travel time to a service site being a few minutes), or when programs focus on active outreach from stationary facilities (as in Zimbabwe), proximity to facilities has little effect.<sup>44</sup>
- 4.5 Access to appropriate methods. Although access to facilities is improving, providing good choices so that people can freely select the most appropriate methods is still a considerable problem. On the family planning effort score ratings assigned to all programs in 1982 and 1989, scores under two for a particular method on the four-point rating scale probably reflect inadequate method access. By this low standard, 53 percent of programs did not provide adequate access to any of five methods in 1982, and 32 percent still did not have adequate access to any of the five methods in 1989. An additional 10 percent of programs in 1989 provided adequate access, by the same standard, to only one method.

<sup>-</sup>No deta

<sup>\*</sup>Exact distances and travel times within villages were not determined, but, including the women with facilities in their village, 73 percent of the sample were within one kilometer of a facility and 96 percent no more than 30 minutes away.

Tsui and Ochoa (1989).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Wilkinson et al. (1991).

- 4.6 Even better-run programs may not provide adequate choice for everyone. Table 4.2 illustrates the range of methods appropriate at different points in the reproductive cycle. Temporary methods are more appropriate earlier in life, permanent methods more appropriate toward the end of the reproductive cycle. Other distinctions can be made between methods appropriate for longer and shorter durations, during and after breastfeeding, while in and while not in a stable sexual union. If the Indonesia program attempted to match these "appropriate" choices, 20 percent of women would have to adopt a method and 20 percent more would have to switch methods, mainly to sterilization. 45
- 4.7 Because methods are appropriate for and attract different users, providing a wider range of choice appears to raise prevalence. Analysis of data from 72 developing countries demonstrated a strong effect of 1982 method access ratings on prevalence, reduced only slightly by controlling for other aspects of family planning program effort and level of socioeconomic development. A separate study of Taiwan (China), Hoog Kong, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, and India, found that the addition of a method to the program appeared to add a layer of additional users. The service of the service of the program appeared to add a layer of additional users.
- 4.8 A national program should work toward some minimum variety of methods, providing for the contingencies illustrated in Table 4.2, if it is not to limit its clientele

Table 4.2. Appropriate contraceptive methods by stage in the reproductive cycle

Stage in the reproductive cycle	Appropriate types of methods	Specific methods	Partial justification
Before marriage	Supply methods	Condoms Orals	Easy discontinuation Protection against sexually transmitted diseases
After marriage, before first birth	Short-acting hormonal methods	Orals Injectables	Easy discontinuation Effectiveness
During breastfeeding	Non-hormonal methods	IUDs Condoms	No interference with breastfeeding
Between births	Highly effective reversible methods	IUDs Orals Injectables Implants	Effectiveness
Toward end of childbearing	Long-acting methods	IUDs Implants	Prolonged effectiveness
After last intended birth	Permanent methods	Male sterilization Female sterilization	Permanence

Source: Constructed following Hutchings et al. (1987). See Choe (1991).

Note: Multiple methods may be needed by those at risk for sexually transmitted diseases.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Choe (1991).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Jain (1989).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Freedman and Berelson (1976).

unnecessarily or require them to use less convenient or less appropriate methods. However, for a new program to offer many methods immediately is seldom practical; an initial focus on a limited number of methods, and incremental expansion, may better ensure good service. Methods should be selected on the basis of demand and appropriateness for the delivery system, within the context of a proper strategic plan (Chapter 5). A referral system when a method is not available at a particular site may help extend choice.

- Continuity of use. Besides providing initial access, programs have to be concerned with retaining contraceptive users. With half of all eligible couples in developing countries now contracepting—despite the difficulties in method access just noted—retaining users can have as large an impact as recruiting new users. But even for new programs a focus on continued use is appropriate: providing good services for a few clients is probably more effective in the long run than recruiting a larger number of acceptors who practice only for a short time. Strong programs, such as those in Thailand and Colombia, lose 6 percent of users every year because of dissatisfaction or method failure (in addition to those who discontinue because of reduced exposure to the risk of pregnancy or in order to become pregnant). By contrast, the Paraguay program faces an annual discontinuation ratio of 18 percent, a considerably greater proportion to replace.
- 4.10 Women often report discontinuing because of dissatisfaction with services or unavailability of supplies. Providing accessible services, particularly for supply methods, and allowing wide method choice are both critical to retaining users. The significance of method choice is illustrated by the striking differences found in Indonesia between those who obtained their method of choice and those who did not: 25 percent of the former, but fully 85 percent of the latter, had discontinued contraception 18 months after initial contact, regardless of method. Dissatisfaction with services goes beyond access, however, and involves interpersonal relations within the clinic or with the provider.
- 4.11 Properly managing client relations is also critical in reducing discontinuation due to side effects and method failures. Side effects are the most frequently cited reason for termination for a number of methods. Not all expressed health concerns are realistic; for instance, the disorders commonly leading to termination among users of injectables typically pose no threat to health. Initial counseling by properly trained workers could help allay fears.
- Maintaining contact with clients or providing them a continuing source of information may reduce discontinuation, but the costs need investigation. Requiring users to return periodically (possibly also desirable for medical reasons) can be costly to clients, and compliance cannot be assured. Making repeated home visits is of unproven utility and is costly. Providing pill users with simple but accurate and complete written instructions to take home, or pictorial instructions if necessary, is less costly.

### Counseling and interpersonal relations

4.13 Once contraceptives are accessible and information about them is adequately disseminated, interpersonal relations with providers become the key to contraceptive acceptance and continuation. Three aspects of interpersonal relations will be treated: counseling and the information provided to the client; the respect accorded to client sensibilities; and the way other client concerns besides contraception are addressed. Each of these affects user satisfaction, and

<sup>44</sup> Jain (1989).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Pariani et al. (1987).

<sup>\*</sup>Phillips et al. (1991).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Phillips et al. (1991).

can therefore affect contraceptive prevalence directly, by influencing people to accept or continue using contraception, or indirectly, by the image of a program that satisfied or dissatisfied users communicate to others.

- 4.14 Counseling and informed choice. Providing good information to clients about proper contraceptive use and risks and benefits is a major responsibility for programs. Even among those using particular methods, misinformation about use is common. For instance, 58 percent of 340 current pill users were using them incorrectly in a study in Colombia.<sup>52</sup> Poor information leads to more complaints about side-effects, fewer attempts to obtain help, and more frequent discontinuation.
- 4.15 Besides providing information, a provider must also be a counselor or teacher, a successful motivator, and an accomplished listener. The elements of good counseling can be summarized with the acronym GATHER.<sup>53</sup> That is, the counselor should
  - ► Greet clients in a polite and friendly way
  - Ask them about their family planning needs
  - > Tell them about method choices and explain these
  - Help clients decide on the methods they want
  - Explain how to use the chosen methods correctly
  - > Remind clients of the need for return visits.
- 4.16 Improving counseling requires proper structuring of the interaction between client and provider along lines such as these and proper training for the provider. Protocols, checklists, and guidelines for initial and follow-up visits (such as the guidelines for informed choice developed by the Cooperating Agencies Task Force 1989) help ensure that standards will be met. Specific elements of the interaction, such as obtaining informed consent for sterilization, need to be monitored. Even more basic than these requirements is spending enough time with a client. In earlier studies, doctors were observed spending 3-5 minutes per client in Puerto Rico and only seconds in Trinidad and Tobago, where 34 women received internal examinations from one doctor in 25 minutes. 4
- 4.17 Client sensibilities. Respecting clients' sensibilities means treating them with courtesy and consideration. Even in reasonably well-run programs, this is not always guaranteed. Waiting times are judged to be too long in 14 percent of Zimbabwe program clinics covered in a survey and in 82 percent of large hospitals. Staff are considered to be courteous in only a little more than half of facilities of all types. 33
- 4.18 Long waiting times are a common problem. A 1988-90 study of 26 clinics across Latin America found average waiting times for initial visits of one hour and 20 minutes. The reasons include late arrivals of staff, time wasted in long lunch hours and socializing, inflexible routines, inefficient filing systems, poorly timed client arrivals, and clients not being seen in proper sequence.
- 4.19 Stories of mistreatment of clients are also common. They include rudeness and impatience on the part of staff, such as when the client does not quickly understand instructions; physical examination of clients in areas where privacy is not assured; discussing private sexual

<sup>32</sup> Potter et al. (1987).

<sup>33</sup> Gallen and Lettenmaier (1987).

<sup>54</sup> Beeson et al. (1987:446).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Central Statistical Office and Demographic and Health Surveys (1991:53).

<sup>\*</sup>Berrio et al. (1990).

matters where others can overhear; expressing value judgments; being too impersonal, on the one hand, or too intrusive, on the other; and in other ways violating cultural norms of privacy, modesty, confidentiality, and mutual respect. Nor are providers even-handed in this treatment; some clients, particularly the lower class, regularly receive worse treatment than others (see Box 4.1). Physician providers are sometimes among the serious offenders.

- Besides training and a good management information system, three possible approaches to dealing with such problems are patient or client flow analysis, client satisfaction studies, and the use of simulated or "mystery" clients. Patient flow analysis is a method for recording the flow of clients that generates detailed tables on use of patient time, use of staff time, and related costs. Such information quickly makes clinic inefficiencies obvious. One clinic in Quito, Ecuador, increased its staff from eight to ten after seeing the results of such analysis and managed to serve a third more clients. Client waiting time was simultaneously cut from 62 to 32 minutes on average. Client satisfaction studies may use a variety of methods, including surveys, focus groups, exit interviews, and consumer intercepts. One example of what can be learned from surveys is a "situation analysis" of one of every eight Ministry of Health service delivery points in Kenya. The survey showed, for instance, that staff greeted clients respectfully 88 percent of the time but mentioned tubal ligation only 17 percent of the time. Mystery clients, like mystery shoppers, attend a clinic unannounced together with other clients, but with specific items they are trained to observe and report on afterwards. The technique provides rapid feedback about clinic interpersonal relations at low cost. Box 4.1 gives three examples.
- Client concerns. Clients have other concerns besides contraception, and a program that understands these concerns can increase its attractiveness. A program may need to provide referrals to other agencies or add ancillary services, as long as these can be provided competently in a way that reinforces rather than impedes or draws resources away from the promotion of family planning. Combining family planning with specific health services is one alternative. Counseling on sexuality or treatment for sexually transmitted diseases and other reproductive tract infections might be added, or components related to AIDS, as has been tried by various Latin American and other programs. For instance, PROFAMILIA in Colombia found that assigning instructors to give AIDS talks seemed to meet a demand for such information and did not reduce contraceptive distribution. Combining family planning with activities other than health care could also have some benefits. Various income-generation projects might directly address some of the underlying economic motivation for family planning.
- 4.22 Often, the attraction of other services is that they are already established, and family planning can be added to them. Postpartum programs are attractive for this reason and have been tried extensively. Part of the appeal of social marketing (Chapter 6) is conceptually similar: that networks of pharmacies, convenience stores, market sellers, and other potential commercial outlets exist and attract customers, and contraceptives can be sold along with other products.

#### Technical competence

4.23 Ensuring that services are provided in a technically competent manner is basic to program quality. Technical competence implies that staff have adequate information and skills for providing particular contraceptive methods and that they properly utilize their knowledge. Although clients may evaluate providers more on the basis of a caring attitude than on technical skills, errors in technique and failure to observe asepsis can have severe consequences.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Berrio et al. (1990).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Miller et al. (1991).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Vernon et al. (1990).

#### Box 4.1. Mystery clients

Simulated or mystery clients, as unobtrusive observers in family planning clinics have helped document the interpersonal obstacles clients face.

- In Nepal, simulated clients of different castes visited family planning providers. It was unexpectedly difficult to recruit lower-class clients for the study. Those finally chosen were apprehensive about entering a clinic. When they did go, they received less accurate, less complete, and more biased information than higher-caste clients from staff who were clearly unsympathetic toward them. Staff turned aside questions about other methods and strongly urged sterilization instead (Schuler et al. 1985).
- In Ghana, eighteen women posing as clients each visited one clinic (out of three) that had trained family planning counselors and one clinic (out of another three) that had untrained counselors. The effect of training was evident: trained counselors provided more complete information about all available contraceptives. However, both trained and untrained counselors often treated younger clients disrespectfully and sometimes refused to provide a method to unmarried women. The component of training meant to clarify the counselor's own values about young, sexually active women was strengthened (Huntington et al. 1990).
- In Haiti, three women played the role of clients in several private clinics, health posts, and hospitals. They made random visits, but facility directors were informed in advance of the scheme and approved of the monitoring. The visits resulted in ratings of "not acceptable at all" after 7 percent of the clinic visits and 13 percent of the health post visits. Ratings of "not very acceptable" followed 33 percent of the clinic visits, 32 percent of the health post visits, and 56 percent of the hospital visits. Because of the initial instruction they received, the mystery clients may have had higher expectations regarding cleanliness, privacy, and staff attitudes than regular clients. Nevertheless, their observations raised concern about the need for improved staff training (Maynard-Tucker 1991:29).
- For most methods, the technical competence required can be developed by nurses and paramedics. Physicians need to provide backup for programs and should also receive training, since this is often not a routine part of medical education, but much of the actual dispensing can be done by trained nonphysicians, with no additional risk to clients. For particular tasks, nonphysicians may in fact have an advantage, in the greater time they are able to spend and in greater empathy and concern for clients.

#### Improving service quality

- 4.25 Improving service quality overall requires three things:<sup>61</sup>
  - > commitment from program leadership
  - ▶ a reorientation of organizational perspectives so that the client becomes central
  - reasures of quality and rewards for quality.

Some consideration of costs is essential.

4.26 Commitment. Commitment of top management to quality, reflected in detailed

Gallen and Rinchart (1986); Bertrand (1991).

<sup>61</sup>Simmons and Simmons (1990).

#### 2 ELEMENTS OF EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS

planning for it and constant attention to it, is a prerequisite. In virtually all programs, even when resources are extremely constrained, some quality improvements are possible. Managers make choices that affect quality, and they can keep the organization focused on finding ways to improve it.

- 4.27 Reorientation. One key action for management, if quality is to be improved, is to reverse the typical bureaucratic orientation and focus the attention of the entire organization on the client and what the client needs. The organization must be restructured not for the convenience of the managers but to support the service providers and fieldworkers with direct contact with clients. These front-line workers need to be carefully chosen and trained, assigned well-defined and achievable tasks, and supported by adequate supervision and logistics systems (see Chapter 5). In societies with a strong sense of social class or caste, a bottom-up orientation does not come easily. It seems easier to attain for grassroots voluntary organizations, much more difficult for rigidly hierarchical government bureaucracies.
- 4.28 Measurement and rewards. Service quality has to be measured if it is to be improved. Traditional measures of program impact capture little of what needs to be monitored, but better measures and techniques have not been standardized. The user satisfaction surveys and client flow analyses mentioned earlier illustrate possible techniques. Tracking individual clients will probably be important, and an example of this is the computerized Clinic Management System developed by the International Planned Parenthood Federation/Western Hemisphere Region. 62
- 4.29 Quality has to be rewarded. Some programs have devised a variety of often nonfinancial rewards that recognize good performance, but this is defined mainly in terms of numbers of acceptors. Once reasonable measures of other aspects of quality can be agreed upon within a program, rewards can be attached to good performance on these measures.
- 4.30 Cost of quality. Some changes to improve service quality will require additional resources, but others cost little, and properly designed quality improvements could actually lower costs per unit of output. Expanding facilities, adding equipment, increasing staff, improving their technical skills, providing new methods, and diversifying services can all be costly. On the other hand, improving the flow of clients through a clinic is inexpensive. Shifting service provision away from physicians to paramedics could improve quality while reducing costs. Eliminating unnecessary requirements that produce only illusory gains in quality, such as a requirement for pelvic examinations before dispensing pills, could similarly cut costs while making services less intimidating.
- 4.31 If programs are inefficient to begin with, or fail to generate sufficient demand for contraception, improving quality may require more resources but could still lower costs per user. This is illustrated by two comparisons from Bangladesh. The Bangladesh Women's Health Coalition operates six clinics in urban and rural areas around Dhaka, providing menstrual regulation services, contraception, and a range of other services, including maternal and child health care, prenatal care, immunizations, and gynecological care. The clinics stress individual counseling and informed choice. Three out of four menstrual regulation clients leave with contraceptives. The cost per birth averted is estimated at a tenth of that of the government program. The Matlab project in Bangladesh is considerably more larger, but also stresses quality. Relative to government services, it provides more reversible methods, recruits workers with higher credibility who are more intensively supervised, provides better counseling about side effects, has more intensive follow-up through home visits by village workers, and provides some

<sup>&</sup>quot;Helzner (1991).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Kay and Kabir (1988).

added maternal and child health services. Between 1978 and 1984, prevalence rose from 9 to 43 percent, as contrasted with a rise from 9 to 11 percent in an adjacent area selected for comparison. Three times as much was spent in the Matlab project as in the comparison area, but costs per birth averted were lower, by US\$220 against US\$240. Because the areas were adjacent, some overflow of services into the comparison area occurred; taking this into account makes the comparison more extreme, US\$196 per birth averted in Matlab as opposed to US\$298 in the comparison area.

4.32 Finally, it is worth noting that a quality emphasis expands the program's goals beyond contraceptive prevalence to encompass some additional aspects of client satisfaction or welfare. Although providing quality may cost more, more benefits are also being provided.

# 5. Strategic Management

- Program management has improved significantly over the past decade, but many areas remain in which improvements can be made. Many of the needed improvements are in the basic mechanics of programs: more supportive supervision, more reliable logistics, appropriate staff selection and training. This chapter first discusses broad issues of program strategy, and then the essential process of mobilizing public support for a program (see also Chapter 7). Then it considers these four key aspects of program structure and functioning:
  - > designing an appropriate structure for the organization
  - managing front-line staff effectively
  - rensuring reliable logistics
  - providing both control and adaptability.
- According to the judgments reflected in family planning effort scores, management was the area of greatest program improvement between 1982 and 1989. Close to 80 percent of all national programs improved their administrative structures and staffing, the performance of staff at assigned tasks, and the adequacy of their training activities. Greater gains were recorded in these three areas than in two dozen other aspects of family planning effort. Nevertheless, areas of weakness persist, and the situation could be aggravated by program expansion. By region, programs in the Middle East and North Africa appear poorly managed, with administrative structure scores only half of the optimal score. Sub-Saharan African programs are only slightly better. By function, supervision and logistics are rated as inadequate in the majority of countries. Although some management weaknesses may be remedied by narrowly focused efforts, more lasting solutions often require a broader understanding of the context and the reasons for the specific failures. What are needed are not uniform prescriptions for all programs but strategic plans based on careful reviews of specific situations.

### Approaches to strategy

Various approaches to strategic planning have some application to family planning programs. Essentially, strategic planning is an attempt to tailor an organization to its current and prospective environment, defining an appropriate mission and designing internal structures and linkages with the environment to support the mission (Box 5.1).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Nag (1990).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Balk et al. (1988).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Mauldin and Ross (1991).

5.4 Congruence. A key concept in strategic planning is congruence: organizational structure should be congruent with the chosen mission, and the mission should be defined on the basis of the changing environment. For instance, an environment marked by political turbulence encourages centralization; one marked by economic or social turbulence might require decentralization to increase the flexibility of smaller units. Among other aspects of the

#### Box 5.1. How to plan strategically

- li Strategic planning requires, first, appropriate timing; second, a useful model; and third, a systematic process (Bernhart 1991b).
- When should an organization attempt to plan strategically? Not in all cases: in a short-term financial crisis, for instance, an effort to initiale strategic planning is unlikely to be productive. Another inopportune time is when leadership is weak or in transition. If strategic planning is to be productive, top management must be ready to commit itself to deal with existing problems.
- What model should be used in planning? Various ways of analyzing organizations and their environments have been suggested in the management literature, including these:
- Strategic Issues management. Focus on forthcoming developments that could affect the mission of the organization. For a family planning organization, these may be developments in contraceptive technology; shifts in the demand for services, the emergence of alternative services, revenue availability, or political or regulatory changes. Analyze the significance of each development and consider options for dealing with the important ones.
- Stakeholder analysis. Analyze the interests of key constituents of the organization—clients; employees, the government, donors, churches, local politicians, women's groups, etc. How interested is each group? How strongly does it support or oppose the program? How important is its support or opposition? What can be done to increase support or defuse opposition?
- Portfolio analysis. Analyze each activity of the organization, and how it contributes—if it does—to each organizational goal. Consider, for example, how clinical services, sex education, seminars for policymakers, and other such activities each contribute to wider or more effective contraceptive use, on the one hand, and program credibility, on the other. On this basis, reconsider the set of activities and relative priorities among them.
- 4) What process should be followed in defining a strategy? Here is one possible series of steps:
  - Secure sponsorship for the effort.
  - Designate who will do the leg work.
  - Orient senior and middle management.
  - Conduct a situation analysis, applying one of the alternative models or some composite model, and covering history and mission, opportunities and threats, strengths and weaknesses, and critical issues.
  - Develop a strategic plan, including a mission statement, the identification of a target population, a service delivery approach, and strategies in the areas of finance, marketing, and organizational support.
- 5. Can this process work? Some variety of strategic planning is part of a typical donor review of a family planning program. But to be fully effective, a strategic plan must be owned by the organization itself, if not entirely generated by it. The process of strategic planning—whatever answers it leads to—is itself important for contributing to the internalization of the plan.

environment to consider in strategic planning are the level of political and public support for, and the nature of any opposition to, family planning; the amount of unmet need for services and the social composition of the groups with unmet need; the extent and capacity of alternative delivery structures, such as private pharmacies and midwives; the level of development of the health care system; the restraints imposed by government bureaucracies and the feasibility of working with or around them; and funding patterns and opportunities.<sup>67</sup>

- 5.5 Because the environment of family planning programs has some common features across countries—and shares these with other development programs—the concept of congruence in fact translates into a few more concrete prescriptions. From a review of development programs in the developing world, Paul (1983) has identified some common features and the appropriate responses to them (which he labels collectively "strategic management"). Of particular relevance to family planning programs are his observations relating to clients, public support, and program functioning.
- Potential clients of the program have limited resources. Services therefore have to be provided in convenient form for them, rather than requiring them to make extensive searches and choices. Managers need to focus on identifying and removing barriers to the use of services, as was emphasized in the previous chapter.
- Informed public support is often lacking, and programs are vulnerable to political pressures. This situation dictates a focus on building program credibility and legitimacy, involving communities and social groups in the program, and mobilizing demand.
- Programs face a scarcity of technical and management resources. This implies a need to attend to basic logistics; to stress staff training and measures to increase staff commitment; and to simplify the initial mission, with diversification (of methods, client groups, delivery systems, etc.) attempted only gradually over time.
- 5.6 Stages of development. A continual cycle of strategic planning is desirable because a program and its environment are not static. Different models for stages in program development recognize some fundamental directions in which programs typically evolve, again involving clients, public support, and program functioning:
- from seeking clients among those with strong desire to contracept, to attempting to reach the larger number of couples who want to postpone or avoid further childbearing but have initial reservations about contraception, to focusing on disadvantaged groups among whom the small-family norm has to be cultivated, at least partly through broader social development
- from reliance for moral and financial support on donors and individual volunteers, to reliance on an expanding network of key government officials or agencies, to reliance on the public at large, as they become increasingly informed, active, affluent, and willing to pay for services
- from services that passively provide contraception in relatively few sites, to extensive, active outreach services, to services carefully differentiated by market segment and increasingly attentive to the requisites for effective, continued contraceptive use.
- 5.7 Comparisons between programs that improved and failed to improve in family

<sup>&</sup>quot;Seo Bernhart (1991b).

<sup>&</sup>quot;USAID (1989); Bernhart (1991b); Vriesendorp et al. (1989).

Table 5.1. Stages in program development, based on family planning effort scores

Initial level of family planning effort	Dominant concern	Client focus	Main source of support	Extensiveness of program functioning	
Very weak (0-24)	Promotion	Highly motivated couples	Donors and voluntary organizations	Very few sites	
Weak (25–54)	Management	Couples with unmet demand	Government	Limited coverage	
Moderate (55–79)	Outreach	Broad populations	Government	Extensive coverage	
Strong (80 and up)	Efficiency	Least accessible populations	Public	Increasingly selective coverage	

Source: Comparisons between family planning effort ratings (Mauldin and Ross 1991) described in the text.

planning ratings essentially confirm these changing emphases. Table 5.1 summarizes the comparisons. The predominant task when a program is very weak concerns support: managing the transition from donor support to government support. The predominant task when a program is weak concerns program functioning: managing the transition from a few sites to an extensive network. The predominant task when a program is of intermediate strength concerns the groups served: reaching beyond motivated and accessible populations to the less advantaged and less accessible. The predominant task when a program is strong returns to issues of support: arranging the transition from government funding to reliance on user support. Programs do not advance spontaneously from one stage to another, nor do they automatically switch strategies when they should. Abandoning an old strategy requires leadership to marshal resources and generate commitment.

### Mobilizing public support

- 5.8 A family planning program must actively mobilize support because its potential beneficiaries, the public at large, and policymakers are often poorly informed about its benefits. Broad public acceptance and political support need to be continually cultivated.
- 5.9 Political support. Political support is typically expressed in public statements by national leaders and in declared policies, but is also evidenced by favorable treatment of a family planning program: high-level attention, the appointment of capable managers, support for their decisions, the facilitation of such program essentials as imports of contraceptives, and adequate resources and budgets.
- 5.10 Generating political support requires good arguments for family planning, well presented, and can be aided by the mobilization of influential groups. To make the political arguments for family planning well requires local experts, country-specific data, and effective means of communication. Demographic surveys are useful, as are pilot programs to demonstrate the existence of demand for contraception.
- 5.11 The degree of political support a program receives may depend on fortuitous

circumstances beyond the control of program managers. For instance, increasing political support in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1980s owed something to economic stagnation: policymakers became more sensitive to the degree to which rapid population growth was complicating their other economic problems. 69

- 5.12 Community support. Community support is as least as important as support at the national level. The failure of national government leaders to work closely with local community leaders has in the past weakened programs in such countries as India. The perception of community participation—by political leaders, influentials, private organizations, etc.—gives couples a much stronger sense that family planning is relevant to their daily lives, rather than being just another imposition from a distant central government.
- However, expecting to convert family planning to a mainly community-designed and community-supported program is generally unrealistic. The benefits to individuals from contributing to a program are minimal, in contrast to the benefits of obtaining services from the program or of participating in income-generation or other such projects.

### Organizing services

- Programs must develop one or more delivery systems, decide whether and how to involve different agencies, and choose an overall organizational structure. Delivery systems that extend beyond clinics are increasingly the standard. Combinations of clinics with other systems can reach more people, as can the participation in a program of a larger number of agencies. Organizational structures are needed that provide appropriate emphasis on and coordination among multiple delivery systems and also maintain the commitment of key constituencies.
- Delivery systems. Various delivery systems that reach beyond fixed facilities have been developed over the last few decades. Hospitals and clinics reach relatively few people, especially in rural areas, and, given the other health conditions they deal with, do not always give enough emphasis to family planning. Community-based distribution, using local residents with a few days' training to distribute contraceptives within communities, developed in the mid-1960s as one alternative. Community distributors generally do not receive a fixed salary, though they may be allowed to retain a percentage of their sales and often receive various nonmonetary incentives. Contraceptive social marketing, using pharmacies and small convenience stores to sell subsidized contraceptives, developed a few years later as another alternative. Some other alternatives have also been tried over the years: mobile teams, outreach workers connected to clinics, employee programs directed at particular groups of workers, and independent providers such as midwives. These delivery approaches tend to be complementary rather than competing, delivering different mixes of methods and reaching different groups.
- The main questions concerning the alternatives to clinics are effectiveness, safety, and relative cost. These questions will be addressed for community-based distribution, as the major alternative; more will be said about social marketing and employee programs in Chapter 6. The effectiveness of community-based distribution at increasing contraceptive use, particularly from low levels, has been amply demonstrated in countries from every region: Bangladesh, Egypt, Mexico, Morocco, Rwanda, the Sudan, Tunisia, Zaire, and Zimbabwe. That community-based distribution is safe and does not introduce additional health risks is

<sup>&</sup>quot;Goliber (1989).

<sup>70</sup>Finkle and Ness (1985).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Askew and Khan (1990).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Gallen and Rinchart (1986:818-819); Bertrand (1991).

demonstrated by studies in Thailand, Mexico, and Kenya. For instance, a 1982 study in Matamoros, Mexico, compared women using pills distributed in the community, women using pills from other sources (mainly pharmacies), and women who had never contracepted. Interviews and clinic examinations determined that those depending on community distribution were as healthy as other users and healthier than never-users.

- 5.17 By itself, community-based distribution tends to be expensive, but combined with clinical services it is reasonably cost-effective. A review of 63 projects in ten countries provides crude estimates for some delivery systems of the cost per couple-year of protection, which actually varies considerably from case to case (Table 5.2). Social marketing is usually cheap, but is useful mainly for resupply; customers rarely receive any counseling. Sterilization also appears to be cheap, but its cost-effectiveness is overestimated because these studies do not properly discount long-term effects. Nor is sterilization appropriate in every case. Overall, community-based distribution without clinics is expensive, but community-based distribution combined with clinics is in the middle range.
- 5.18 Interorganizational links. Different organizations, including private agencies, should be involved in a national family planning program. Services can be delivered through multiple channels, generally increasing their impact. Such program functions as promotion and research can often be handled more efficiently, at least in part, by government agencies other than health ministries or by private organizations. Involving a larger number of organizations provides wider geographic coverage and better coverage for specific groups (Chapter 6), builds a broader constituency for a program, provides access to information and varied perspectives, and increases program flexibility.
- Organizational structure. A national program needs an organizational structure that allows for broad participation of various agencies and the effective use of different delivery systems, to reach not only married women but also men and youth. The main structural options in the past were considered to be integration of family planning into the public health system as part of maternal and child health or a parallel (or vertical) structure to deliver only family planning. Some degree of integration and some degree of autonomy are both desirable, so that neither alternative is fully satisfactory by itself. Complex network structures involving not only the public health system but also other public agencies and private providers are needed to mobilize wide support and reach the broadest clientele. Where high visibility and coordination among agencies are critical, a high-level population council or board may be needed. The impact of organizational structure on the front-line worker's responsibilities needs to be carefully

Table 5.2. Average cost of alternative modes of service delivery per couple-year of protection provided (1984 US\$)\*

Delivery mode	No. of projects	Cost
Social marketing <sup>b</sup>	7	\$ 1.75
Sterilization clinic	. 7	2.00
Mini-clinic (without sterilization)	1	5.00
Full clinic and community-based distribution	11	7.50
Mini-clinic and community-based distribution	12	8.40
Full clinic	12	12.10
Community-based distribution	13	21,80

Source: Calculated from Huber and Harvey (1989:277).

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The everage used is the trimean (Tukey 1977:46).

Some projects make an unreported profit, and this number is therefore approximate.

considered. The choice of an appropriate structure involves both technical and political issues, and may need to be reconsidered as a program evolves.

### Managing front-line staff

- Front-line staff, who provide services directly to clients, need to be recruited, trained, and supervised. Recruitment and training have improved but still pose problems; supervision continues to a weak point. Front-line staff constitute the vast majority of staff of family planning programs, who are now close to a million people worldwide. The mix of skills among front-line staff is considerable, including highly trained physicians at one end and volunteers with hardly any formal education at the other. Recruitment is less of a burden when programs rely heavily on lower-level paramedics and even volunteers, but the choice of the right people is still a problem and finding more highly qualified staff for some jobs is still essential. Training has improved across the board, but programs need to strengthen an emphasis on training new staff and continual retraining and motivation of other staff. Poor supervision of staff is a major problem area in which advances have been relatively limited, although research has identified more effective and less effective approaches.
- Recruitment. Careful staff selection is important for strengthening program staff. The effects of appropriate and inappropriate selection criteria have been studied most for community distributors and fieldworkers. The conclusion from the majority of studies is that distributors similar in some way to the potential clients, and with some training or relevant experience, tend to be more effective. A married woman with children who uses contraception herself, and who resides in the area, is often a good choice. Hiring decisions based on politics and personal ties, or arbitrary transfers of staff from other health programs to family planning, undermine a program's capabilities.
- 5.22 Training and motivation. Staff training improved considerably in the 1980s, in the judgment of informed observers. For 1990-91, over 500 short-term training courses in family planning and maternal and child health have been identified around the world. Sub-Saharan Africa has three-quarters as many institutions providing training as South, East, and Southeast Asia combined, but the Middle East and North Africa has fewer than a quarter as many as those in Sub-Saharan Africa. 74
- An emphasis on continual training and retraining is essential for effective programs. New personnel have to absorb appropriate information, develop specific skills, and become familiar with their responsibilities and with organizational perspectives. Current staff need to refresh their knowledge and skills and learn how to deal with new developments. But training is not a panacea for all organizational problems; it cannot substitute for such other essentials as strong political commitment, adequate budgets, and a good strategic plan.
- 5.24 Training programs have become diverse in order to cover not only clinical aspects of contraception but also such other areas as administration, financial management, logistics, communication, counseling, and interpersonal relations. But training needs to become even more specific, in order to address as directly as possible the requirements of each trainee's job and the strategic priorities of each organization. When training matches actual needs, performance improves.
- 5.25 Besides providing knowledge and skills, training should strengthen individual

<sup>&</sup>quot;Herm (1987).

MUNEPA (1990a).

commitment to the goals of the organization. In addition, a supportive organizational culture, proper job design, and an appropriate set of incentives and disincentives are essential to motivate staff. Altruistic motivations may be nurtured among staff of voluntary organizations, but public organizations have to rely on other factors: creating a sense that the organization is special; designing jobs with increased autonomy and control; paying salaries as close to being adequate as possible; and providing such incentives as recognition and status, awards and public acknowledgment, and training slots and observational tours.

- 5.26 Supervision. Good supervision of front-line staff is critical to program success. Supervisors can provide periodic reinforcement of motivation and of knowledge and skills learned through training, as well as assistance in applying these to program tasks and problems.
- Supervision has to be reasonably frequent. Increased contact with supervisors led community distributors to be more effective in Nigeria and Guatemala and nurse-midwives to be more effective in Turkey. What is covered during supervisory visits is at least as important as their frequency. Logistical and clerical matters cannot be ignored, but they can be simplified with inventory control forms and monitoring checklists in order to devote more attention to improvement of staff performance. Observing and investigating fieldworker contacts also helps: fieldworker performance in Bangladesh improved when supervisors visited their clients more frequently. To improve supervision requires an organizational commitment, proper recruitment and training, and proper design of the supervisor's task, defining specific responsibilities and providing sufficient authority.

### Ensuring reliable logistics

- 5.28 Ensuring a reliable and efficient supply system for contraceptives and related equipment is a primary program task, but one generally poorly handled. A recent, detailed review of logistics systems in 18 Sub-Saharan African programs identified "manifest deficiencies in virtually all areas examined—forecasting, shipping, port of entry, warehousing, transportation, and information system." Supply shortages contribute to contraceptive discontinuation and user dissatisfaction, damage morale among staff, and contribute to a poor program image.
- Logistics systems are weak because of poor management and inadequate procedures. Appropriate stocks of contraceptives cannot be maintained at each point in the logistical chain without good information about existing stocks and reasonable forecasts of future needs. Yet the "total unavailability" of logistics information is common in half of 40 countries from all regions that have been examined, with only the Asian countries doing a little better. And forecasts in 11 of 18 Sub-Saharan African countries failed to take account of such relevant factors as the need for reserves and lead times for deliveries. Shortages are one result, but wastage also occurs at other points in the pipeline from oversupply, aggravated by improper storage, the failure to dispense contraceptives in the proper order, and other procedural problems.
- 5.30 Training, effective supervision, and technical assistance in logistics are clearly needed. Guidelines for logistics systems<sup>80</sup> need to be absorbed and followed by logistics staff, and some training is also needed for all service delivery staff. At the same time, developing simplified procedures may help. For instance, with inexperienced employees, a system with

<sup>15</sup> Townsend (1991:55).

MBernhart (1991a:152).

TUNFPA (1990b:15).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Keller (1991:22).

<sup>&</sup>quot;UNFPA (1990b:3).

<sup>\*</sup>Centers for Disease Control (1985); John Snow Inc. (1990).

goods periodically "pushed" from a central warehouse to delivery points is easier to manage than a "pull" system based on forecasts from each point. 11

5.31 The development of an adequate logistics system should not be postponed. Not only is contraceptive supply vital to programs at all stages, but developing a good system early is easier than reforming a haphazard, poorly developed system later. Where logistics poses severe problems, programs might consider postponing the provision of less demanded contraceptive methods. And programs might also consider the possibility of relying on other networks for delivering supplies.

### Providing control and adaptability

- 5.32 Effective programs are characterized by the timely flow of essential information upward to managers to permit control and downward to staff to provide feedback. Good information can be more effective at improving performance than constant exhortation. Three major sources of program-related information are the management information system; program evaluations, to assess progress; and operations research, to test program options.
- Monitoring and feedback. The most successful programs collect information on only a few essential indicators. For instance, in Indonesia monthly reports focus on three indicators: new acceptors by method used, types of services provided, and stock of supplies. These reports are mailed to héadquarters, the information is processed quickly, and feedback is given to each administrative level within a month, with subordinate units ranked by performance and classified by the indicators. In general, basic indicators should include a measure of program performance such as number of contraceptive users, volume of services provided, and resource use. With fewer indicators, record forms can be simplified, paperwork reduced, data accuracy improved, and analysis and dissemination of results facilitated.
- 5.34 Evaluation. Regular evaluation should be built into all program activities to provide broad, reliable information on progress toward targets. Major types of evaluation include surveys and formal program reviews. Surveys provide useful information about consumer demand for contraceptives, perceptions of quality of provider care, and sociocultural factors that affect contraceptive use. Sequential surveys yield valuable information on varying program coverage and attitudinal and behavioral changes. Periodic formal program review, both internal and external, is an essential part of strategic planning and results in improved program functioning.<sup>83</sup>
- At the global level, useful evaluations of the state of the art in family planning have included the National Research Council's review, the Population Reports series, and a recent UNFPA assessment. Besides reviewing research and dispensing advice, future reviews such as these need to provide more concrete indicators of the actual status of programs. Evaluations of the impact of programs have relied heavily on family planning effort scores collected worldwide about every decade. These data need to be supplemented by other, objective indicators.
- 5.36 Operations research. Applied research on programs—commonly called operations research—can be used in strategic ways to improve programs. Much operations research on

<sup>&</sup>quot;Graves et al. (1987:337),

<sup>11</sup>Green (1990).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Bernhart (1991a).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Lapham and Simmons (1987).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Sadik (1991a).

developing-country programs has already been done, 46 and in fact is the basis for many generalizations here. But three classes of research remain critical. Pilot programs are needed to demonstrate the validity in particular countries or cultures of general principles and practices. Applied research is needed to tailor interventions to local conditions, as with market research connected with promotional campaigns (Chapter 7). Innovative research is needed to investigate newly perceived problems and test new approaches, as with assessments of service quality (Chapter 4). Program managers need to be closely involved in operations research, specific plans for utilization should be developed at the start, and the resulting innovations need to be introduced gradually.

# 6. The Private Sector in Family Planning

- 6.1 The private sector provides substantial contraceptive coverage and has considerable potential in many countries for contributing more to contraceptive use, with appropriate government support. The sector is typically seen as including
  - nongovernmental organizations, both private voluntary organizations and various donor-funded agencies, private universities, and contractors
  - ▶ private practitioners, clinics, and hospitals, including employer-supported services
  - > commercial outlets for contraceptives, such as pharmacies and shops.

Private agencies may provide facilities for delivering contraceptives, administer programs, or finance them themselves or from user charges. Many types of private-public collaboration are possible and have not been fully exploited.

### Coverage and potential

- 6.2 The private sector already provides considerable contraceptive coverage. More than half of all users rely on private outlets for family planning services in many countries of Latin America and Africa. However, in Asia, where there are well-established government programs, private outlets serve only 20 percent of all users (Table 6.1).
- 6.3 Variations in the share of the private sector in family planning have complex roots. In some countries, private family planning associations and commercial retailers were well established prior to the initiation of government programs. Government interest in staying at arm's length from family planning led in some cases to subsidies for private agencies. Method preferences and the availability of facilities also partly determine the size of the sector. For instance, in Mexico between 1982 and 1987, private-sector coverage declined as use of the IUD and female sterilization, available only in public facilities, increased relative to use of the pill. Over the 1980s, the overall share of the for-profit sector declined as sterilization rose in popularity relative to temporary methods.
- 6.4 Family planning programs can benefit from an expansion of the private-sector role because of the resources, flexibility, and efficiency of private agencies. In a particular country, these resources may include facilities in remote areas and networks of retail outlets. Intangible resources such as well-established community relations and the respect of local leaders and the

<sup>&</sup>quot;Seo, e.g., Gallen and Rinchart (1986); Seidman and Horn (1991).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Foreit (1991).

<sup>\*</sup>Cross et al. (1991).

Table 6.1. Source of contraception among users of modern methods, 1985-90

			Percent	Percent of users relying on				
Country	Year	Modern method preva- lence	Public sector	Phar- macles, shops	Private practi- tioners	Volun- tary organi- zations		
Sub-Saharan Africa		12	49	15	11	18		
Botswana	1988	32	94	1	4	ø		
Cameroon	1991	4	30	38	12	11		
Ghana	1988	5	35	23	2	19		
Kenya	1989	18	70	1	15	12		
Liberia	1986	6	31	13	5	49		
Nigeria	1990	4	37	29	17	9		
Senegal	1986	6	47	5	38	0		
Togo	1988	3.	42	32	4	9		
Uganda	1988/89	2	49	3	10	36		
Zimbabwe	1988	36	53	: 2	2	39		
North Africa		32	54	25	13	0		
Egypt	1988	35	24	53	20	0		
Morocco	1987	21	61	9	11	1		
Tunisia	1988	40	77	14	9	0		
Latin America/Cariba	bean	37	40	19	23	15		
Bolivia**	1989	12	34	9	54	1		
Brazil	1986	56	28	46	23	1		
Colombia	1990	55	25	29	11	32		
Dominican Rep.	1986	47	42	4.	44	1		
Ecuador	1987	. 36	42	6	35	17		
El Salvador	1985	44	78	6	4	13		
Guatemala	1987	19	32	7	18	40		
Honduras	1987	33	19	15	10	52		
Mexico	1987	45	63	22	14	0		
Paraguay	1990	24	19	48	19	10		
Peru	1986	23	54	2	31	2		
Trinidad and Tobago	1987	44	38	37	9	15		
Asia		38	74	9	10	2		
Bangladesh	1989	24	71	18	3	5		
Indonesia	1991	50	76	2	20	0		
Sri Lanka	1987	40	85	3	5	2		
Pakistan	1990/91	9	56	17	13	0		
Thailand	1987	66	82	7	7	1		

Sources: Demographic and Health Surveys, plus Bangladesh Contraceptive Prevalence Survey and Honduras Epidemiology and Family Health Survey.

Note: Prevelence is for modern methods only emeng married women of reproductive age. Outlets are those reported rather than the ultimate suppliers. Contraceptives sold by phermacles, for instance, may have been provided to them by a voluntary organization. Percentages may not add up to 100 because of other and unspecified sources. Unweighted regional means across countries are in Italics.

#### 44 ELEMENTS OF EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS

populace are equally important. Though some voluntary organizations may have shaky finances and quixotic leadership, and some companies may go out of business, by and large private agencies maintain consistent programs and are a continuing community presence. The flexibility of the private sector stems from freedom from political constraints and bureaucratic layers and rules and allows private agencies to make program changes quickly, shift resources, and recruit and retain high-quality staff. Fewer obstacles exist than in the public sector to experimenting with new approaches. Efficiency may not be characteristic of every part of the private sector, but at least some agencies can often be found that are more efficient than public services. A bottom-line orientation in the for-profit sector, and the continual possibility of failure and dissolution among all private agencies, helps ensure some level of efficiency. As a result, subsidies to the private sector can be more effective than public services in reducing fertility, as has been demonstrated for Thailand. \*\*

- 6.5 However, the private sector does depend on supportive government policies and, in some respects, may require direct assistance. It needs a large subsidy if it is to service lower-income consumers. Because the potential profit from mass marketing of contraceptives is low, the for-profit sector is unlikely to invest in the extensive advertising and promotional activities needed to address barriers to wider contraceptive use and to ensure effective use.
- 6.6 Increasing private-sector involvement can serve various objectives, among them
  - to initiate family planning services or services of specific types, capitalizing mainly on the sector's flexibility
    - to increase prevalence, reach various groups, and broaden options for users, capitalizing mainly on the sector's resources
  - to save government and donor funds, capitalizing on the sector's efficiency and ability to generate funds.

Though there is some overlap, focusing on each objective permits discussion of different parts of the private sector: on voluntary organizations for introducing services, on commercial sales and private practitioners for broader coverage, and on private delivery options in general, but also on financing options for saving public funds.

# Introducing family planning

- 6.7 In nearly all countries, organized family planning services have been initially introduced by voluntary organizations. The most prominent of these in family planning are affiliated with the International Planned Parenthood Federation and have service delivery or promotion as their prime objective. A variety of other voluntary organizations are also involved, often in smaller or more localized roles.
- 6.8 Certain risks are associated with reliance on voluntary organizations. Organizations other than family planning associations may be diverted by outside funding from their original goals. An organization may become too sensitive to donor wishes, ceasing to think for itself about appropriate strategy and tactics. An organization may also undercut commercial services, just as government services might do (Box 6.1). And it may have limited capacity to expand, lacking the capital, the expertise, and perhaps even the motivation to reach beyond its current clientele.

<sup>19</sup>Schultz (1989).

<sup>\*</sup>Brown and Korten (1989).

### Box 6.1. How to discourage the commercial sector

- The commercial sector is often ignored by public and private agencies seeking to expand family planning programs into poorly served areas. How the commercial sector can be hurt is illustrated in Plauf State in Northeast Brazil.
  - 2. In 1979, the Plauf State secretariat of health initiated a collaborative program with Sociedade Civil Bem-Estar Familiar no Brasil (BEMFAM), the largest Brazilian family planning association, to cover the state, a large, sparsely populated state that is one of the poorest in Brazil Contraceptive distribution was started in all urban health posts throughout the state, in community centers in one zone of the state, and in home posts in the southern part of the state initially, oral contraceptives alone were distributed; condoms and spermicides were added in late 1980. Between October 1982 and April 1983, 10 physicians were trained in IUD insertion and female sterilization.
  - 3. Contraceptive prevalence surveys in 1979, a few months after the program started, and in mid-1982 permit an assessment of the program's initial impact. Despite favorable program reports, pill use remained unchanged between 1979 and 1982 at 10 percent of married women aged 15-44, while use of condoms, spermicides, and IUDs showed a minor increase (from 0.3 percent to 1.6 percent). The major change was in the use of female sterilization, which rose from 15 percent in 1979 to 20 percent in 1982 (Arruda et al. 1983).
  - 4. Why was there no change in pill use? Many women who had been purchasing contraceptives from pharmacies switched to the free supplies offered in health facilities. The proportion of pill users who obtained their supplies from a pharmacy dropped from 56 percent in 1979 to 34 percent in 1982, while the proportion relying on health facilities grew from 20 percent to 49 percent (Arruda et al. 1983). Observers report that many pharmacles have stopped selling oral contraceptives, since the market for them has shrunk. Thus, much of the US\$1.1 million invested in the Plauf State program during 1979-83 had the effect of undermining the existing commercial market for contraceptives while falling to expand the base of family planning users:
  - 5. To avoid competing with self-supporting private services, public programs should learn some lessons from this example.
    - Before initiating new services, program planners need data on existing patterns of contraceptive use, either from baseline surveys or from commercial sales and clinic records
    - Locating new service sites (health facilities) near existing ones (pharmacies) does little to expand availability of services.
    - To increase contraceptive prevalence, it is important to add to the contraceptive mix rather than create redundant outlets for a limited range of methods:
- Some limitations can be addressed through government subsidies—not only funds, but also clinic and office space, personnel, contraceptive commodities, supplies, and free broadcasting time. Collaborative ventures can also help to expand services. For instance, a Peruvian voluntary organization operated three after-hours family planning clinics in Ministry of Health facilities. After one year, family planning acceptors increased two to seven times over baseline levels. The clinics were especially popular with men, who were unwilling to attend obstetrics and gynecology clinics during regular hours. 91

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup>Foreit (1991).

#### 48 ELEMENTS OF EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS

6.10 When a voluntary organization has been in the vanguard in introducing family planning, its long-term role in the field may eventually require reconsideration. In a few countries, such as Colombia and Suriname, voluntary organizations have endured as major providers. More often, as family planning gains public acceptance, government takeover of organized private services, or at least integration of private and public services, becomes increasingly attractive. A voluntary organization will then have to carve a special niche for itself, concentrating on a market segment it can serve most efficiently (such as adolescents) or focusing on such supportive activities as promotion, training, and innovative methods and approaches.

### Reaching various groups

- 6.11 Private agencies can considerably extend the reach of public contraceptive distribution networks. The broadest group they might affect consists of all people within the reach of media and commercial outlets, especially where health facilities are few or ineffective. Another broad group consists of current and potential customers of private health practitioners or facilities. In addition, other target groups reachable through private agencies, discussed not in this section but elsewhere in this chapter, are clients of voluntary organizations, company employees and their dependents, and members of health insurance plans.
- 6.12 Commercial sales and social marketing. Worldwide, one in five couples using family planning obtains their method from a pharmacy. In addition to their accessibility, pharmacies and shops offer clients confidentiality, anonymity, free information, and prompt service. Their major disadvantages are high prices and the sales staff's lack of information about family planning; these can be alleviated by changes in government regulations, special training programs, and provision of subsidized commodities through social marketing programs.
- Social marketing uses commercial channels and techniques such as market research and advertising in distributing partly subsidized contraceptives. Sponsoring local agencies may be commercial distributors and manufacturers or nonprofit agencies such as the family planning association. Condoms, pills, and spermicides are sold, and a few programs also include IUDs and injectables. Social marketing programs operate in about 30 countries, selling enough contraceptives to protect at least eight million couples a year. They typically reach 5-15 percent of reproductive-age couples. More extensive programs in Bangladesh, Colombia, and Egypt serve more than 30 percent of current users of all methods. Pharmacies are the major such outlet, but small convenience shops can also be used, and even market traders have been used effectively in Ghana, Nigeria, and Peru.
- 6.14 Care must be taken to ensure that social marketing programs draw as few customers away from commercial products as possible. New users combined with those drawn away from more heavily subsidized products exceeded those drawn away from full-price products in five of six countries. However, whether the new users would have adopted contraception anyway is difficult to determine.
- 6.15 Private practitioners. Private, for-profit providers enjoy considerable credibility, but they generally charge high fees to a limited clientele. Government could encourage private-sector providers by removing restrictions on their selling contraceptives (see Table 8.1), promoting private provision of contraception through the mass media, and permitting government employees to provide services to private patients after regular working hours. To supplement

<sup>&</sup>quot;Sherris et al. (1985:800).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Bertrand (1991).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Lande and Geller (1991).

efforts to reach low-income rural residents, various programs have trained traditional practitioners and allowed them to sell contraceptives and provide referrals to service sites. The Blue Circle campaign in Indonesia is a leading example of encouraging contraceptive supply by private practitioners through government training and active promotion of them through the media as high-quality providers.

### Saving public funds

- 6.16 Greater reliance on the private sector saves public funds to the extent that private delivery systems are more efficient or that private finance covers some costs.
- 6.17 Efficiency. For-profit health services are generally run more efficiently than government services. Voluntary organizations also have the reputation of using money more efficiently than the public sector. For instance, an analysis of five Peruvian voluntary organizations found that they were able to deliver services at a considerably lower cost than the public sector (an IUD insertion cost US\$4, compared with US\$12 in public facilities), despite the voluntary organizations' high administrative costs, averaging 35 percent of fixed costs. Nevertheless, many voluntary organizations lack adequate information on their operational costs, are ignorant of the true costs of delivering services, and develop haphazard pricing schemes.
- 6.18 Private financing. In addition to the resources of their own that voluntary organizations put into family planning, some users can and probably should pay more for contraceptives; insurance can be used to cover some costs; and companies may find it in their interest to subsidize family planning.
- Various groups can afford to pay for contraceptives, particularly where high demand has brought down the commercial price. In Thailand in 1987, for instance, 57 percent of urban women with secondary or higher education relied on public sources for contraception, and could probably afford to pay some amount for it. Encouraging them to rely on commercial sources and private practitioners would reduce public costs. User charges in programs that serve those able to pay are also desirable. Charges help convince clients of the value of a service, and schemes can be devised to waive charges for those who cannot pay. The rationale for user charges should be understandable to clients, the charges should be reasonable and linked to quality, and some of the revenue needs to be kept at the facility to provide an incentive for better performance. Changes in user charges should be gradual, predictable, and occasionally downward, since price decreases stimulate contraceptive adoption.
- 6.20 Health insurance, health maintenance organizations, social security services, and employer-supported programs cover 5-15 percent of the population of the developing world outside China. In Latin America, social insurance covers 60 percent of the population. If insurance and prepaid plans consistently covered family planning—as they do in a number of cases in Latin America—the savings in unneeded maternal and child health services could outweigh the costs to the programs.
- Employment-based services have the potential to reach an estimated 15 to 25 percent of the work force in the developing world, excluding China. Employer-supported family planning programs exist in more than 20 countries, in industries ranging from tea estates to steel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup>Lewis and Kenney (1988).

<sup>\*</sup>USAID (1986).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Foreit (1991).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Rinchart et al. (1987:924).

#### 48 ELEMENTS OF EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS

mills. For companies that provide non-wage benefits to employees, the cost of introducing family planning services may be offset by reduced spending on benefits. For instance, a study of a Peruvian mining company found that it paid US\$4,000 per child for medical care, housing, and schooling. Raising contraceptive prevalence from 35 to 72 percent was considered feasible with a company-based program, which was projected to generate a positive cash flow by the third year. The more successful projects are found in companies that have more than 5,000 employees, pay extensive benefits, and provide benefits to workers' dependents. Industries with these characteristics include mines, plantations, and large-scale manufacturing plants.

### Encouraging the private sector

6.22 To encourage growth in the private sector, governments should take four types of actions:

- incorporate consideration of the sector into strategic planning
- reform laws and regulations, including medical restrictions
- promote family planning
- provide financial and technical assistance.
- 6.23 Strategic planning. Government planners need to ensure that the actual and potential contributions of private agencies are taken into account in planning the public program, so that user subsidies do not undercut private providers. Government and private programs need to exchange information on current and planned activities, including service outlets and the method mix each provides. Planners need to appreciate the obstacles private agencies face, the incentives they require, and the amounts customers are willing to pay. They could then consider how the private and public sectors can complement each other, for instance, through targeting different clients.
- Reform of laws and regulations. In most countries, not only private but also public programs are hampered by various regulations, including those that make some methods illegal, restrict their distribution, and impose various impractical or inconvenient requirements on potential users. Although some regulation is necessary to curb abuses, many restrictions—often not directed primarily at contraception—instead drive up the cost of family planning, limit the client's choice of method, and are likely to discourage some clients altogether. Many regulations are not directed solely at contraception, but may still inhibit the private providers. Key policies needing review include
  - import duties on family planning supplies
  - foreign exchange controls that raise contraceptive prices
  - tax policies, such as value-added taxes that inhibit local packaging
  - price controls that drive suppliers out of the market
  - ▶ advertising restrictions on contraception
  - certification requirements and restrictions on private medical practice
  - drug regulatory procedures that unnecessarily delay approval
  - prescription requirements that limit over-the-counter sales and paramedic provision of contraceptives.
- 6.25 Family planning promotion. Governments should bear substantial responsibility for promoting family planning, either leading the effort or cooperating with the private sector (see

<sup>&</sup>quot;Foreit (1991).

<sup>100</sup> Kenney (1990).

- Chapter 7). Given public sensitivities, if not actual legal restrictions, for-profit firms are unlikely to undertake advertising campaigns for family planning in general or for specific contraceptives because the risks would be disproportionate to the limited benefits they could capture. Voluntary organizations might be willing to fill this role, because of the high priority they place on public education, but may not have the funds to support research, materials production, and advertising.
- 6.26 Financial and technical assistance. A variety of forms of direct support for the private sector are possible, including funding and technical assistance to voluntary organizations and private providers; access to capital for clinical facilities; tax breaks to employers, voluntary organizations, and health insurance schemes that cover family planning; and sharing of underused public facilities. Governments could also assist private agencies to improve their management and technical skills, conduct research on the cost-effectiveness of various delivery systems, and institute pilot projects to stimulate private-sector expansion.

# 7. Family Planning Promotion

- 7.1 Promotional activities (also referred to as information-education-communication, or IEC) are an integral part of family planning services. Like any new product, contraceptives have to be brought to the attention of potential users, made attractive, and shown to be safe. This effort is essentially educational—aimed at producing satisfied and effective users willing to encourage others—but has to be accomplished with all the skills and techniques of modern public relations and advertising, so that family planning messages resonate in the public consciousness.
- 7.2 The variety of objectives to be served by promotional activities is reflected in the audiences to be reached: potential users (female and male), their partners, and family members and others who may influence them; sexually active unmarried people, including adolescents; current contraceptive users, to provide information about effective use and encourage them to seek further advice; policymakers and opinion leaders; and the general public, to encourage people to see contraception as a normal activity and family-size limitation as normative behavior.
- Promotional activities have varied widely in effectiveness. A recent review of 248 population communication and education projects in East and Southern Africa identified many weaknesses, including ill-defined audiences, weak audience research, vague, hard-to-measure objectives, poorly designed messages, lack of pretesting, and inadequate project evaluation. Nearly one in four staff members working in family planning and communication had no training in either field. Without sophisticated technical assistance, communication programs elsewhere are likely to share some of these shortcomings.
- 7.4 Improvement will not be possible without a clear understanding of the specific purposes served by promotional activities and a consequent integration of these activities into a program's strategic plan. The overall quality of promotional efforts also needs to be improved. This chapter considers what promotional activities can achieve, how they should be designed to be effective, and how their costs can be covered.

### Effects of promotional activities

7.5 Both interpersonal channels and the mass media can be effective tools in changing attitudes and behavior related to family planning. They should be seen as complementary, not

<sup>101</sup> Johnston (1990).

competitive. Whereas the mass media provide information quickly and repeatedly to large audiences, interpersonal communication addresses individual concerns, gives immediate feedback, and leads to more in-depth understanding.

- 7.6 Interpersonal communication. Face-to-face communication can be enormously powerful and uniquely persuasive. Because interpersonal communication is two-way, it furnishes instant feedback and responds to people's individual concerns, questions, and needs. One important interpersonal channel is community influentials (as noted in Chapter 5). Two other interpersonal channels that merit wider use are peer discussions and satisfied users.
- 7.7 Peer-motivators—volunteers who are trained to provide information and contraceptives to people with similar backgrounds—have been effective in many countries. In Barbados and Mexico, worker-volunteers served more people than did nurses in factory clinics. <sup>105</sup> In a textile factory in Turkey, female union shop stewards were as effective as health professionals in motivating women to use contraception. <sup>104</sup> Peer counselors are used in many countries to reach young people. In Kenya, peer counselors visit young mothers at home to discuss breastfeeding and infant nutrition, as well as family planning. <sup>105</sup>
- 7.8 Counselors who are also satisfied users of family planning methods are especially influential. A study in Colombia found that satisfied users played an important role in men's decisions to accept vasectomy. Nearly two-thirds of the vasectomy adopters knew at least one other person who had had a vasectomy. 100
- 7.9 Mass media. Reasonable evidence that the mass media can be used not only to create awareness but also to influence individual contraceptive behavior has emerged only in the last few years. Since access to the mass media is growing so rapidly in developing countries, this evidence has major implications. An important additional finding, from recent national surveys in 22 developing countries, is that at least two-thirds of respondents approve of family planning information on radio and television. Much greater use of the mass media is warranted.
- 7.10 The evidence about the impact of the media comes from a variety of studies. For instance, following an intensive three-month mass media campaign in Turkey, awareness of family planning increased from 69 percent of married women of reproductive age to 86 percent; 63 percent of the women surveyed said they had discussed family planning with their spouses as a result of the campaign; and modern contraceptive use increased from 39 to 42 percent. As another example, in Anambra State, Nigeria, an average of 55 percent of new family planning clients cited a television variety show and spot advertisements as their source of referral. 107 Even vasectomy, a largely underexploited method, can be effectively promoted in the media. Aggressive use of television, radio, magazine advertisements, and other media contributed to a 1986 vasectomy prevalence rate in São Paulo, Brazil, that was 12 times the rate in Rio de Janeiro, the second largest city. 108

# Designing effective promotion campaigns

7.11 Effective communication programs have four characteristics: they are long-term,

Piotrow et al. (1990b:4).

Townsend (1988).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1M</sup>WHO (1986).

<sup>10</sup> FPIA (1984).

<sup>186</sup> Vernon et al. (1991).

in Piotrow et al. (1990a).

<sup>104</sup> Arruda et al. (1987).

responsive to the audience and the environment, coordinated among channels and with services, and based on quality materials.

- 7.12 Long-term programs produce and maintain new behaviors by reaching people repeatedly with carefully designed messages through a variety of media over a period of years. Long-term communication strategies involve progressive phases. In each phase the messages and channels are adjusted to address the audience's changing needs as their health knowledge, attitudes, and behavior change. For instance, the first phase might focus on increasing public approval for family planning. Subsequent phases might direct people to service points, address misinformation about contraceptive methods, or reinforce correct method use.
- 7.13 In each phase, a communication campaign should be responsive in addressing a felt need or problem in the community and obtaining continual feedback from the intended audience. Research forms a key part of this process of problem identification, audience analysis, materials testing, monitoring of program outputs and audience reactions, and evaluation of program impact. Pretesting materials can have the added benefit of allaying the fears of policymakers that the public will react negatively to promotion of family planning.
- Campaigns may involve multiple channels, agencies, and appeals, requiring coordination among these, as well as with the delivery of services. In the absence of promotion, services may be perceived as substandard. The influx of clients generated by promotional activities energizes clinic staff to strive for high-quality services, lends legitimacy, and inspires client confidence. On the other hand, promotional activities that are not backed up by readily available services can destroy the program's credibility.
- 7.15 Family planning messages in the media must be designed to compete with sophisticated commercial programs and advertisements. High-quality materials are worth the extra time and money, since they are likely to have considerably more impact than low-budget efforts. In addition, broadcasters and editors are more likely to use quality materials for free or at a reduced cost. Corporate sponsors and other donors may be more willing to associate themselves with professionally produced materials than with amateurish-looking items.
- In addition to the physical appearance of materials, another aspect of quality is the ability to attract and hold the audience's attention. Appropriate, interesting content is essential. Communication specialists increasingly recognize the power of entertainment to convey educational messages. This approach, known as "enter-educate," has been effective in delivering a variety of social messages in diverse settings. Entertainment media such as songs, soap operas, comic books, and films reach a wide audience, hold the audience's attention, evoke strong emotional responses, and provide role models for behavior change.

# Costs and financing of promotion

- Mass media campaigns involve substantial up-front costs but can be highly costeffective because they reach large numbers of people quickly and repeatedly. Even costly media
  such as television can be justified in terms of their reach and impact. For instance, a 30-second
  television spot aired during prime time may reach more people and generate more public
  discussion than a full-page ad in an obscure magazine or 30 village meetings.
- 7.18 Several family planning programs have mounted intensive mass media campaigns at a

<sup>109</sup>Piotrow et al. (1990b:46).

<sup>110</sup>Piotrow et al. (1990b:32).

#### 82 ELEMENTS OF EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS

low cost per person reached. For instance, in Nigeria promotion of two songs cost just US\$0.02 per person reached. In Turkey, a three-month multimedia campaign reached an estimated 6.6 million women of childbearing age at a cost of US\$0.04 per woman. The cost per new acceptor of a modern contraceptive method was US\$0.97.111

- 7.19 Top-quality, entertaining materials such as songs, films, television shows and comic books can generate corporate sponsorship, free air time, and product sales, especially if they involve celebrities. Examples of corporate support include several companies in Ghana that sponsor banners for family planning rallies and corporations in Indonesia that sponsor billboards with family planning messages. A music project in the Philippines, developed at a cost of US\$250,000, received corporate donations worth US\$55,000 and more than US\$1 million in free radio and television air time. 112
- 7.20 To minimize costs and ensure effective dissemination of their messages, family planning agencies need to work closely with broadcasters, editors, and other media decision makers. Inserting family planning information into ongoing programs and publications ensures that it reaches wide audiences, including those who may have had little exposure to such information.

### 8. Government and Donor Roles

8.1 Policymakers and donors will play critical roles in the further development of family planning, as they have in the past. This chapter first reviews appropriate program directions as laid out in previous chapters and then discusses the roles of governments and donors.

### Program directions

- 8.2 A long menu of suggestions for making family planning programs more effective emerges from the previous chapters. Programs should expand method choice, strengthen counseling, assess and improve client relations, reorient programs to deal with other client needs, measure quality, nurture political support, involve communities, provide community-based distributors, improve supervision, strengthen logistics, apply operations research, provide assistance to voluntary organizations, utilize social marketing, revise regulations that limit the private sector, test other ways of involving the private sector, raise user charges, integrate promotional activities into programs, and improve media materials. This list is not complete, and it fails to mention any of the specific approaches or techniques that might be useful.
- 8.3 For an individual program, selections from this menu might be worth considering in the context of strategic planning. Programs need to take into account so many factors distinctive to their own situations—organizational, historical, political, cultural, and economic—that only a planning exercise unique to a specific program at a particular time is likely to provide satisfactory choices.
- 8.4 For programs as a group, the most significant areas of weakness covered in the preceding chapters are two.
  - First, the services clients receive are inadequate. They get too few method

<sup>111</sup> Yun et al. (1990).
112 Rimon (1989).

choices, too little counseling, and an insufficient range of options for obtaining service.

Additional resources will undoubtedly be needed to deal with these limitations, but the returns could be high with regard to attracting new clients and encouraging more continuity in contraceptive use.

- Second, the support front-line staff receive is inadequate. They are poorly supervised, and the logistics chain does not provide them with the essential products they need. The limitations have little to do with the availability of supplies or facilities. They have much more to do with the way systems are organized and people are trained or not trained. Programs have to be fundamentally oriented to providing support for front-line staff.
- 8.5 The review also suggests two broad areas of significant opportunity for programs.
- First, options for involving the private sector, both the nonprofit and the forprofit segments, have multiplied. National programs need to be actively engaged in working with the private sector and should seek to extend the most promising forms of collaboration.
- Second, techniques for reaching potential clients through the media have improved, but have not been fully exploited. Some programs have made effective use of media appeals, in conjunction with interpersonal means of reaching people. As programs focus on broader populations, they will have to become more sophisticated in using the media.

### Government policies

- 8.6 Appropriate government policies in several areas are needed if the main weaknesses are to be addressed and opportunities exploited. Policies are significant in three main ways.
  - They may or may not provide support for family planning.
  - The regulations that are their expression may help or hinder the conduct of programs.
  - > They may or may not favor social and economic development.
- 8.7 Strong political support is critical for program success, though by itself it is not enough. It needs to be translated into adequate resources and budgets; if governments that are not doing so committed as little as 0.5 percent of their budgets to population programs, a considerable expansion in services would be possible. Governments in 125 developing countries provide support for contraception in 1989, for demographic and health and human rights reasons and as part of poverty alleviation. This is twice the number that express concern about population growth or support fertility reduction. However, depth of support is hard to measure, and is probably quite variable. And 16 of the 131 countries responding to a U.N. questionnaire still provide no support for family planning.
- 8.8 Laws and regulations can have symbolic value in reinforcing national commitment to family planning. More important, a variety of regulations affect the availability, distribution, and advertising of contraceptive methods and abortion, limiting the potential of private-sector programs (Chapter 6) and also affecting public programs (Table 8.1). Import licenses for contraceptives are required in the majority of countries in each region except Sub-Saharan Africa, and import duties imposed in 40 percent of countries. These duties can be high. In Colombia, 57 percent duties were imposed on all the contraceptives imported by Profamilia, the main provider, in 1987.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Ross et al. (1988).

Table 8.1. Percentage of developing countries imposing limitations on the sale and use of contraception and abortion, by region

Limitation	All regions	Sub- Saharan Africa	Middle East/ North Africa	Latin America/ Caribbean	Asia
Import license required	68	36	100	79	83
Import duties imposed Physician required for:	39	29	33	55	40
Pill	34	20	50	31	42
IÜD	62	42	67	80	58
Female sterilization	80	77	80	85	77
Male sterilization	77	71	67	90	73
Female sterilization*:					
Illegal	9	22	14	0	0
Needs spouse approval <sup>b</sup>	71	69	80	57	85
Legal conditions for abortion:					
Only to save mother's life	50	54	44	58	36
For life/health only	86	92	87	87	68
(Number of countries <sup>d</sup> )	(45)	(13)	(5)	(13)	(12)

Source: Ross et al. (1988:38-41, 70-87, 127); Henshaw (1990:77).

\*Restrictions on male sterilization also exist, but are somewhat less widespread.

- Many governments also limit access to fertility regulation procedures by restricting who can prescribe contraceptives or perform procedures, though these regulations are not always enforced. Studies have shown that family planning fieldworkers can safely distribute pills, and properly trained paramedics can safely insert IUDs and perform sterilizations. Nevertheless, only physicians are allowed to prescribe pills in a third of countries, to insert IUDs in 60 percent of countries, and to perform sterilizations in 80 percent of countries. In addition, a few countries have legislation that completely prohibits sterilization, and 70 percent of all countries require the spouse's approval. Abortion is legally restricted in most developing countries to situations in which the woman's life or health is endangered, effectively endangering the lives of many more.
- When governments are successful in promoting social and economic development, contraceptive use increases more rapidly and fertility falls faster. Chapter 2 illustrates the contribution that expanding female education makes to increases in contraceptive prevalence. A number of possible policles and programs to promote female education have been effective where they have been tried, such as culturally appropriate facilities, special scholarships, flexible and convenient schedules, assistance to relieve older siblings of childcare responsibilities, programs to delay pregnancy and marriage, and measures to counteract wage and employment discrimination. 114 A judicious selection of such policies could have a direct effect on the status of women and also contribute to fertility decline. Development in other areas is also important,

Other requirements may also be imposed, such as minimum ages and minimum parities. (In Lesgtho, the minimum number of children for sterilization is 12, except after two cessarean sections.)

In some cases, abortion may also be legal in cases of rape, incest, or genetic defect. Each percentage may be based on a different number of countries. The mode is given. The abortion data tend to cover twice as many countries as the mode.

<sup>18</sup> Bellew and King (1991).

such as improvements in health and the reduction of mortality."

### Donor assistance

- 8.11 The mechanisms for donor assistance in family planning will be described, the current and future adequacy of donor financing will be considered, and the problems of donor coordination will be addressed.
- 8.12 Donor countries and agencles. Most donor assistance in population comes from 18 countries, with ten of these providing 96 percent of the funds. In the order of their 1990 contributions, these ten were the U.S., Japan, Norway, Germany, Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Finland, and Denmark. 116
- Kingdom, the Netherlands, Finland, and Denmark. 116

  8.13 About a third of this population assistance is provided directly to recipient countries, with one agency, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), providing three-quarters of such bilateral assistance. About a third of-population assistance flows through multilateral channels, mainly the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The remaining third goes through nongovernmental organizations, chief among them the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), a 40-year-old confederation now including 150 national family planning associations. Additional assistance provided by the World Bank (in the form of loans, often at concessional rates, rather than grants) is somewhat less than the amount of direct bilateral population assistance. The United Nations also provides a small amount of additional assistance out of funds not earmarked for population, and international nongovernmental organizations provide the last small amount.
- 8.14 Each of the bilateral and multilateral agencies has particular strengths and weaknesses, 117 and specific agencies can, in appropriate circumstances, largely complement each other. Staffs in the area of population vary in size and expertise. For bilateral donors, staffs are quite limited, with the notable exception of USAID, which can in addition draw on a large network of U.S.-based contractors, including nonprofit agencies, universities, and companies. Field staff in particular are more limited for some donors, leading to more of an arm's-length approach to implementing projects. The political constraints affecting agencies vary, meaning that particular donors are present in some settings and not others and lean toward specific approaches or activities. The effect of fewer such constraints is apparent in the history of IPPF, which has been able to take risks. It pioneered work on community-based distribution, some new contraceptive methods, and women's reproductive health and continues to research abortion and stress postabortion family planning counseling. The agencies also vary in the breadth of their population interests, from a narrow concern with family planning to broader interests in such areas as censuses and migration.
  - 8.15 The adequacy of donor financing. Donor financing can be looked at in the aggregate, with reference to specific countries and regions, and with reference to specific program functions. Adequacy has often been a matter of the quality of assistance, but the quantity is now increasingly problematic.
  - 8.16 In the aggregate, the assistance available probably exceeded the absorptive capacity of developing-country governments in the 1960s and 1970s and roughly matched the demand in the 1980s. The amounts available have risen slightly in constant terms but hardly at all in per

<sup>&</sup>quot;Birdsall and Griffin (1988).

<sup>114</sup>UNFPA (1992).

<sup>111</sup>Bradford and Sinding (1991).

capita terms for the recipient countries (Chapter 3). Prospects for the 1990s and the early part of the next century are uncertain, and trends do not allow optimism. On the demand side, substantially larger cohorts coming along will require a growing volume of services (Chapter 1). Many country programs, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, are new and will need substantial funding as they expand. New programs are coming along faster than mature programs are graduating, as the latter face continuing problems of ensuring supplies for their large numbers of users and of reaching the poorest and the most disadvantaged segments of the population. On the supply side, about half of the ten leading donors are enthusiastic about increasing population assistance. Whether increases will actually materialize is uncertain, given internal political pressures and the overwhelming requirements for aid for other purposes. Since total population expenditures will have to grow 4.6 percent a year over this decade to keep pace with the need, the uncertainty of future donor financing needs to be confronted.

- Asja has received the largest part of population assistance so far, because of its large population and receptive governments. Aid for Sub-Saharan Africa has grown rapidly, however; between 1982 and 1990, its share more than doubled, reaching 25 percent. Assistance for the Middle East and North Africa is only 9 percent of the total, probably inadequate, but politically these countries have been mostly unreceptive. Region by region, some countries have received quite substantial amounts of aid. Bangladesh, Brazil, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, and Thailand have brought down fertility with this assistance, in particular cases after considerable delays. Egypt and Pakistan have so far shown little progress. A variety of other countries, such as Algeria, Viet Nam, Zaire, Burundi, and Yemen, badly need assistance but are not receiving enough. Through most of the 1980s, the first three of these countries received less than US\$0.10 per capita each year in population assistance. The last two received somewhat more, but they are smaller countries, and programs consistently cost more per capita in smaller countries.
- 8.18 By function, donor support is probably adequate overall in some areas, less than adequate in others. Support goes heavily for delivery systems, but their recurrent costs are still often difficult to meet. Covering the costs of commodities is an emerging problem. USAID has been the main buyer and distributor of commodities for years, but is increasingly seeking an enhanced role on the part of other agencies with this function. Some shortages are apparent, especially of condoms and prospectively of newer injectables and implants. Contraceptive research is seriously underfunded. Given the withdrawal of international drug companies from research, only a handful of places do any work in this area. On the other hand, substantial amounts have been poorly spent on inadequately conceptualized and unevaluated educational and promotional activities, instead of more promising marketing approaches.
- 8.19 Given possible resource shortfalls, donors could usefully become increasingly selective with their support. Better means of assessing project impact would help maximize the gain from donor investments. A strong emphasis on project sustainability—on projects that can demonstrate effectiveness, are well integrated into administrative structures, and obtain substantial local funding 110—would help ensure long-lasting impact. A focus on critical elements for program success would help rationalize expenditures; among such elements that were noted above are the quality of services, field supervision; contraceptive logistics, and sophisticated promotional campaigns. Cost-effective approaches, such as social marketing, need emphasis and greater development, so that quality is not sacrificed. Support for greater involvement of the private sector could eventually pay dividends: Increasingly also in more mature programs, government services need to be targeted to those in need and more emphasis placed on other programs on cost recovery.

<sup>&</sup>quot;UNFPA (1992).

<sup>115</sup> Bossert (1990).

- B.20 Donor coordination. Donor coordination has generally been better at the country level than at headquarters level. Donors funding specific projects are often able to work together in the field. Coordination depends heavily on the host government's capacity to manage the donors. Some countries, such as Thalland and Indonesia, have done well in this process, but others have not assigned adequate, trained staff to the full-time task of coordinating external assistance. Coordination problems can also arise, at the country level, when donors themselves have inadequate field staff or cannot make decisions on the ground. At the global level, the absence of coordination is more common, as tasks are less specific, and each organization has its own mandate and preoccupations. Consistent messages and advice from donors and compatible forms and requirements would simplify the burden on many recipients, but require much effort to achieve.
- 8.21 Strengthening coordination, and optimizing donor contributions generally, requires improvement in both the quantity and quality of population staff. More adequate staffing would mean that donor resources would be better spent.

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