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I. INTRODUCTION

Battelle HARC's International Development Study Center (IDSC), under contract agreement (AID/afr-C-1702) with the Africa Bureau, Agency for International Development (AID), conducted a study in Togo, designed to assess: i) the level of awareness and understanding of population dynamics, and the relationship between population and socioeconomic change on the part of Togolese officials and civic leaders; ii) the attitudes and opinions of these leaders towards policies designed to address problems associated with population trends; and, iii) their recommendations for USAID population assistance.

Battelle IDSC's African Population Assistance Advisors (APAA) team for the study in Togo was originally composed of Dr. Moses T. Ebot, Battelle research scientist; Dr. Philip S. Coulibaly, Director of the Institute of Demography and Statistics, Ouagadougou, Upper Volta; and, Dr. Karim Diop, Executive Secretary of the Senegalese National Population Commission and Technical Adviser to the Ministry of Economy and Finance. One week prior to the visit, Dr. Karim Diop was appointed Technical Adviser to an affiliate of the Economic Commission for Africa in Yaounde, and consequently had to withdraw from the team. The assessment was conducted July 6-17; local USAID officers were debriefed on July 20, 1981.

This report on Togo represents the last in the current series of four country assessments (Lesotho, Tanzania, Sénégal, and Togo), conducted at the request of the AID Africa Bureau.

II. SUMMARY

The Battelle IDSC Togo assessment team's summary observations and implications for future USAID population assistance are outlined in this section.

A. Observations

All respondents recognized that the country's population is growing. Some government officials tried to quantify this growth, but most respondents discussed population growth in relative terms.

- There seems to be more pro-natalist sentiment in Togo than in the other three countries assessed by Battelle HARC/IDSC. These feelings surfaced as respondents stated their perceptions as to the causes and consequences of recent population trends. Some indications of these pro-natalist sentiments are summarized below.
 1. The self-image of the Togolese as a people and as a nation has improved since the colonial era; they are now proud to raise large families of Togolese.
 2. While citing a preference for a six-child family, many Togolese have even larger families.
 3. More people mean more producers; this is perceived as fostering economic development.
 4. Although 80% of the population is actively involved in agriculture, only a small percentage of the land is currently under cultivation.
 5. The government encourages large families by providing financial allowances and benefits for the first six children.
 6. Politically, rapid population growth is seen as a yardstick for measuring national confidence and maturity.
- The most often cited causes of population growth were improved sanitary conditions, meaning fewer infant and child deaths; the repatriation of countrymen who had migrated to other African countries in search of work; and, the nationalistic feelings fostered by a people who are proud of their recent economic gains.

- The consequences of population growth were often described in positive terms, e.g., it will lead to increased production and will provide a larger market for consumer goods. Others associated growth with certain socioeconomic problems, such as interference with the quality of life of future generations; however, they believed such problems to be only temporary.
- Among the negative consequences of population growth discussed were the rising unemployment problem in Lome; overcrowded schools, creating a serious drain on national resources; a shortage of agricultural land; large amounts of money being invested by the government in PMIs (Protections Maternelles et Infantiles - MCH Centers); and, migration to the cities in search of modern-sector jobs.
- All interviewees agreed that Togo has no official population policy. The majority feel that the government is wise not to propose a solution when so little is currently known about the problem.
- Although the government works closely with the local IPPF affiliate to provide some family planning services, most respondents perceive that the government is adopting a pro-natalist policy.

B. Implications for USAID Assistance

- Population assistance, to be effective, must be responsive to the needs of the Togolese, rather than to what the donor community perceives as their problems.
- To most respondents, an acceptable population policy would integrate population into improved agricultural development. They perceive the initiation of land improvement, reclamation policies, and population redistribution methods as a move toward that objective.
- USAID assistance should be aimed at the rural, not the urban, population.
- Any U.S. firm working in Togo should be required to train host country counterparts so the program can continue after the firm and its expert personnel have departed.
- Population assistance activities designed in response to regional needs are preferred to those designed with a national focus.
- The masses need to be educated so they will understand the relationship of population growth to development on a micro-level.
- Once awareness has been created, appropriate family planning information should be diffused through traditional infrastructures.
- Since there is no national institution in Togo to formulate policy, the Togo assessment team encourages USAID to organize workshops, symposia, and seminars to generate policy awareness on development issues.

- In the area of research, population assistance should be directed toward applied research which will have an impact on Togo's development priorities. Donor agencies should coordinate such research efforts so as to avoid duplication.
- The Togo assessment team also recommends support for studies on the effects of migration, employment, and breast-feeding and fertility.
- While not adverse to accepting foreign assistance, the Togolese prefer long-term programs that emphasize self-improvement and self-sufficiency. Except where local expertise is lacking, they want to design and execute the programs themselves. They also want to be consulted before foreign "experts" are hired.
- USAID should continue to provide assistance to improve PMIs, especially in the rural areas. At the present time, given official attitudes, Battelle recommends that they do not "over emphasize" family planning.

III. PROCEDURES

A. Project Methodology

The Battelle HARC/IDSC interview protocol, approved during the Nairobi planning session (March 13-15, 1981), was first translated into French since Togo is a Francophone country. Initially, persons to be interviewed were selected from among a list of contacts developed by Dr. Ebot and Ms. Anne Kubisch during an earlier visit to Lome in May 1981. After discussions with the USAID/Lome Program Officer and the U.S. Embassy Economic Officer, other names were added to the list of interviewees. During the course of the interviews respondents also proposed additional persons to be interviewed. Based on experience gained in Senegal, the questionnaires (see Appendix A) were handed to the interviewees only after each interview was completed.

B. Interview Process

The two-man Battelle team conducted thirty-two formal interviews and held several informal discussions with high-level government officials and civic leaders. Each formal interview lasted an average of 60 minutes. Because several other activities such as conferences, seminars, and political meetings were going on during the same time period in Lome, some interviews were conducted during lunch breaks and after office hours. Most respondents were willing to talk candidly on the issues and express their opinions on current approaches to alleviating population problems in the country. Among those interviewed were the directors of the National Institute of Scientific Research, the Division of Community Development, Agricultural Statistics in the Ministry of Agriculture, the Togolese Development Study Center, the National Bureau of Statistics, the Department of Demography in the Bureau of Statistics, Social Planning in the Ministry of Plan, Maternal and Child Health Care (PMI), the Togolese Society for the Promotion of Development (TOGOPROM), and Ministry of Rural Development. Also interviewed were prominent business leaders in Lome, among them, the President/Director-General of Togo Bazaar, the Secretary General of the Togolese Chamber of Commerce, and the Director of the John Holt Company. An additional interview was granted by the Administrators of the Association Togolaise Pour le Bien-Etre Familial (ATBEF), a voluntary family planning agency and IPPF affiliate charged with the execution of family planning programs. Four village communities were visited: Anfoin, Boto, Taligbo, and Melly-Djigbe. In these villages, interviews were conducted with the village chiefs and with the village development committee president of Melly-Djigbe. A number of lay persons in the area near the Hotel de la Paix were also selected at random to be interviewed.

The interviews were frank, cordial, and, above all, stimulating. Togolese of all walks of life appeared to enjoy being involved and the interviews provided an appropriate format for this. As in all other African countries where the assessment and analysis have been conducted, the Togo exercise

provided many Togolese with their first forum for ongoing consideration of population issues. It is our opinion that the conduct of such a study generates awareness and provides a basis for an understanding of the implications of current population trends.

At the close of each day of interviews, the responses of each interviewee were summarized, codified, and fed into a response matrix. A summary of the matrix served as the basis for an exit debriefing for AID mission officials.

C. Respondents and Contacts

Government Officials

Mr. Kounoutcho Sossah	Directeur General, Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique
Mr. Jato B. Tcha-Tokey	Directeur, Division du Developpement Communautaire
Mr. Gblibleouw	Directeur, Statistiques Agricoles, Ministere de l'Agriculture
Mr. Kwasi L. Hamkou De Souza	Directeur, Societe Togolaise des Etudes du Developpement
Mr. Koffi Adognon	Directeur, Direction de la Statistique
Mr. Aoudu Bruama	Directeur, Division Demographique, Bureau de la Statistique
Mr. Kodzo Zoland	Directeur, Affaires Sociales, Ministere du Plan
Dr. Dovi Placca	Directeur, Programme Nationale pour le Bien-Etre Familial
Dr. Agbodji B.A. Laison	Directeur, Protection Maternelle et Infantile (PMI)
Mr. Fogan Sossah	Directeur General, Societe Togolaise de Promotion Pour le Developpement (TOGOPROM)
Mr. Houyenga	Ministere de Developpement Rural

Civic Leaders

Mr. Egbemimo Houmey	Administrateur, Association Togolaise Pour le Bien-Etre Familial (ATBWEF)
Mr. Ayi Ajavon	Statisticien-Demographe, Charge de Programme, Federation Internationale Pour La Planification Familiale
Chief Amekpo Afangnibo	Regent Chief, Anfoin Village, Aneho
Chief Boto	Chief of Canton, Taligbo Village
Chief Ekong Kodjo	Sub-Chief of Boto
Mr. Kouendjin Abuiakui	President du Comite de Developpement, Village de Melly-Fjigbe
Mr. Yao Efoe Tonyi	President/Directeur-General, Togo Bazaar, Lome
Mr. Clarence Johnson	Secretaire-General, Chambre de Commerce
Mr. John Badohun	Chambre de Commerce
Mr. M. Agboanou	Chambre de Commerce
Mr. Soji E.	John Holt

Others

Dr. James Sonneman	USAID Expert, Ministry of Health
Dr. Ronald Shwarz	Rural Development Program, Lama-Kara
Mr. Gabriel Madhene	UNFPA Coordinator
Miss Monique Munz	Peace Corps, Lome
Miss Carla Van Blake	Coordinator of Project, International Division, National Council of Negro Women, Inc., Lama-Kara
Mr. Amegan Ayeh Kossi	Agent de Location Auto, Lome
Mr. Amado Kombavi Leon	Location Auto Dialogue, Lome
Mr. Kagdar Ekui Amin	Hotel de la Paix
Mr. Nsougan Ayi	Location Auto Dialogue, Lome
Mr. Fadanyi Dekpo	Boto Village

IV. COUNTRY BACKGROUND

The following information was compiled by Battelle IDSC research staff. It is included in this section as essential background information to readers of this report.

A. Country Profile

Situated on Africa's west coast and surrounded by the Gulf of Guinea, Ghana, Upper Volta, and Benin, Togo stretches 360 miles north from the Gulf and is only 100 miles wide at its broadest point. With a land area of approximately 21,853 square miles, the country consists of savanna plains in a tropical climate. Most of Togo's estimated 2.5 million persons are unevenly distributed in the southern region of the country, near the capital of Lomé. With a crude birth rate of approximately 49 and a crude death rate of 19, Togo's annual rate of natural population increase is 3% (PRB, 1981). Women bear an average of 6.5 children; infant mortality is high (around 100 per 1000 births); and about 45 percent of the population is under 15 years of age.

Togo has 21 major ethnic groups, but the Ewe, Mina, and Kabye tribes are demographically the most dominant. The southern Ewe and Mina tribes have more representation in public administration and commercial activities than other ethnic groups, and the Ewe are the most culturally influential minority. French is the official language of government and commerce, combined with Ewe or Kabye in the public schools, depending on the region. Togo's 21 years of independence have been marked by sporadic political fluctuation. A successful military coup d'état in January 1967, led by Togo's current President, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, brought highly centralized government to Togo.

B. Major Population Issues

Togo's population and development profile must be placed within the context of its acute state of underdevelopment. Subsistence agriculture is the dominant economic activity in Togo, with most Togolese participating only marginally in the cash economy. More than 35 percent of the urban population and 40 percent of the rural population fall below the absolute poverty line, with an average annual per capita income estimated at \$201. Less than 12 percent of all adult Togolese are literate, and provision of health services--with an estimated one doctor per every 16,000 persons--is inadequate. A majority of the population suffers from widespread parasitic and infectious diseases, the most common of which are malaria, measles, amoebiasis, onchocerciasis, schistosomiasis, and yaws. Certain diseases have forced whole populations to migrate out of affected zones; as a result, rural to urban migration is high, accompanied by a higher population density in the southern coastal regions (estimated to be 122 persons/per km² as opposed to 41 persons per km² for the country as a whole).

The limited capacities of the agricultural and industrial sectors cannot keep pace with the growing numbers of migrants in search of work. Rising import bills have outstripped export earnings from phosphates, coffee, and cocoa. Subsequent balance of payment deficits have forced the government to embark upon an austerity program, thus limiting social service outlays.

Therefore, the country's major population and development problems are:

1. a substandard quality of life, which includes high infant mortality, low life expectancy, and a poor health profile;
2. the lack of minimal nutritional intake as a result of diets consisting solely of yams, manioc, millet, and rice;
3. the uneven distribution of population and high urban density, spawned by excessive rural to urban migration; and,
4. an underdeveloped and under-utilized economy, with few skilled laborers and high levels of illiteracy.

C. Official Positions on Population Issues

In May 1976, the government issued a decree giving full legal status to L'Association Togolaise pour le Bien-Etre (ATBEF), a voluntary family planning association affiliated since 1977 with the IPPF. ATBEF is now working closely with the government to establish a nationwide network of family health and family planning services. The government has entrusted the Association with the planning and implementation of its own official family planning program. ATBEF provides clinical services and runs a test and evaluation program. Since 1978, ATBEF has been equipping government health centers and hospitals for family planning services delivery. The Ministries of Health, Social Affairs and Women's Development have delegated responsibility for running the family welfare program to the ATBEF coordinators in each of Togo's six regions. These coordinators organize the efforts of the various government workers involved, distribute their workload, and report progress to a government supervising committee. By the end of 1979, family planning counseling and supplies were provided through family health centers created in each of the country's twenty-one administrative districts.

Aside from family planning efforts, the government considers the rates of natural increase to be satisfactory and prefers to have family planning services offered within a program of expanded health services. The 1976-1980 development plan calls for a reduction in morbidity and mortality rates by maintaining a balance between preventive and curative medicine. In addition, rural development programs such as irrigation projects are being undertaken in order to enable populations to settle in arid zones, thereby decreasing the level of migration from rural to urban areas.

D. External Population Assistance

External multilateral assistance to the government of Togo in the field of population activities has come primarily from the UNFPA. These grants include a comprehensive needs assessment (forthcoming); teacher-training in sex education, funded by UNESCO; a national family health program jointly sponsored by WHO and UNFPA; a law and population program to review and compile selected laws bearing on population and family planning; and, an infant mortality survey and a population census initiated in 1979.

Other non-governmental funding sources include: a proposed Family Planning International Assistance training program in MCH and Family Planning for nurses and mid-wives, and donations of contraceptives; a Ford Foundation grant to the University of Benin, Lomé, for analysis of fertility data; technical assistance by World Neighbors Organization in the area of health and family planning; the previously mentioned assistance from IPPF to the ATBEF; project support from the Pathfinder Fund and the Population Council; and, consultation from the Friends World Committee.

USAID has contributed to the development of the ATBEF and currently has several projects underway in related areas of development; however, no direct population assistance currently exists or is anticipated in the near future.

V. PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

A. Population Trends and Perceived Causes and Consequences of Population Growth

1. Population Trends: According to all Togolese interviewed, the population of the country is growing. Perceptions of a growing population are expressed in relative terms. Respondents discuss trends in terms of rapid expansion of urban centers, increases in the numbers of people per household, and increases in the size of villages as well as the number of persons walking the streets. GOT officials, who are in a position to know, think the population is growing at about 2.6 - 2.7 percent a year. This level of awareness is of course expected of government officials everywhere and should not be conceived as a Togolese phenomena. A more precise picture of population trends in the country is anticipated to follow the proposed national census to be conducted in November of this year.

2. Perceptions of Causes of Population Change: Respondents expressed several views on the reasons for current Togolese population trends. The most often cited reasons include those listed below.

a. Economic Causes: Until a few years ago, Togolese were perceived as a migrant people. They constituted a sizeable portion of the labor force in Ghana, Ivory Coast, Benin, Cameroon, Gabon, Zaire, and the Congo Republic. Respondents characterize that period as one of political and economic depression. Today, most Togolese are returning to the country in large numbers for reasons of improved political, economic, and social conditions at home.

b. Social and Health Causes: Togolese interviewed believe that people today are having fewer children than did their parents. But a majority of the children born today survive to adulthood, which was not the case for the previous generation. As an illustration, a certain respondent claims that his father had 9 wives who bore 55 children of which only six are alive today. He (the respondent) has two wives and eight living children.

Increased child survival rate is attributed to improved sanitary conditions. This has helped to reduce the incidence of infant and general mortality. Childhood and infant diseases (scabbies, yaws, mumps, smallpox, etc.) are now rare.

c. Political causes: Most respondents perceive the spirit of nationalism as a cause for increasing population trends. They contend that during the colonial era, Togolese had been made think of themselves as culturally inferior beings. The desire to have children was inhibited by fear of producing inferior human beings. The modern Togolese no longer feels intimidated by that colonial mentality and is now proud to raise children as Togolese. This explains why the pronatalist feeling is not simply persistent but actually fostered among the people.

Respondents perceive GOT actions as supportive of a pronatalist tradition. GOT policy prescribes financial allowances and benefits to parents for a maximum of six children under 18 years of age. However, when one child outgrows the age restriction for the government welfare program, the parents can substitute for that child by giving birth to another; the newborn will be covered under the program.

Most Togolese find that a family of six children is an ideal size. Preference for this number of children seems to stem from GOT policy and the financial benefits attached to such a policy.

Despite the preference for a six-child family, many Togolese have families larger than this norm. It is estimated that the total fertility rate among Togolese is about 7.5. The population is believed to have increased from 1.5 million in 1971 to between 2.5 and 3 million in 1981. Some GOT technocrats predict that with a current growth rate of 2.7%, and a declining infant mortality rate (from 20% in 1971 to 10% in 1981), the population could stabilize at from 2.6 to 2.7 million in 1990. Togolese officials' prediction of a stationary population is based on their opinion that the GOT policy to redistribute socioeconomic benefits to all people has created awareness about the problems of having a large family. They are convinced that a majority of the people identify large families with strain on their incomes; thus preference for smaller family sizes may be on the rise.

3. Perceptions of Consequences of Population Change: Togo is one among several African countries which have been forced by historical events to become less sensitive to the realities of potential population problems. This position could be appropriately perceived if considered within the proper context elaborated in a later section of this report. In any case, Togolese are less unanimous on the consequences of current population trends. Some of them perceive rapid growth as a positive phenomena. Others associate growth with some socioeconomic problems but think such problems are temporary. A few others have a long-term perspective of the situation and perceive a problematic future, if appropriate precautions are not adopted now to address the problem of growing trends.

a. Economic Consequences: All respondents agree that current economic conditions are inadequate to sustain a rapidly growing population. Every Togolese is experiencing a change in mentality about the need for survival. They are no longer interested in simply surviving, but rather in living a better life and providing a brighter, more comfortable future for their children. This position was aptly described by one respondent, "we of today believe in quality--quality for ourselves and children....but we lack the means to do so....." To develop quality human beings, resources must be made available; but the rapid increase in population absorbs resources which otherwise would be invested into economic production.

- Food production is declining. In 1970, the population of Togo was estimated at 1.9 million. About 1.6 million Togolese were rural and only about 296,000 were urban. Out of the rural

residents, nearly 700,000 were actively engaged in agriculture. It was further estimated that less than 330,000 hectares of land, about 5.8% of total land area, was under cultivation. The average farm household size was 6.1 persons, only 2.6 of whom were actively engaged in farming. Each person therefore cultivated about one-half hectare of land. Today, because of the desire for better lives for their children, most farmers are sending their children to school and fewer young people are engaged in agriculture. Experts estimate the average age of rural farmers to be 48 years. Thus, the increasing average age of farmers (in a country with a life expectancy of 46 years), is perceived as lowering their productivity and accounting for a decline in food production.

- Some respondents perceive increasing population trends, i.e., growth rates, as positive. Increased populations provide more hands for production and thus foster economic development. Members of the business community think that if man is perceived both as a producer and consumer, then increasing the number of people will provide a market for consumer goods.
- Others argue that large families mean more mouths for the head of a household to feed. Given limited and meager incomes as they exist today, large families are a burden. Unemployment is frequently cited as a menacing problem in Lome, the capital. One village chief interviewed revealed that he had 39 children with 19 of them in school. Nine of them completed the equivalent of junior high school; however not one of them has ever been employed since they left school three years ago. The chief, in his frustration, has refused to sponsor the schooling of any of the remaining children because, according to him, there can be no payoff for such an endeavor.

In general, Togo is perceived as currently experiencing very few problems often associated with rapid population growth because the majority of the people live in rural areas and the problems are manifest only at the family and village level. As the population becomes increasingly urbanized, the problems of overcrowding, higher unemployment, crime, slums, etc. will become apparent and perhaps only then will enough public awareness be generated and centered on the consequences of rapid population growth. Already, Lomé, with an estimated population of under 500,000 people, is experiencing a lack of adequate municipal services, such as water supply.

b. Social Consequences: About 45 percent of the Togolese population is under 15 years of age. This age cohort is one perceived by most respondents as contributing to serious economic and social problems. Foremost is the perception that demands by the cohort on health and educational services strain national resources. The strain further inhibits adequate investment into those activities which could make the under-15 youths better citizens.

The demands for education are very high. Respondents assert that the government is committed to providing adequate education to every Togolese youth. However, the educational infrastructure is greatly concentrated in urban areas. They cite instances where the classroom to pupil ratio in some rural areas is 1:235. One reason for the high ratio is the shortage of teachers. Because the educational fees are high, most children in the rural areas can only attend school up to the junior high school level, the level up to which education is free. These dropouts usually end up in Lomé in search of employment. Since the educational system never prepared them either for modern-sector jobs or traditional agricultural occupations, they remain unemployed and are only occasionally absorbed as seasonal workers. Respondents believe and fear such a situation is apt to frustrate youths to the point of open rebellion.

GOT is investing large sums of money on Maternal and Child Health Care Centers (Protections Maternelles et Infantiles, PMIs) to reduce infant and maternal mortality. These services are absorbing enormous proportions of the national budget, leaving only about 75% percent of it for investment in other productive and service activities. Those interviewed contend that if the number of births were reduced, less money would be thus engaged, and could be released for productive economic activities.

The Statistical Office explains that since the advent of colonialists, the Togolese countryside has experienced a great deal of population movement. Astride two powerful ancient Kingdoms, the Ashanti and Fanti to the west in Ghana, and the Yorubas to the east, the Togolese, for lack of a powerful restraining force, were often recruited as indentured laborers and workers for colonial enterprises in Cameroon, Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, and countries in Central Africa. Since then, they have experienced continuous movement in the rural areas. Today, the movement is no longer directed towards the outside, but into the capital city, Lomé. The city is growing at an estimated rate of between 10 and 15 percent a year.

Besides the traditional propensity of the rural Togolese to migrate, respondents postulate that contemporary migration is due to the following.

- Agricultural land is becoming scarce because of encroaching drought conditions in the northern part of the country. Available arable land cannot absorb additional people. Population pressure on the land is rising. The national average density is estimated at 35 people per km², but the density in the Maritime and La Kara agricultural regions is now 80 per km², and 54 per km² respectively. Most youths no longer can be assured a livelihood on the farm, so they migrate to the city.
- Education is tailored towards urban-industrial jobs and does not provide for continuity in agriculture. Thus, most youths migrate

to town after schooling in search of modern-sector jobs. Because the modern sector cannot absorb all those who leave school, most become unemployed or underemployed.

c. Political Consequences: Increasing population, even at a rate of 2.7 percent a year, is regarded by the Togolese as a political bonanza. They often point to neighboring countries like Ghana, Guinea, and Upper Volta to illustrate that political and economic instability have decimated populations in those countries. When a people begin to flee their own country, the respondents assert, it implies a loss of confidence in national institutional systems. Togo, they proudly proclaim, once a labor reserve for Ghana, is now a bread basket for that once-prosperous African nation. Politically, therefore, a rapidly growing population is perceived as a yardstick for national confidence and maturity.

Respondents believe the GOT is aware of the pressures of large families on the wages of the head of household and has decided to come to their assistance by providing welfare benefits to children below the age of 18 (up to a maximum of six) in each family. The mere fact that the government is willing to act on this is a realization of the consequences of rapid population growth. GOT officials involved in population issues cite the fact that if government establishes a limit of six children, it implies acknowledgement on its part of the resource constraints created by excessive numbers of children.

In general, issues are perceived in light of current manifestations and most respondents believe that the worst, in terms of population problems, is behind them. Their rationale is that political and economic stability seem to reign in the country. Therefore, if population problems were contained during the erratic epoch of political and economic insecurity, current conditions provide a better basis for dealing with the problems. Some technocrats, when confronted by statistics which predict a sombre future, explain the circumstances of eminent problems as a function of misdirected national priorities.

B. Attitudes and Opinions on Population Policies and Programs

1. Population Policy: Everyone interviewed agreed that there is no official population policy in Togo designed to address issues of high fertility; high incidence of infant, maternal, and general mortality; and high rates of rural to urban migration. The GOT is perceived to be adopting a pro-natalist policy. Support for dependent children is cited as suggesting the pro-natalist stand of the government.

Three divergent views are expressed with regard to the fact that the GOT has no population policy. The first position taken by about 25% of the respondents is that the current laissez-faire attitude of the government is appropriate because nobody is entitled to legislate the sexual behavior of

human beings. Togolese generally perceive the government as a foreign institution involved in the collection of taxes. Each time the government begins to interfere in personal lifestyles, people associate such interactions with demands.

Fifteen percent of the interviewees expressed a lack of confidence in the effectiveness of national population policies. Reference was made to countries like Ghana, Kenya, and Egypt, where national population policies have been enacted and yet no significant change in birth rates has occurred.

More than 60 percent of respondents feel that the current laissez-faire attitude taken by the government is a prudent approach to the complex problems of population in Togo. As with other issues in developing countries, the majority of those interviewed contend that the government is refraining from proposing a solution before it has understood the basic elements of the problem. Before it designs a policy, the GOT is waiting for appropriate studies to be conducted which would shed some light and understanding on the intricate interrelationships between population and development, and their impact on Togo. In the meantime, the GOT has created the Association Togolaise Pour le Bien-Etre Familial (ATBEF) and is supportive of the activities of this IPPF affiliate.

2. Respondents' Opinions on Feasible Population Policy: Respondents were encouraged to express their opinions as to the types of population activities they felt would constitute feasible components of a national population policy and the sorts of problems such activities might encounter. In analyzing the responses, it was realized that interviewees conceived a national population policy from the narrow perspective of their functional and disciplinary interests. These narrow perspectives have been summarized into three categories to eliminate a "wish list" type reportage.

a. Integrated Population-Development Framework: To most respondents, the basis of an acceptable population policy is the integration of population into a development context. For a majority of Togolese, that foundation is agriculture. Those interviewed suggest that an integrated population and development plan should, in the Togolese context, aim at improvements in agriculture. Primarily, they perceive the initiation of land improvement and reclamation policies, and population redistribution methods as a move towards that objective. According to respondents, this would improve food production and foster better nutritional habits. Improvements in nutritional patterns imply improvements in health conditions of most people and a reduction in infant, maternal and general mortality. The respondents further concede that there is a growing awareness among the middle and upper class Togolese of the desire for smaller families. This awareness is created by improved social and economic conditions of the class. Therefore, given minimal comparative improvement, the rest of the population would become knowledgeable about the advantages of a small family.

b. Population Education Programs: In this category, respondents consider education of the masses on the relationship of population growth to development as a vital component of any policy. People should be educated in such areas as the links between size of farms and level of productivity, and between size of family and productivity; the health implications of large numbers of children on productivity; and, the impact of education on hygiene and sanitary care. GOT technocrats emphasized that any educational programs must be backed by evaluation techniques for assessing program achievements. It is believed that education of the population on these issues would minimize the risk of imposing a population policy on the people and provide understanding for alternatives to traditional dependence of parents on children. For instance, parents who usually depend on children to fetch water from a distant source should be taught about the possibility of collecting water from a tap in front of the home. The understanding of alternative possibilities could generate a desire for fewer children.

c. Programs to Sustain the Desire for Small Families: All segments of the population should be provided various alternative approaches to sustain the desire for small families. Respondents suggest that appropriate family planning information should be diffused through traditional structures when enough awareness has been created. A range of viable fertility limitation procedures should be provided. Studies on traditional birth control methods should be encouraged; and, when proven effective, appropriate forums should be organized to discuss the importance of the methods. Programs to inhibit rural exodus and provide full employment ought to be designed.

Respondents do not perceive any severe problems that might affect the implementation of the above programs. However, they believe that financial constraints and opposition from donor countries or organizations might inhibit or prevent action.

3. International Population Assistance: The Battelle IDSC interview procedure was designed to solicit from respondents suggestions and recommendations on population assistance perceived as acceptable and feasible for Togo. This section of the interview was of significance to the Togolese because it appeared that although several GOT officials had participated in donor population assistance programs as either local technical monitors, executors, or evaluators, very few of them ever had the opportunity to express their opinions on the sorts of population assistance programs they consider appropriate for Togo. Furthermore, most of them have similarly not had the chance to participate in discussions on population issues in general. Thus, for a majority of the officials, they perceived the interview, and this section in particular, as the appropriate medium for expressing their views.

Several respondents were aware of bilateral and multi-lateral population assistance activities going on in the country. Nearly everyone interviewed made reference to the assistance being provided by UNFPA in the area of data collection (including the proposed national census), individual research projects, and a variety of survey-type studies.

The U.S. Agency for International Development was cited as providing assistance for health care delivery systems and rural settlement and development programs. Other agencies referenced were IPPF, UNDP, World Bank, African Development Bank (ABD), UNESCO, and ILO. All respondents acknowledged that assistance programs could be effective if they are responsive to Togolese needs. However, the respondents expressed the opinion that donors should endeavor to be sensitive to the pertinent issues confronting the country. As long as population assistance is designed to address problems conceptualized by donors, the programs will have little impact on the people who should benefit from them.

GOT officials suggested that the perception that USAID "...is a handout to your poor, helpless and needy people....therefore you must do what we want or we will not give it to you," was widespread, and that this type of image is creating an unhealthy situation in government and private circles.

There was unanimity on the kinds of population activities which respondents believe could and should be funded by the international donor community, as well as on how long such activities should last and how they can best be administered. The activities favored include the following.

a. Assistance Designed to Integrate Population and Development in Togo: Respondents feel that assistance programs are often concentrated in urban areas. Urban residents, they suggest, have a problem of access to services defined only by socioeconomic capability. But for the 90 percent of the total population resident in rural areas, the problem is different. Not only do rural residents lack these services, but there is not enough attention being paid to analyzing specifically rural problems and how to solve them. Therefore, assistance programs should be designed to provide improved understanding, services, and access in rural areas. Such programs must be developed as integral components of comprehensive rural development projects. An assistance program repeatedly acclaimed is the USAID well project in northern Togo. This is perceived as a model assistance program which interconnects population and development and responds to a basic need. The wells provide water for households and agricultural farms; they anticipate that the provision of water will impact on the health of individuals and agricultural production. However, they oppose the strategy of a U.S. firm being brought into the country to dig the wells without the provision that the firm train local people to continue the task after expiration of the contract.

Respondents think that assistance programs in the domain of water supply for the arid regions in the north should be extended and local individuals taught the art of well-digging. This is necessary to establish continuity in the program.

In addition, as part of an integrated program, assistance programs should develop technical skills in the rural areas. People should be taught improved farming methods, marketing skills, cooperative saving, investment, and production schemes. Development of these skills, they believe, will improve productivity and reduce rural to urban migration.

Population assistance activities designed to respond to specific regional needs are preferred to national assistance activities. Regional priorities are variant but pertinent to the extent that when programs are designed on a national scale, there is often a tendency for uniformity and this oftentimes smothers the pertinent variant attributes.

b. Population Assistance for Research: The GOT is dependent on statistical and systematic information for the implementation of certain vital schemes. Most often the desired information is lacking. Respondents think that assistance should be directed towards applied research in population and development. They are opposed to research activities whose results do not impact on current development priorities. Donor agencies must coordinate their research efforts and avoid duplication. In particular, respondents suggest that applied research be directed towards issues such as methods of improving job opportunities; reasons for high unemployment among the youths; ways to change attitudes of women toward family planning, traditional healing and family planning methods; and traditional diffusion channels. Emphasis should be placed on research that would increase understanding of these problems.

Except in the villages (where respondents requested service-delivery assistance for schools, health and maternity clinics, electricity, and industries), a majority of GOT technocrats prefer programs that would assist the Togolese to help themselves and to be what they want to be. A famous Chinese saying was repeatedly quoted by each official, "Don't give us rice, but teach us how to grow rice." Overall, however, the Togolese have a positive attitude toward aid. They believe nothing can be achieved in the country without foreign assistance. Consistent with the notion of self-help assistance programs, the respondents suggested that long-term programs as opposed to short-term assistance projects be emphasized.

Except where local expertise is lacking, the Togolese want to design and execute the programs themselves. They also want the opportunity to request, and approve, foreign experts. Most experts who have come into Togo have been inexperienced many times using their assignment in Togo to acquire basic skills. Respondents were critical of USAID for not providing training for local people.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR U.S. POPULATION ASSISTANCE: THE BATTELLE IDSC PERSPECTIVE

Battelle IDSC recommendations on population assistance to Togo are designed to help USAID understand the country's continuing capacity to express its needs and assess its population trends and levels. The recommendations also provide USAID with a feeling for the population assistance priorities of the people of Togo. It is hoped that the understanding will encourage USAID to harmonize assistance with official GOT priorities and objectives of national development.

The Republic of Togo's overall planning objective is to secure economic growth through agricultural production and it is achieving considerable success. Over 80 percent of the labor force is engaged in agriculture or agro-related activities, although less than 6 percent of the total land area is cultivated. The country is highly vulnerable to fluctuations in rainfall, and previous droughts have brought hardship and depressed the rate of economic growth below the rate of population growth.

Togo's high growth rate is beginning to cause concern among GOT officials, as are the problems associated with unemployment, rural to urban migration, infant and maternal mortality, and the differences between the regions in their share of available services in education, health, transportation networks, water supply, and so forth.

The Battelle IDSC team feels strongly that Togolese policy-makers need to start thinking seriously about appropriate measures for addressing these problems. However, the team understands that the formulation and content of a population policy are a government prerogative and, therefore, a political decision. Ideally, a population policy implies that the government has assessed the population situation in the country and has set certain objectives which it hopes to achieve through that policy. What this team hopes to do is to provide recommendations that can perhaps direct USAID population assistance to the policy decision-making process if designed action programs are to be relevant and feasible. This kind of assistance would help Togo to achieve self-reliance in handling its population problems.

A. Basic Population Data and Research on Population Dynamics

A fundamental obstacle to the formulation of population policy in Togo is the lack of adequate evidence on the impact of demographic growth on national socioeconomic development initiatives (see Appendix B). Togo urgently needs assistance in order to:

- develop accurate basic population and population change data from which reliable and detailed projections can be made;
- develop a clear understanding of the implications of rapid population growth for various social and economic questions, such as migration rates and patterns, employment, health services, per capita income, individual and family welfare, etc.;

- understand the determinants of the three basic factors of population change--fertility, mortality, and migration;
- help Togolese achieve a better understanding of factors affecting regional population change and hence population distribution and human settlement; and,
- ensure the training of more people in population-related fields to strengthen the existing staff in the Bureau of Statistics, National Institute of Scientific Research, and statistical units of all Ministries.

B. Population Policy Formulation

Togo needs assistance to initiate the process of population policy formulation. GOT officials are not in a position to propose a well-informed, relevant, and feasible population policy. In the absence of a national institution similar to the National Population Commission in Nigeria or Senegal, USAID assistance is needed to organize workshops, symposia, and seminars to generate policy awareness on the issues. These activities must always conclude with a well-defined set of recommendations for addressing major population issues. Seminars could be organized around topics such as migration, fertility, mortality, marriage patterns, nutrition, breast-feeding, and, traditional and modern contraceptive practices.

C. Integrated Population and Development

The present attempts to integrate population and development, specifically in the area of maternal and child health programs, are at best ambiguous.

Maternal/child health/family planning programs are a step in the right direction, but as it has already been pointed out, there is no official stand on the concept of slowing the rate of population growth. However, GOT has established ATBEF to meet the needs of those who want family planning services, and PMI's to provide basic maternal and child health care. And yet, there is still a gap between tolerating family planning and actively promoting its practice. (The more affluent have options in regard to family planning which are not available to the poor, primarily, access to services in urban locations, and money to acquire them if payment is necessary.) USAID should for the moment refrain from over-emphasizing family planning because this might, instead, increase the level of discrepancies between services and usage. Assistance should be provided to improve PMI's and make them available to rural populations.

- Studies on the effects of migration, employment, breast-feeding on fertility should be supported.
- Support should also be given for socioeconomic studies examining such subjects as the role of the child in the various sub-groups of Togolese society, the effect of urbanization on family size, and, the role of the extended family in a situation of unemployment and need.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION I - TENDANCES DE LA POPULATION

1. Pouvez-vous nous parler des tendances de la population togolaise?

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.....

2. Quelles sont les différences et ressemblances des tendances de la population togolaise avec celles des pays voisins ?

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SECTION II - CAUSES DES TENDANCES DE LA POPULATION

1. Quels sont les facteurs qui expliquent les tendances de la population togolaise?

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.....
.....

SECTION III - CONSEQUENCES DES TENDANCES DE LA POPULATION

1. Quels sont les effets des tendances que vous avez citées plus haut dans le pays ? Par exemple, quels sont les effets sur :

- a) la croissance économique
- b) l'agriculture
- c) l'urbanisation
- d) l'énergie
- e) l'environnement

- f) la santé
- g) l'éducation
- h) l'intégration des femmes dans le développement en général
-
- i) l'habitat
- j) les emplois
- k) les services sociaux
- l) autres ?

SECTION IV - POLITIQUE DE POPULATION

1. On parle beaucoup de nos jours de politique de population. Est-ce que le Togo a une politique de population ? Si oui, pouvez-vous en parler ?
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2. Quel est votre opinion face à cette politique ?
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3. Dans le cadre d'un plan de développement réel, quelles sortes de programmes de population sont réalisables au Togo?
.....
.....
4. Quels sont les problèmes que ces programmes pourraient rencontrer ?
.....
.....

SECTION V - ACTIVITES DE L'ASSISTANCE INTERNATIONALE EN POPULATION

1. Décrivez-nous les programmes de l'assistance internationale en population (bilatéral ou multilatéral) que reçoit votre pays :
.....
.....
.....

2. Cette assistance répond-elle à vos besoins ?
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.....
.....

3. Quelles sortes de programmes d'assistance internationale en population seraient les plus adéquats selon vous pour résoudre vos problèmes à court, moyen et long termes ?
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4. Selon vous, à qui doit être confiée la responsabilité de ces programmes ?
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APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Demographic Profile

Population Estimate [Mid-1980]	2.5 mil.
Birth Rate	49
Death Rate	19
Rate of Increase	3.0%
Number of Years to Double Population	23
Project Population 2000	4.7 mil.
Infant Mortality Rate	163
Total Fertility Rate	6.7
Population Under Age 15	46%
Population Over Age 64	3%
Life Expectancy	46
Urban Population	15%
Projected Ultimate Population Size	11.9 mil.
Per Capita Gross National Product	\$201
Female Population	1.3 mil.
Female Population (15-49)	567
Female Population in Union (15-49)	459
Female Singulate Mean Age at Marriage	17
Percent Women (15-49)	66
Percent Women in Union (20-24)	93

Official policy to support family planning for other than demographic reasons.

Sources: Population Reference Bureau. 1980. World Population Data Sheet. Washington, D.C.: PRB.
Population Reference Bureau. 1980. Family Planning and Marriage. Washington, D.C.: PRB.