The Flap Over Replacement Migration

A draft report on replacement migration by the UN Population Division has captured the attention—and raised the eyebrows—of international audiences. The report’s projections, that over the next 50 years the populations of virtually all countries of Europe as well as Japan will face population decline and population aging, are not surprising. Its conclusion, however—that these twin challenges may require huge influxes of immigrants—has prompted swift reaction from across Europe and Asia.

*Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?* analyzes international migration that a country would need to offset population decline, offset declines in the working-age population, and maintain current ratios of workers to the over-65 population. The report examines replacement migration for eight low-fertility countries—France, Germany, Italy, Japan, South Korea, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States—and for Europe and the European Union.

![Migrants Needed by 2050 to Maintain the Ratio of Workers to Older People](chart)

Among its startling projections:
- The European Union’s population, which in 1995 was some 100 million larger than that of the United States, in 2050 will be

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Health Experts Make Case for Environmental Justice

*by Charles Dervarics*

A growing movement known as “environmental justice” has sought to ensure that no particular segment of the population, such as minority groups, bears a disproportionate share of exposure to environmental hazards. But demonstrating environmental “injustice” requires data, and studies up to now have been infrequent and—some say—flawed.

Environmental justice first received attention in the 1980s following several studies on toxic waste sites in poor communities of the South. The issue gained visibility in the 1990s as environmentalists joined with the U.S. Congressional Black Caucus and others to highlight toxic waste issues facing minority communities. President Clinton joined the effort when he issued a 1994

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UN Accused of ‘Demographism’  Continued from page 1

Developing countries have asked for analysis of the sources of migration.

smaller than the U.S. population by roughly 20 million.

In South Korea, to maintain the ratio of working-age population to the population ages 65 years and older at the 1995 level, 5.1 billion immigrants—virtually the world’s current total population—would have to enter the country from 1995 through 2050. (The worker-retiree ratio is currently high—12.6, compared with Germany’s 4.4.)

At the March annual meeting of the Population Association of America (PAA) in Los Angeles, demographers discussed the report.

Some maintained that the report contains nothing new. In response, Joseph Chamie, director of the UN Population Division, said that policymakers and government officials still have not taken projections of population aging and population decline seriously and that the public still does not grasp the implications of these expected trends. “What will happen,” he asked, “when the construction industry realizes that a shrinking and aging population won’t need new houses?”

But many took exception to the recommendations. David Coleman, reader in demography at the University of Oxford, called the report and the effort to compile it a good example of “demographism,” which he defined as an excessive reliance on narrow demographic statistics relating to the numbers of people, without regard to their characteristics and without regard to the consequences of such population change on social and political structures, community relations, or social cohesion. He pointed out that aging is not necessarily a bad thing because societies today and in the future can better cope with a lower support ratio by increasing labor productivity.

Antonio Golini, professor of demography at the University La Sapienza in Rome, said that immigration is necessary, especially for countries like Italy, to meet the exigencies of the labor market. “But it cannot be massive,” he said, “because of the presence in Europe of old minorities.”

Shigemi Kono, professor of demography at Reitaku University in Japan, offered alternatives to massive immigration. He suggested that small-scale industries should “abandon their easy and indulgent dependence on foreign workers.” He added that creating more opportunities for women and older workers could cut the reliance on immigrants to fill jobs in small-scale industry.

Outside of PAA, environmentalists have expressed frustration with the report. ECOPPOP, an organization based in Switzerland, estimates that Western and Central Europe’s carrying capacity is 300 million people, living at a more modest consumption level than the current population of 445 million. “With the region already overpopulated, massive immigration cannot be a solution to these problems,” wrote ECOPPOP Secretary André Welti, who called the report “absurd.”

Meanwhile, Chamie is heartened, rather than subdued, by the continuing flood of calls, letters, e-mails, and media coverage—some of it critical. He welcomes the comments, though he called some of them unscientific. “[Jean-Marie] Le Pen’s [National Front] party in France sees the report as a recipe for cultural genocide. Others accuse us of ‘North Americanism.’ … Many people just don’t want to talk about migration,” he said.

Chamie emphasized the positive. The report, he said, unites many population subfields—declining fertility, increasing longevity, aging, international migration, projections—and this diversity of perspectives is useful for formulating population policy responses. He has received requests from Austria, Denmark, Norway, Poland, and Spain to include those countries in the final version of the report. And policymakers in developing countries have asked for additional analysis of the sources of the massive migration. They fear a large-scale exodus from their countries, draining away technical knowledge and causing social disruption. While Chamie said the report will be modified only slightly before it is finalized, he said it was possible that the UN Population Division would issue a series of related reports in answer to these requests.

Whatever the reaction to the report, it seems clear that if birth rates in the low-fertility countries do not increase, heightened immigration will hold more appeal than absolute decline.

—Allison Tarmann

For More Information:
This is the third in a series of profiles of the people who have most influenced thinking about population over the past century. The profiles bring you the insights of contemporary population specialists on the contributions of their predecessors and contemporaries.

Although Alan F. Guttmacher spent his professional life as a physician specializing in obstetrics and gynecology, and later in family planning, he was foremost a humanist, driven by a belief in the immense social value of medicine. Twenty-five years after his death, Alan Guttmacher is well-remembered for his teaching, his leadership in the early birth control movement, and his social consciousness.

Early in his career, as an obstetrician at The Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Guttmacher noted a disparity in fertility rates among his patients of differing socioeconomic status. He realized that women without access to private physicians also lacked access to contraceptive information and services. Guttmacher joined the birth control movement and began to promote family planning, which he considered “an urgent, democratic form of medicine.”

In 1933, Guttmacher published the first of a series of books for lay people. These books served to educate several generations of women—first about pregnancy and delivery and later about contraception, abortion, and infertility—at a time when reproductive anatomy and physiology were solely the domain of the physician. His works displease many of his colleagues, who found it professionally displeasing for a doctor to write for a lay audience.

In 1952, Guttmacher moved from Baltimore to New York to become director of obstetrics and gynecology at Mount Sinai Hospital.

In New York, Guttmacher attempted to introduce contraceptives into municipal hospitals, which provided the majority of medical services to low-income women. He was unsuccessful, however, and discovered that a heavy-handed, but unwritten, policy prohibited physicians at municipal hospitals from providing contraceptive services or referring women elsewhere for services. The commissioner of hospitals, appointed by the mayor, asserted that birth control was not the responsibility of a city hospital and declared the issue untouchable; the health department claimed no jurisdiction in matters related to contraceptives.

Guttmacher and several colleagues led a campaign to overturn the ban. The New York Post, which exposed the ban and reported on the campaign, ran this statement by Guttmacher in July 1958: “New Yorkers who can afford the services of a private physician or private hospital have no difficulty in obtaining competent instruction in contraception. I wish to speak on behalf of the thousands of women who are discriminated against in our great municipal hospitals by this prohibition. Must this type of backward medicine be perpetuated?”

The campaign not only succeeded in New York City, but also laid the groundwork for the provision of family planning services by public health agencies throughout the country in the 1960s and later for the establishment of the Title X program.

In 1962, Guttmacher became president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, a position he held until his death.

In the late 1960s, as congressional interest in establishing national and international family planning programs grew, Guttmacher saw the need to provide data for the development of policy. In 1968, he founded the Center for Family Planning Program Development, a division of Planned Parenthood. After his death, the center was renamed The Alan Guttmacher Institute.

Guttmacher changed the way physicians and the public thought about access to contraceptives. He helped legitimize family planning in medical education and clinical services.

For More Information:
executive order urging federal agencies to ensure that minority communities no longer suffer discrimination in the development of environmental regulations. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) began to pursue civil rights complaints alleging that states acted in a discriminatory manner when issuing permits for chemical and manufacturing plants.

As the movement gained strength, so did the desire for additional evidence. One study, published in 1994 by the Center for Policy Alternatives in Washington, D.C., stated that people of color were 47 percent more likely than whites to live near toxic waste sites. The authors reached their conclusions by breaking down toxic release information by zip code, and then analyzing the racial composition of areas with the highest concentration of toxins.

The report also revealed problems in the South and Midwest. In Mississippi, people of color represented 64 percent of residents near toxic facilities—but just 37 percent of the state population. In Kansas, minorities were 12 percent of the population but represented 34 percent of those living near toxic sites.

The Institute of Medicine, a research arm of the National Academy of Sciences, published a report in 1999 that called for more data on the issue yet concluded that residents of these areas face a “double jeopardy”—higher exposure to potential environmental problems and lack of resources and political muscle to curb pollution.

**Flawed Data?**

Marty Halper, senior science advisor in the EPA Office of Environmental Justice, claims the findings of the major studies done to date are not very accurate and are of “little help in establishing causal relationships.” Halper stated that many of the studies used address data from the EPA’s Resource Conservation and Recovery Act Information System, and those addresses—of landfills, storage facilities, and transfer stations that have permits for dealing with hazardous wastes—often represented corporate offices, rather than the locations of facilities.

Halper also criticized studies for equating proximity to a facility with actual exposure. Most studies, he said, take a single point for a facility, draw a circle an arbitrary distance from the source of emissions, and then estimate who lives within the circle. “Zip code studies tend to be the most inaccurate,” he said, because they do not consider where the population is in relation to a facility. In addition, the boundaries of census data do not match up with the boundaries of the zip code area. Attempts to correct errors associated with nonmatching boundaries introduce large errors because minority and low-income groups are not likely to be distributed homogeneously across blocks.

In many studies, the error introduced by bad location data and lack of boundary matching means “the error is greater than the significance of the results,” said Halper. He recommended reorienting studies to look at health disparities and their causes. “Much of the difference we are seeing may be the result of differences in vulnerability... We probably shouldn’t be putting any facilities in these [low-income and minority] areas because the effects will be more severe,” he said.

**Outlook for Action**

This issue is gaining a place on research agendas. The Institute of Medicine has suggested improved collection of environmental health information, with links to specific populations and communities; more training for local health professionals; and greater involvement by communities in cleanup discussions.

The EPA is also moving ahead. Halper indicated that the meeting in May of the EPA’s National Environmental Justice Advisory Council would further explore questions such as how to do community-based health studies and how to increase the level of participation of various health-related agencies in research.

Meanwhile, environmental advocates such as the Interim National Black Environmental and Economic Justice Coordinating Committee (INBEEJCC) have declared a national state of emergency on environmental racism and economic injustice. Kim Freeman, an analyst with the Washington, D.C.-based Preamble Center, which belongs to the INBEEJCC, noted that while the issue is vital for low-income, minority areas today, other communities face future risks. “What’s in their backyard today,” she said, “may be in our front yard tomorrow.”

**For More Information:**


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Charles Dervarics is a Washington, D.C.-based freelance writer.
Aging Japan Cuts Pensions
With a population that is rapidly becoming the oldest in the world, Japan has cut pensions by 5 percent to prevent its pension system from going bankrupt. According to the London-based newspaper *The Daily Telegraph*, the cut will take effect immediately and will be accompanied by gradual increases in the age of retirement. Although the measure was controversial, the numbers made urgent action imperative. The country’s falling birth rate over the last 50 years (the 1999 total fertility rate was 1.4) has transformed the country into one in which those age 65 and over account for more than 16 percent of the population. Without the reform, workers would have been unable to support these elderly citizens. As a result of the reform, workers would have accounted for more than 16 percent of salaries by 2025, according to the report.

U.S. Births Rise for the First Time Since 1990
According to a recent publication of the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS), rising birth rates for women in their 20s and 30s are the primary factors contributing to a 2 percent increase in U.S. births from 1997 to 1998, the first absolute increase since 1990. Total births in 1998 numbered 3.9 million. The overall birth rate for teens aged 15 to 19 dropped 2 percent between 1997 and 1998—down to 44.3 births per 1,000 teens—while the rate for married women ages 15 to 44 rose by 1 percent, to 51.1 births per 1,000 married women. Still, this rate is 6 percent below its highest level—51.4 in 1976. Twin and higher-order multiple births continued to rise, by 6 percent and 13 percent, respectively. This finding was associated with an upswing in the levels of preterm and low birthweight births.

The proportion of women beginning prenatal care in the first trimester rose slightly, from 82.5 percent in 1997 to 82.8 percent in 1998, representing a ninth consecutive year of increase.

Cigarette smoking during pregnancy declined to 12.9 percent. But tobacco use by pregnant teenagers, particularly non-Hispanic black teens, continued to rise.

For a copy of “Births: Final Data for 1998,” visit the NCHS Web site: www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nsv48_3.pdf. Or contact the NCHS Division of Data Services, 6525 Belcrest Road, Hyattsville, MD 20782-2003; phone 301/458-4636. For more data from the report, see “Speaking Graphically” on page 7.

Lawmakers Encourage Law Breakers
On Census Day, April 1, Census Bureau Director Kenneth Prewitt rebuked congressional Republicans and others who have urged Americans not to complete the Census 2000 long form. At a news conference, Prewitt said: “To tell the American people not to complete their form is to tell them to break the law” that mandates participation.

Radio talk show hosts and members of Congress, including Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., have criticized the long form’s questions on plumbing, income, disability, and other subjects. Lott and others have urged the estimated 16 percent of Americans who receive food aid to mail back the long form to “break the law.” That mandate participation.

As of April 11, 62 percent of U.S. households had returned their questionnaires. But the response rate for the long form was 10 percentage points below that for the short form in early April. The 1990 census had a return rate of 65 percent for mailed surveys; the rate was 78 percent in 1970 and 75 percent in 1980.

In March, the U.S. Census Monitoring Board released a report analyzing the potential impact of a census undercount on distribution of federal funds. The report, prepared by PriceWaterhouseCoopers LLP, projects the net national undercount rate for the 2000 census will be 1.75 percent of the population, or 5 million people. This undercount could result in the loss of some $9.1 billion in funding by 26 states and the District of Columbia from 2002 to 2012, according to the report. Effect of Census 2000 Undercount on Federal Funding to States and Local Areas, 2002-2012 is available on the presidential board members’ Web site: www.cmbp.gov. (For more data from the report, see “Spotlight Statistic” on page 7.)

Famine Threatens 16 Million in the Horn of Africa
The UN warns that a drought on the scale of the one that ravaged the Horn of Africa 15 years ago is underway, putting 16 million people at risk of starvation. Large numbers of refugees have exacerbated food shortages in Ethiopia (the hardest hit), Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda.

UN emergency relief coordinator Carolyn McAskie indicated that food aid relief needed over the next three to six months would cost $205 million. A UN interagency appeal earlier this year for $190 million to cover food aid to Ethiopians has so far received just half that amount.

The 1984-1985 famine in Ethiopia killed almost 1 million people.
The Graying of Farmers

by Montague Yudelman and Laura J.M. Kealy

A major issue for the delegates at last year’s meeting of the World Trade Organization in Seattle was the impact of free trade and the globalization of agriculture. Up for discussion were tariffs, domestic supports, and export subsidies—erected primarily by more-developed countries to protect their farming constituencies, and damaging to less-developed countries’ prospects for gaining from global trade—and exemptions sought by less-developed countries for their agricultural exports.

The parties’ negotiating positions stem partly from the demographics of farmers and agricultural workers. Some policymakers in rich countries are concerned about the possible impact of freer international trade on the disappearance of the family farm and lifestyles of their older farmers. Policymakers in developing countries are also concerned about the long-run effects of free trade in agricultural products on the security and livelihoods of their farm populations, most of whom will continue to be small-scale producers with limited alternative opportunities.

Farmers are older than the population at large (see table). The proportion of farmers over age 65 in the United States, Canada, Japan, and South Korea is much higher than the proportion of the total population over 65 years of age. In addition, the average age of full-time farmers in those four countries is much higher than that of the labor force in general. In the United States in 1998, the average age of the civilian labor force was 38, while that of full-time farmers was 57. The United States, Canada, and Japan are high-income countries with “old” populations, while South Korea is a middle-income country in transition from having a “young” population to having an “old” population.

But structural changes taking place in agriculture in the richer countries may alter the demographic profile of farming. The average size of holdings is increasing as producers attempt to capture economies of scale so that they can compete in the market-driven global economy. Vertical integration—the extension of a company’s control to all the economic steps in the production of a product from raw material to retail purchase—also is increasing in poultry, hog, and dairy production, once the domain of family farms. It may well be that many more farms operated by families will give way to agroindustrial enterprises managed by professional managers. In this event, the number of full-time farmers will continue to diminish, and the average age of farmers may decline as well. In light of these trends, richer countries are apt to favor ever-more-open trade.

The developing countries of Asia and Africa may favor less open trade. The populations of these countries, now relatively young, will age in the years ahead. The proportion of people in rural areas will continue to decline, and farmers will age. These changes may well create a dilemma for governments that differs from those confronting the rich countries of today. These poorer countries will not be in a position to provide a financial safety net for the increasing numbers of older rural dwellers. Consequently, governments will be pressured to adopt inward-looking agricultural policies to promote subsistence agriculture with its traditional family support systems, including subsidizing inputs and offering protection from competition. Such policies, though, would be inconsistent with the outward-looking market-oriented policies promoted by the World Bank and others to promote national food security in a competitive global economy. Thus, the graying of the farm population will add another dimension to the debate on how best to provide food security for all—including older farmers and their families.

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Montague Yudelman is chairman of PRB’s Board of Trustees and a senior fellow at the World Wildlife Fund. He is a former director of agriculture and rural development at the World Bank. Laura J.M. Kealy is a former PRB intern.

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### Full-Time Farmers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Farmers (millions)</th>
<th>Average Age of Farmers</th>
<th>Farmers 65 &amp; Older (%)</th>
<th>Population 65 &amp; Older (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadaa</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Based on authors’ estimates.*


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Laura J.M. Kealy is a former PRB intern.
Hispanics’ Contribution to U.S. Fertility: A Composite

The U.S. total fertility rate (TFR)—the average number of children a woman would have given prevailing birth rates—was 2.06 in 1998, still below “replacement” level. (That level, 2.10, is the rate at which a given generation can exactly replace itself.)

TFRs, however, differed substantially among and within racial and ethnic groups. For whites, the rate was 2.04; for blacks, 2.17; for American Indians including Aleuts and Eskimos, 2.09; and for Asians or Pacific Islanders, 1.87.

Hispanics, who may be of any race, had a collective TFR of 2.95—much higher than the 1.92 rate for non-Hispanics. But their individual TFRs showed wide variation, depending on ethnic origin.

Goodbye ‘Metropolitan’?

Since 1949, the Office of Management and Budget has defined metropolitan areas for statistical purposes, such as the allocation of federal funding. The first areas defined were called standard metropolitan areas.

The metropolitan area standards have been reviewed and revised several times since the first areas were defined. Now most individual metropolitan areas are called metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs). Some of the largest areas are called consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (CMSAs), composed of primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs). And some metros have unwieldy titles such as Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County.

A review underway has produced recommendations for creating core-based statistical areas (CBSAs), built not on central cities of 50,000 or more, but on urbanized areas (UAs) of 50,000 or more and on smaller areas of 10,000 or more called settlement clusters. A UA is not a city proper (with a government), but a continuously built-up territory with a given population density. Settlement clusters, proposed for Census 2000, also are based on density but are smaller than UAs.

Under the current definition, the New York PMSA consists of just the city itself and a few suburban counties. The CMSA encompasses no fewer than 15 PMSAs, some of which have names like Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, and Nassau-Suffolk.

The new New York CBSA would be larger than the current PMSA. Although that new view of New York might make sense to many, the loss of identity for some smaller nearby cities, currently in separate PMSAs, may be jarring.

The new terminology may be even more unsettling. Under the proposed system, CBSAs with a core of 1 million or more population will be called “megapolitan” areas. The next rung down—a core of 50,000 to 999,999—will become “macropolitan.” Finally, the newest, littlest areas—not included now at all—will get the dubious moniker of “micropolitan.” At the very least, computer spell checkers will stop and take notice.