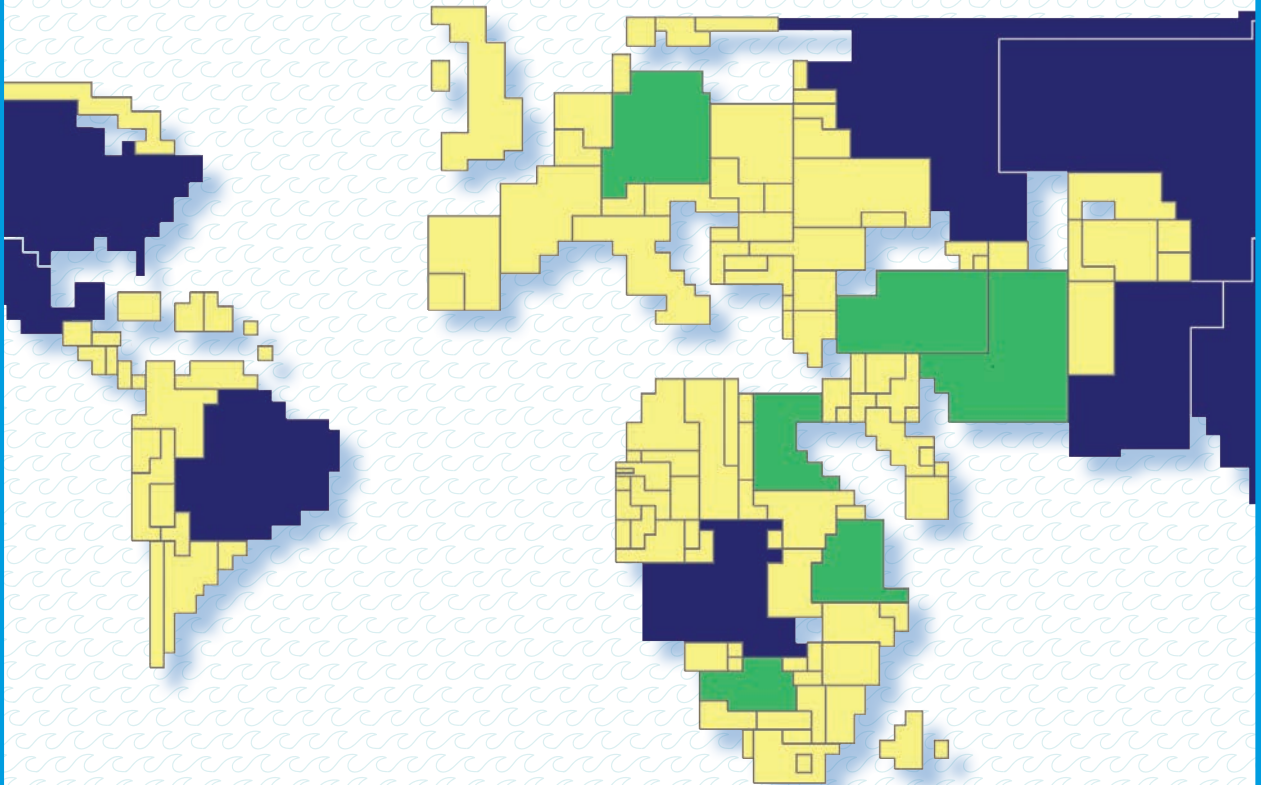


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Population

An Introduction to Concepts and Issues



John R. Weeks

POPULATION

POPULATION

An Introduction to Concepts and Issues
Thirteenth Edition

John R. Weeks
San Diego State University



Australia • Brazil • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

***Population: An Introduction to
Concepts and Issues, Thirteenth Edition***
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WCN: 02-300

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2019913245

Student Edition:

ISBN-13: 978-0-357-36057-6

ISBN-10: 0-357-36057-5

Loose-leaf Edition:

ISBN: 978-0-357-03631-0

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To Deanna

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PREFACE

I wrote this book with a wide audience in mind because I find that students in my classes come from a wide range of academic disciplines and bring with them an incredible variety of viewpoints and backgrounds. No matter who you are, demographic events are influencing your life, and the more you know about them, the better able you will be to navigate through life.

When I think about population growth in the world, I conjure up an image of a bus hurtling down the highway toward what appears to be a cliff. The bus is semi-automatic and has no driver in charge of its progress. Some of the passengers on the bus are ignorant of what seems to lie ahead and are more worried about whether the air conditioning is turned up high enough or wondering how many snacks they have left for the journey. Other, more alert, passengers are looking down the road, but some of them think that what seems like a cliff is really just an optical illusion and is nothing to worry about; some think it may just be a dip, not really a cliff. Those who think it is a cliff are trying to figure out how to apply the brakes, knowing that a big bus takes a long time to slow down even after the brakes are put on.

Are we headed toward a disastrous scenario? We don't really know for sure, but we simply can't afford the luxury of hoping for the best. The population bus is causing damage and creating vortexes of social, economic, political, and environmental change as it charges down the highway, whether or not we are heading for the cliff. The better we understand its speed and direction, the better we will be at steering it and managing it successfully. No matter how many stories you have heard about the rate of population growth coming down or about the end of the population explosion, the world is projected by demographers at the United Nations and other organizations to add two or three billion more to the current count of almost eight billion before it stops growing. Huge implications for the future lie in that growth in numbers.

The world's population is growing because death rates have declined over the past several decades at a much faster pace than birth rates have, and as we go from the historical pattern of high birth and death rates to the increasingly common pattern of low (or even very low) birth and death rates, we pass through the demographic transition. This is actually a whole set of transitions relating to changes in health and mortality, fertility, migration, age structure, urbanization, and family and household structure. Each of these separate, but interrelated, changes has serious

consequences for the way societies and economies work, and for that reason they have big implications for you personally. Over time, these transitions have evolved in ways that vary from one part of the world to another, so their path and progress are less predictable than we once thought, but we have good analytical tools for keeping track of them and potentially influencing them. My goal in this book is to provide you with those tools so that you have a better understanding of how the world works.

The growth in numbers (the bus hurtling toward what we hope is not a cliff) and the transitions and evolutions created in the process (the vortex created by the passing bus) have to be dealt with simultaneously, and our success as a human civilization depends on how well we do in this project. A lot is at stake here, so another of my aims is to provide you with as much insight as possible into the ways in which these demographic trends of growth, transition, and evolution affect your life in large and small ways.

Over the years, I have found that most people are either blissfully unaware of the enormous impact of population growth and change on their lives, or they are nearly overwhelmed whenever they think of population growth because they have heard so many horror stories about impending doom, or, increasingly, they have heard that population growth is ending and thus assume that the story has a happy ending. This latter belief is in many ways the scariest, because the lethargy that develops from thinking that the impact of population growth is a thing of the past is exactly what will lead us to doom. My purpose in this book is to shake you out of your lethargy (if you are one of those types), without necessarily scaring you in the process. I will introduce you to the basic concepts of population studies and help you develop your own demographic perspective, enabling you to understand some of the most important issues confronting the world. My intention is to sharpen your perception of population growth and change, to increase your awareness of what is happening and why, and to prepare you to cope with (and help shape) a future that will be shared with billions more people than there are today.

How Is the Book Organized?

In order to help you understand how the world works demographically in more detail, the book is organized into three parts, each building on the previous one. There is a story to tell here, and though each chapter can stand on its own, you'll understand its meaning much more if you've absorbed the previous chapters. The first part of the book is called "A Demographic Perspective." The first chapter is designed to introduce you to the field of population studies and illustrate why this is such an important topic. The term "demographics" is widely used, but most people using the term have only a limited understanding of the scope and depth of demography. This chapter reviews world population trends, so that you have a good idea of what is happening in the world demographically, how we got to this point, and where we seem to be heading. The second chapter provides you with a background on the kinds of demographic data that we use in order to build our understanding

of the world. These data can also be applied to a variety of practical uses in political, social, and business planning, and I show you how that is done. The third chapter introduces you to the major perspectives and theories about population growth and change, so that you have a clear idea of how to use demographic data to test theories about what is happening in the world.

In Part Two, “Population Processes,” I discuss four of the basic demographic processes whose transitions are transforming the world—the health and mortality transition (Chapter 4), the fertility transition (Chapter 5), the migration transition (Chapter 6), and the closely related urban transition (Chapter 7). Knowledge of these population processes and transitions provides you with the foundation you need to understand why changes occur and what might be done about them.

Part Three, “Using the Demographic Perspective,” is devoted to studying the interaction of the population processes and societal changes that occur as fertility, mortality, migration, and urbanization change the structure of society. All of the transitions discussed in Part Two come together under what I call the “master transition”—the age transition and its associated alterations in our life course (Chapter 8). On an everyday basis, most of us encounter demographic change in the context of what is going on in our families and our household, and Chapter 9 is devoted to family demography and life chances. The final chapter (Chapter 10) explores the relationships between population, the environment, and sustainability. Can economic growth and development be sustained in the face of continued population growth? Can we avoid environmental catastrophe as we try to feed billions more people? There are no simple answers to these questions, but we are facing a future in which we will have to deal with the global and local consequences of a larger and constantly changing population. I conclude with a review of the ways in which the global community is trying to cope politically with these changes as they alter the fabric of human society.

What Is New in This Thirteenth Edition

Populations are constantly changing and evolving, and each successive edition of this book has aimed to keep up with demographic trends and the explanations for them. Thus, every chapter of this current edition has been revised for recency, relevancy, reliability, and readability. At the same time, the teaching and learning environment has changed substantially over the years, and in this edition, I have responded to calls from users of the book to reorganize material and reduce the number of chapters so that everything of vital importance can be readily covered in one academic term. This edition has only 10 chapters, rather than the 12 chapters in the previous edition, but all of the really good stuff is still in here.

- Chapter 1, “Introduction to Demography,” updates the way in which demography connects the dots in the world, including a substantially revised essay on “Connecting the Demographic Dots in the Middle East.” Most important, I have moved the discussion of global population trends into this

introductory chapter, and of course, I have used the latest numbers available at the time.

- Chapter 2, “Demographic Data and Applied Demography,” is now moved up in the chapter order so that readers know early on the sources of information informing the entire book. It brings you the latest information about censuses and surveys throughout the world, with a special focus on the United States, Canada, and Mexico. There is also an expanded section on applied demography, including a discussion of spatial demography, along with a revised essay, “Demographics of Politics: Why the Census Matters.”
- Chapter 3, “Demographic Perspectives and Theories,” brings in the latest thinking on demographic theories, while at the same time emphasizing that the demographic transition is a whole suite of transitions, the discussion of which is really what the book is all about. I have expanded the discussion about the second demographic transition and revised the essay “Who Are the Neo-Malthusians and Why Do We Care?”
- Chapter 4, “The Health and Mortality Transition,” has all the latest numbers on disease and mortality, as well as the latest thinking on the changing scope of health as populations age. Also included in this chapter, of course, is a discussion about the various ways in which we measure mortality. The essay in the chapter focuses on “Mortality Control and the Environment.”
- Chapter 5, “The Fertility Transition,” discusses the latest data and theories about fertility change over time and across regions, with a special emphasis on how the roles and status of women in society influence fertility levels. The chapter also includes updated discussions of how to measure fertility. The essay is “Reproductive Rights, Reproductive Health, and the Fertility Transition.”
- Chapter 6, “The Migration Transition,” updates the trends throughout the world in the movement of people between and within countries, with renewed discussion of the ways in societies and migrants adapt to each other. The essay updates the topic still bedeviling the United States and other rich countries: “Is Migration a Crime? Illegal Immigration in Global Context.”
- Chapter 7, “The Urban Transition,” is now placed right after the chapter on migration, since most modern migration is toward or between urban places. The focus is on the history of urbanization, and then how urban places are evolving into the diverse homes of a majority of humans. The essay looks at one of the most pressing issues facing the future: “Cities as Sustainable Environments.”
- Chapter 8, “The Age Transition and the Life Course,” reviews the latest literature on the drivers of changing age structures around the world, with a special emphasis on demographic dividends as examples of how important the age transition is. The latter part of the chapter looks at the more personal part of aging as the human life course undergoes dramatic shifts. Methods of projecting populations using age-specific death, fertility, and migration data

are also covered. The goal of the essay is to capture the big issue: “The Age Transition Force Is with Us.”

- Chapter 9, “Family Demography and Life Chances,” explores the immense changes taking place in family and household life as all of the other transitions have genuinely revolutionized human society. These changes affect every individual’s life chances, and the chapter updates those perspectives and data. The essay looks at what many people in the world are particularly interested in: “Show Me the Money!”
- Chapter 10, “Population, the Environment, and Global Sustainability,” examines the global links between population growth and change, economic growth and change, and the tremendous human impact on our environment. We are at a critical point globally in our need to focus on what is required to sustain the additional billions projected to be joining us over the course of this century. There is also an updated version of the very popular essay: “How Big Is Your Ecological Footprint?”

Special Features of the Book

To help increase your understanding of the basic concepts and issues of population studies, the book contains the following special features.

Short Essays As noted above in the chapter descriptions, each chapter contains a short essay on a particular population concept, designed to help you better understand current demographic issues covered in that chapter. Each essay ends with two discussion questions to encourage you to think about the topic in greater depth.

Main Points A list of 10 main points appears at the end of each chapter to help you review chapter highlights.

Questions for Review A set of five questions are provided at the end of each chapter, designed to stimulate thinking and class discussion on topics covered in the text.

Glossary A glossary in the back of the book defines key population terms. These terms are in boldface type when introduced in the text to signal that they also appear in the glossary.

Complete Bibliography This is a fully referenced book, and all of the publications and data sources I have used are included in a bibliography at the end of the book.

A Thorough Index To help you find what you need in the book, I have built as complete an index as possible, divided into a Subject Index and a Geographic Index.

Digital Resources

New to this edition, the MindTap digital platform offers:

- An interactive eBook, in which students can highlight key text, add notes, and create custom flashcards

- Video resources, practice activities, and application activities that empower students toward authentic and thoughtful learning experiences
- A capstone project for the course
- A digital test bank, which includes multiple choice, true/false, and essay questions for each chapter
- A fully mobile experience via the MindTap mobile app, so students can read or listen to textbooks and study with the aid of instructor notifications and flashcards

Ancillary Course Material

An Instructor's Manual and other ancillary materials are available through the book's home page on the publisher's website: <https://www.cengage.com/c/population-an-introduction-to-concepts-and-issues-13e-weeks/>

I regularly update my blog, providing resources for instructors and students: <http://weekspopulation.blogspot.com/>.

Personal Acknowledgments

Like most authors, I have an intellectual lineage that I feel is worth tracing. In particular, I would like to acknowledge my principal mentor, Kingsley Davis, whose standards as a teacher and scholar will always keep me reaching; Eduardo Arriaga; Judith Blake; Thomas Burch; Carlo Cipolla; Murray Gendell; Nathan Keyfitz; and Samuel Preston. Individually and collectively, they have guided me in my quest to unravel the mysteries of how the world operates demographically. Thanks are due also to Steve Rutter, formerly of Wadsworth Publishing Company, who first suggested that I write this book, and to Kathy Sands-Boehmer at Cengage who very skillfully and patiently managed the production of this thirteenth edition of the book.

Special thanks go to John, Gregory, Jennifer, Amy, and Jim for teaching me the costs and benefits of children and children-in-law. They have instructed me, in their various ways, in the advantages of being first-born, the coziness of the middle child, and the joys that immigration can bring to a family. They have also brought me seven wonderful grandchildren: Andrew, Sophie, Benjamin, Julia, Elizabeth, Kayla, and James. I have the best possible family demography!

However, the one person who is directly responsible for the fact that the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, updated fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and now the thirteen editions were written, and who deserves credit for the book's strengths, is my wife, Deanna. Her creativity, good judgment, and hard work in reviewing and editing the manuscript benefited virtually every page, and the book, like my life, is dedicated to her.

Other Acknowledgments

I would also like to thank the users of the earlier editions, including professors, their students (many of whom are now professors), and my own students, for their comments and suggestions. Many, many other people have helped since the first edition came out more than 40 years ago, and I am naturally very grateful for all of their assistance. Thanks also for the many useful reviews of the twelfth edition that helped to inspire changes in this edition.

PART ONE

A DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

CHAPTER 1

Introduction to Demography

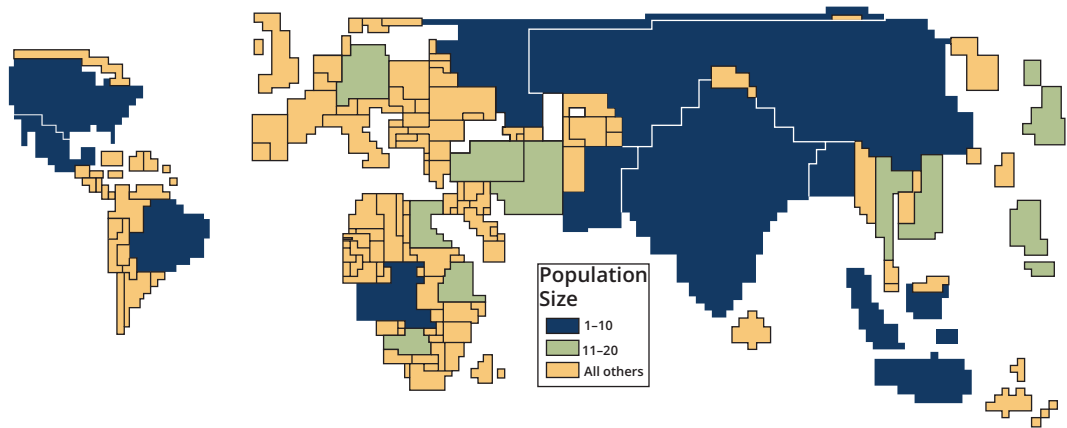


Figure 1.1 Cartogram of Countries of the World by Population Size

Note: The map shows the size of each country of the world according to its population. Each square represents approximately 2 million persons.

Source: Prepared by John Weeks and Sean Taugher using data from the United Nations Population Division World Population Prospects: The 2019 Revision; data refer to estimates for 2020.

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ESSAY: *Connecting the Demographic Dots in the Middle East*

Population growth is an irresistible force. Every social, political, and economic problem facing the world today has demographic change as a root cause. What is more, we guarantee that it is a force that will increasingly affect you, personally, in ways both large and small throughout your life. Population change is not just something that happens to other people—it is taking place all around you, and you are making your own contribution to it.

Our story begins with what is arguably the most important phenomenon in human history: the rise of life expectancy over the past two centuries, most dramatically since the end of World War II. Medical and public health advancements are rightfully heralded and celebrated, but there have been consequences. More people living longer has produced unprecedented population growth and previously unthinkable transformations in human society. What is perhaps most interesting to you, personally, is that this past is definitely prologue to your own future since the world's population will almost certainly continue to increase for the rest of your life. Though most of this growth will take place in developing countries (more specifically, in the cities of those countries), we will all experience the consequences.

Despite declining birth rates in most parts of the world, it is a fact that the number of people added to the world each day is higher today than at any time in history. Demographic change can be both good and bad news, but there is no question that population growth makes implacable demands on natural and societal resources. A baby born this year won't create much of a stir outside her immediate family, but in a few years she will be eating more and needing clothes, an education, then a job and a place of her own. And, then, most likely she will have babies of her own and the cycle continues.

Understanding these and a wide range of related issues is the business of demography. Whether your concern with demography is personal or global or a combination, unraveling the “whys” of population growth and change will provide you with a better perspective on the world and how it works. This book is an odyssey to understand the component parts of this powerful force, how they operate, and how they can be influenced to change the course of human history.

What Is Demography?

The term *demography* comes from the Greek root *demos*, which means “ordinary citizens,” and the Greek word *graphia*, which means “study of.” It was coined in 1855 by Achille Guillard who used it in the title of his book “*Elements de Statistique Humaine ou Démographie Comparée*.” Guillard defined demography as “the mathematical knowledge of populations, their general movements, and their physical, civil, intellectual and moral state” (Guillard 1855:xxvi). This is generally in tune with how we use the term today in that modern demography is the study of the determinants and consequences of population change and is concerned with effectively everything that influences and can be influenced by:

- **population size** (how many people there are in a given place)
- **population growth or decline** (how the number of people in that place is changing over time)
- **population processes** (the levels and trends in fertility, mortality, migration and urbanization that are determining population size and change)
- **population spatial distribution** (where people are located and why)
- **population structure** (how many males and females there are of each age)
- **population characteristics—popularly known these days as “demographics”** (what people are like in a given place, in terms of variables such as education, income, occupation, family and household relationships, immigrant and refugee status, and the many other characteristics that add up to who we are as individuals or groups).

How Does Demography Connect the Dots?

It may sound presumptuous, even preposterous, to suggest that nearly everything is connected to demography, but it really is true. The demographic foundation of our lives is deep and broad. As you will see in this book, demography affects nearly every facet of your life in some way or another. Population change is one of the prime forces behind social and technological change all over the world. As population size and composition change in an area—whether it be growth or decline—people have to adjust, and from those adjustments radiate innumerable alterations to the way society operates. We see the adjustments, but the demographic changes behind those adjustments are not always so obvious. As Paul Taylor (2017) very nicely put it, “Demography is a drama in slow motion.”

Demography is a force associated with every improvement in human well-being that the world has witnessed over the past few hundred years. Children survive as never before, adults are healthier than ever before, women can limit their exposure to the health risks involved with pregnancy and still be nearly guaranteed that the one or two or three of their babies will not just survive, but will thrive to adulthood. Having fewer pregnancies and babies in a world where most adults

now reach old age means that men and women have more “scope” in life, more time to develop their personal capacities and more time and incentive to build a future for themselves, their children, and everyone else. Longer lives and the societal need for less childbearing by women mean that the composition of families and households becomes more diverse, and women have more choices and control in life. The changes taking place all over the world in family structure are not the result of a breakdown of social norms so much as they are the natural consequence of societies adapting to the demographic changes of people living longer with fewer children in a world where urban living and migration are vastly more common than ever before. These are all facets of demography affecting your life in important ways.

You may have heard the phrase “demography is destiny,” which was coined in the 1970 book “The Real Majority,” by Richard Scammon (a former director of the U.S. Census Bureau) and Ben Wattenberg (Scammon and Wattenberg 1970). They were focusing especially on the way in which political views are influenced by demographic characteristics such as age, sex, income, education and race/ethnicity. As the numbers of people with differing “demographics” increase or decrease, voting patterns may well change. This does not necessarily mean, however, that you can easily predict the future based on demographic trends. To be sure, demographic change *does* demand a societal response, but different societies will respond differently, sometimes for the better, sometimes not. Either way, it turns out that population structures are sufficiently predictable that we can at least suggest the kinds of responses from which societies are going to have to choose.

It is a fact that the population of the world is increasing by more than 200,000 people per day, as we discuss in more detail below, but it is also a fact that this growth is much more intense in some areas of the world than in others. In those places where societies have been unable to cope adequately, especially with increasing numbers of younger people, the fairly predictable result has been social, economic, and political instability. At the other end of the spectrum, there is considerable angst in some of the richer countries where very low fertility has pushed the population to the edge of, or actually into, a decline.

Population change is obviously not the only source of trouble (or opportunity) in the world, but its impact is often incendiary, igniting other dilemmas that face human society. Without understanding population dynamics, for example, we cannot fully grasp why the world is globalizing at such a rapid pace, nor can we understand the roots of conflict from the Middle East to Southeast Asia, nor why there is a simultaneous acceptance of and backlash against immigrants in the United States and Europe. And we cannot begin to imagine our future without taking into account the fact that the population of the world at the middle of this century is projected to include two billion more people than it does now (and there may be an additional billion by the end of the century), since the health of the planet depends upon being able to sustain a much larger number of people than are currently alive. Because so much that happens in your life will be influenced by the consequences of population change, it behooves you to understand the causes and mechanisms of those changes. Let’s look at some examples.

The Relationship of Population to Resources

Food The precipitous spike in world population growth over the past two centuries has awakened us to the recognition that the global resources upon which we are dependent for survival are not limitless. Indeed, none of the basic resources required to expand food output—land, water, energy—can be considered abundant today, as we detail in Chapter 10. This especially impacts less developed countries with rapidly rising food demands and small energy reserves. Even now in sub-Saharan Africa, food production is not keeping pace with population growth, and this raises the fear that the world may have surpassed its ability to sustain even current levels of food production, much less meet the demands of the three billion additional people who are projected to be in line for a seat at the dinner table by the end of this century (United Nations Population Division 2019). And the problem is not just on land. The annual catch of wild fish leveled off in the 1990s and has been declining since then, with an increasing fraction of fish coming from farms harvesting the few species amenable to aquaculture. Will a diet that is more plant-based, rather than increasingly meat-based (which uses a lot of land to feed animals rather people), be the solution?

Water An estimated one in three humans already faces water scarcity, as demand for fresh water increases faster than the available supply. For example, the world's most populous country, China, is facing a water shortage that could threaten its economic well-being (Lou et al. 2019; Parton 2018), and Africa's largest reservoir of fresh water, Lake Chad, has shrunk by 90 percent over the past several decades, threatening the health of people and crops in sub-Saharan Africa (Ross 2018). Despite the fact that there are oceans of water all over the earth, we humans and other animals, along with the plants that we grow to eat, need fresh water, not salt water. We know how to convert salt water into fresh water, but the process requires a lot of energy. The oil-rich countries of the Middle East may be able to “change oil into water” but most countries cannot afford to do that.

Energy Every person added to the world's population requires energy to prepare food, acquire clothing and shelter, and to fuel economic life in general. Our rising standard of living is directly tied to our increasing use of energy, and every increment in demand is another claim on those resources. We know that petroleum reserves are limited, but can we transition quickly enough to solar and/or wind energy to meet the needs of a growing population? No one knows for sure, but we have to hope so. Will biofuels be the answer? Not likely, because they come from valuable crop land that we need for growing food. Will damming up more rivers to create hydroelectric power be the answer? Experience suggests that damming rivers creates widespread, long-term environmental problems.

Housing and Infrastructure All future population growth in the world is expected to show up in the cities, especially those in developing countries, and not just mega-cities, but smaller cities that most of us have never heard of. The irony of growing more food is that it requires mechanization rather than more laborers, so

as the number of babies born in rural areas continues to exceed deaths, the “excess” population is forced to move to cities in hopes of finding a job there. This means building homes (which requires lumber, concrete, and a lot of other resources) and providing urban infrastructure (water, sewerage, electricity, roads, telecommunications, etc.) for the estimated three billion newcomers. This increasing “demographic overhead” is burdensome, particularly for those countries that cannot provide adequately for their existing urban populations.

Environmental Degradation As the human population has increased, so has its potential for disrupting the earth’s biosphere. The very same explosion in scientific knowledge that has allowed us to push death back to ever older ages, thus unleashing population growth, has also taught us how to convert the earth’s natural resources into those things that comprise our higher standard of living. And it is not just that we are using up resources—waste accompanies use. The use of fossil fuel releases carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, generating deleterious effects on global climate conditions, evidenced perhaps most dramatically by the melting glaciers and Arctic ice. We are also damaging the hydrosphere (the world of water) by contaminating the fresh water supply, destroying coral reefs and fishing out the ocean, while also wreaking havoc on the lithosphere (the thin layer of the earth’s crust upon which we live) by degrading the land with toxic waste and permitting top soil loss, desertification, and deforestation.

The Relationship of Population to Social and Political Dynamics

Regional Conflict Back in 1967, even before the publication of Paul Ehrlich’s “Population Bomb” (Ehrlich 1968), Harry Harrison (1967) wrote a widely read book called “Make Room/Make Room,” which in 1973 was made into a popular movie called “Soylent Green.” This was a work of science fiction starring Charlton Heston and Edward G. Robinson in which they confront life way in the future in 2022 (oops, that’s like right now!). This is a world suffering from overpopulation, depleted resources, poverty, dying oceans, and a hot climate due to the greenhouse effect, where much of the population survives on processed food rations, including “soylent green” which turns out to be “recycled” humans. This certainly is a dystopian view of the world. The term “dystopia” (Hell on Earth) is of course the opposite of “utopia” (Heaven on Earth) and the role of demography in dystopias has been captured in “Demodystopias” by Andreu Domingo (2008), an article published in the major demography journal “Population and Development Review.”

A lot of similarly themed books and movies have come along since “Make Room/Make Room,” but the world has not collapsed. So, having escaped these frightening scenarios thus far, it is tempting to think that population growth has not really had much of an impact on civil society. That’s because the real impact is harder to see, even if *very* real—the “drama in slow motion,” we spoke of earlier. Demographic change creeps up on us one age group at a time, forcing families, communities, and then societies to adjust in some way or another. One reaction to population growth is to accept or even embrace the change and then seek positive

solutions to the dilemmas presented by an increasingly larger (or smaller, for that matter) younger population (or older population)—you get the idea. Another reaction, of course, is to reject change. This is what the Taliban have been trying to do for decades in parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan—to forcibly prevent a society from modernizing and, in the process, keeping death rates higher than they might otherwise be (Afghanistan has one of the highest rates of maternal mortality in the world, not to mention the deaths from the violence there), and maintaining women in an inferior status by withholding access to education, paid employment, health care and the means of preventing pregnancy. The difficulty the Taliban (or any similar group such as al-Qaeda, the Islamic State or Boko Haram) face (besides active military intervention to stop them) is that it is very hard, if not impossible, to put the genie back in the bottle once people have been made aware of the freedoms that are inherently associated with modernization. Very few people in the world prefer to go back to the “traditional” life of harsh exposure to disease, oppression, and death.

Globalization Regional conflict of the kind discussed in the essay later in this chapter is one response to population growth. Another less violent, albeit still controversial, response has been globalization. Most broadly, globalization can be thought of as an increasing level of connectedness among and between people and places all over the world, although the term has taken on a more politically charged dimension since many people interpret it to mean a penetration of less developed nations by multinational companies from the more developed nations. This trend is promoted by the removal of trade barriers that protect local industries and by the integration of local and regional economies into a larger world arena. The pros and cons of this process invite heated debate, but an important element of globalization is that it is closely related to, indeed is a response to, the enormous increase in worldwide population growth that has taken place since the end of World War II.

Control over mortality, which has permitted the growth of population, occurred first in the countries of Europe and North America, and it was there that population first began to grow rapidly in the modern world, gaining steam in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, after World War II, death control technology was spread globally, especially through the work of various United Nations agencies, funded by the governments of the richer countries. Since declines in mortality initially affect infants more than any other age group, there tends to be a somewhat delayed reaction to the effects of a mortality decline until those children who would otherwise have died reach an age where they must be educated, clothed, fed, and jobs and homes must be created for them on a scale never before imagined.

As huge new cohorts of young people came of age and needed jobs in developing countries (especially China), their willingness to work for relatively low wages did not go unnoticed by manufacturers in North America, Europe, and Japan. Nor have big companies failed to notice the growing number of potential consumers for products, especially those aimed at younger people, who represent the bulk of the population in developing countries. Given the demographics, it should not be surprising to us that jobs have moved to the developing countries and that younger consumers in those countries have been encouraged to spend their new wages on