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Political demography: How population changes are reshaping international security and national politics, edited by **Jack A. Goldstone, Eric P. Kaufmann and Monica Duffy Toft**, 2012. 336pp. \$39.95, paperback. ISBN: 978-0199945962.

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Social scientists sometimes don't know what to do about demography, the study of pattern and process in population. Births, deaths, and migration are the three major demographic forces, and all three clearly interact with other social phenomena. Nonetheless, demography (when not ignored altogether) is often treated either as a given (e.g., large cohorts resulting from the post-war baby boom), or as a mechanical consequence of purely social phenomena (e.g., low fertility as a result of female empowerment). Full-blooded demography, complete with feedback loops and population growth rates that are governed by all three of the forces, is a difficult animal to domesticate when it comes to integration with other social science studies. The present volume is a successful effort to bring demography together with political science, both in the domestic and international spheres.

Political demography has eighteen chapters, of which one is an introduction by two of the editors (EPK and MDT), and one is a conclusion by the third editor (JAG). The remaining sixteen chapters are by the editors as well as sixteen other scholars. The volume has five parts: (I) Political demography and political science (two chapters, of which one is the introduction to the book); (II) Population and international security (three chapters); (III) Demography, development, and conflict (four chapters); (IV) Demography and national politics (four chapters); (V) Demography in ethnic and religious conflicts (four chapters); and a final concluding chapter. All the chapters are readable and self-contained, making this a useful classroom text at the advanced undergraduate or graduate level.

The book begins with a chapter-by-chapter overview. Following in chapter 2 is a useful introduction to political demography by Jack Goldstone, which gives a crash course in demography (to the extent to which that's possible in 19 pages) and its application to political science. Three demographic trends that will shape the global future are highlighted (pp. 25–7). These will persuade even the most skeptical that demography cannot be ignored: (1) “the relative [demographic] decline of Europe and the Americas compared to Asia and Africa”; (2) “older rich countries and very poor young ones”; (3) “migration, migration everywhere”. The inter-relationships among these three trends hardly require elaboration, for instance with the third being driven by the first two. The ongoing trans-Mediterranean maritime migration crisis at the time of this review is only one example of how these forces are shaping the world.

In chapter 3, Neil Howe and Richard Jackson place the importance of demography in historical context, building an argument for its pivotal role in geopolitics. Parts of the world are “hyperaging” (p. 31). By 2050, “at least half of Americans will be over age 40 and at least half of Europeans will be over age 50” (*ibid.*). Howe and Jackson are critical of those who are too slow, in their view, to realize the implications of these massive demographic changes. Chapter 4, by Mark L. Haas, looks at what happens when costs associated with cohort aging are not offset by cohort savings, with a focus on the United States in international perspective. He puts it well when he notes that “Rarely can analysts of international politics claim to be documenting new phenomena. Global population aging, however, is one of these revolutionary variables.” (pp 50–1). Moreover, he cautions that “It is worth stressing that predictions for aging in the great powers are unlikely to be wrong. The reason for this certainty is simple: The elderly of the future are already born” (p. 52). Jennifer Dabbs Sciubba gives an overview

of power transition theory as it applies to population aging (chapter 5). It is curious that the discussion of care robots in Japan that begins this chapter does not consider migration. Why don't the Japanese import nurses instead (e.g., from The Philippines)?

Chapter 6 is an interesting case study on changing age structure and civil conflict, by Elizabeth Leahy Maden. Brought into comparative perspective here are Uganda and South Korea. Richard P. Cincotta and John Doez examine similar patterns in chapter 7, on a global scale. They have pulled together an interesting data set on youth-bulge population, trade, per capita GDP, and so on, although it's hardly surprising, for example, that OPEC membership is positively correlated with dictatorship/autocracy and negatively correlated with democracy. Henrik Urdal (chapter 8) looks at similar topics as the two preceding chapters, with a focus on youth bulges and their putative role in political violence, broadly construed. In chapter 9, Richard Matthew discusses the synergistic/antagonistic effects of population pressure, climate change, and political tensions. There is a refreshing treatment (p. 137) of the uncertainties involved.

The volume then switches gears, turning in chapter 10 to an analysis of the role of changing racial demography in the United States and its role in the 2008 presidential election, by William H. Frey. In chapter 11, Brian Gratton investigates immigration policies in the United States, with data from the seventeenth century to the present. This is obviously a huge topic in contemporary American social science, and the author does a great job of covering so much in a concise way. David Coleman (chapter 12) performs a similar analysis for Europe, with emphasis on the United Kingdom, and its ethnic diversity. Religion and demography and the interaction of the two, is explored in chapter 13, by Eric P. Kaufmann and Vegard Skirbekk. The counterfactual analysis of public opinion on homosexuality and abortion rights under various scenarios of future fertility (p. 203) is thought-provoking.

Monica Duffy Toft continues the theme of religion and demography in chapter 14. She looks at the concept of “wombfare” — meaning, as a play of words on warfare, fertility as a political weapon — in case studies of Lebanon, Israel/Palestine, and Utah. Christian Leuprecht looks at wombfare in the following chapter, but also highlights the role of religious- or sect-specific immigration. Chapter 16 by Elliott D. Green (which might have been better grouped with chapter 8), looks at demography and conflict in Africa. Green makes a demographically- and historiographically-nuanced argument that centuries of low population densities, followed more recently by rapid population growth, have sown the seeds of conflict. Examples from Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo buttress the argument. Green feels that “a neo-Malthusian direct relationship between demography and conflict is implausible” (p 251). However, he warns “the general neglect of demographic factors by many scholars has not been helpful in furthering our understanding of African conflict” (*ibid.*); we agree. In chapter 17, Ragnhild Nordås looks at the interaction of demography, religion, and conflict in Côte d'Ivoire. Christian-Muslim tensions in west Africa will be with us in the near future if not beyond, and this essay is a useful reminder not to forget the demographic aspects.

The final chapter, by Jack A. Goldstone, gives a brisk summary of the major points of the book. This book is a great *tour d'horizon* of political demography, and a number of the chapters dovetail well, more or less along the lines of how the editors have organized the sections of the book. This volume will be useful for a number of audiences. Demographers interested in application of their analytic tools in the political sphere can profitably read this book. Political scientists and political sociologists will benefit from seeing how bringing demography into their work can sharpen their analyses. We have a few cavils; the direction (or directions) of the causal arrow(s) in relationships between youth bulges and conflict merit more scrutiny, for example. Perhaps conflict can prevent building family planning

infrastructure just as much as youth bulges can cause conflict — this is suggestive of a positive-feedback loop (although with negative consequences for human welfare), rather than a simple causal arrow. Nonetheless, for all the reasons noted above, this book is a worthwhile read throughout. We hope it will be widely used in classrooms, and widely read by scholars interested in the topics.