

The Urban Demographic Revolution

by Martin Brockerhoff

A report commissioned by the German government and released July 4 at the Global Conference on the Urban Future presents an upbeat view of the growth of cities in the 21st century. One reason the report gives for optimism is the “real prospect that population growth, the source of so many problems, will soon slow down ... producing a much more steady state.”

Steady there, optimists. Growth rates of megacities—urban agglomerations of 10 million or more residents—have declined sharply, but this is misleading because these cities still have to absorb enormous population increments in the next 20 years; they face daunting challenges of management and governance to sustain health, well-being, and the environment.

The most credible estimates and projections of city size and growth come from the United Nations. These are still based on limited data and are subject to imprecision; projections in particular must be interpreted with caution. Even with a

Photo removed for
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Slums like this one on the outskirts of Jakarta, Indonesia, will continue to grow.

cautious interpretation, however, the picture that emerges from UN data is one of megacity growth, not decline.

Since 1980, the number of megacities in less developed regions has increased from three to 15. More significant demographically, these cities have generally been growing

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Housing Discrimination 101

by Douglas Massey

Racial discrimination is a topic that undergraduate sociology students expect to study. Few of them, though, expect to encounter it as part of a class project. So when students in my research methods course conducted a housing audit, they got more out of it than they had anticipated.

I came up with the idea of using undergraduates to carry out a housing audit partly because, at my university, pressure to involve undergraduates in research is mounting. But I wanted to go beyond assigning research for research's sake, which students see through and which doesn't generate data for social scientists. The audit project proved so successful that it could be applied widely in classrooms throughout the country to produce

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Coping With Unprecedented Urban Growth *Continued from page 1*

steadily in absolute terms, even as their rates of population growth have dropped in response to national reductions in fertility and to economic

other cities of now-industrialized countries during the era of these cities' most rapid growth, 1875 to 1900. Although such cities experienced economic progress, they also tended to have higher mortality than rural areas, because of occupational hazards and infectious diseases associated with high population density and poor water and sanitation infrastructure.

The Dickensian conditions of that earlier time—child labor, dilapidated housing, crime, and class tension—are also observed in megacities of poor countries today but on a much larger scale. And they are often accompanied by high levels of pollution and fatalities from motor vehicles, illicit drug use, and widespread sexually transmitted infections such as HIV/AIDS. The greater magnitude of problems in megacities today is suggested by their rapid growth to enormous sizes (see figure).

There are also environmental concerns. Modern urban systems require large amounts of energy, and consequent emissions of carbon dioxide and nitrogen oxides from fossil fuel combustion trap excess heat and lead to climate change, rising sea levels, and changes in vegetation.

On the other side of the debate are those who point to the benefits that megacities in developing regions could enjoy in the future. Many economists argue that cities have always been the engines of national economic growth, and that they achieve megacity size only because they are economically efficient for their countries. As international capital becomes more mobile with globalization, large pools of relatively low-

skilled labor can attract foreign investment that leads to job opportunities in manufacturing and industry. The growth of Internet technology enables city governments to inexpensively share information regarding effective approaches to poverty alleviation, waste management, affordable housing, and other critical issues of giant cities.

Anthropologists have shown that the urban poor living in slums, shantytowns, and urban fringe areas of megacities are not marginal residents suffering social malaise, but industrious and resourceful people attempting to better their lives.

Community mobilization and grass-roots initiatives organized and led by poor constituents have made hundreds of city neighborhoods more livable and could increase the productivity of labor in megacities if applied widely.

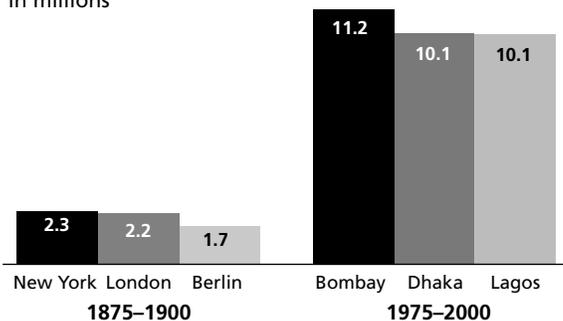
Regardless of how megacities are perceived, urban scholars, demographers, and decisionmakers have reached consensus on two issues regarding their treatment in the future. First, effective urban governance is needed to ensure the well-being of all residents. Second, there remains a need to improve the estimation and projection of megacity populations. Expanded data collection through conventional censuses and surveys, as well as through the use of new satellite imagery technology, will be necessary to provide better data for research and policymaking in the world's largest cities. ■

WebExtra!

For related publications and websites, go to www.prb.org/pt/ on PRB's website and click on this article.

Megacity Growth: Yesterday and Today

Number of people added, in millions



Sources: Tertius Chandler, *Four Thousand Years of Urban Growth*, 1987; UN, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 1999 Revision*, 2000.

downturns that have deterred migration from rural areas.

Cairo exemplifies this pattern. The city's average annual rate of growth declined from 3.7 percent for the 25-year period 1950 to 1975, to 2.2 percent for 1975 to 2000. But Cairo's total population grew by 3.7 million people between 1950 and 1975—from 2.4 million to 6.1 million—and by 4.5 million residents from 1975 to 2000, to over 10 million today.

There is debate about whether some of the world's poorest megacities, such as Dhaka and Lagos, can effectively absorb the millions of additional residents anticipated in the near future (according to the UN, 9 million more for Dhaka and 10 million more for Lagos by 2015). Alarmists point to the plight of poor residents of Chicago, London, Manchester, New York, and

Correction: In the recently published *Population Bulletin*, "America's Growth and Diversity: Signposts for the 21st Century," the legend for Figure 12 (page 35) was inaccurate. It should have indicated that purple bars represent 1998 data and black bars represent 1967 data.

Martin Brouckhoff is associate, Policy Research Division, Population Council, New York. This article is adapted from a forthcoming *Population Bulletin* on global urbanization, to be published by PRB in September 2000.

John D. Rockefeller 3rd, Statesman and Founder of the Population Council

by Joan Dunlop

This is the fifth 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.

The motivation for John D. Rockefeller's interest in population issues eluded many of his closest associates and advisors. It grew out of his humanity and his concern for the well-being of all people. Indeed, he took a broad view of "population control" as a means to address poverty and economic development rather than as an end in itself.

His first public undertaking came in 1952, when he initiated the convocation of the Conference on Population Problems, in Williamsburg, Va. The discussion took up food supply, industrial development, depletion of natural resources, and political instability resulting from unchecked population growth. The presence of medical doctors, chemists, geologists, economists, and other scientists gave serious weight and prominent attention to the emerging and unrecognized facts of demographic change.

Soon after this conference, Rockefeller established the Population Council. From philanthropic funds at his disposal, he provided \$1 million within the first year of operations.

In 1967, Rockefeller initiated, lobbied heavily for, and finally achieved a World Leaders' Statement signed by 30 heads of state including U.S. President Lyndon Johnson. The values and beliefs enumerated included the ideas that "the population problem must be recognized by government as a principal element in long-range planning" and that "the objective of family planning is the enrichment of human life [in that it] frees man to attain his individual dignity and reach his full potential." No mention of women, but the relevance of the status of women had not yet permeated the policy consciousness. This document drew attention to population growth

as a world problem and engendered political support for family planning as the solution.

Three years later, President Nixon established a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, with Rockefeller as chairman. Several issues that the commission hotly debated mirrored what would become the Cairo agenda. Some members felt, for instance, that consideration of the social and economic circumstances of women went beyond the commission's purview: examining from a demographic perspective the need for safer, more secure fertility control. The most controversial issue was abortion. Members of the commission disagreed, but the majority called for "creating a clear and positive framework for the practice of abortion on request." A furor ensued, with the president rejecting the recommendations of his own commission, and Rockefeller became embroiled in a public debate about the legalization of abortion.

Undaunted, Rockefeller again addressed the broad social and economic issues of development, poverty, and the lives of women in his controversial 1974 "Bucharest speech." Speaking at the World Population Conference, he called for "new and urgent attention to the role of women as a vital characteristic of modern development." Many people who had worked on developing contraceptive methods and family planning as the primary means to reduce population growth saw the text as a professional and personal rejection. Although Rockefeller regretted the personal nature of the debate, its intensity did not surprise him. As his advisor, I had told him frankly how his words would be received. Time, change, and the flood of history have muted the resistance to those ideas and values, many of which are reflected in the Cairo consensus.

The thread that runs through Rockefeller's population work is one of moral courage. He taught me to be tenacious, to hold focus on what I knew and believed. At the beginning of this new century, we miss his leadership, but his legacy is alive and well. ■



John D. Rockefeller 3rd, 1906–1978

Joan Dunlop, former advisor to John D. Rockefeller 3rd, directs *A Women's Lens on Global Issues*, a project of The Aspen Institute, for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in New York.

Racism in the Rental Market *Continued from page 1*

valuable data, sharpen students' research skills, and teach them a life lesson.

For many years, I have followed the results of racial housing audits. The design of these audits is simple: Teams of white and black auditors are assigned similar identities and characteristics.

Realtors are usually sampled from some listing, such as the real estate section of a major newspaper. The auditors then visit selected agents to inquire about the availability of housing. After the encounter, the auditors fill out forms describing their treatment. When all agents have been contacted, the investigator compares the findings of black and white auditors to see whether they were treated differently. Systematic differences in treatment are taken to reflect racial discrimination.

My plan was to have students do a housing audit to study racial discrimination over the telephone. Many African

Americans speak a dialect known by sociolinguists as Black English Vernacular, and even more speak standard English with an accent that most listeners identify as "black." If people can attribute race by voice alone, phone-based discrimination can occur.

To examine this hypothesis, I offered an undergraduate course called "Research Design: Measurement of Discrimination." As I had hoped, a racially diverse group of students registered, and among them were speakers of Black English Vernacular (BEV), Black Accented English (BAE), and White Middle Class English. With male and female speakers in each group, I had six treatment categories for the study.

In class, we designed profiles that gave each auditor an identity and standard sociodemographic characteristics. We then designed a script that asked about the availability of an advertised unit and other units that might be available, as well as the terms and conditions of the rental. We translated the standard script into BEV.

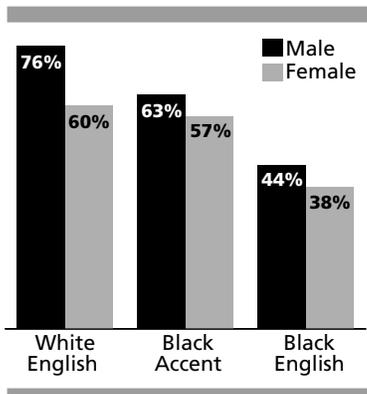
Under the supervision of a postdoctoral fellow, the class applied this design to audit 79 rental units advertised in newspapers and rental guides. The study was done blindly; white stu-

dents did not know how black students were treated, and vice versa. After the study, I analyzed the data and organized results into tables that students used in writing papers for a final grade.

The analysis revealed phone-based racial discrimination. Compared with whites, African Americans were less likely to speak to a rental agent (agents could screen calls using answering machines), less likely to be told of a unit's availability, more likely to pay an application fee, and more likely to have credit mentioned as an issue. These racial effects interacted with and were exacerbated by gender and class. Typically, students posing as lower-class blacks (speakers of BEV) experienced less access to rental housing than those who represented middle-class blacks (speakers of BAE), and black females experienced less access than black males (see figure). In general, students playing the part of lower-class black females were most disadvantaged.

Students enjoyed participating in the study and writing the papers, and they learned something not only about research, but also about the reality of race in America (see box). After the end

Percent of Callers Who Reached Agent and Were Told Apartment Was Available



Source: Douglas S. Massey and Garvey Lundy, "Use of Black English and Racial Discrimination in Urban Housing Markets: New Methods and Findings," *Urban Affairs Review*, forthcoming.

Students' Reactions

The reaction of the students to the experience varied:

- White students were shocked at the degree of discrimination against blacks. Most said they wouldn't have believed it beforehand.
- Black students were not surprised. It simply confirmed their experience.
- The women in the class were most shocked. Although black women expected the racial discrimination, they were dismayed at how much worse they were treated even than black men, and they were horrified at some remarks made to them, which hinted at sexual promiscuity, drug use, and welfare receipt. No other group had to endure this kind of stereotyping. White women were shocked, and then outraged, that they were treated differently than white males. Like many women of their generation, they assumed that gender bias was a thing of the past.

of the term, I worked with the postdoctoral fellow to refine the analyses, and together we wrote a paper that is forthcoming in *Urban Affairs Review*. Our experience suggests that telephone audits constitute a potentially cheap, easy, and efficient way of measuring and studying processes of racial discrimination in urban housing markets. All that is needed to accurately measure racial discrimination is access to a local newspaper or rental guide, a telephone, and people capable of using linguistic styles associated with race and ethnicity. ■

Douglas Massey is Dorothy Swaine Thomas Professor and chair of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania.

Disastrous Diseases

In its annual *World Disasters Report*, the International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC) and Red Crescent Societies calls on international donors to recognize infectious diseases as public health disasters and to place greater priority on strengthening primary health care than on providing emergency aid. The report notes that the death toll in 1999 from AIDS, malaria, respiratory diseases, and diarrhea—13 million—was 160 times greater than the number of people killed in all of the natural disasters that year, including Turkey's earthquakes, Venezuela's floods, and India's cyclones. According to the report, the level of emergency aid rose in 1998 for the first time in four years while funding from members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development for primary health care continued to drop; health care in less developed countries sank to the lowest levels since 1991. (For more data from the report, see "Spotlight Statistic" on page 7.)

Main Street, Mean Street

Overweight Americans looking to increase their physical activity often take up walking, which does not require special equipment or facilities and suits even demanding schedules. But a new study by the Surface Transportation Policy Project finds that Americans in many large metro areas lack safe places to walk.

The Surface Transportation Policy Project analyzed federal Fatality Analysis Reporting System and census data and found that the 10 most dangerous cities for walkers are Tampa, Fla.; Atlanta; Miami; Orlando, Fla.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Phoenix; West Palm Beach, Fla.; Memphis, Tenn.; Dallas; and New Orleans. The characteristics these cities share are wide streets designed to allow cars to travel at high speed, and few sidewalks and crosswalks. The study (available on the Web at www.transact.org) finds that the amount of walking people

do has dropped 42 percent in the last 20 years, while the percentage of overweight Americans has grown by 40 percent.

Europe's Border Control Efforts Jeopardize Right to Asylum

The deaths of 58 Chinese migrants discovered in a truck in Dover, England, have drawn renewed attention to human smuggling and trafficking, problems that are addressed in two new publications. A study commissioned by the UN High Commission for Refugees (www.unhcr.ch/evaluate/reports/traffick.pdf) concludes that stricter border enforcement and anti-trafficking measures have reduced opportunities to apply for asylum in Europe; the author urges European countries to ensure legal and safe migration opportunities for refugees.

The latest issue of *Trafficking in Migrants* (www.iom.int/defaultmigrationweb.asp), a quarterly bulletin published by the International Organization for Migration, explores trends in trafficking and smuggling deaths and describes public policies designed to tackle the problems. The bulletin notes that, although poverty in less developed countries drives much of today's migration, trafficking fees are often too high for the very poor. Many migrants—especially Chinese migrants—resorting to traffickers are not poor, according to the bulletin, but do not know the dangers of trafficking or are willing to take the risk because prospects for legal migration are dim.

Oceanfront Property Anyone?

Over the next 60 years, erosion may claim one in four houses that stand within 500 feet of the U.S. shoreline, according to a report by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Erosion—driven by a rising sea level, large storms, and flooding—causes shoreline retreat, bringing homes and businesses ever closer

to the water. But property owners and insurers alike may be unaware of the risk because the National Flood Insurance Program (NFIP) does not map erosion hazard areas or incorporate erosion risk directly into its procedures for setting insurance rates.

Approximately half a million people live within 500 feet of the 10,000-mile-long ocean and Great Lakes shorelines of the United States. Some 1,500 homes and the land they are built on will be lost to erosion each year, on average, for the next several decades, at an annual cost of \$530 million. Additional development in the most erosion-prone areas will increase these losses; development density in several of the high-risk coastal areas studied in the report increased by more than 60 percent during the last 20 years.

The report, prepared by the H. John Heinz III Center for Science, Economics, and the Environment, is available on the Web: www.heinzcenter.org.

Abortion Ship

A Dutch doctor has announced plans to bring legal abortions within reach of women whose countries prohibit the procedure. In a ship flying the Dutch flag, Rebecca Gomperts hopes to sail to countries such as Malta, Ireland, Poland, the Philippines, and Indonesia, as well as to unspecified countries in Africa and South America. She will offer information, counseling, and contraceptives; embark pregnant passengers; and then travel just far enough from shore to be in international waters, where she and fellow doctors can provide abortions in accordance with Dutch law. Gomperts' aim is to raise awareness and reduce the human cost of outlawing abortion: Some 78,000 women die each year during illegal and unsafe abortions, according to the Alan Guttmacher Institute. Government officials in several countries have threatened legal action to prevent the ship from docking. ■

Legislation Courts Older Workers

by Christopher J. Gearon

In Washington it's unusual that legislation passes quickly and unanimously, but that's what happened this spring when Congress repealed the Social Security earnings cap for retirees between the ages of 65 and 69. The lifting of the cap is expected to put more money into the pockets of older workers, encourage recent retirees and those nearing retirement to continue working, and help ease employers' hiring needs in the currently tight labor market.

Although a widely popular move, the removal of the earnings cap for retirees ages 65 to 69 is not expected to have a large impact initially. Over

the next 10 years, however, the act likely will lead older workers to increase their labor force participation.

The increase in working hours could fill the equivalent of 250,000 full-time jobs, according to Aldona Robbins, senior research fellow with the Institute for Policy Innovation in Lewisville, Texas. (The figure at left shows the increase in labor force participation of 65-to-

69-year-olds since 1980.) The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that the total labor force will grow by 16.9 million over the next 10 years.

The earnings cap was created as part of Social Security during the Great Depression in an effort to encourage older workers to leave the labor force so younger people could more easily find work. Many changes have since been made to the earnings cap. The legislation that Congress approved and President Clinton signed this spring repeals the penalty that reduces Social Security benefits by 33 cents for each dollar that workers ages 65 to 69 earn above \$17,000 this year.

Social Security Administrator Kenneth Apfel testified earlier this year that about 800,000 workers ages 65 to 69 lost some or all of their benefits in 1999 as a result of excess earnings. And 150,000 dependent and spousal beneficiaries were affected as well.

In the short term, the lifting of the earnings cap will affect more men than women, said Eugene Steuerle, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute in Washington, D.C., because there are more men working in their sixties. As of last May, 1.32 million men ages 65 to 69 worked, compared with 997,000 women in that age range, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

Working men ages 65 to 69 who have kept their earnings at or below the earnings limit are most likely to increase their work hours now, in the view of Leora Friedberg, a research fellow with the National Bureau of Economic Research. She predicts that these men will work 50 percent more, whereas those who had been losing some of their benefits will work about 18 percent more.

Working women will respond similarly, Friedberg believes. Widows could end up gaining most from the change. "For widows, I see removing the earnings cap as being more of a win-win [than for any other beneficiaries]," said Robbins. "They tend to be the poorest of those 65 and older."

Over the long term, the removal of the cap will help increase the number of women in the workforce. "Men are retiring earlier ... and women are entering the work force at a faster pace," Steuerle said.

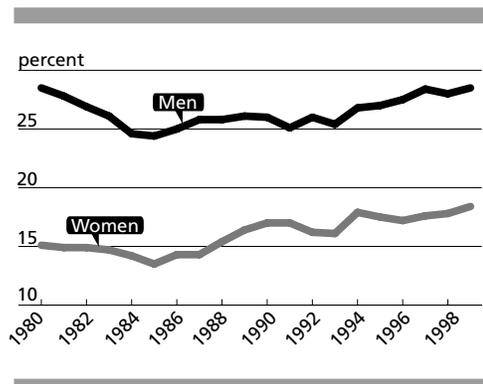
For the time being, Congress has left intact the regulations governing benefits for workers on either side of the 65-to-69 age group. The earnings cap for those between the ages of 62 and 64, for example, remains in force. Social Security benefits will thus continue to be reduced by \$1 for every \$2 of earnings above \$10,080 per year for those opting to receive benefits before age 65. On the other end, workers ages 70 and older remain exempt from the cap.

Not all retirees in the 65-to-69 age group will don their suits or dust off their lunch pails and jump back into the work force. Sixty percent of those eligible to collect reduced benefits from Social Security at 62 are doing so, according to the Social Security Administration. "Clearly, the longer you are out of the labor force, the harder it is to get back in," said Robbins. ■

WebExtra!

For websites and links providing background on the repeal of the Social Security earnings cap, go to www.prb.org/pt/ on PRB's website and click on this article. While you're there, check out the Web-only PT story on Social Security's 65th anniversary.

Labor Force Participation Rate of Americans Ages 65 to 69, by Sex, 1980 to 1999



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, annual averages.

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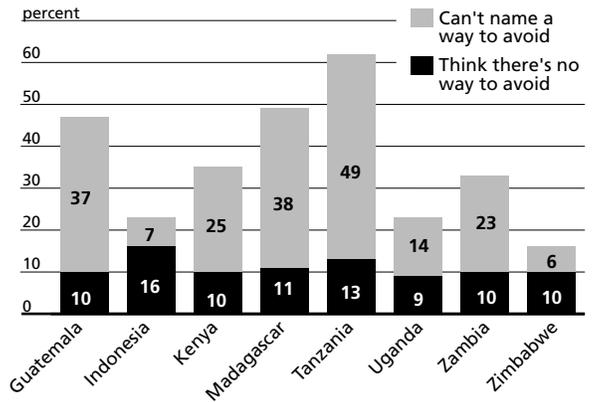
Speaking Graphically

AIDS Avoidance: Percent of Women Ages 15 to 19 Who Do Not Know How to Protect Themselves From HIV

The XIII International AIDS Conference in Durban, South Africa, focused world attention on the ravages of the disease in Africa, advances and reversals in medical research, and access to treatment. With at least one major television network comparing the disease with the bubonic plague, a message that may have been obscured is that there are simple and effective ways to avoid contracting the disease.

The people who most need to hear that message are the young, according to the UN.

"The right to information about HIV transmission and prevention has sometimes been denied to young people on the grounds that they ... should be sexually abstinent. ... Therefore, young people ... are less likely to know enough about HIV to protect themselves" (UNAIDS, *Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, June 2000, available on the Web at: www.unaids.org/epidemic_update/report/Epi_report.pdf). The figure above suggests the scale of that problem, which is worse among women than among men.



Source: Macro International, Demographic and Health Surveys, selected countries, 1994-1998.

Estimated World Population

As of Aug. 2000 6,074,000,000
 Annual growth 82,000,000

Source: Extrapolated from the mid-2000 population on PRB's 2000 *World Population Data Sheet*.

Estimated Population of the United States

As of May 1, 2000 274,952,000
 As of May 1, 1999 272,508,000

Source: From the U.S. Census Bureau, total monthly population estimates. Totals include armed forces overseas.

U.S. Vital Stats

12 Months Ending With August

	Number		Rate	
	1999	1998	1999	1998
Live births	3,925,000	3,936,000	14.4	14.6
Fertility rate	—	—	65.3	65.9
Deaths	2,357,000	2,345,000	8.7	8.7
Infant deaths	27,400	27,600	7.0	7.0
Natural increase	1,568,000	1,591,000	5.7	5.9
Marriages	2,276,000	2,251,000	8.4	8.4
Divorces	—	—	4.1	4.3

Note: Fertility rate is given per 1,000 women ages 15-44; infant deaths per 1,000 live births; other rates per 1,000 population. Number of divorces not available.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, *National Vital Statistics Reports* 48, no. 10 (2000).

Spotlight Statistic:

Global Spending Priorities: Military vs. Medicine

	1995
Military	\$864 billion
Prevention and control of AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria	\$15 billion

Source: International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, *World Disasters Report 2000*, www.ifrc.org/publicat/wdr2000/. For more on this report, see "In the News," page 5.

Largest Group Ever Now Entering Adulthood

Today more than one-fourth of the world's 6 billion people are between the ages of 10 and 24, making this the largest group ever to enter adulthood. The actions of these young people—86 percent of whom live in less developed countries—will shape the size, health, and prosperity of the world's future population.

Overall, the current generation of young people is the healthiest, most educated, and most urbanized in history. Urbanization generally affords greater access to health services and education but also brings greater exposure to the risks of sexual activity and violence:

- Complications of pregnancy, childbirth, and unsafe abortion are the major causes of death for women ages 15 to 19.
- Statistics on rape suggest that between one-third and two-thirds of rape victims worldwide are 15 years old or younger.

These risks disproportionately affect women but are of wide social concern. Early pregnancy and childbearing are risky for young women and their children. For instance, maternal mortality among 15-to-19-year-old women is twice as high as for women in their 20s. For infants in some countries,

the risk of death during the first year of life is 50 percent higher for those born to mothers under age 20 than for those born to mothers ages 20 to 29.

Still, some societies perpetuate the risks associated with being young and sexually active. Compared with women over age 20, female adolescents are less likely to use contraception because they lack information or are misinformed and fear side effects. Additional cultural, economic, and legal barriers impede young women's access to and use of family planning. For example, family planning services typically are designed to serve married, adult women, leaving young, unmarried women—and men—out of the picture. This is particularly significant because today's young people are marrying later and reaching puberty earlier.

The lack of services not only increases unintended pregnancies but also contributes to the spread of HIV/AIDS. According to UN estimates, about half of all new infections are among 15 to 24 year-olds, the range in which most people start their sexual lives. Adolescents are at high risk of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted infections because,

Years Between First Intercourse and Marriage, Women From Selected Countries

Kenya	3.4
Brazil	2.2
Cameroon	2.1
Bolivia	1.9
Haiti	1.8

Note: Intervals are between median age at first intercourse and median age at formal marriage or cohabitation. Survey sample consisted of women ages 25 to 29.

Source: Macro International, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990s.

among other reasons, they often have multiple short-term sexual relationships and do not consistently use condoms. Young people often do not understand how to prevent AIDS (see "Speaking Graphically," page 7). ■

For More Information:

Two new MEASURE Communication publications focus on youth. *Social Marketing for Adolescent Sexual Health* (now available on the Web at: www.measurecommunication.org/factsheets/smash/) presents the results of operations research projects in Botswana, Cameroon, Guinea, and South Africa. *The World's Youth 2000* (data sheet and report, coming soon to PRB's website) provides information on current and projected numbers of young people and on their education, general health, and sexual and reproductive health.



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