

## Human Population: relevance to climate change

Forcing of climate change: predicting emissions of greenhouse gases

Impacts of climate change: sea-level rise

Bangladesh 80 million in 1975 160 million in 2015 200 million in 2050?

## 1. Test your intuition about population growth

Exponential growth or exponential decay results when the change in a quantity is proportional to the quantity itself.

Populations of animals, plants, or bacteria, are capable of growing exponentially because the number of offspring is proportional to the current population.

## Relation of fertility rate to growth rate: the example of Easter Island

## Year Population <br> 600 ~24 <br> $1600 \sim \sim 6000$

Easter Island
(27 S, 109 W)

## Relation of fertility rate to growth rate: the example of Easter Island

| Year | Population |
| :---: | :---: |
| 600 | $\sim 24$ |
| 1600 | $\sim 6000$ |

Make a guess: how many children (that reached reproductive age) did each couple produce, on average, during those 1000 years? Write down your guess.
(Assume a generation time of 25 years.)

## Easter Island

The increase is a factor $6000 / 24$, or 250 , or $2^{8}$.
The population doubled 8 times.
24
48
96
192
384
768
1536
3072
6144

## Easter Island

The increase is a factor $6000 / 24$, or 250 , or $2^{8}$.
The population doubled 8 times.
8 doublings in 1000 years, so the doubling time is 125 years or 5 generations.

Population doubles in 5 generations, so in one generation it increases by the fifth root of 2 , or 1.15.
$1.15 \times 1.15 \times 1.15 \times 1.15 \times 1.15=2$
The population grows by $15 \%$ in one generation, requiring $2 \times 1.15=2.3$ children per woman.

It's useful to memorize some powers of 2:
$2^{1}=2$ $2^{6}=64$
$2^{2}=4$
$2^{7}=128$
$2^{3}=8$
$2^{8}=256$
$2^{4}=16$
$2^{9}=512$
$2^{5}=32$
$2^{10}=1024$ (i.e., very close to 1000 )
So:
10 doublings is a factor of one thousand ( $10^{3}$ ); 20 doublings is a factor of one million ( $10^{6}$ ); 30 doublings is a factor of one billion ( $10^{9}$ ). 40 doublings is a factor of one trillion ( $10^{12}$ ).

| Population <br> in year 600 | Total <br> fertility <br> rate | Doubling <br> time <br> (years) | Number <br> of <br> doublings | Population <br> in year 1600 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 24 | 4 | 25 | 40 | 24 trillion |
| 24 | 2.3 | 125 | 8 | 6000 |
| 24 | 2.0 | -- | 0 | 24 |

## Recent population history

World population doubled in 40 years
3.0 billion in 1960
6.0 billion in 2000
U.S. population doubled in 56 years

150 million in 1950
300 million in 2006

A doubling of world population in 40 years: is this unusual?

In previous centuries, did doubling take longer than 40 years?
32 doublings to grow from 2 people to 6 billion people
At 40 years per doubling, $32 \times 40=1280$ years

Cohen (1995):
"Within the lifetime of some people now alive, world population has tripled; within the lifetime of everyone over 40 years old, it has doubled - yet never before the last half of the twentieth century had world population doubled within the life span of any human."

How Many People
Can the Earth Support?

JOEL E. COHEN

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
1945 & 2.4 \text { billion } \\
2019 & 7.7 \text { billion }
\end{array}
$$



## Cohen 1995

Figure 5.3 Estimated human population from a.d. 1 to the present. Different symbols represent estimates from different sources. Source of data: Appendix 2


## Cohen 1995

Figure 5.12 World population history for the last two millennia, with population plotted on a logarithmic scale. Different symbols represent estimates from different sources. Source of data: Appendix 2



For the last 45 years, the annual increase of world population has been steady at $\sim 80$ million (i.e., steady growth rather than exponential growth), because the growth rate is dropping.

140 million births -60 million deaths $=80$ million net per year

| Year | World <br> Population <br> (billions) | Growth rate <br> (percent per year) | People added <br> per year <br> (millions) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1977 | 4.3 | 1.9 | 82 |
| 1994 | 5.6 | 1.5 | 82 |
| 2004 | 6.4 | 1.3 | 82 |



## Age-specific fertility rates;

## total fertility

rates (TFR).

Total fertility rate (TFR): The average number of children a woman produces during her lifetime, using the current rates for each age-cohort.

Highest TFRs are in Africa, 6-8 children per woman (cpw) (e.g. Niger, Angola, Congo).

Lowest TFRs are in Eastern Europe and East Asia, 1.2 cpw (e.g. Poland, Greece, Taiwan, Singapore).

Replacement-level fertility ( $R L F$ ): The fertility rate needed to keep the population stable.

If children do not die before reproductive age, $R L F=2.0$ children per woman (cpw).
In countries with low child-mortality,

$$
R L F \approx 2.1 \mathrm{cpw}(\text { or } 2.06)
$$

Age structure of populations: "population pyramids"


## Examples to illustrate

## (a) the relation of total fertility rate to doubling time (or halving time) <br> (b) population "momentum"

Consider a little community of 80 people in the year 1600, consisting (for mathematical simplicity) of only four "cohorts", spaced 25 years apart, and equal numbers of males and females. [Your "cohort" is all the people born the same year you were born.] They all live past age 75 but they all die before reaching 100. Children are born when their parents are 25 years old.

Example 1. Each couple has two children, so the next generation (cohort) has the same population as their generation. [Each age group has 10 couples; each couple has 2 children.]

```
Year: 1600
1600
```

Age 75
Age 50
Age 25
Age 0
Total:

20 Grandparents
$20^{\prime}$ Parents
20 Young adults
$20^{\prime}$ Newborns
80

Example 1. Each couple has two children, so the next generation (cohort) has the same population as their generation. [Each age group has 10 couples; each couple has 2 children.] Here are snapshots of the age-composition of the population at 25-year intervals.


Example 1. Each couple has two children, so the next generation (cohort) has the same population as their generation. [Each age group has 10 couples; each couple has 2 children.] Here are snapshots of the age-composition of the population at 25-year intervals.
Year:

The population is stable with a "total fertility rate" (number of children a woman has in her lifetime) of 2.0 children per woman (cpw): TFR $=2 \mathrm{cpw}$.

Example 2. Four children per couple.

| Year: | 1600 | 1625 | 1650 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Age 75 | 2075 |  |  |
| Age 50 | 160 | 320 | 640 |
| Age 25 | 300 | 600 | 1200 |
| Age 0 | 300 |  |  |

After 25 years (one generation) the population at each age has doubled, so the total population has doubled. So if $\mathrm{TFR}=4 \mathrm{cpw}$, the doubling time is one generation.

Example 3. In 1675 this community decides it's getting overcrowded, so they institute a one-child policy: TFR $=1 \mathrm{cpw}$. The population will eventually decline, but only after a transition period of 3 generations.


The population continues to grow at first ("population momentum"); meanwhile the shape of the pyramid changes. After three generations the pyramid is inverted. After the fourth generation the population finally starts to decline, and thereafter shows a halving time of one generation.

If the $T F R$, the generation time, and the life expectancy are constant, and if the children do not die before reproductive age:

If $T F R=4$, population doubles in one generation.
If $T F R=2$, population stays constant.
If $T F R=1$, population halves in one generation.

## Philippines

The population doubled about every 28 years.
population
(millions)
$1900 \quad 7$
192813
195726
198651
2014100

## United States

The population doubled about every 25 years.
population
(millions)
18005
$1820 \quad 10$
184520
187140
190076

## Population history of the United States

| Census | Population | Percent increase |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Year | (millions) | since previous census |  |
| 2010 | 309 | 10 |  |
| 2000 | 281 | 13 | The low growth rate from 1930 to |
| 1990 | 249 | 10 |  |
| 1980 | 227 | 11 | 1940 was during the economic |
| 1970 | 203 | 13 | depression; people may choose to |
| 1960 | 179 | 18 | have fewer children if they're unable |
| 1950 | 151 | 14 | to support them This is also |
| 1940 | 132 | 7 | to support them. This is also |
| 1930 | 123 | 16 | happening now in Russia. |
| 1920 | 106 | 15 |  |
| 1910 | 92 | 21 |  |
| 1900 | 76 | 21 |  |
| 1890 | 63 | 26 |  |
| 1880 | 50 | 30 |  |
| 1870 | 39 | 23 | The high growth rates from 1790 to |
| 1860 | 31 | 36 | 1890 coincide with opening of the |
| 1850 | 23 | 36 |  |
| 1840 | 17 | 33 | "frontier"; colonization of the |
| 1830 | 13 | 34 | continent by Europeans and their |
| 1820 | 10 | 33 | descendants. |
| 1810 | 7 | 36 |  |
| 1800 | 5 | 35 |  |
| 1790 | 4 |  |  |

## Population density

| Region | Area <br> (millions <br> of $\mathrm{km}^{2}$ ) | Population <br> in 2014 <br> (millions) | Population <br> density <br> (people per $\mathrm{km}^{2}$ ) |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Earth (land) | 155 | 7238 | 47 |
| Bangladesh | 0.144 | 158 | 1100 |
| Rwanda | 0.026 | 11 | 420 |
| Netherlands | 0.042 | 17 | 400 |
| France | 0.544 | 64 | 120 |
| USA | 9.37 | 318 | 34 |
| Canada | 10.0 | 36 | 4 |
| Manhattan Island | $80 \mathrm{~km}^{2}$ | 1.5 | 20,000 |
| Hong Kong (city) | $\sim 75 \mathrm{~km}^{2}$ | $\sim 5$ | 60,000 |

Note that countries in Western Europe (Netherlands, France) are about ten times as dense as the U.S., and that the U.S. is ten times as dense as Canada. Note also that high-density cities (New York, Hong Kong) are about 1000 times the global average and yet those cities are livable. Thus physical crowding is not likely to set a limit to human population; other limits to growth will probably be encountered before crowding becomes intolerable.

## United Nations Population Division

World population in 1980

Predicted in 1951<br>3.3 billion

Actual (1980)
4.4 billion

## 240 pages

## WORLD POPULATION TO 2300

## United Nations <br> Population Division (2004)

Figure 37. Total fertility, European regions: 1950-2175


Figure 37. Total fertility, European regions: 1950-2175


> Replacement-Level Fertility: The Implausible Endpoint of the Demographic Transition

Demeny (1997)

Yet neither policy-makers nor the informed public seem to grasp the point that there is no magic force that guarantees stability of fertility behaviour once replacement level is reached. The received wisdom on the course of fertility envisages progress-spontaneous or socially engineered -towards replacement level, followed by stasis, at a total fertility rate (TFR) of, roughly, 2.1. That, in turn, would lead to population stabilization,

Figure 41. Total fertility in Niger and Latvia, estimates and three scenarios: 1950-2300


Figure 41. Total fertility in Niger and Latvia, estimates and three scenarios: 1950-2300


Logic of the UN report World Population to 2300:
(1) Replacement-level fertility is 2.1 cpw . (fact)
(2) Stability of population is desirable (assertion)
(3) Therefore:

All nations will converge to $T F R=2.1$

Wishful thinking

## Bayesian probabilistic population projections for all countries

Adrian E. Raftery ${ }^{\text {a, }, 1}$, Nan Lib, Hana Ševčíkovác, Patrick Gerland ${ }^{\text {b }}$, and Gerhard K. Heilig ${ }^{\text {b }}$
${ }^{a}$ Departments of Statistics and Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195-4322; ${ }^{\text {b }}$ Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2, United Nations Plaza DC2-1984, United Nations, New York, NY 10017; and 'Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195-4320

This contribution is part of the special series of Inaugural Articles by members of the National Academy of Sciences elected in 2009.
Contributed by Adrian Raftery, July 5, 2012 (sent for review January 28, 2012)

Our method assumes that TFR in a country will eventually fluctuate around an equilibrium value, taken here to be the approximate replacement level of 2.1.

The equilibrium value of 2.1 is set by expert judgment since there are not yet enough data to estimate it from observations.

## Bayesian Population Projections for the United Nations

Adrian E. Raftery, Leontine Alkema and Patrick Gerland


## 2.1 children per woman

Why is this assumption so persistent?


To avoid disaster, keep TFR at 2.1! Avoiding disaster is admirable, but avoiding disaster by wishful thinking . . . ?

## SCIENCE

## 10 OCTOBER 2014 • VOL 346

## World population stabilization unlikely this century

Patrick Gerland, ${ }^{\mathbf{1 *}} \dagger$ Adrian E. Raftery, ${ }^{2 *} \dagger$ Hana Ševčíková, ${ }^{3}$ Nan Li, ${ }^{1}$ Danan Gu, ${ }^{1}$ Thomas Spoorenberg, ${ }^{1}$ Leontine Alkema, ${ }^{4}$ Bailey K. Fosdick, ${ }^{5}$ Jennifer Chunn, ${ }^{6}$ Nevena Lalic, ${ }^{7}$ Guiomar Bay, ${ }^{8}$ Thomas Buettner, ${ }^{9} \ddagger$ Gerhard K. Heilig, ${ }^{9} \ddagger$ John Wilmoth ${ }^{1}$

To model this, we used a single first-order autoregressive model with long-term mean $\mu$ equal to the approximate replacement fertility level of 2.1 for all countries in Phase III, namely,

## Population growth: Peak probability

IN THEIR REPORT "World population stabilization unlikely this century" (10 October, p. 234; published online 18 September), P. Gerland et al. used a United Nations (UN) 2012 assessment to support their claim that the population will not peak this century, despite our earlier work indicating that it will (1-3).

Wolfgang Lutz,*William Butz, Samir KC,
Warren Sanderson, Sergei Scherbov
World Population Program, International Institute
for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), A-2361
Laxenburg, Austria.

Beyond 2030-2035, fertility was assumed to reach an average level of between 1.7 and 2.1 children per woman by 2080, with the specific value depending on population density in 2030 (the high the density, the lower the fertility). The 90 per cent range around that value was set at 1.0 children. The


UN Children's clinic. Zinder, Niger, 1977


Agadez market, Niger, 1977

Niger 1977 (population 5 million)
2018 population 22 million.




## PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS <br> THE ROYAL SOCIETY

## Stall in fertility decline in Eastern African countries: regional analysis of patterns, determinants and implications

Alex C. Ezeh, Blessing U. Mberu and Jacques O. Emina

Phil. Trans. R. Soc. B 2009 364, 2991-3007
caused by
"decline in international development assistance for family planning"

Figure 41. Total fertility in Niger and Latvia, estimates and three scenarios: 1950-2300



## World Population Prospects

## World Population Prospects

## Niger

| Year | 2015 | 2030 | 2050 | 2100 |
| :--- | ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total fertility rate (cpw) | 7.6 | 6.7 | 4.9 | 2.5 |
| population (millions) | 20 | 36 | 72 | 209 |
| life expectancy at birth (years) | 61 | 66 | 71 | 77 |
| under-5 mortality (per 1000 births) | 104 | 60 | 30 | 12 |

Slow down population growth
access to quality contraceptive services, argues John Bongaarts.
"unmet need"
unsatisfied demand for contraception. About 74 million unplanned pregnancies occur each year in the developing world (39\% of annual developing-world pregnancies). About half of these end in induced abortions ${ }^{4}$.

Still, only $1 \%$ of all overseas development assistance (ODA) is now allocated to family planning ${ }^{10}$. This amount is inadequate; in too many countries, programmes remain weak and political commitment is lacking.

The proportion of ODA allocated to family planning

# Slow down population growth 

Within a decade, women everywhere should have access to quality contraceptive services, argues John Bongaarts.
should be raised to $2 \%$ and developingcountries governments should expand their funding by an equivalent proportion. Such a doubling of funding will be more than repaid by savings in other sectors such as education and health care in future years.

## Unintended Pregnancy in the United States

In the United States, 45\% of pregnancies are unintended.
Mistimed 27\%
Unwanted 18\%
Total unintended 27+18=45\%

Unintended pregnancies result in birth (60\%) or abortion (40\%).

## Reproduction and the carbon legacies of individuals

Paul A. Murtaugh ${ }^{\text {a,* }}$, Michael G. Schlax ${ }^{\text {b }}$

Family-planning is the most effective way for Americans to reduce their $\mathrm{CO}_{2}$ emissions.

## Reproduction and the carbon legacies of individuals

Paul A. Murtaugh ${ }^{\text {a,* }}$, Michael G. Schlax ${ }^{\text {b }}$

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A B S T R A C T
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Much attention has been paid to the ways that people's home energy use, travel, food choices and other routine activities affect their emissions of carbon dioxide and, ultimately, their contributions to global warming. However, the reproductive choices of an individual are rarely incorporated into calculations of his personal impact on the environment. Here we estimate the extra emissions of fossil carbon dioxide that an average individual causes when he or she chooses to have children. The summed emissions of a person's descendants, weighted by their relatedness to him, may far exceed the lifetime emissions produced by the original parent. Under current conditions in the United States, for example, each child adds about 9441 metric tons of carbon dioxide to the carbon legacy of an average female, which is 5.7 times her lifetime emissions. A person's reproductive choices must be considered along with his day-today activities when assessing his ultimate impact on the global environment.

## (assuming your child will have 1.85 children)

Global Environmental Change 19 (2009) 14-20

## Murtaugh and Schlax (2009)

## Table 3

For the United States, lifetime emissions of $\mathrm{CO}_{2}$ that are saved by different actions, based on the EPA's Personal Emissions Calculator (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 2007), and average emissions caused by having one additional child, from Table 2. Totals were obtained by multiplying the EPA's annual figures by 80, the current life expectancy of a female in the United States.

| Action | $\mathrm{CO}_{2}$ saved (metric tons ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ) |
| :---: | :---: |
| Increase car's fuel economy from 20 to 30 mpg | 148 |
| Reduce miles driven from 231 to 155 per week | 147 |
| Replace single-glazed windows with energy-efficient windows | 121 |
| Replace ten 75 -w incandescent bulbs with $25-$ w energy-efficient lights | 36 |
| Replace old refrigerator with energy-efficient model | 19 |
| Recycle newspaper, magazines, glass, plastic, aluminum, and steel cans | 17 |
| Reduce number of children by one |  |
| Constant-emission scenario | 9,441 |
| Optimistic scenario | 562 |
| Pessimistic scenario | 12,730 |

## Birth rates have been dropping.

What causes birth rates to drop?

Figure 8
Fertility by Mother's Education Level in Selected Countries, Around 2000

*Average number of children that a woman would have under prevailing age-specific birth rates.
Sources: ORC Macro, country final reports, Demographic and Health Surveys, available online at www.measuredhs.org.

How to reduce the birth rate in high-fertility countries?

Fertility rate correlates inversely with affluence and education of girls.

The causality goes in both directions. Countries with fewer children to support are able to invest more in the education of those children.

Lutz, 2011: "Under conditions of high population growth, the increase in the school-age population is such that even maintaining the current school enrollment rates is an uphill battle. From a policy perspective it is most effective to try to increase female education and improve access to family planning programs at the same time."

## Fertility Below Replacement Level

IN ASSESSING THE STATE OF THE PLANET, IT IS important to note that during late 2003 or early 2004, the human population will cross a historic, but so far largely unnoticed, threshold. Most of the world's population either already do, or soon will, live in countries or regions in which fertility is below the level of long-run replacement.

As of 2004, half of the world's population live in countries in which fertility is below replacement level. (Wilson, Science, 2004)



Median projection of TFR for Nigeria reaches 2.2 in 2100. [Gerland, Raftery et al. Science 2014]


Gerland, Raftery et al. Science 2014


Median projection for 2100 is 900 million.
Can Nigeria's agriculture support 900 million?

# International New York Times, 2 November 2015. "Mass migration poised to rise" 


Nor is it only the Middle East and North Africa that European leaders need to consider. The Gallup Poll, based on data compiled from more than 450,000 interviews in 151 nations from 2009 to 2011, found that in Nigeria, which already has double the population of Germany, 40 percent of people would emigrate to the West if they could. And the lesson of 2015 - for them and much of the world - is that they can.

While the flow of migrants to Eurone


India is building a fence on the border of Bangladesh.



Countries with low fertility rates: aging and shrinking

## Countries with low fertility rates: aging and shrinking

## Shrinking.Population Economics

Lessons from Japan

## Matsutani Akihiko

Professor,
National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies
2006
201 pages

Translated by
Brian Miller

Figure 1
The Over-65 Percentage of the Population in Principal Industrialized NationsPast, Present, and Future


Source: United Nations, World Population Prospects 2002 Revised

Figure 4
Over-65 Japanese


Sources: National census data published by the Statistics Bureau of Japan's Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications for years to 2000 and projections by Fujimasa Iwao for subsequent years

# Is low fertility really a problem? Population aging, dependency, and consumption 

Ronald Lee, ${ }^{1 *}$ Andrew Mason, ${ }^{2,3 *}$ members of the NTA Network $\dagger$

Longer lives and fertility far below the replacement level of 2.1 births per woman are leading to rapid population aging in many countries. Many observers are concerned that aging will adversely affect public finances and standards of living. Analysis of newly available National Transfer Accounts data for 40 countries shows that fertility well above replacement would typically be most beneficial for government budgets. However, fertility near replacement would be most beneficial for standards of living when the analysis includes the effects of age structure on families as well as governments. And fertility below replacement would maximize per capita consumption when the cost of providing capital for a growing labor force is taken into account. Although low fertility will indeed challenge government programs and very low fertility undermines living standards, we find that moderately low fertility and population decline favor the broader material standard of living.

## Trends in Ecology \& Evolution 2018

# Aging Human Populations: Good for Us, Good for the Earth 

Frank Götmark, ${ }^{1, \star}$ Philip Cafaro, ${ }^{2}$ and Jane O'Sullivan ${ }^{3}$

As the nations of the world grapple with the task of creating sustainable societies, ending and in some cases reversing population growth will be necessary to succeed. Yet stable or declining populations are typically reported in the media as a problem, or even a crisis, due to demographic aging. This is misguided, as economic analyses show that the costs connected with aging societies are manageable, while the economic, social, and environmental benefits of smaller populations are substantial. Earth's human-carrying capacity has been exceeded; hence, population growth must end and aging societies are unavoidable. They should be embraced as part of a just and prosperous future for people and the other species with whom we share our planet.

## Highlights

Despite ongoing social and environmental crises driven by human population increase, public concern has instead focused on demographic aging as the greater challenge, even suggesting that population growth should be rekindled to combat it.

The economic and demographic literatures suggest that the problems associated with aging societies are both overstated and manageable,

## Summary

For the last 45 years, world population has increased steadily by $\sim 80$ million every year, because the growth rate is decreasing.

Fertility rates in Africa have been declining more slowly than expected ("stalled").

There is nothing unusual about having more than two children; it is normal for all animal species. The cause of human population growth is advances in agriculture.

Agriculture is in a race to keep up with growing population.

## Recommendations for the U.N.

Instead of population projections based on optimistic assumptions of fertility and mortality,
identify $T F R=2.1 \mathrm{cpw}$ as a goal, and identify policies for each country that would push TFR toward that goal.

| 1 mana Mivini | $2 m$ | $3$ | $4$ | $\begin{array}{r} 5 \\ \hline 9 \end{array}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $9$ | $10 \text { En }$ |
|  |  | egioba | S | $\begin{aligned} & 12= \\ & 90 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | $14 \underset{\sim}{\square}$ |  |  | 178 |

## Meeting the Sustainable Development Goals leads to lower world population growth

Guy J. Abel ${ }^{\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{b}}$, Bilal Barakat ${ }^{\mathrm{b}}$, Samir KC ${ }^{\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{b}, 1}$, and Wolfgang Lutz ${ }^{\mathrm{b}, 1}$

2013


# COUNTDOWN ALAN WEISMAN 

Author of the national bestseller THE WORLD WITHOUT US


Costa Rica Britain
Uganda
China Philippines Niger

Pakistan
Iran
Israel
Japan
India
Thailand

## Let's take a poll: What will stop world population growth?

(a) Decrease in birth rate
voluntary
by coercion
accidental
(b) Increase in death rate

Pollution
Contagious disease

## War

Depletion of resources
Lack of food
(c) The population won't stop growing

