

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Does Population Growth Vary among Regions?

- The Demographic Transition
- Malthus on Overpopulation
- Population Futures

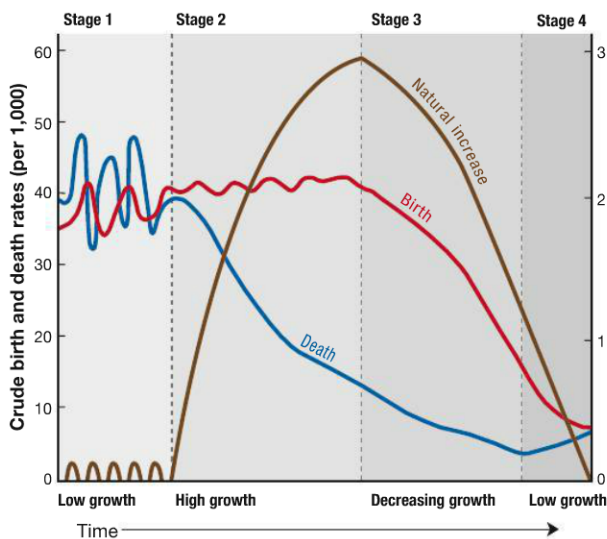
Learning Outcome 2.3.1

Describe the four stages of the demographic transition.

All countries have experienced some changes in NIR, CBR, and CDR, but at different times and at different rates. Why does global growth matter? In view of the current size of Earth's population and the NIR, will there soon be too many of us?

The Demographic Transition

The **demographic transition** is a process of change in a society's population from high crude birth and death rates and low rate of natural increase to a condition of low crude birth and death rates, low rate of natural increase, and higher total population. The process consists of four stages, and every country is in one of them (Figure 2-17).



▲ **FIGURE 2-17 DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION MODEL** The demographic transition model consists of four stages.

STAGE 1: LOW GROWTH

Very high birth and death rates produce virtually no long-term natural increase.

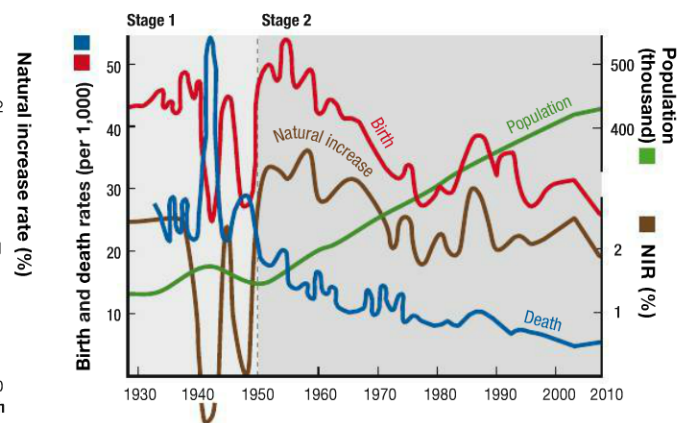
Most of human history was spent in stage 1 of the demographic transition, but today no country remains in stage 1. Every nation has moved on to at least stage 2 of the demographic transition, and, with that transition, has experienced profound changes in population. For most of this period, people depended on hunting and gathering for food (see Chapter 10). When food was easily obtained, a region's population increased, but it declined when people were unable to locate enough animals or vegetation nearby.

STAGE 2: HIGH GROWTH

Rapidly declining death rates and very high birth rates produce very high natural increase.

Europe and North America entered stage 2 of the demographic transition after 1750, as a result of the **Industrial Revolution**, which began in the United Kingdom in the late eighteenth century and diffused to the European continent and North America (including the United States) during the nineteenth century. The Industrial Revolution was a conjunction of major improvements in manufacturing goods and delivering them to market (see Chapter 11). The result of this transformation was an unprecedented level of wealth, some of which was used to make communities healthier places to live.

Stage 2 of the demographic transition did not diffuse to Africa, Asia, and Latin America until around 1950 (Figure 2-18), and it made that transition for a different reason than in Europe and North America 200 years earlier. The late-twentieth-century push of developing countries into stage 2 was caused by the **medical revolution**. Medical technology invented in Europe and North America has diffused to developing countries. Improved medical practices have eliminated many of the traditional causes of death in developing countries and enabled more people to experience longer and healthier lives.



▲ **FIGURE 2-18 STAGE 2: CAPE VERDE** Cape Verde entered stage 2 of the demographic transition in approximately 1950, as indicated by the large gap between birth and death rates since then.

STAGE 3: DECREASING GROWTH

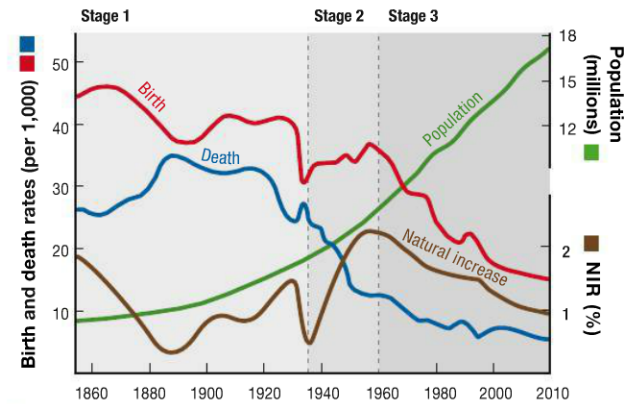
Birth rates rapidly decline, death rates continue to decline, and natural increase rates begin to moderate.

A country moves from stage 2 to stage 3 of the demographic transition when the CBR begins to drop sharply. The CDR continues to fall in stage 3 but at a much slower rate than in stage 2. The population continues to grow because the CBR is still greater than the CDR. But the rate of natural increase is more modest in countries in stage 3 than in those in stage 2 because the gap between the CBR and the CDR narrows.

A society enters stage 3 when people have fewer children. The decision to have fewer children is partly a delayed reaction to a decline in mortality.

Economic changes in stage 3 societies also induce people to have fewer offspring. People in stage 3 societies are more likely to live in cities than in the countryside and to work in offices, shops, or factories rather than on farms. Farmers often consider a large family to be an asset because children can do some of the chores. Urban homes are relatively small and may not have space to accommodate large families.

Most countries in Europe and North America (including the United States) moved from stage 2 to stage 3 of the demographic transition during the first half of the twentieth century. The movement took place during the second half of the twentieth century in many countries of Asia and Latin America, including Chile (Figure 2-19).



▲ FIGURE 2-19 STAGE 3: CHILE Chile entered stage 2 of the demographic transition in the 1930s, when death rates declined sharply, and stage 3 in the 1960s, when birth rates declined sharply.

STAGE 4: LOW GROWTH

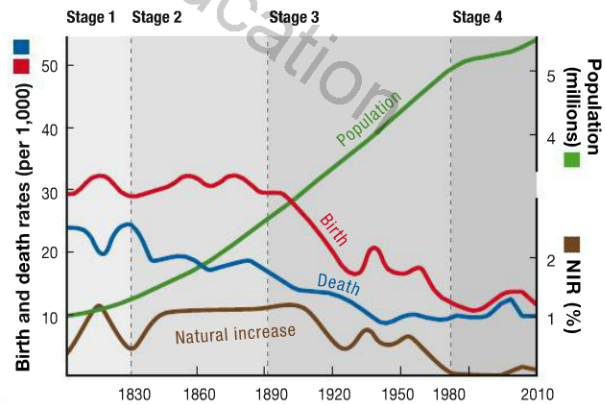
Very low birth and death rates produce virtually no long-term natural increase and possibly a decrease.

A country reaches stage 4 of the demographic transition when the CBR declines to the point where it equals the CDR and the NIR approaches zero. This condition is called **zero population growth (ZPG)**, a term often applied to stage 4 countries.

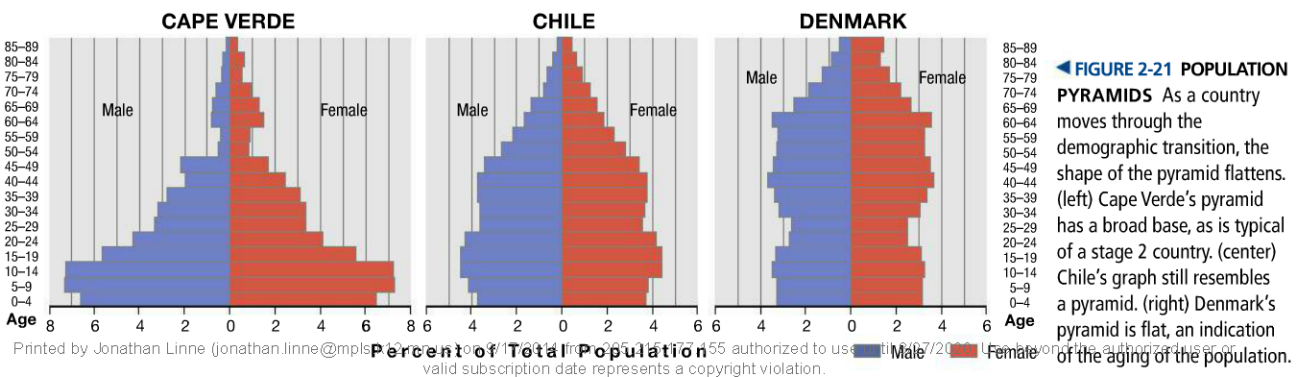
ZPG may occur when the CBR is still slightly higher than the CDR because some females die before reaching childbearing years, and the number of females in their childbearing years can vary. To account for these discrepancies, demographers more precisely define ZPG as the TFR that results in a lack of change in the total population over a long term. A TFR of approximately 2.1 produces ZPG.

Social customs again explain the movement to stage 4. Increasingly, women in stage 4 societies enter the labor force rather than remain at home as full-time homemakers. People who have access to a wider variety of birth-control methods are more likely to use some of them.

Denmark, like most other European countries, has reached stage 4 of the demographic transition (Figure 2-20). Denmark's population pyramid shows the impact of the demographic transition. Instead of a classic pyramid shape, Denmark has a column, demonstrating that the percentages of young and elderly people are nearly the same (Figure 2-21).



▲ FIGURE 2-20 STAGE 4: DENMARK Denmark has been in stage 4 of the demographic transition and has experienced virtually no change in total population since the 1970s.



◀ FIGURE 2-21 POPULATION PYRAMIDS As a country moves through the demographic transition, the shape of the pyramid flattens. (left) Cape Verde's pyramid has a broad base, as is typical of a stage 2 country. (center) Chile's graph still resembles a pyramid. (right) Denmark's pyramid is flat, an indication of the aging of the population.

DECLINING BIRTH RATES

Learning Outcome 2.3.2

Summarize two approaches to reducing birth rates.

The CBR has declined rapidly since 1990, from 27 to 20 in the world as a whole and from 31 to 22 in developing countries (Figure 2-22). Two strategies have been successful in reducing birth rates:

1. **Lowering birth rates through education and health care.** One approach to lowering birth rates emphasizes the importance of improving local economic conditions (Figure 2-23). A wealthier community has more money to spend on education and health-care programs that promote lower birth rates. According to this approach:

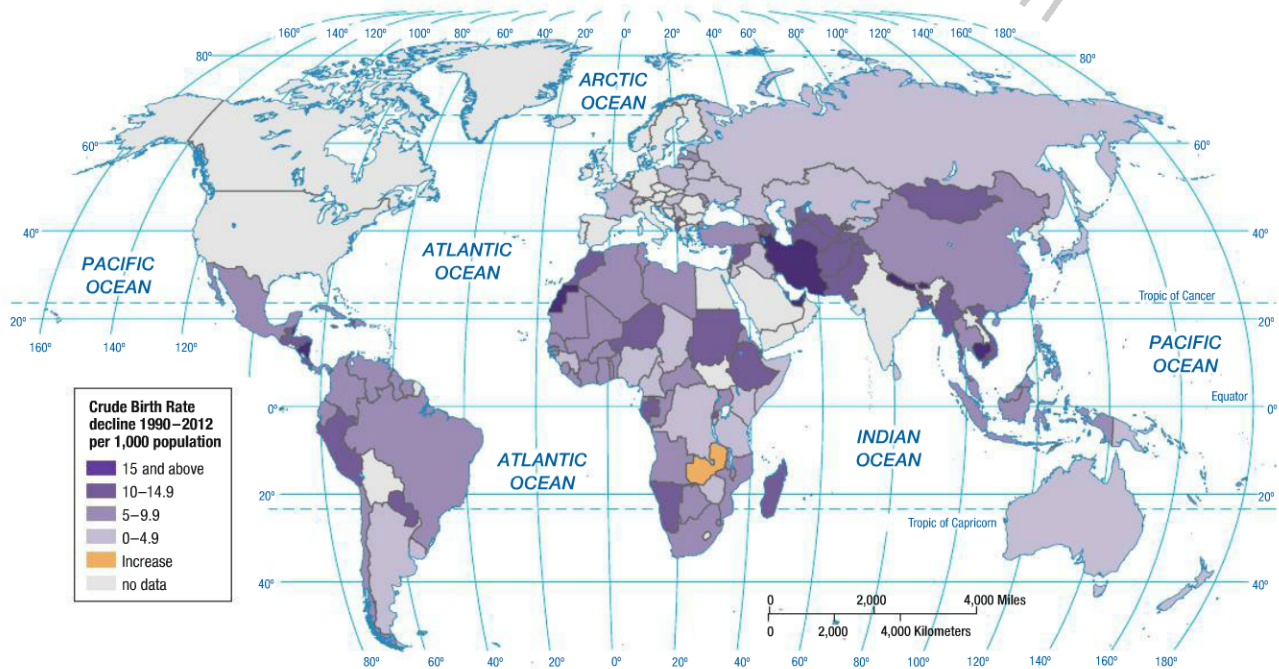
- With more women able to attend school and to remain in school longer, they would be more likely to learn employment skills and gain more economic control over their lives.
- With better education, women would better understand their reproductive rights, make more informed reproductive choices, and select more effective methods of contraception.
- With improved health-care programs, IMRs would decline through such programs as improved prenatal care, counseling about sexually transmitted diseases, and child immunization.
- With the survival of more infants ensured, women would be more likely to choose to make more

effective use of contraceptives to limit the number of children.

2. **Lowering birth rates through contraception.** The other approach to lowering birth rates emphasizes the importance of rapidly diffusing modern contraceptive methods (Figure 2-24). Economic development may promote lower birth rates in the long run, but the world cannot wait around for that alternative to take effect. Putting resources into family-planning programs can reduce birth rates much more rapidly. In developing countries, demand for contraceptive devices is greater than the available supply. Therefore, the most effective way to increase their use is to distribute more of them cheaply and quickly. According to this approach, contraceptives are the best method for lowering the birth rate.

Bangladesh is an example of a country that has had little improvement in the wealth and literacy of its people, but 56 percent of the women in the country used contraceptives in 2011 compared to 6 percent three decades earlier. Similar growth in the use of contraceptives has occurred in other developing countries, including Colombia, Morocco, and Thailand. Rapid growth in the acceptance of family planning is evidence that in the modern world, ideas can diffuse rapidly, even to places where people have limited access to education and modern communications.

The percentage of women using contraceptives is especially low in sub-Saharan Africa, so the alternative of distributing contraceptives could have an especially strong impact there. Fewer than one-fourth of women in sub-Saharan Africa employ contraceptives, compared to more



▲ **FIGURE 2-22 CBR CHANGE 1990–2012** The crude birth rate has declined in all but a handful of countries. Declines have been most rapid in Latin America and South and Southwest Asia.



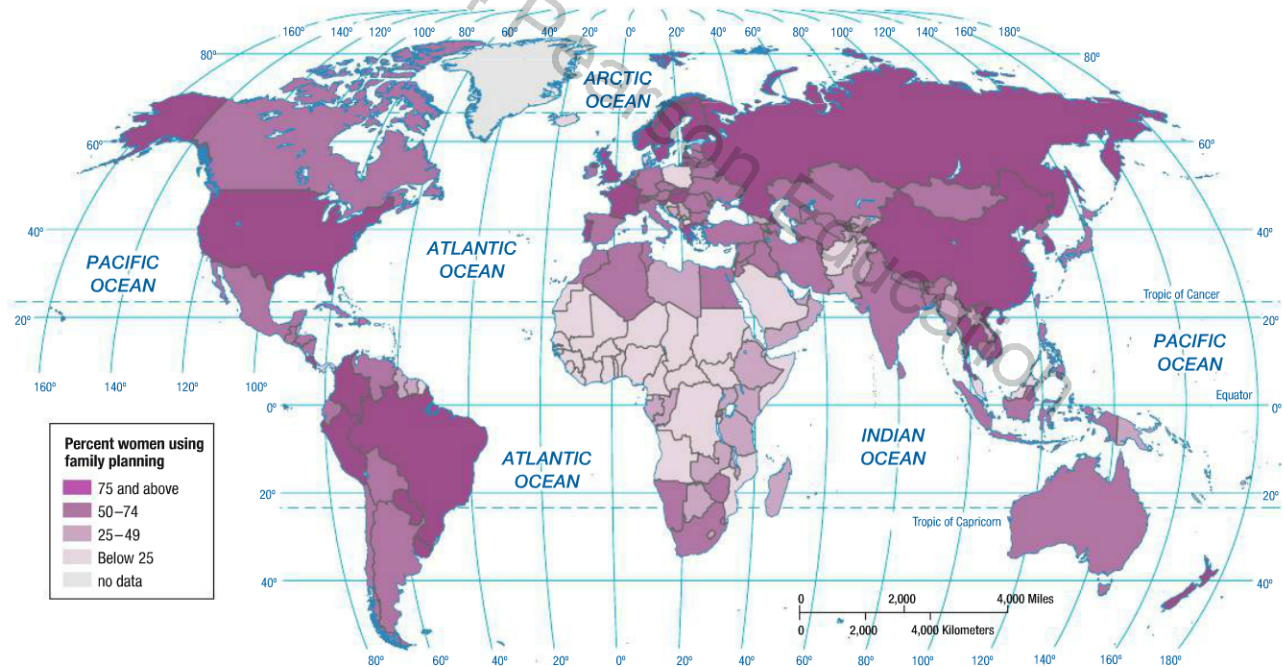
▲ FIGURE 2-23 PROMOTING FEWER CHILDREN Women talk about birth control at a health clinic in Kampong Cham, Cambodia.

than two-thirds in Asia and three-fourths in Latin America (Figure 2-25).

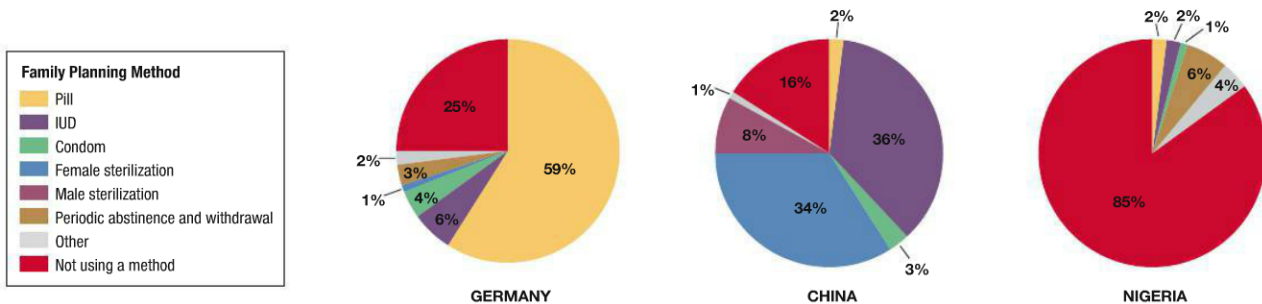
Regardless of which alternative is more successful, many oppose birth-control programs for religious and political reasons. Adherents of several religions, including Roman Catholics, fundamentalist Protestants, Muslims, and Hindus, have religious convictions that prevent them from using some or all birth-control methods. In the United States opposition is strong to terminating pregnancy by abortion, and the U.S. government has at times withheld aid to countries and family-planning organizations that advise abortion, even when such advice is only a small part of the overall aid program.

Pause and Reflect 2.3.2

Why have countries in Northern Europe had little if any decline in CBR since 1990?



▲ FIGURE 2-24 WOMEN USING FAMILY PLANNING More than two-thirds of couples in developed countries use a family-planning method. Family-planning varies widely in developing countries. China reports the world's highest rate of family planning; the lowest rates are in sub-Saharan Africa.



▲ FIGURE 2-25 FAMILY PLANNING METHODS The principal family-planning methods in developed countries like Germany are condoms and birth-control pills. The principal methods in China are intrauterine devices (IUDs) and female sterilization. People in sub-Saharan African countries such as Nigeria make minimal use of family planning.

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