## Demographic Transitions Across Time and Space

**DISCUSSION** BY SILVANA TENREYRO

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND BANK OF ENGLAND

#### The Paper

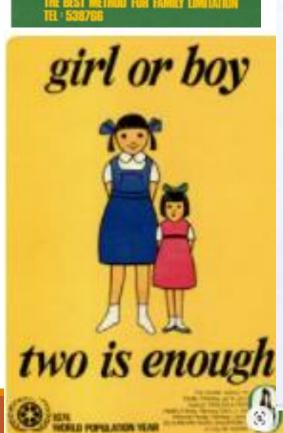
- A. Impressive data set to uncover 3 regularities:
  - 1. Length of demographic transition has shortened over time
  - 2. Income per capita at the start of the transitions is "more or less" constant
  - 3. A country's transition is associated to neighbours' (contagion)

- B. Model to explain the data:
  - 1. Many (closed) economies with 2 sectors.
  - 2. Parents decide number and education of children
  - 3. Technical change diffuses slowly from frontier (Britain) to ROW

#### Omitted factor: Global population-control programmes

- Led by US, Sweden, India, Indonesia...
  - Two key global players: International Planned Parenthood Federation and the Population Council
  - Local governments and non-government groups in different countries
- Two pillars of the programmes:
  - 1. Diffusion of contraceptive technologies
  - 2. Actions to change social norms on family size (tailored to each country's political, social, religious and cultural constraints). Establish a norm of 2 children per woman.
- De Silva and Tenreyro (JEP 2017), "Population-control Policies and Fertility Convergence"
  - strong link between fertility decline and different measures of programme intensity
- De Silva and Tenreyro (AEJ 2020), "The Fall in Global Fertility: A Quantitative Model"
  - endogenous human capital, norms, and population policies



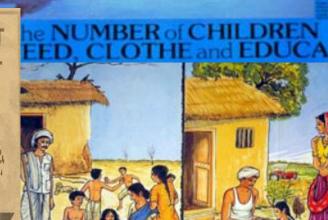




HAPPINESS IS A

2-CHILD FAMILY





PLAN YOUR FAMILY





No more than two children.



A third is absurd.

#### "We Must Get on with the Job"

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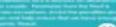
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#### "The World's Most Critical Problem"

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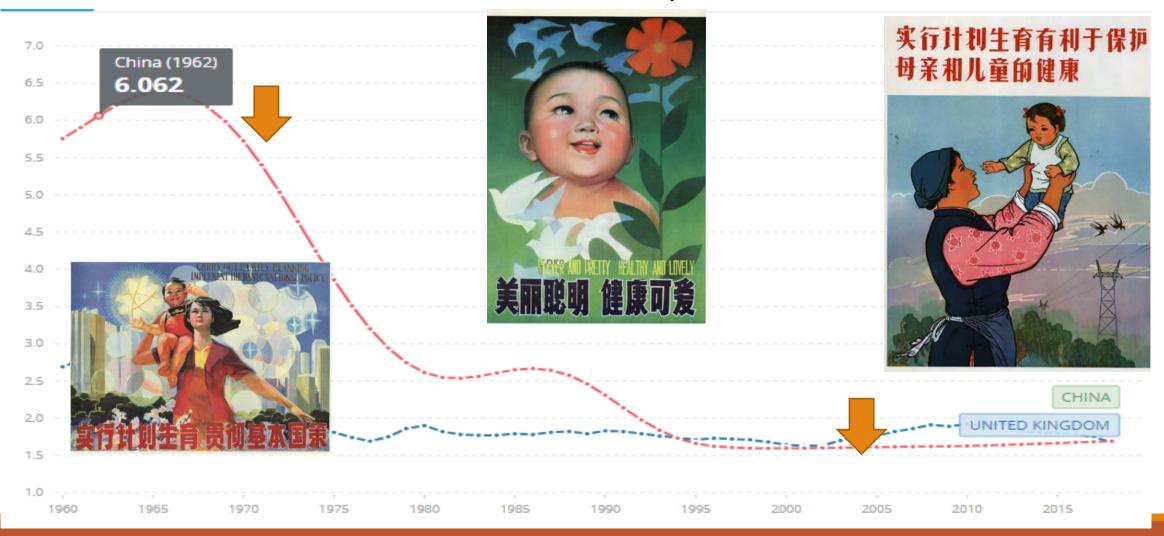
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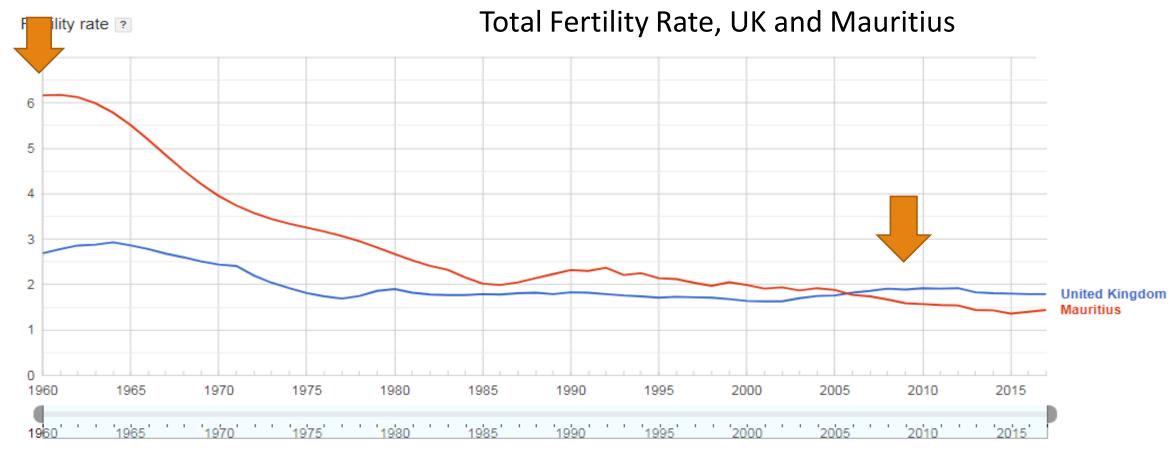


#### An extreme example: China (CBT start 1972; finish 2005)

#### Total Fertility Rate, UK and China



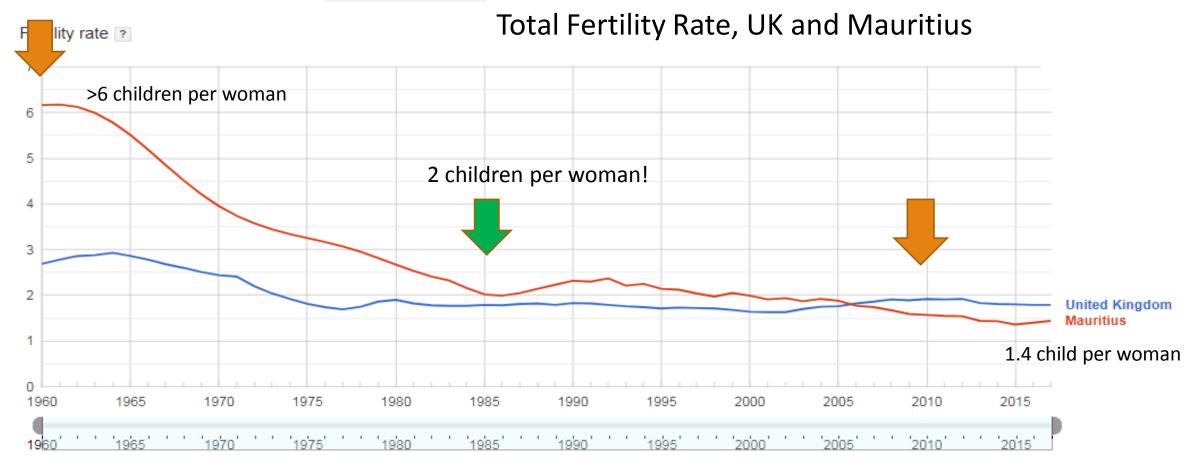
## An example: Mauritius (CBT start 1958, finish2009)



Data from World Bank Last updated: Apr 8, 2020

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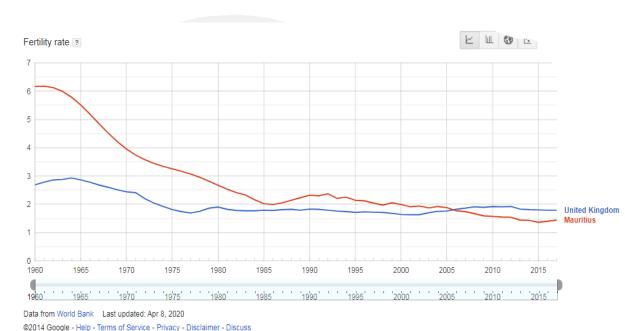
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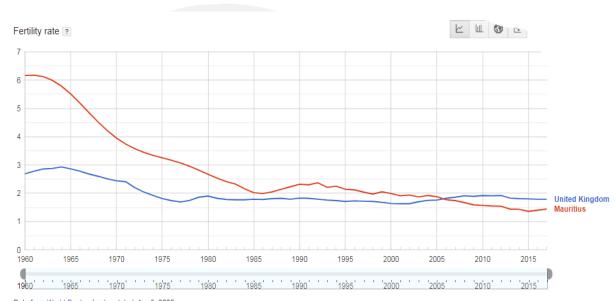
## An example: Mauritius (CBT started 1958)



6 to 2 children per woman in 25 years! How would the model explain this?

- Diffusion of production technologies from United Kingdom to Mauritius.
- (Not about diffusion of contraceptive technologies).
- But very different economies back then. Were the UK production technologies "relevant" for MRU? Sugar cane plantations. (Still now very different; e.g., seafood production, beach tourism...)

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- Diffusion of **production** technologies from United Kingdom to Mauritius.
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- But very different economies back then. Sugar cane plantations. (Still very different...)
- What else was going on?

A lot. Economist James Meade's report for the Mauritian Government (1961) centred on "population problem"; Foundation of the Mauritian Family Planning Association (1958); World Bank missions to advise the government on organization of a family planning program; United Nations Fund for Population Activities; Mauritian Government's Ministry of Health integrates family-planning services in maternal care; Global population-control movement in LDC: International Planned Parenthood Federation, Population Council. Source of "Contagion"? (Parenthesis: James Meade's won Nobel Prize for his contributions to International Economics. MRU closed econ?)

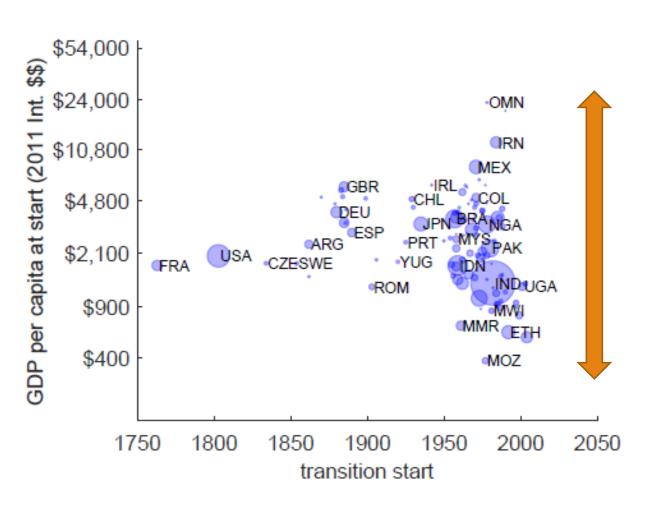
#### Back to the facts

#### 1. Length of transition has shortened over time.

- Paper: Diffusion of productive technologies. But transition happened in:
   a) countries with very different production technologies; open economies with specialised sectors.
  - b) urban as well as rural areas (agriculture)
- Omitted variable in theory and data: Active policies to facilitate contraception and change family size norms; focus on both rural and urban areas.
- 2. Income per capita at the start of the transitions is "more or less" constant
- 3. A country's transition is associated to neighbours' (contagion)

#### 2. Income per capita at the start of the transitions is "more or less" constant

Log GDPpc at the start of the CBR transiti



- True in early transitions.
- But recent transitions, range goes from \$400 to \$24,000
- Countries with different levels of development lowered fertility to near 2.

3. A country's transition is associated to neighbours' (contagion)

Mechanic contagion model. Perhaps captures:

- Global population control movement: common factor (contraceptive diffusion and public campaigns)
- Neighbours mater; e.g., regional cooperation on population strategies, facing similar challenges (e.g., religion, infrastructure, etc.)

## Wrap up + further thoughts

- A. Super interesting thesis. Carefully crafted. Paper could engage more with history.
  - Hard to think of China's population growth omitting one-child policy; by continuity, in thinking of cross section of countries, hard to omit their population policies.
- B. Unlike early transitions, recent ones happened at very different levels of development.
  - Across urban and rural areas within countries. "More or less" is more less than more".
- C. Lower fertility affects income, GDP (and other outcomes)—not reflected in empirics (endogeneity bias). Regressions w gravity-equation flavour (Omitted factors? Specification?).
- Implications of model: Population growth is the decentralised, efficient outcome of development, as atomised agents optimise over the quality-quantity tradeoff. Not much scope for policy? But in practice, many externalities. No hope (or point) to change outcomes?



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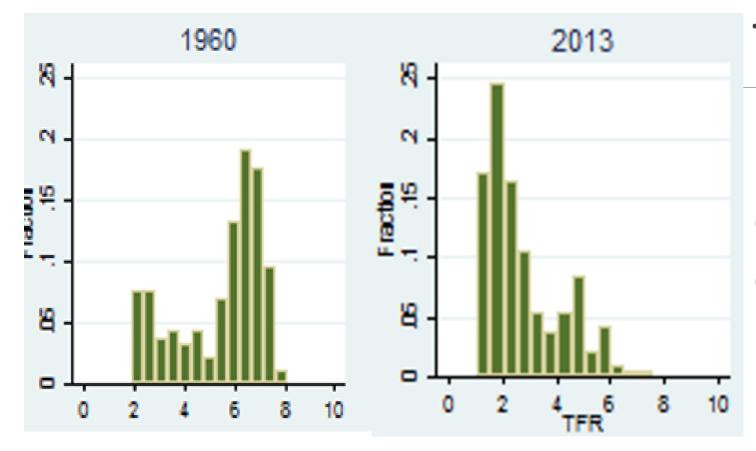
#### Japan

Japan to help cover IVF costs in attempt to avert demographic crisis

# In the news today (The Guardian, 6 November)

Example of country trying to affect fertility rates.

(Debatable whether this particular one is an effective measure.)



## **Total Fertility Rate:**

1960: more than 50% countries between 6-8 children pw

7 2013: Median at 2.2