The Demographic Transition

- ▶ The demographic transition was a major change in population growth and life expectancy driven by changes in mortality and fertility
- Demographic transition between low population growth rates of preindustrial world, high population growth during the Industrial Revolution, back to low population growth in modern economies despite high incomes
- ▶ If the demographic transition didn't occur, could still be a Malthusian world or at least a world with greater population pressures on income per person

Fertility patterns in 17th century Britain



FIGURE 4. Surviving children by assets of Testator, England, 1585–1636. Note: Assets in £. Source: Clark and Hamilton (2004).

Modern fertility patterns



A stylized version of a demographic transition

A Stylized Demographic Transition



Another stylized version of a demographic transition

Figure 5: The Fertility Income Relationship



The demographic transition across Europe



Figure 1. The Decline in Fertility and Mortality in Western Europe: Source: Andorka (1978)

The demographic transition in Britain



Figure 1: English Fertility History, 1540-2000

Modern birth and death rates



Modern birth and death rates



Explanations of the transition

- ▶ Do rising incomes lead to lower fertility rates? Only during transition.
- ▶ Before transition, we have a positive correlation between income and birth rates.
- ▶ No strong correlation between household income and fertility within countries in modern data for US and Europe (there is a negative correlation across countries).
- Possible explanations: families have one desired size, increased social status of women, change in nature of quantity/quality tradeoff for children

Explanations of the transition

- ▶ These possible explanations are not mutually exclusive
- Each is going to draw on slightly different aspects of what we've talked about
 - ▶ Desired family size: mortality declines with rising incomes
 - ▶ Increased social status of women: the Industrious Revolution
 - ▶ Quantity/quality tradeoff: Becker-style household resource allocation

Desired Family Size Explanation

Royal family succession tree



Desired Family Size Explanation

- Perhaps couples have a desired family size (for example, they may want to have at least one male heir)
- ▶ These preferences would be over the number of children surviving, not the number of children born
- ▶ If child mortality is high, fertility rates need to be high to achieve desired family size
- ▶ As mortality declines, families can have fewer babies and still achieve the same family size
- Makes sense in terms of the decline in mortality beginning before the decline in fertility

Desired Family Size Explanation





- ▶ The increased social status of women may have also contributed to the demographic transition
- ▶ The costs of additional children were highly asymmetric
- Women were responsible for the child rearing and bore considerable health risks during child birth
- ▶ It is possible that men desired larger families than women
- ▶ The increased social status of women may have let women have more say in family size





Panel C. Log scarlet fever mortality rate per

Panel A. Log maternal mortality ratio (deaths per

Panel B. Log influenza and pneumonia mortality rate per 100,000



1935 1940 1945 1950



5.5

3 1920 1925

FIGURE 2. MORTALITY TRENDS (in logs) FOR TREATED DISEASES, 1920–1950

Log tuberculosis mortality rate per 100,000



FIGURE 3. MORTALITY TRENDS (in logs) FOR CONTROL DISEASE



Log mortality rate (per 100,000) for cancer, diabetes, and heart disease

FIGURE 4. MORTALITY TRENDS (in logs) FOR CHRONIC DISEASES

Quantity/quality tradeoff with children

- Fewer children with higher income suggests children are an *inferior* good which doesn't seem quite right
- We can make sense of decrease in number of children if quality of children is considered
- ▶ As income rises, parents can invest more in either additional children or the quality of each child
- Think of quantity as inferior but quality as a normal good in this scenario
- Additional children are very time intensive, higher income doesn't buy a longer day (and increases opportunity cost of staying home)
- Because of time constraints, parents switch to fewer kids with more money invested in each kid (think braces and SAT tutors)

The Demographic Transition Across the Atlantic

- ▶ It's worth taking a moment to think about how the US experience compares to Europe
- America had a very different demographic transition that can help highlight some additional dimensions of fertility and mortality
- ▶ Two big differences for the US compared to Europe:
 - ▶ Mortality didn't initially decline with rising incomes as it did for Europe
 - ▶ The drop in fertility preceded the decline in mortality

The American Birthrate

US Birthrate per 1,000, 1800-1999



Total fertility rate, 1800-2000



The American Fertility Rate - Regional Differences



Number of children under 5 per 1,000 women age 10-44

Why are fertility rates higher in rural areas and the frontier?

- A common explanation is that on the expanding frontier, the abundance of land meant that there was plenty of economic opportunity if you could provide enough labor
- ▶ Children could provide valuable labor on the farm
- ▶ In addition, the greater land wealth of farmers made them more likely to have several children if providing inheritances matters to parents (target bequest model)
- An alternative to this idea of a target bequest model is a strategic bequest model in which parents want their children to take care of them when they are older

Children as a Source of Labor



Were children valuable on the farm?

Family Group	Northeast	Midwest	Frontier
Children, 0-6	(\$20.82)	\$8.59	(\$6.41)
Children, 7-12	\$22.81	\$27.76	\$27.12
Teenage females	\$22.95	\$39.75	\$17.53
Teenage males	\$111.03	\$47.45	\$49.03
Adult women	\$154.08	\$70.25	\$147.28
Adult men	\$294.77	\$186.44	\$193.66

Contributions to Farm Family Income, 1860

Children and the Target Bequest Model

Two-children families ($N = 31$)			
First born	Mean	Standard deviation	
X_{1}/W_{1}	0.491	0.052	
X_{2}/W_{2}	0.498	0.048	
X_{3}/W_{3}	0.495	0.047	
Eirst born Mean Standard deviation			
	and the second se		
X_1/W_1	0.329	0.127	
X_{2}/W_{2}	0.342	0.090	
X_{3}/W_{3}	0.339	0.091	
Second born			
X_{1}/W_{1}	0.317	0.069	
X_{2}/W_{2}	0.312	0.067	
X_{3}/W_{3}	0.310	0.066	

ESTATE PROPORTIONS BY BIRTH ORDER



FIGURE 1. Distribution of living arrangements of white individuals and couples aged 65 or older, United States, 1850–1990. (Source: S. Ruggles, M. Sobek et al., *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 2.0*, Minneapolis, Historical Census Projects, University of Minnesota, 1997, hereafter IPUMS [available at http://jpums.org].



FDR signing the Social Security Act of 1935



Ernest Ackerman, received 17 cents in Social Security benefits



Explaining the American Fertility Decline

- ▶ Falling fertility levels in the US may be less about mortality rates and desired family size and more about rural to urban migration
- ▶ Urbanization and industrialization did a variety of things:
 - ▶ Larger families became more costly with rising population density
 - Decline in need for children as farmhands
 - Decline in wealth (issue for target bequest model)
 - ▶ Increased outside opportunities for kids (issue for strategic bequest model)



- Despite rising incomes in the early 1800s, life expectancies were actually falling
- ▶ The drop in birthrates was a result of decisions over family size, the drop in death rates was not a result of preferences over deaths
- Death rates are a function of health, nutrition, disease, and the likelihood of dying an unnatural death
- Medical science was improving, basic hygiene practices were spreading, sanitation was improving
- ▶ All of these factors above increased life expectancies (as we predicted in our Malthusian model)
- ▶ However, working in the opposite direction was urbanization

Life Expectancy in America, 1720-1982



Source: Peter Lindert, Comment," in National Bureau of Economic Research, Long Term Factors in American Economic Growthy, vol 51, ed Stanley L Engerman and Robert E Gallman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986): 520



Life expectancy for American males

Rank	Cause	Rate per 100,000 people
1	Pneumonia and influenza	202.2
2	Tuberculosis	194.4
3	Diarrhea, enteritis, and ulceration of the intestines	142.7
4	Diseases of the heart	137.4
5	Intracranial lesions of vascular origin	106.9
6	Nephritis	88.6
7	Accidents	72.3
8	Cancer and other malignant tumors	64
9	Senility	50.2
10	Diptheria	40.3

Leading Causes of Death in the United States, 1900

Rank	Cause	Rate per 100,000 people
1	Diseases of heart	268.2
2	Malignant neoplasms	200.3
3	Cerebrovacular diseases	58.6
4	Chronic obstructive pulmonary diases	41.7
5	Accidents	36.2
6	Pneumonia and influenza	34
7	Diabetes	24
8	Suicide	11.3
9	Nephritis	9.7
10	Chronic liver disease	9.3

Leading Causes of Death in the United States, 1998

Urban-Rural Differences in Life Expectancy



Improvements in Public Health



Improvements in Public Health



Slogans promoted by the Ohio State Board of Health:

- "Treat your body to an occasional bath. It may not be entitled to it, but it will repay you with better service."
- ▶ "A fly in the milk may mean a member of the family in the grave."
- ▶ "There is less danger in vaccinating a person than in cutting his corn."

- ▶ If scientific knowledge crosses borders, shouldn't the US and Europe have similar mortality declines?
- ▶ Yes, if they are starting from the same point
- ▶ However, just like with fertility rates the frontier plays a big role
- ▶ There is an American frontier throughout industrialization
- ▶ This isn't the case for Europe







Population per thousand hectares: 2200 200-399 400-599 600+

Figure 7.5 World population densities, circa 1500. The figure is drawn using the admittedly wildly speculative numbers of McEvedy and Jones, 1978, for population. Farmland areas are those for modern times as reported by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).



Figure 7.6 World population densities, circa 1800.

1,000 hectares equals 3.86 square miles.

- ▶ The lack of a frontier in England is going to matter for additional reasons
- Leading up to and during the Industrial Revolution, Europe was facing natural resource constraints
- A big part of revolution was figuring out how to get around those constraints
- ▶ The leads to our next two topics:
 - ▶ The agricultural revolution
 - Our first attempt to explain the when and where of the Industrial Revolution



Jethro Tull, 1967-present



Jethro Tull, 1674-1741



The traditional view:

- Agricultural yields were low in medieval England compared to their levels by 1850: net output per acre tripled in southern England between 1300 and 1850
- ▶ This increase in productivity is even more dramatic if the share of the population employed in agriculture was significantly declining
- Traditional accounts of agricultural revolution suggest large efficiency gains in agriculture concurrent with the Industrial Revolution (e.g. Jethro Tull)
- ▶ The motivation behind this traditional view is that the Industrial Revolution brought with it a population that was quickly getting larger and wealthier implying a substantial increase in demand for food

Growth in agricultural productivity in Britain





Growth in agricultural productivity in Britain relative to France

Figure 5: Productivity Growth, England Compared to Northern France, 1520-1789



Supply and demand of agricultural products

Figure 7: Alternative Estimates of Farm Product Demand and Supply in England/Britain,

1700-1860.



Agricultural Consumption	Agricultural Consumption per Person in England		
	1700	1760	1860
Population (millions)	5.16	6.25	19.97
English farm net output	64.7	71.4	114.3
Net food imports	1.7	3.2	79.8
New raw material imports	-2.1	-4.6	61.4
Domestic coal consumption	1.7	7.9	48.3
Total food, energy and raw material			
consumption	66	79.3	303.8
Consumption per person	12.8	12.7	15.2

A anicultured Congrumption new Dougon in England

All numbers except population and consumption per person are in millions of 1860 pounds. Consumption per person is in 1860 pounds.





Fig. 1.



A revised view of the Agricultural Revolution

- Productivity and output did grow significantly: between 1500 and 1869 output tripled and total factor productivity increased by 50%
- ▶ But these changes were slow and steady: the productivity gains translate into an average annual productivity growth of 0.15% (not much of a revolution)
- British agricultural labor productivity was better than other European nations but that was true since medieval times
- Growing demand for food consumption was met by importing and using less of agricultural production for energy (in 1700, 1/3 of agricultural output was used for horses, firewood and raw materials)

A true Agricultural Revolution



Fritz Haber

A true Agricultural Revolution



A true Agricultural Revolution



The Green Revolution



Norman Borlaug

The Green Revolution



The Green Revolution



Mixed Blessings



Mixed Blessings

	Population growth	GDP per capita
Country	rate	(PPP)
Central African Republic	2.12	\$700
Burundi	3.25	\$800
Democratic Republic of the Congo	2.37	\$800
Liberia	2.5	\$900
Tokelau	-0.01	\$1,000
Malawi	3.31	\$1,200
Niger	3.19	\$1,200
Mozambique	2.46	\$1,300
Eritrea	0.85	\$1,400
South Sudan	3.83	\$1,500
United Kingdom	0.52	\$43,600
United States	0.81	\$59,500
Liechtenstein	0.8	\$139,100

Announcements

- Today we'll wrap up the Demographic Transition and the Agricultural Revolution
- ▶ Next week we'll start in on explanations for the Industrial Revolution
- ▶ Required readings:
 - North and Thomas (1970) "An economic theory of the growth of the Western World." *Economic History Review* (next two weeks)
 - Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2001) "The colonial origins of comparative development." American Economic Review (next two weeks)
- Make certain you're wrapping up the second assignment, due today at 5pm (I'm expecting you to use a different variable than either one you used on the first assignment)

Announcements

- ▶ The midterm is on February 29th in class
- ▶ While we'll get to new readings before then, the set of readings covered on the midterm will be the readings from the preindustrial economy lectures and the Industrial Revolution readings
- ▶ The exam will cover lecture material up to and including today's lecture
- When looking at past midterms, keep in mind that they might cover some material that we haven't reached yet and might cover papers that I've cut
- You will be allowed to bring hard copies of anything you want (readings, notes, slides) but they must be hard copies
- ▶ You will not be allowed to access any electronic devices