



The End of Economic Growth? Unintended Consequences of a Declining Population

Chad Jones

Hoover Lunch – March 3, 2021

Motivating the Question

- Paul Romer's Nobel Prize: Ideas are special = infinitely usable
 - A barrel of oil or an hour of a surgeon's time: you can use it or I can
 - But the **invention** of the mRNA COVID-19 vaccine: everyone can use it!

Motivating the Question

- Paul Romer's Nobel Prize: Ideas are special = infinitely usable
 - A barrel of oil or an hour of a surgeon's time: you can use it or I can
 - But the **invention** of the mRNA COVID-19 vaccine: everyone can use it!
- More inventions \Rightarrow raise **everyone's** income

Motivating the Question

- Paul Romer's Nobel Prize: Ideas are special = infinitely usable
 - A barrel of oil or an hour of a surgeon's time: you can use it or I can
 - But the **invention** of the mRNA COVID-19 vaccine: everyone can use it!
- More inventions \Rightarrow raise **everyone's** income
- Where do inventions come from?

Motivating the Question

- Paul Romer's Nobel Prize: Ideas are special = infinitely usable
 - A barrel of oil or an hour of a surgeon's time: you can use it or I can
 - But the **invention** of the mRNA COVID-19 vaccine: everyone can use it!
- More inventions \Rightarrow raise **everyone's** income
- Where do inventions come from? **People!**

Motivating the Question

- Paul Romer's Nobel Prize: Ideas are special = infinitely usable
 - A barrel of oil or an hour of a surgeon's time: you can use it or I can
 - But the **invention** of the mRNA COVID-19 vaccine: everyone can use it!
- More inventions \Rightarrow raise **everyone's** income
- Where do inventions come from? **People!**

More people \Rightarrow more Edisons and Doudnas \Rightarrow more ideas \Rightarrow we are all richer

Motivating the Question

- Paul Romer's Nobel Prize: Ideas are special = infinitely usable
 - A barrel of oil or an hour of a surgeon's time: you can use it or I can
 - But the **invention** of the mRNA COVID-19 vaccine: everyone can use it!
- More inventions \Rightarrow raise **everyone's** income
- Where do inventions come from? **People!**

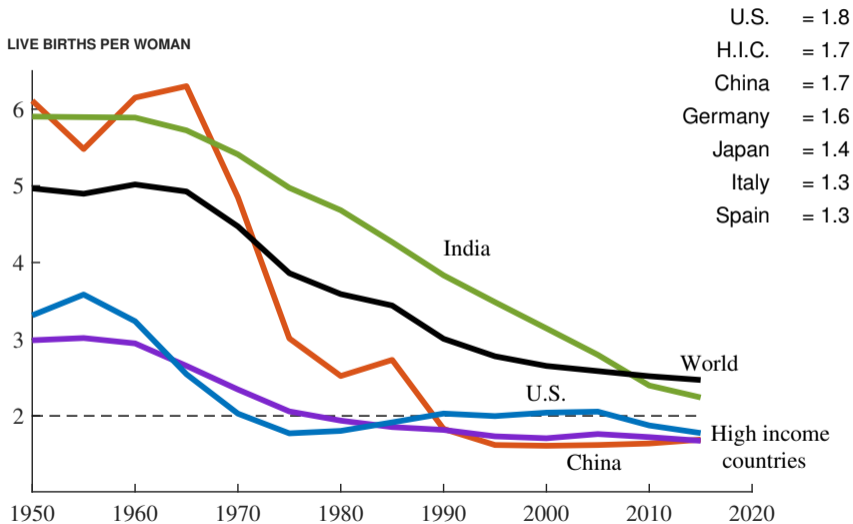
More people \Rightarrow more Edisons and Doudnas \Rightarrow more ideas \Rightarrow we are all richer

But what if population declines?

Key Role of Population

- People \Rightarrow ideas \Rightarrow economic growth
 - Romer (1990), Aghion-Howitt (1992), Grossman-Helpman
 - Jones (1995), Kortum (1997), Segerstrom (1998)
 - And most idea-driven growth models
- The future of global population?
 - Conventional view: stabilize at 8 or 10 billion
- Bricker and Ibbotson's *Empty Planet* (2019)
 - Maybe the future is **negative population growth**
 - High income countries already have fertility **below** replacement!

The Total Fertility Rate (Live Births per Woman)



What happens to economic growth if population growth is negative?

- Exogenous population decline
 - **Empty Planet Result**: Living standards stagnate as population vanishes!
 - Contrast with standard **Expanding Cosmos** result: exponential growth for an exponentially growing population
- Endogenous fertility
 - Parameterize so that the equilibrium features negative population growth
 - A planner who prefers **Expanding Cosmos** can get trapped in an **Empty Planet** – if society delays implementing the optimal allocation

Literature Review

- Many models of fertility and growth (but not $n < 0$)
 - Too many papers to fit on this slide!
- Falling population growth and declining dynamism
 - Krugman (1979) and Melitz (2003) are semi-endogenous growth models
 - Karahan-Pugsley-Sahin (2019), Hopenhayn-Neira-Singhania (2019), Engbom (2019), Peters-Walsh (2019)
- Negative population growth
 - Feyrer-Sacerdote-Stern (2008) and changing status of women
 - Christians (2011), Sasaki-Hoshida (2017), Sasaki (2019a,b) consider capital, land, and CES
 - Detroit? Or world in 25,000 BCE?

Outline

- Exogenous negative population growth
 - In Romer / Aghion-Howitt / Grossman-Helpman
 - In semi-endogenous growth framework
- Endogenous fertility
 - Competitive equilibrium with negative population growth
 - Optimal allocation



The Empty Planet Result

A Simplified Romer/AH/GH Model

Production of goods (IRS)

$$Y_t = A_t^\sigma N_t$$

Production of ideas

$$\frac{\dot{A}_t}{A_t} = \alpha N_t$$

Constant population

$$N_t = N$$

- Income per person: levels and growth

$$y_t \equiv Y_t/N_t = A_t^\sigma$$

$$\frac{\dot{y}_t}{y_t} = \sigma \frac{\dot{A}_t}{A_t} = \sigma \alpha N$$

- Exponential growth with a constant population
 - But population growth means exploding growth? (Semi-endogenous fix)

Negative Population Growth in Romer/AH/GH

Production of goods (IRS)

$$Y_t = A_t^\sigma N_t$$

Production of ideas

$$\frac{\dot{A}_t}{A_t} = \alpha N_t$$

Exogenous population decline

$$N_t = N_0 e^{-\eta t}$$

- Combining the 2nd and 3rd equations (note $\eta > 0$)

$$\frac{\dot{A}_t}{A_t} = \alpha N_0 e^{-\eta t}$$

- This equation is easily integrated...

The Empty Planet Result in Romer/GH/AH

- The stock of knowledge A_t is given by

$$\log A_t = \log A_0 + \frac{g_{A0}}{\eta} (1 - e^{-\eta t})$$

where g_{A0} is the initial growth rate of A

- A_t and $y_t \equiv Y_t/N_t$ converge to constant values A^* and y^* :

$$A^* = A_0 \exp\left(\frac{g_{A0}}{\eta}\right)$$

$$y^* = y_0 \exp\left(\frac{g_{y0}}{\eta}\right)$$

- **Empty Planet Result:** Living standards stagnate as the population vanishes!

Semi-Endogenous Growth

Production of goods (IRS)

$$Y_t = A_t^\sigma N_t$$

Production of ideas

$$\frac{\dot{A}_t}{A_t} = \alpha N_t^\lambda A_t^{-\beta}$$

Exogenous population growth

$$N_t = N_0 e^{nt}, \quad n > 0$$

- Income per person: levels and growth

$$y_t = A_t^\sigma \quad \text{and} \quad A_t^* \propto N_t^{\lambda/\beta}$$

$$g_y^* = \gamma n, \quad \text{where} \quad \gamma \equiv \lambda\sigma/\beta$$

- Expanding Cosmos:** Exponential income growth for growing population

Negative Population Growth in the Semi-Endogenous Setting

Production of goods (IRS)

$$Y_t = A_t^\sigma N_t$$

Production of ideas

$$\frac{\dot{A}_t}{A_t} = \alpha N_t^\lambda A_t^{-\beta}$$

Exogenous population decline

$$N_t = N_0 e^{-\eta t}$$

- Combining the 2nd and 3rd equations:

$$\frac{\dot{A}_t}{A_t} = \alpha N_0^\lambda e^{-\lambda \eta t} A_t^{-\beta}$$

- Also easily integrated...

The Empty Planet in a Semi-Endogenous Framework

- The stock of knowledge A_t is given by

$$A_t = A_0 \left(1 + \frac{\beta g_{A0}}{\lambda \eta} (1 - e^{-\lambda \eta t}) \right)^{1/\beta}$$

- Let $\gamma \equiv \lambda \sigma / \beta =$ overall degree of increasing returns to scale.
- Both A_t and income per person $y_t \equiv Y_t / N_t$ converge to constant values A^* and y^* :

$$A^* = A_0 \left(1 + \frac{\beta g_{A0}}{\lambda \eta} \right)^{1/\beta}$$

$$y^* = y_0 \left(1 + \frac{g_{y0}}{\gamma \eta} \right)^{\gamma/\lambda}$$

Numerical Example

- Parameter values
 - $g_{y0} = 2\%$, $\eta = 1\%$
 - $\beta = 3 \Rightarrow \gamma = 1/3$ (from BJVW)
- How far away is the long-run stagnation level of income?

	y^*/y_0
Romer/AH/GH	7.4
Semi-endog	1.9

- The Empty Planet result occurs in both, but quantitative difference

First Key Result: The Empty Planet

- Fertility has trended down: 5, 4, 3, 2, and less in rich countries
 - For a family, nothing special about “above 2” vs “below 2”
- But macroeconomics makes this distinction critical!
 - Negative population growth may condemn us to stagnation on an **Empty Planet**
 - Stagnating living standards for a population that vanishes
 - Vs. the exponential growth in income and population of an **Expanding Cosmos**



Endogenous Fertility

Overview of Endogenous Fertility Setup

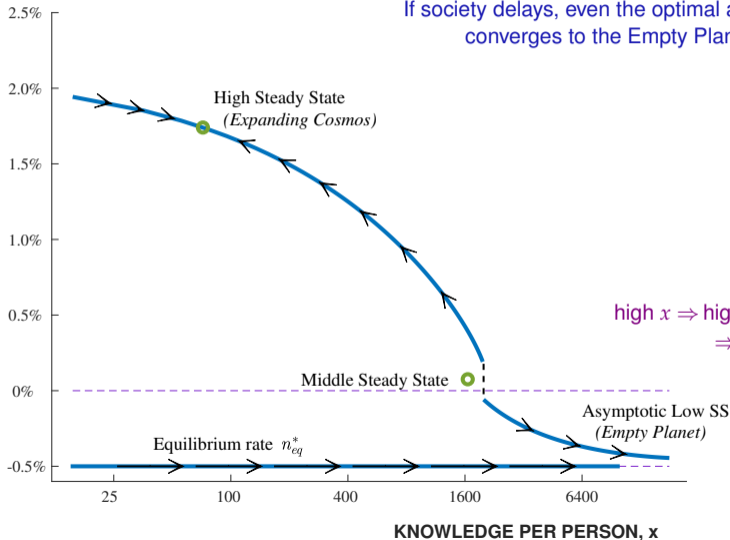
- Equilibrium: ideas are an externality (simple)
 - We have kids because we like them
 - We ignore that they might create ideas that benefit everyone
 - Planner will desire **higher** fertility
- This is a modeling choice — other results are possible
- Abstract from the demographic transition. Focus on where it settles

Key Insight: Planner can get trapped in the Empty Planet

- Population growth depends on $x \equiv \frac{A^\beta}{N^\alpha}$ (knowledge per person)
- Equilibrium with $n < 0$: x rises forever (A levels off, N falls)
- Optimal fertility: kids valued because
 - We love them
 - They produce new ideas that raise everyone's income
- **But** if society waits too long to switch to optimal fertility, x will have risen so much that the **idea value of extra kids gets small**
 - Planner's higher fertility may still lead to negative population growth
 - ... then trapped in the Empty Planet

Even the optimal allocation can get trapped

POPULATION GROWTH, $n(x)$



$$x = \frac{A^\beta}{N^\lambda}$$

Conclusion

- Fertility considerations may be more important than we thought:
 - Negative population growth may condemn us to stagnation on an **Empty Planet**
 - Vs. the exponential growth in income and population of an **Expanding Cosmos**
- This is not a **prediction** but rather a study of one force...
- Other possibilities, of course!
 - Technology may affect fertility and mortality
 - Evolution may favor groups with high fertility
 - Can AI produce ideas, so people are not necessary?



Extra Slides

The Economic Environment

ℓ = time having kids instead of producing goods

Final output

$$Y_t = A_t^\sigma (1 - \ell_t) N_t$$

Population growth

$$\frac{\dot{N}_t}{N_t} = n_t = b(\ell_t) - \delta$$

Fertility

$$b(\ell_t) = \bar{b} \ell_t$$

Ideas

$$\frac{\dot{A}_t}{A_t} = N_t^\lambda A_t^{-\beta}$$

Generation 0 utility

$$U_0 = \int_0^\infty e^{-\rho t} u(c_t, \tilde{N}_t) dt, \quad \tilde{N}_t \equiv N_t / N_0$$

Flow utility

$$u(c_t, \tilde{N}_t) = \log c_t + \epsilon \log \tilde{N}_t$$

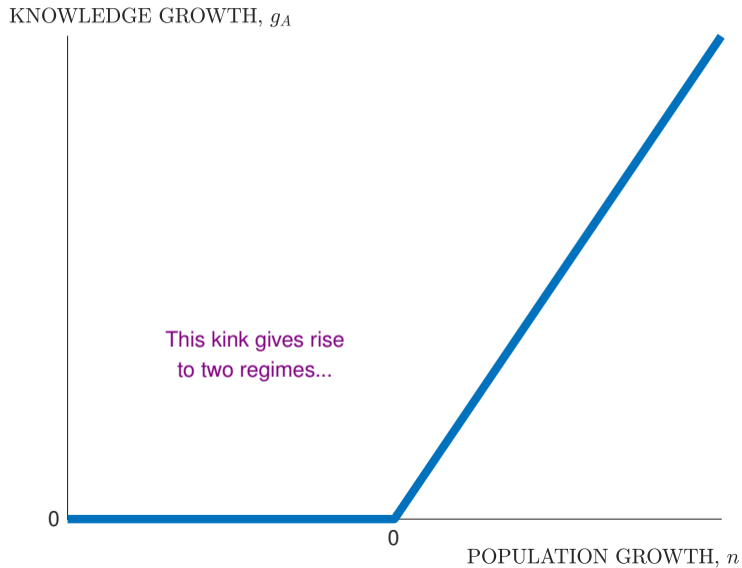
Consumption

$$c_t = Y_t / N_t$$

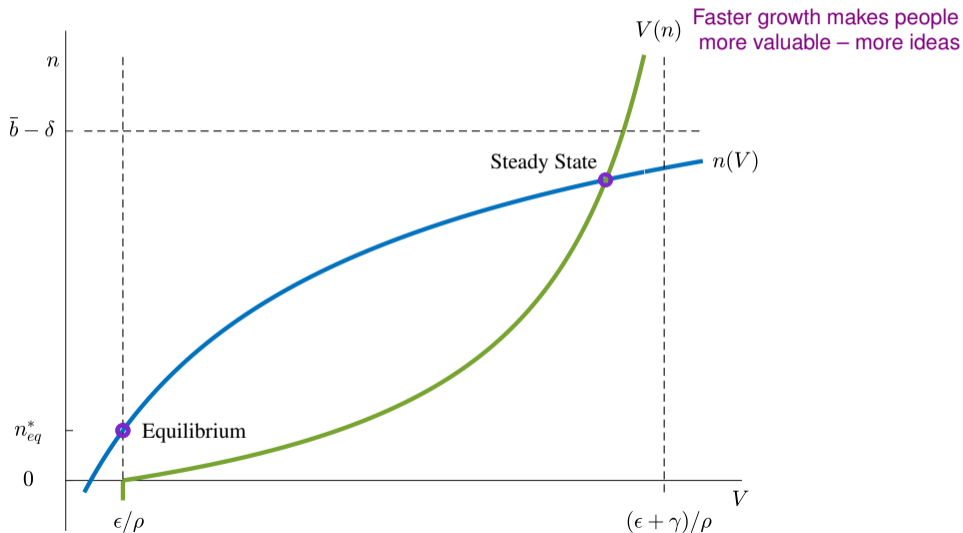
Overview of Endogenous Fertility Setup

- All people generate ideas here
 - Learning by doing vs separate R&D
- Equilibrium: ideas are an externality (simple)
 - We have kids because we like them
 - We ignore that they might create ideas that benefit everyone
 - Planner will desire **higher** fertility
- This is a modeling choice — other results are possible
- Abstract from the demographic transition. Focus on where it settles

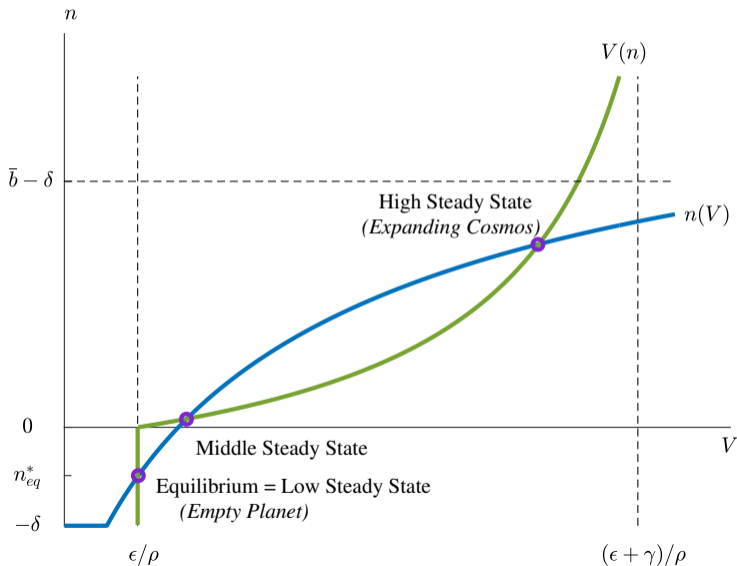
Steady State Knowledge Growth



A Unique Steady State for the Optimal Allocation when $n_{eq}^* > 0$



Multiple Steady State Solutions when $n_{eq}^* < 0$



Transition Dynamics

- State variables: N_t and A_t
- Redefine “state-like” variables for transition dynamics solution: N_t and

$$x_t \equiv A_t^\beta / N_t^\lambda = \text{“Knowledge per person”}$$

- Why?

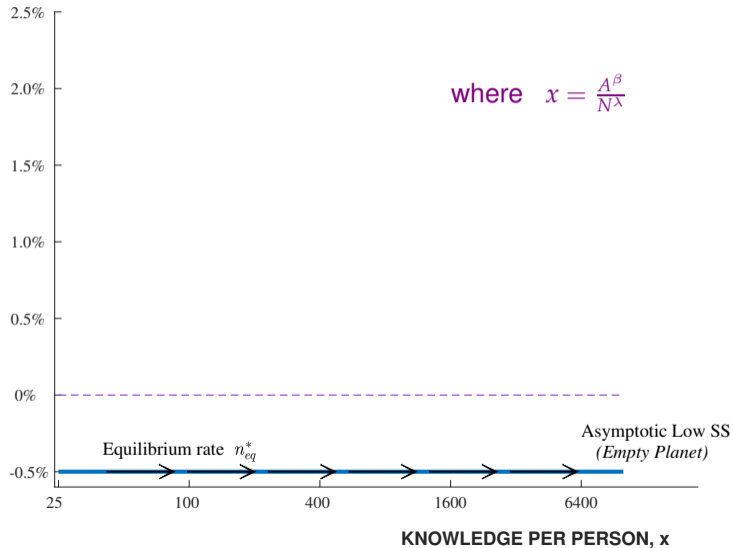
$$\frac{\dot{A}_t}{A_t} = \frac{N_t^\lambda}{A_t^\beta} = \frac{1}{x_t}$$

Key insight: optimal fertility only depends on x_t

- Note: x is the ratio of A and N , two stocks that are each good for welfare.
 - So a bigger x is not necessarily welfare improving.

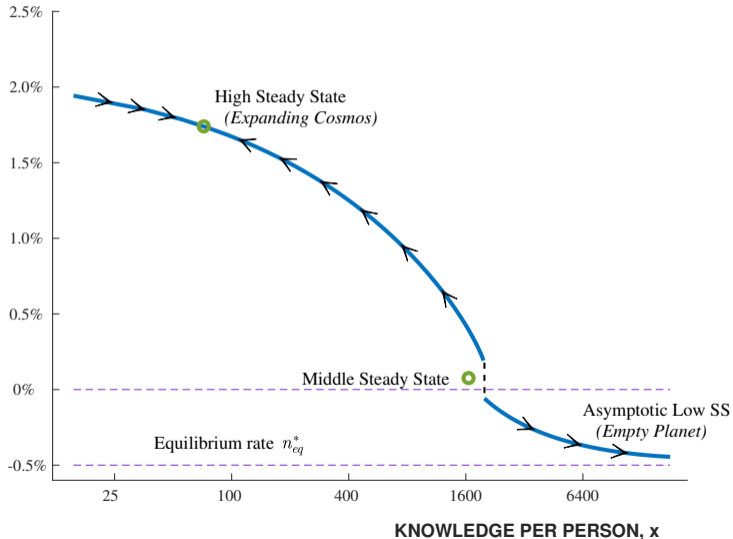
Equilibrium Transition Dynamics

POPULATION GROWTH, $n(x)$



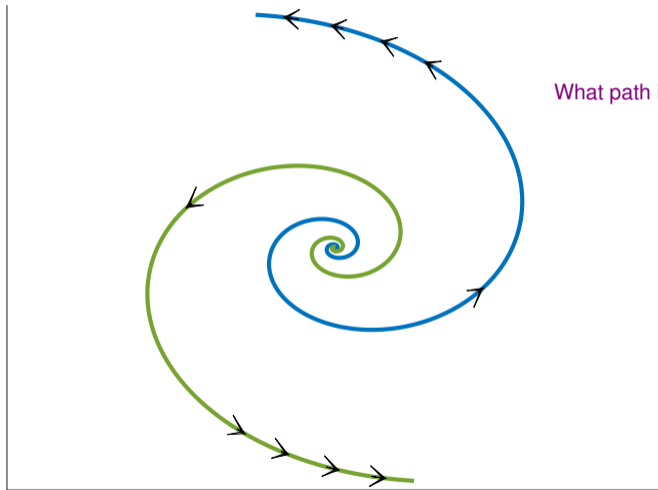
Optimal Population Growth

POPULATION GROWTH, $n(x)$



The Middle Steady State: Unstable Spiral Dynamics

POPULATION GROWTH, $n(x)$

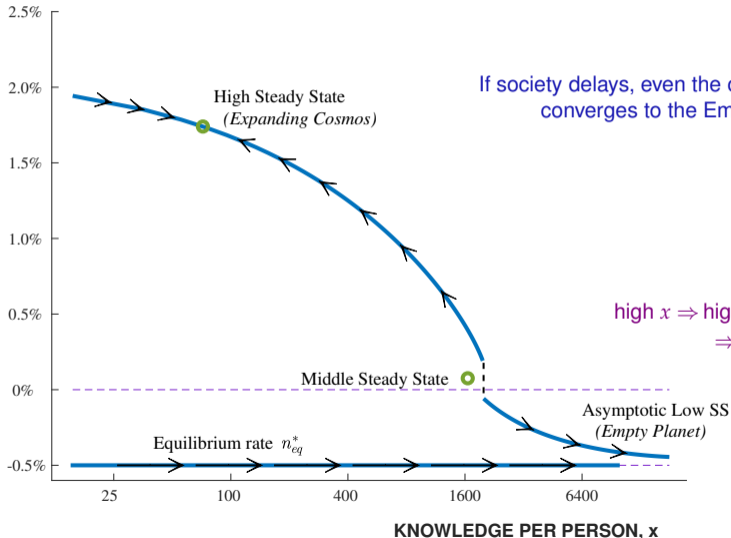


What path is optimal?

KNOWLEDGE PER PERSON, x

Even the optimal allocation can get trapped

POPULATION GROWTH, $n(x)$



If society delays, even the optimal allocation converges to the Empty Planet

high $x \Rightarrow$ high ideas per person
 \Rightarrow low $\mu \dot{A}$

$$x = \frac{A^\beta}{N^\lambda}$$