

# Population and Economic Growth

## When Malthus Meets Romer

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# Motivation: A Century-Old Disagreement

- Does a larger population **raise** or **lower** living standards?
  - **Malthus (1798)**: population strains resources  $\Rightarrow$  wages to subsistence
  - **Romer (1990)**: more people  $\Rightarrow$  more ideas  $\Rightarrow$  innovation dominates
- Never more consequential: 2bn  $\rightarrow$  8bn+ in a century, now fertility below replacement across the developed world
- Households **disagree** about which side is right — and altruistic parents' fertility choices depend on the world their children will inherit
- This paper: study the implications of the **disagreement itself**

# This Paper

1. **Model:** OLG + Barro–Becker altruism + semi-endogenous growth + heterogeneous beliefs about scale effects (Romerians vs. Malthusians)
2. **Theory:** fertility ranking between types is **state-dependent**; wrong beliefs generate distinct pathologies:
  - Malthusian world + Romerians  $\Rightarrow$  **boom-bust cycles**
  - Romerian world + Malthusians  $\Rightarrow$  **dormant stagnation trap**
3. **Evidence** (GSS): Malthusian beliefs correlated with 0.3 fewer children
4. **History:** the role of beliefs in demographic transitions
5. **Policy:** announcements as **unconventional family policy**

# Related Literature & This Paper's Contribution

- **Fertility & unified growth:** Barro–Becker (1989), Galor (2005, 2011), Hansen–Prescott (2002); captures transition from stagnation to growth
- **Scale effects:** Romer (1990), Kremer (1993), Jones (1995, 2022); the sign of  $\theta$  is central to long-run projections
- **Heterogeneous beliefs:** Angeletos–La’O (2013), Coibion–Gorodnichenko (2015); climate disagreement (Bakkensen–Barrage 2022)
- **Cultural transmission:** Bisin–Verdier (2001, 2011), Doepke–Zilibotti (2017); how worldviews persist across generations

**This paper:** disagreement about the population scale effect in a unified growth model where the error itself can hide its own evidence

# Roadmap

- Model
- Empirical evidence: beliefs and fertility
- Long-run dynamics
- Demographic history interpretation
- Policy: the value of announcements

# Model: Environment

- Discrete-time OLG; continuum of atomistic households
- Time endowment 1; fertility  $n$  costs time  $\psi(n)$ , labor supply  $1 - \psi(n)$
- Linear production:  $Y_t = A_t L_t$ , wage =  $A_t$ , so

$$c_{j,t} = A_t(1 - \psi(n_{j,t}))$$

- $A_t$  = “effective” TFP (incorporates congestion/dilution)
- Population:  $N_{t+1} = \bar{n}_t N_t$ ,  $\bar{n}_t = \phi_t n_{R,t} + (1 - \phi_t) n_{M,t}$

- Central state variable: **population gap**  $x_t$  = population relative to knowledge-consistent reference

$$\ln A_{t+1} = \ln A_t + g(x_t; \theta^*) + \eta_{t+1}, \quad x_{t+1} = (1 - \mu)x_t + \ln \bar{n}_t$$

- Leading case:  $g(x; \theta) = \bar{g} + \theta x$ ,  $\theta_R > 0 > \theta_M$
- $\mu$  = **catch-up rate** of the knowledge stock (semi-endogenous, Jones 1995):
  - one-time population increase  $\Rightarrow$  **temporary** growth effect
  - sustained growth  $\bar{n} > 1 \Rightarrow$  permanent:  $g_\infty = g(\ln \bar{n} / \mu; \theta^*)$
- Disagreement is about the **sign** of  $\theta^* \in \{\theta_R, \theta_M\}$

# Key Structural Property: The Uninformative Reference

- Rival models **cross** at  $x = 0$ :  $g(0; \theta_R) = g(0; \theta_M) = \bar{g}$   
→ they must overlap somewhere, or disagreement could not survive
- Signal informativeness (KL divergence):

$$\mathcal{I}_t = \frac{(\theta_R - \theta_M)^2 x_t^2}{2\sigma_\eta^2} \implies \mathcal{I}_t = 0 \text{ at } x_t = 0$$

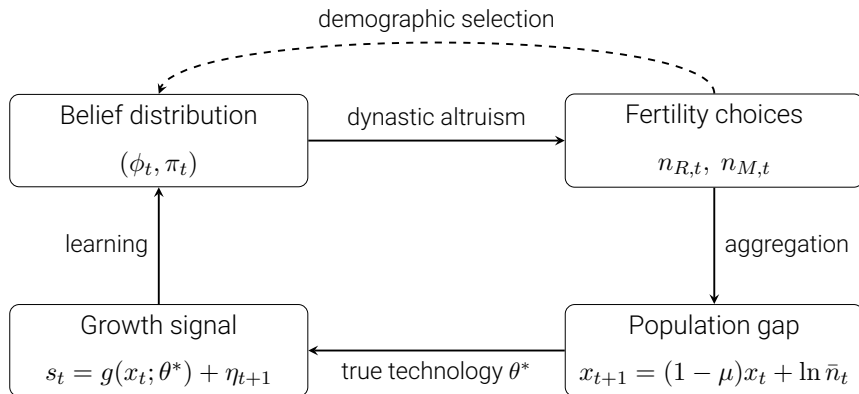
- When  $x_t = 0$ , observed data cannot help distinguish between worldviews

# Households, Beliefs, and Transmission

- Two types: share  $\phi_t$  **Romerians** ( $\theta_R > 0$ ),  $1 - \phi_t$  **Malthusians** ( $\theta_M < 0$ )
- Each acts on its worldview **as if certain**
- **Social credence**  $\pi_t$ : culturally shared posterior, updated by Bayes from growth outcomes  $s_t = g(x_t; \theta^*) + \eta_{t+1}$
- Belief distribution evolves via two channels:

$$\phi_{t+1} = \underbrace{\lambda \phi_t^{birth}}_{\text{cultural transmission}} + \underbrace{(1 - \lambda) \pi_{t+1}}_{\text{learning-based recruitment}}$$

# The Belief–Fertility–Growth Feedback Loop



- Near  $x = 0$ : both feedback channels into beliefs shut down together

- Dynastic utility:

$$U_{it} = \frac{c_{it}^{1-\sigma}}{1-\sigma} + \beta n_{it}^{1-\varepsilon} \mathbb{E}_{it}[V_{i,t+1}], \quad \sigma, \varepsilon \in (0, 1)$$

- Time cost  $\psi_\sigma(n)$  constructed so marginal cost of a child is **exactly linear**:  
 $(1 - \psi_\sigma)^{-\sigma} \psi'_\sigma = \gamma n$
- Consequence: TFP level **cancels** from the fertility FOC
  - level channel (“income supports children”) shut down **by construction**
  - beliefs matter only via **growth forecasts** — where the disagreement lives

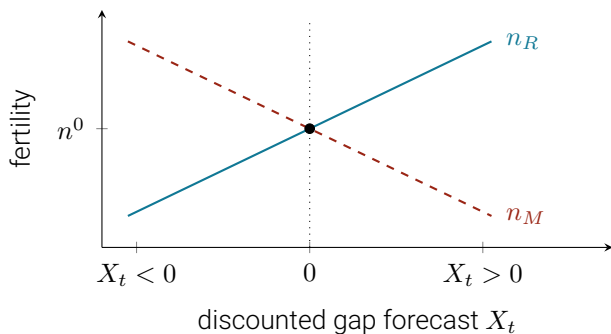
# Optimal Fertility Choice

- FOC (TFP cancelled):  $\gamma n_j^{1+\varepsilon} = \beta(1 - \varepsilon) \mathbb{E}_j[V'_j]/A^{1-\sigma}$
- Lemma: at the **dormant point**  $(x, \bar{n}^e) = (0, 1)$ , the FOC is **belief-free**: both types choose the same  $n^0$
- Intuition: beliefs act only on forecasts of the gap
  - gap is zero and expected to stay zero  $\Rightarrow$  both types forecast the **same future**
  - disagreement exists but has **nothing to act on**
- Everything a worldview operates on is the **discounted gap forecast**:

$$X_t \equiv \mathbb{E}_t \left[ \sum_{k \geq 0} \delta^k x_{t+k} \right] = \frac{x_t + \frac{\delta}{1-\delta} \ln \bar{n}^e}{1 - (1-\mu)\delta}$$

# Result 1: State-Dependent Fertility Ranking

$$n_{R,t} - n_{M,t} = K(1 - \sigma)(\theta_R - \theta_M)\bar{w}^0 X_t + O(2)$$



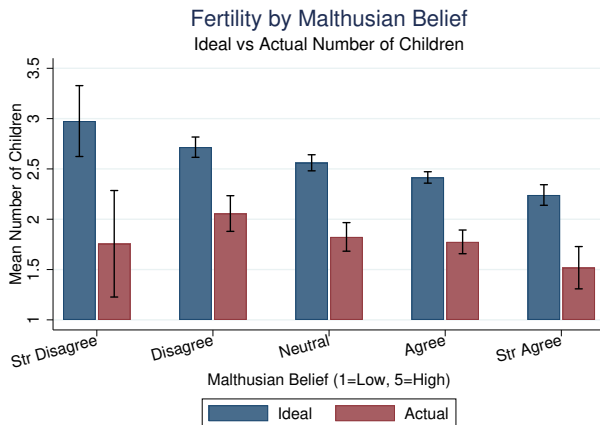
- $X_t > 0$  (growing world): Romerians out-reproduce;  $X_t < 0$ : ranking flips
- At  $X_t = 0$ : heterogeneity behaviorally dormant

# Correlational Between Belief and Fertility

proxy

regressions

- GSS 2000 & 2010 ( $N = 1,822$ ): agree/disagree “Earth cannot continue to support population growth” – 55% Malthusian
- Malthusians desire 0.27 fewer children (ideal) and have 0.29 fewer (actual)
- Gradient robust to age, education, sex, year, completed fertility

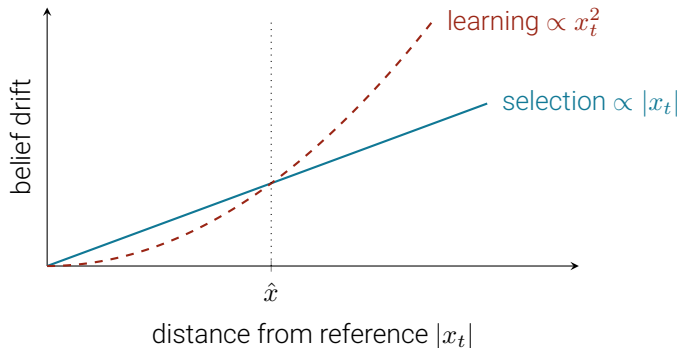


# Malthusian Ideas Move High-Stakes Behavior

- Robertson: British Indian officials trained at Haileybury, where Malthus himself taught political economy
- Malthus's abrupt death  $\Rightarrow$  replaced by Richard Jones (a critic)  $\Rightarrow$  quasi-exogenous variation in doctrine across cohorts
- Officials taught by Malthus provided systematically less famine relief, decades later
- Three features: exogenous assignment, costly behavior (not cheap talk), decades-long durability
- Complements GSS: clean identification of the belief channel, though in bureaucratic relief rather than fertility

- Households atomistic, but optimal fertility depends on forecast of aggregate fertility (via the future gap)
- Finding 1: Romerian fertility is a strategic complement while Malthusian a substitute
- Finding 2: multiplicity requires  $\tilde{\theta}_R \gtrsim 10.4$  at baseline  $\Rightarrow$  nothing downstream depends much on selection

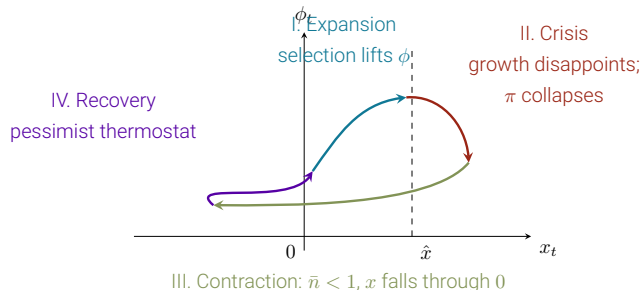
# Two Engines of Belief Change



- Selection favors trajectory-optimists – vanishes linearly
- Learning favors the truth – vanishes quadratically
- Near reference: selection dominates; far away: learning dominates; at  $x = 0$ : both exactly zero

# Malthusian World: Boom-Bust Cycles

cycle mechanics



- Selection and learning **oppose** above the reference  $\Rightarrow$  tug-of-war
- Busts **reinforced** by selection; recoveries **engineered by pessimists** (they raise fertility when  $x < 0$ )

# Romerian World: The Dormant Trap

details

- At  $x = 0$ , both views agree on growth  $\Rightarrow$  zero info  $\Rightarrow$  identical fertility  $\Rightarrow$  wrong beliefs can survive forever
- Fertility slightly above replacement  $\Rightarrow$  composition slowly shift toward Romerians  $\Rightarrow$  trap breaks permanently
- Fertility slightly below replacement  $\Rightarrow$  deeper pessimism  $\Rightarrow$  signals get quieter  $\Rightarrow$  deepening spiral
- Key asymmetry: optimism eventually exposes itself; pessimism hides the evidence that would correct it

# Pre-Industrial Era: Informative Depopulation

evidence

- Pre-1800: Malthusian world,  $x \approx 0$ , Malthusian beliefs dominant  $\phi \approx 0$
- **The Black Death (1347–51)**: largest pre-modern demographic shock
  - deep excursion into  $x < 0 \Rightarrow$  signal informativeness  $\mathcal{I}_t$  high
  - above-trend wage growth observed (Clark, 2007)  $\Rightarrow$  strong evidence for  $\theta_M$   
 $\Rightarrow \pi_t$  collapsed toward Malthusian
- **Recovery**: Malthusians are high-fertility at  $x < 0$  (thermostat)  $\Rightarrow$  repopulated, undoing wage gains
- **Self-sealing property**: every state visited produced either
  - **silence** at the reference ( $x \approx 0$ ), or
  - **confirmation** of pessimism (away from zero)
- On the eve of transition, four centuries of evidence pointed the wrong way about the world that was coming

- Puzzle: why the long delay between usable knowledge and takeoff?
- Model: at  $x \approx 0$ , a Romerian world looks exactly like a Malthusian one
- Two escape channels, both present in the historical literature:
  1. **Compositional selection**: if  $n^0 > 1$ , small  $x^* > 0 \Rightarrow$  selection slowly favors Romerians  $\Rightarrow \phi$  drifts up until the trap destabilizes (Galor–Moav logic)
  2. **Cultural shift** (Mokyr 2016): Industrial Enlightenment = exogenous surge of optimism about progress, not from macro data but from ideas
- Once escaped, **self-cementing**: sustained growth keeps data informative, truth locks in

# The Modern Fertility Decline: Three Readings

- Fertility below replacement across the developed world
- Three configurations of  $(\theta^*, \phi_t, x_t)$ :
  1. **Trap entry**: truth  $\theta_R > 0$ , but pessimism spreads (overpopulation alarm, climate)  $\Rightarrow \bar{n} \rightarrow 1$ , entering the deepening spiral from above
  2. **Correct learning**: ideas harder to find (Bloom et al. 2020)  $\Rightarrow$  observed weak growth at high  $x$  is informative  $\Rightarrow$  low fertility is efficient
  3. **Orthogonal forces**: quantity–quality tradeoff dominates; beliefs epiphenomenal (though GSS gradient survives controls)
- Identification: do beliefs track **narratives** (R1) or **productivity news** (R2)?
- Opposite policy implications: pessimism to be fought vs. accommodated

# Unconventional Family Policy

welfare

- Planner observes noisy  $\hat{\theta}$ , announces  $z$  with credibility  $\tau_A$
- Operates on **beliefs**, not the price of children  $\Rightarrow$  closest analogue: **Delphic forward guidance**
- Three channels:
  1. **Information provision** (shifts  $\pi$ , recruits next generation)
  2. **Equilibrium selection** (multiplicity regions)
  3. **Expectation coordination** at the reference: raising expected  $\bar{n}$  raises  $X_t \Rightarrow$  **reactivates** the dormant differential and both engines
- Decentralized fertility too low in a Romerian world: scale externality + **head-counting wedge** (planner counts heads, dynasties weight  $n^{1-\varepsilon}$ )

# What to Say, and the Planner's Dilemma

formal results

- Optimal announcement depends on the welfare criterion:

$$\mu_a^{dyn} = \hat{\theta} < \mu_a^{avg} < \mu_a^{tot} = \hat{\theta} + \chi^{tot}$$

- dynastic planner: truthful (unanimity)
- utilitarian planners: optimism shade in Romerian worlds, closing fertility wedges with the only instrument available

## The Planner's Dilemma

Public information is most valuable in the trap — but the trap starves the planner of evidence.

# Conclusion

- Disagreement about the **sign** of population scale effects generates:
  - state-dependent fertility rankings (validated in GSS)
  - boom-bust cycles in Malthusian worlds
  - an absorbing **dormant trap** in Romerian worlds
- Pessimism delays take-off as optimism self-undermines while pessimism self-protects
- Unconventional family policy, but subject to the planner's dilemma
- Next: causal identification, gradient reversal in depopulating contexts, quantitative implementation

# Ecological vs. Economic Malthusianism

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- GSS question is in environment modules: captures **ecological** concern (resource depletion, climate)
- For the fertility margin, distinction is **second-order**:  $A_t$  is broad TFP, and both idioms point to  $\theta < 0$ , a poorer future for descendants
- For **historical** claims the distinction is substantive; the survey only validates the belief-to-fertility arrow

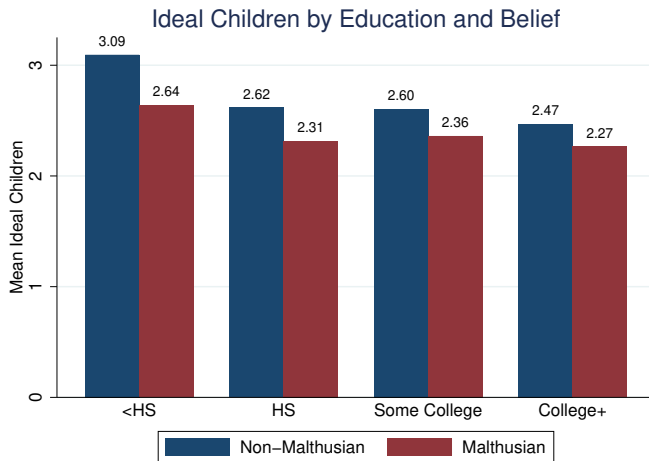
# Regression Evidence (Details)

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|                        | Ideal Fertility      | Actual Fertility     |
|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Malthusian (binary)    | −0.268***<br>(0.041) | −0.292***<br>(0.066) |
| Malthusian (1–5 scale) | −0.153***<br>(0.021) | −0.146***<br>(0.033) |
| Controls + Year FE     | Yes                  | Yes                  |
| Observations           | 1,822                | 1,822                |

Completed fertility, heterogeneity by education, and further robustness are available in the paper.

# Gradient Holds Within Education Groups

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# Completed Fertility

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|              | Full Sample          | Completed           | Not Yet Completed    |
|--------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Malthusian   | −0.292***<br>(0.066) | −0.257**<br>(0.109) | −0.288***<br>(0.079) |
| Observations | 1,822                | 848                 | 974                  |

- Completed = women 45+, men 50+; all controls included
- Estimate stable: not driven by incomplete childbearing among the young

# Heterogeneity by Education

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|            | Ideal                |                      | Actual             |                      |
|------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
|            | HS or Less           | College+             | HS or Less         | College+             |
| Malthusian | −0.318***<br>(0.069) | −0.235***<br>(0.049) | −0.209*<br>(0.115) | −0.392***<br>(0.081) |

- Preferences: gradient across the whole education distribution
- Behavior: stronger among the educated — perhaps fewer constraints on hitting fertility targets

# Why Each Preference Ingredient Is Load-Bearing

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- **Time cost + CRRA**: TFP level cancels; income-supports-children channel off by construction
- $\sigma < 1$ : required for positive dynastic value of children; mirror  $\sigma > 1$  (with  $\varepsilon > 1$ ) flips sign — rejected by data
- $\varepsilon \in (0, 1)$ : well-posed fertility problem; becomes the **head-counting wedge** in the welfare analysis
- Boundedness:  $\beta \kappa_{\sigma} n_{\max}^{1-\varepsilon} < 1$  ensures finite value; baseline  $\beta^{\dagger} \approx 0.22$  from  $n^0 = 1$

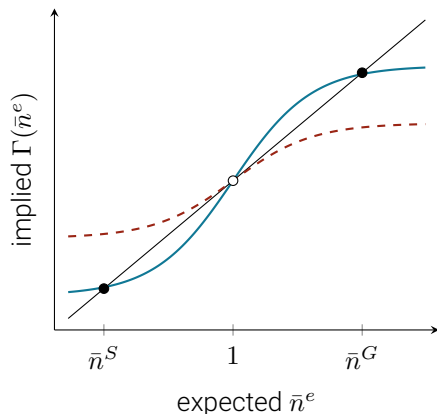
# Equilibrium Regions

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| Region               | Condition                         | $\rho(\phi)$ | Equilibrium            |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| Malthusian-dominated | $\phi < \phi^*$                   | $< 0$        | Unique                 |
| Contraction          | $\phi^* \leq \phi \leq \phi^{**}$ | $[0, 1)$     | Unique                 |
| Static multiplicity  | $\phi > \phi^{**}, d_R > 1$       | $> 1$        | Multiple; RD selection |

- $\rho(\phi) = \phi d_R + (1 - \phi)d_M$ ; pessimists' substitutability enlarges uniqueness regions
- Multiplicity requires  $\tilde{\theta}_R \gtrsim 10.4$  at baseline  $\Rightarrow$  empty
- Kremer-style calibrations ( $\mu \rightarrow 0$ ): global-games perturbation selects risk-dominant cutoff  $\phi^{rd}$

# Expectational Multiplicity at the Reference

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- $\hat{b}(\phi) < 1$  (dashed): reference determinate;  $\hat{b}(\phi) > 1$  (solid): stagnation  $\bar{n}^S$  and growth  $\bar{n}^G$  flank an unstable reference
- Threshold ordering: trap ( $\bar{\theta}_\phi \approx 1.1$ ) < expectational ( $\approx 7.7$ ) < static ( $\approx 10.4$ )  
 $\Rightarrow$  **dynamic** margin is key

# Dormant Trap: Formal Statement

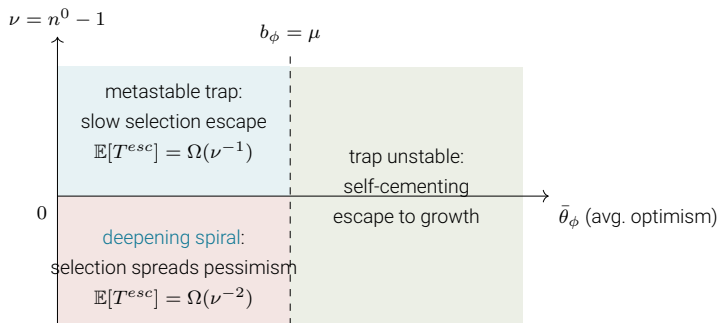
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- Exact dormant point:  $x_0 = 0 \Rightarrow x_t = 0, \mathcal{I}_t = 0, \pi_t = \pi_0, n_R = n_M = 1$ ;  
wrong beliefs **never corrected**
- Near-dormant:  $|x_t| \leq \rho^t |x_0|, \sum_t \mathcal{I}_t$  finite,  $\pi_t \rightarrow \pi_\infty$  with prob.  $\geq 1 - C|x_0|/\varsigma$
- Generic  $\nu \neq 0$ : quasi-steady gap  $x^* = \nu/(\mu - \bar{b})$ ;

$$\mathbb{E}[T^{esc}] = \Omega(|\nu|^{-1}) \text{ if } \nu > 0, \quad \Omega(\nu^{-2}) \text{ if } \nu < 0$$

- **Both** escape engines (selection & learning) vanish with  $|x_t|$ ; stagnation switches them off

# Trap Regimes Diagram

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- On event  $\{\liminf_t \bar{n}_t \geq 1 + \epsilon\}$ :  $\liminf x_t > 0$ , infinite total information;  
 $\pi_t \rightarrow 1, \phi_t \rightarrow 1, g_t \rightarrow \text{Romerian BGP}$
- Complement event has **positive probability** (probability one from deep inside the trap)
- Truth emerges **only along paths that generate evidence**

- Maps onto Beaudry–Galizia–Portier (2020) conditions: strategic complementarities, accumulation variable that depresses further investment ( $x_t$  under  $\theta_M$ ), sluggish adjustment ( $\mu$ )
- Learning strength determines cycle character:
  - **weak** learning: long expansions
  - **strong** learning: quick correction, Malthusian quasi-steady state
  - **intermediate**: pronounced recurrent cycles

- Jones idea production:  $\ln(A_{t+1}/A_t) = \nu + \lambda \ln N_t - \omega \ln A_t + \eta_{t+1}$ ; define  $x_t$  to get  $\mu = \omega\theta$
- Limit  $\mu \rightarrow 0$  reproduces Kremer–Romer strong-scale-effects; trap reverts to slow learning
- **Absorbing** trap is a genuine **semi-endogenous** phenomenon
- $\theta$  encodes growth channel net of congestion; level channel neutralized by preferences

# Welfare Criteria and Decomposition

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- Three criteria: dynastic, total utilitarian, average utilitarian
- First best vs. decentralized (Romerian world):  $n^{FB} > n^{CB}$  from two wedges
  - **scale externality**: no household internalizes children's effect on future gap
  - **head-counting**: planner weights descendants linearly; dynasties weight by  $n^{1-\varepsilon}$
- Welfare gap decomposition:  $\Delta_0$  (head-count),  $\Delta_1$  (externality),  $\Delta_2$  (mean bias),  $\Delta_3$  (dispersion)
- $\Delta_3 = O(X^2)$ : disagreement **costless exactly where it is incorrigible**
- Announcements move  $\Delta_2$  and  $\Delta_3$  only

- Dynastic: truthful, maximally informative – each type expects vindication; shading is zero-sum
- Total utilitarian:  $\chi^{tot} = \frac{\Omega PG}{c + \Omega P^2} > 0$  whenever the fertility wedge is positive; shade **hump-shaped** in pass-through  $P$ , peak at  $P = \sqrt{c/\Omega}$
- Ordering (Romerian world):  $\mu_a^{dyn} = \hat{\theta} < \mu_a^{avg} < \mu_a^{tot}$
- In the trap:  $\mathcal{V}^{trap} = pP^{esc}\Delta W^{esc} - (1-p)P^{mis}\Delta W^{mis} - P^{deepen}\Delta W^{deepen}$ 
  - downside is  $O(x_0^2)$ ; modest precision threshold
  - at high precision, planner's **own noise** binds – formal content of the dilemma

# Distinguishing the Historical Interpretations

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- Genuine regime change: centuries of flat real wages (Clark); structural breaks in Unified Growth Theory
- Informational escape: Kremer (1993) shows rising population over millennia; trap reading says scale effect always present, [invisible at  \$x \approx 0\$](#)
- Trap reading predictions: pessimism favored in below-reference episodes; takeoff preceded by [mortality-driven](#) net reproduction rise, not productivity acceleration

# Escape Mechanics: Why $n^0$ Matters So Much

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- Dormant-point fertility  $n^0 = 1 + \nu$  determines direction of drift
- $\nu > 0$ : gap  $x^* > 0$ , selection slowly favors Romerians; once  $b_\phi > \mu$ , escape is self-cementing
- $\nu < 0$ : gap  $x^* < 0$ , selection favors [Malthusians](#); false belief spreads, signals get quieter;  $\mathbb{E}[T^{esc}] = \Omega(\nu^{-2})$
- Escape trigger is [demographic](#) ( $n^0$ , mortality), not a productivity acceleration

# Robustness: What Would Break the Results

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- **No common crossing**: learning always active; trap vanishes
- **No separation**: capped informativeness; crisis and self-cementing escape weaken
- $\sigma > 1$ : all rankings reverse, gradient flips — **rejected by data**
- $\mu \rightarrow 0$ : trap reverts to slow learning; absorbing character is semi-endogenous
- **Vanishing noise at  $x = 0$** : trap dissolves if  $\sigma_{\eta}^2(x)$  shrinks as fast as the gap
- **Multiple crossings**: several dormant points; local results survive

# Key Thresholds at Baseline

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| Threshold                   | Condition           | Baseline value                  |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| Trap destabilization        | $b_\phi > \mu$      | $\bar{\theta}_\phi \gtrsim 1.1$ |
| Expectational indeterminacy | $\hat{b}(\phi) > 1$ | $\bar{\theta}_\phi \gtrsim 7.7$ |
| Static multiplicity         | $d_R > 1$           | $\tilde{\theta}_R \gtrsim 10.4$ |

- Ordering implies the relevant coordination margin near the reference is the **dynamic** one (trap destabilization)
- Expectational and static thresholds linked by  $1/(1 - \delta^0) \approx 1.34$