### Railways and the European Fertility Transition

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### Question and Motivation

#### Question

Did railways affect fertility in Europe during the continent's fertility transition?

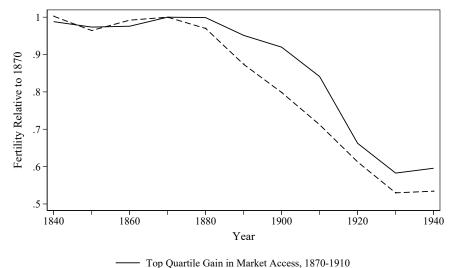
#### Motivation

- Europe's declining fertility in the long nineteenth century (e.g. crude birth rates fell in the UK by 33%, 1880-1910) was necessary for modern economic growth (Crafts and Mills, 2020; Galor and Weil, 1999).
- Europe's railway network more than doubled in length between 1870 and 1910 (Martí-Henneberg, 2013).
- If railways increased urbanization or the returns to child quality, they may have sped up the decline in fertility...
- ...but if railways increased incomes or the returns to child labor they may have slowed the decline in fertility.

### This Paper

- We create an unbalanced panel of locations (~NUTS 3 regions) combining data on fertility from the Princeton European Fertility Project and railways from Martí-Henneberg (2013).
- We show, in a regression with fixed effects for locations and decades, that market access slowed the fertility decline.
  - A one standard deviation increase in market access predicts fertility is greater by 0.14 standard deviations.
- We use access to markets more than 500km away as an instrument for market access, confirming our OLS results.
- Results are consistent with children as a normal good:
  - Greater nuptiality of women aged 20-24 is an intermediate mechanism.
  - Income per capita rises in locations that gain market access.
  - Effects are greatest in ultimately developed locations where schooling and female labor force participation lagged.
- Results are robust to tests of the parallel trends assumption, to exploiting within-country variation, and other checks.

#### In a Nutshell



--- Bottom Quartile Gain in Market Access, 1870-1910

#### Contribution

- To the literature on fertility transitions (e.g. Aaronson et al, 2014; Bleakley and Lange, 2009):
  - Guinnane (2011): "Despite at least one hundred years of academic and official interest in the decline of fertility, this question is not one for which economists have a clear, empirically well-founded explanation."
  - Europe's fertility transition may have been due to economic motives (Becker and Lewis, 1973; Fernihough, 2017) or culture (Beach and Hanlon, forthcoming; Spolaore and Wacziarg, 2022)...or both...or neither...
  - Railways provide (hopefully) a window into both economic and cultural explanations.
- To the literature on railroads (e.g. Fogel, 1964; Donaldson, 2018):
  - There is an extensive literature on how railroads have shaped economic geography, structural transformation, etc...
  - The literature on human capital outcomes is smaller (e.g. Andersson et al. 2023; Zimran 2020), and multi-country studies with meso-level data are rare.
  - The closest paper, Guldi and Rahman (2022), finds that market access reduced fertility via specialization in the United States.
  - We focus on Europe, introduce novel market access measures and an instrumental variables approach, and find different results through other mechanisms.

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### Empirical strategy

Fertility<sub>Id</sub> = 
$$\beta \ln(MarketAccess)_{Id} + x'_{I}\eta_{d} + \delta_{I} + \eta_{d} + \epsilon_{Id}$$
 (1)

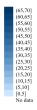
- Fertility<sub>Id</sub> is a measure of fertility in location I in decade  $d \in 1840, ..., 1940$ .
  - Generally  $I_f$ , a ratio between 0 and 100 of fertility to the highest ever recorded.
- In(MarketAccess)<sub>Id</sub> is a measure of how connected location I is to other locations in decade d.
  - In our baseline, this only changes over time due to the spread of the railway.
- As an instrumental variable, we compute In(DistantMarketAccess)<sub>Id</sub> using only markets at least 500km away (Chan, 2023).
- $x_l$  is time-invariant controls, usually geographic, interacted with decade fixed effects  $\eta_d$ .
- $\delta_l$  and  $\eta_d$  are fixed effects for location and decade.
- We cluster standard errors by location.

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- Data come from the Princeton project on the decline of fertility in Europe (Coale and Watkins, 1986).
- These cover 1229 European "provinces and smaller districts" between 1787 and 1970.
- The main fertility measure we use is  $I_f$ , the ratio of births to a "maximum" measured using data on Hutterites:

$$I_f = \frac{B_f}{\sum_a f_a h_a}$$

- Here:
  - B<sub>f</sub> is all births.
  - a is an age bin (e.g. 25-29).
  - f<sub>a</sub> is the number of women in age bin a.
  - $h_a$  is the Hutterite fertility rate in age bin a.
- The data also report analogous rates of marital fertility  $(I_g)$  and non-marital fertility  $(I_h)$ .
- These data are extremely unbalanced, and so we collapse them to a decadal panel by averaging over observations in a decade.
- We multiply  $I_f$  and other fertility measures by 100 for coefficient interpretability.

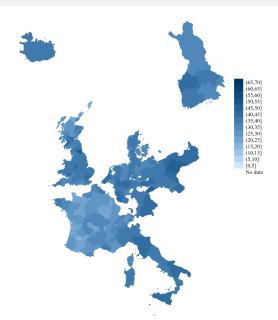


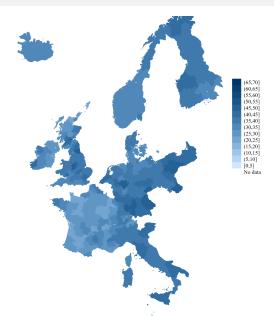


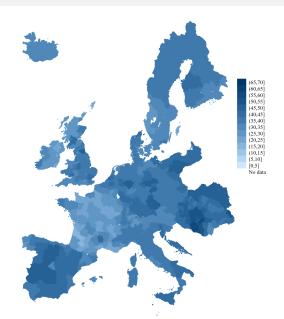
### Fertility ( $I_f$ ): 1850

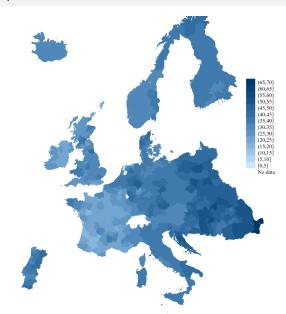


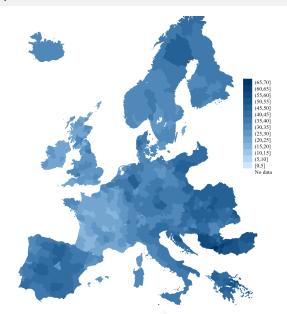
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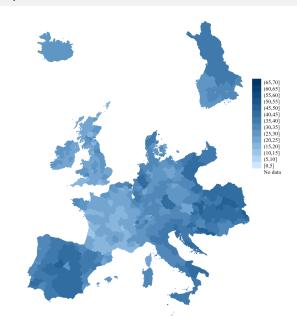


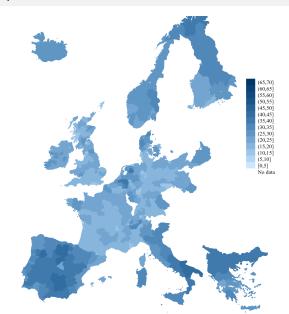


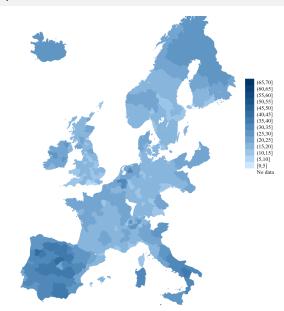


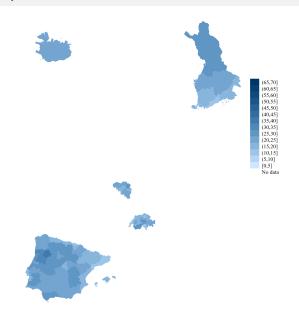




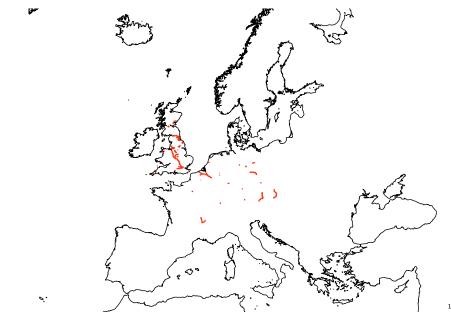


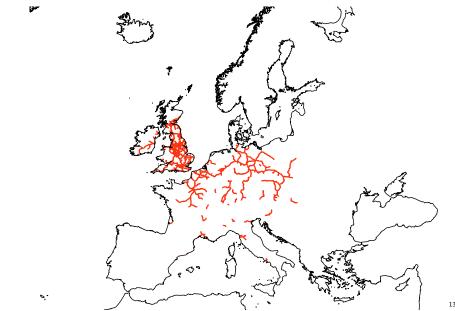


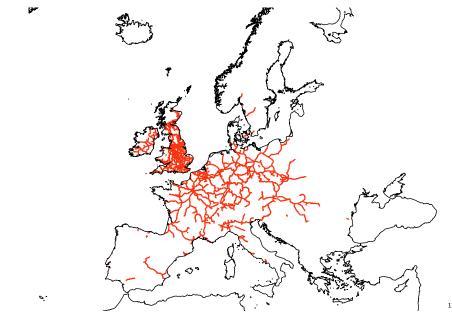


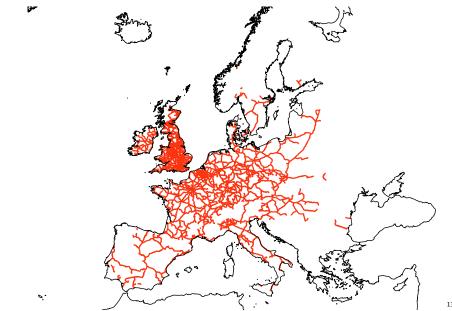


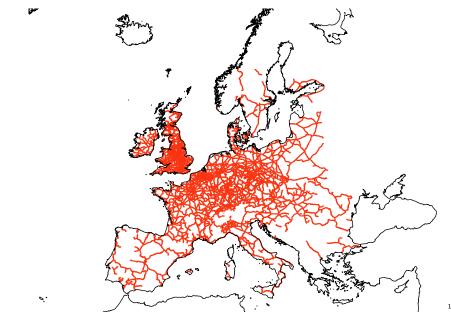
- Data on railways are taken from Martí-Henneberg (2013).
- He constructs a polyline shapefile of active railways in Europe west (roughly) of Minsk, every decade from 1840-2010.
   We marge the factility and rail data using polygon mans of a NUTS2 units.
- $\bullet$  We merge the fertility and rail data using polygon maps of  $\sim$  NUTS3 units from Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research (MPIDR, 2013).
  - Series 0 (one of 3 series reported in the fertility data) maps almost perfectly 1:1 with the MPIDR map for 1900.
  - $\bullet$  Our unit of observation in our regression analysis will be MPIDR polygon  $\times$  decade.
- These polygons are also used to compute geographic control variables.

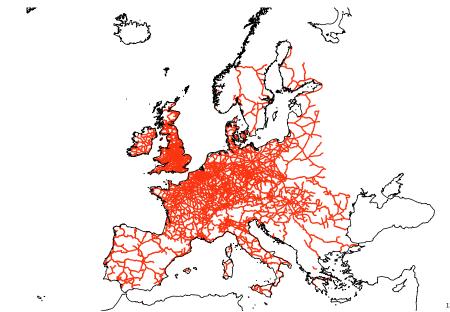


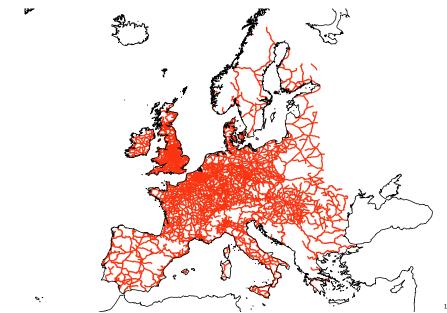


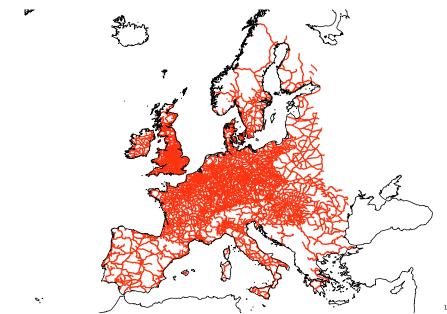


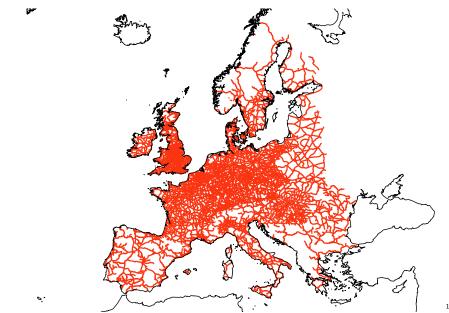


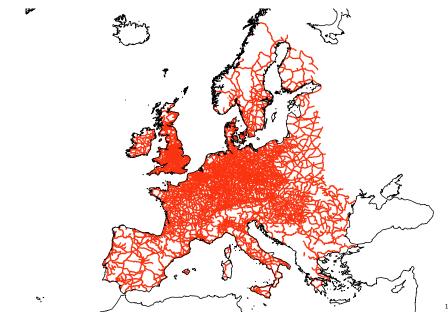


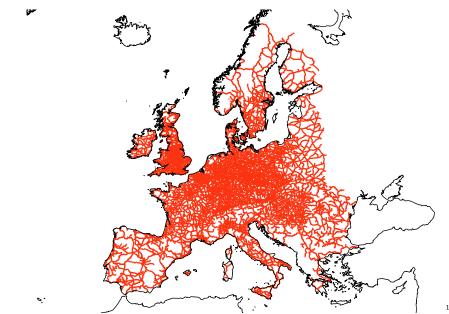












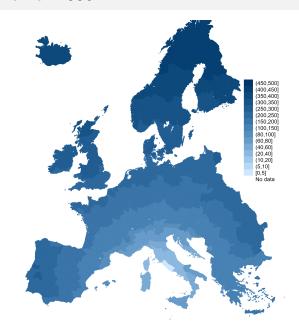
#### Data: Market Access

 We follow Donaldson and Hornbeck (2016) and use market access (MA<sub>Id</sub>) to measure a location's I's exposure to other markets in decade d:

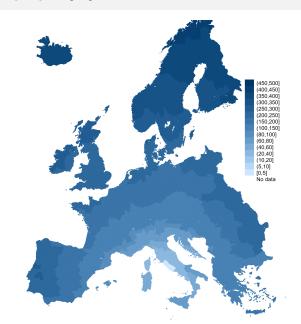
$$MA_{ld} = \sum_{l'} \frac{P_{l'd}}{\tau_{ll'd}^{\theta}}$$

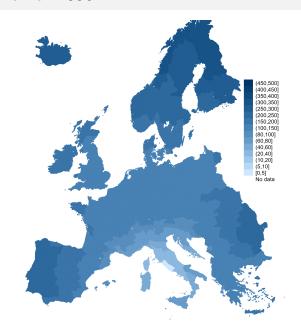
- $P_{l'd}$  is population of location l' in decade d.
- $\tau_{ll'd}$  is the travel cost from the centroid of l to the centroid of l' in decade d.
- ullet  $\theta$  is the trade elasticity. We use 8.22 in our baseline.
- For  $P_{l'd}$ , we use populations from the HYDE database in 1830 as our baseline (Klein Goldewijk et al., 2013).
- To compute  $\tau$ :
  - ${}_{\bullet}$  We construct a  $0.1^{\circ} \times 0.1^{\circ}$  grid.
  - We use the Özak (2018, 2010) Human Mobility Index for non-rail travel times.
  - We use 60 km per hour as the travel time by rail.
  - $\tau_{ll'd}$  is the time taken by the fastest route from l to l' given the rail network in decade d.
- Our instrument, distant market access, excludes I' within 500km of I.

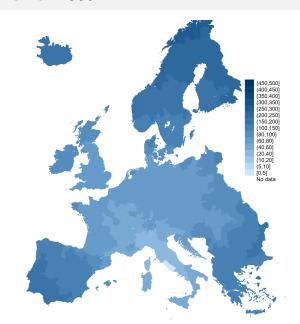
### Hours to Rome: 1830

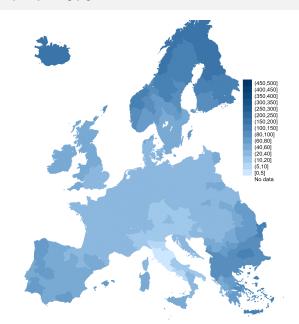


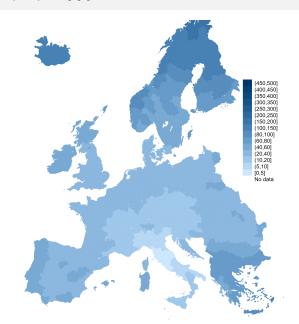
### Hours to Rome: 1840

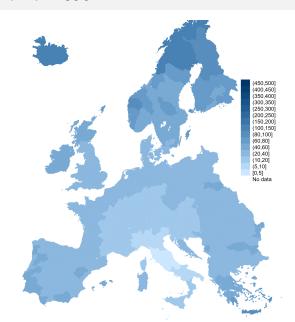


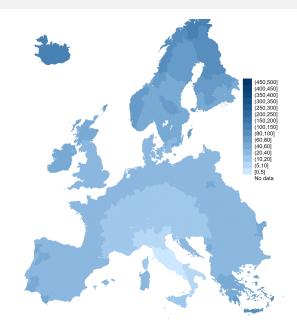


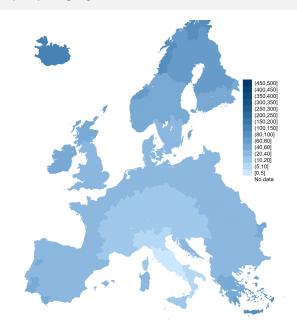


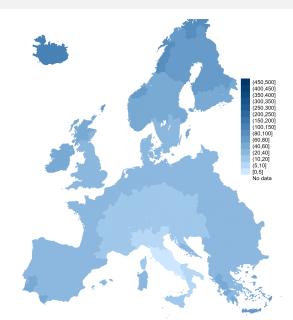


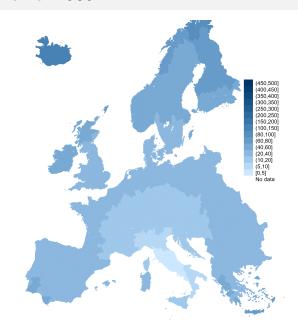


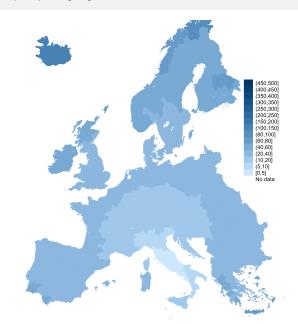


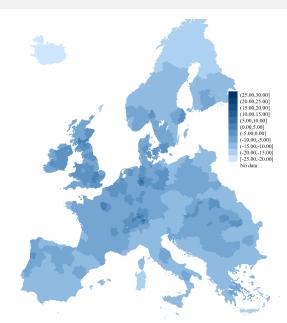


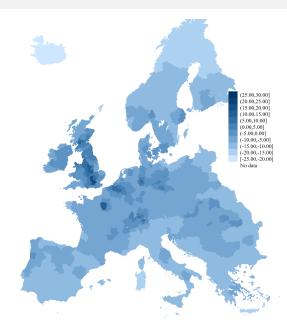


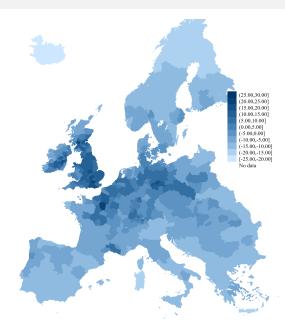


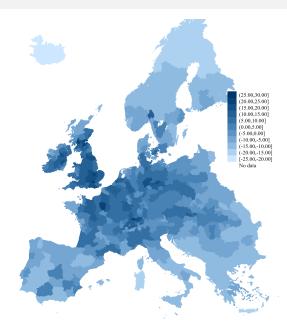


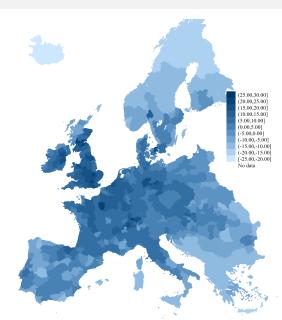


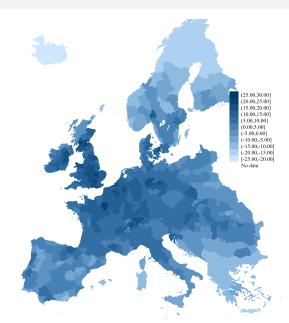


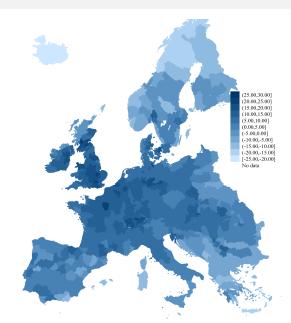


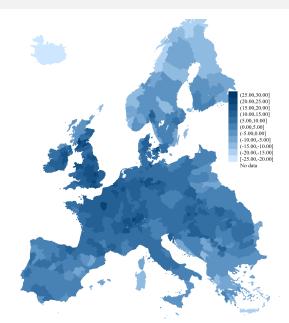


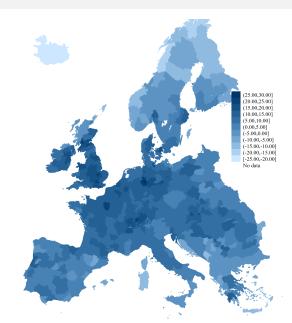


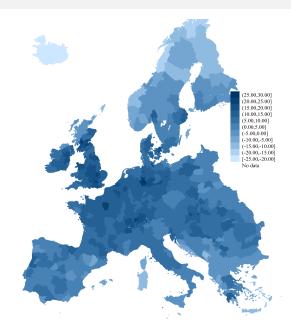


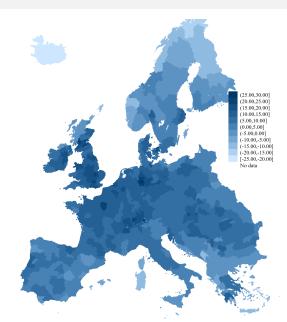


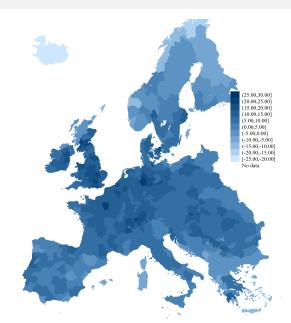












#### Data: Controls

- Latitude, longitude, and coast distance: computed ourselves.
- River: from Natural Earth Data.
- Altitude: from the World Digital Elevation Model.
- Population density in 1830: from Klein Goldewijk et al. (2013).
- Area: from MPIDR (2013).
- Caloric suitability: from Galor and Özak (2015, 2016).
- Suitability for barley, maize, rye, oats, and wheat: from the FAO-GAEZ project.
- Average precipitation: from WorldClim, originally from the CRU.
- Ruggedness: from Amatulli et al. (2018).
- ... and all are time-invariant and so interacted with the decade fixed effects.
- Maps are in the appendix.

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#### Overview

- Market access predicts greater fertility.
- Magnitude? A one standard deviation increase in market access predicts greater fertility by  $\frac{7.91\times0.158}{8.93}\approx0.14$  standard deviations.
- Or: compute counterfactual fertility as:

Fertility<sub>Id</sub> 
$$-\hat{\beta}(\ln MA_{Id} - \ln MA_{I,1830})$$

- $\bullet$  ... and fertility would have been  $\sim$  8% lower in 1910.
- $\bullet$  Our instrumental variables estimates are  $\sim$  30% larger than our fixed effects estimates.

#### Results: Fixed Effects

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.158*** (0.032)	0.125*** (0.030)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

Notes: \*\*\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%, \*Significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade. Time-invariant controls interacted with decade fixed effects are latitude, longitude, caloric suitability, coast distance, river, altitude, population density in 1830, area, average precipitation, ruggedness, and suitability for barley, maize, rye, oats and wheat. Standard errors clustered by location in parentheses.

#### Results: Instrumental variables

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.206*** (0.044)	0.180*** (0.044)
N	4,056	4,056
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes
KPF	539.7	535.4

Notes: \*\*\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%, \*Significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade. Time-invariant controls interacted with decade fixed effects are latitude, longitude, caloric suitability, coast distance, river, altitude, population density in 1830, area, average precipitation, ruggedenses, and suitability for barley, maize, rye, oats and wheat. Standard errors clustered by location in parentheses.

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## Conceptual Framework

- If children are a normal good, an increase in income would increase fertility (Asrhaf and Galor, 2011; Black et al., 2013).
- Gains to trade, then, can increase fertility if they encourage specialization in goods intensive in unskilled labor (Galor and Mountford, 2008).
- But there are channels through which rising incomes could reduce fertility:
  - Returns to skill and the quality-quantity tradeoff (Becker, 1973; Galor, 2022).
     Our results should be strongest where literacy and numeracy lagged.
  - Women's work and the opportunity cost of children (Guinnane, 2011). Our results should be strongest where opportunities were more limited for women.

#### Mechanisms: Evidence

- Results not in blue are in the appendix.
- Proximate mechanisms:
  - Marital and non-marital fertility both rise.
  - Rural marital fertility rises, but we have limited data on outcomes by rural/urban status.
  - Nuptiality rises for women aged 20-24.
- Fconomic mechanisms:
  - Incomes rise according to real GDP per capita data from Roses and Wolf (2020).
- Heterogeneity:
  - Results are driven by the 1870-1914 period, at the height of the fertility transition.
  - Results are driven by regions that, by 1900, or by 1880, had high incomes, high
    populations, lower shares of the labor force in agriculture, and higher shares in
    industry and services in data from Roses and Wolf (2020).
  - Results are larger for countries that lagged in schooling in 1900, or in 1870, and in numeracy in 1880 in the Clio Infra data.
  - Results are larger for countries that lagged in FLFP c. 1900.

## Nuptiality rises for women aged 20-24

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Age at	Age at	Pct.	Pct.
	Marriage	Marriage	Married	Married
	iviairiage	Wallage		
			20-24	20-24
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	1.050	-1.069*	0.286***	0.121**
III Warket Access. (1 =1050, 0=0.22)				•
	(0.770)	(0.614)	(0.059)	(0.050)
N	1,188	1,188	1,532	1,532
	,	,	,	
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Controls		. 03		103

Notes: \*\*\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%, \*Significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade. Time-invariant controls interacted with decade fixed effects are latitude, longitude, caloric suitability, coast distance, river, altitude, population density in 1830, area, average precipitation, ruggedness, and suitability for barley, maize, rye, oats and wheat. Standard errors clustered by location in parentheses.

## Rising Incomes, Rising Populations

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	In RW	In RW	In RW	In RW
	GDP per capita	GDP per capita	Population	Population
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)		0.008**	0.007***	0.005**
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.002)
		4 = 40		4 = 40
N	1,743	1,743	1,743	1,743
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

Notes: \*\*\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%, \*Significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade, invariant controls interacted with decade fixed effects are latitude, longitude, caloric suitability, coast distance, river, altitude, population density in 1830, area, average precipitation, ruggedness, and suitability for barley, maize, rye, oats and wheat. Standard errors clustered by location in parentheses.

## Results by GDP in 1900

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.245***	0.205***	0.031	-0.006
,	(0.039)	(0.057)	(0.047)	(0.041)
N	1,768	1.768	1,738	1,738
Sample	In RW	In RW	In RW	In RW
·	GDP per	GDP per	GDP per	GDP per
	capita	capita	capita	capita
	Above	Above	Below	Below
	Median in	Median in	Median in	Median in
	1900	1900	1900	1900
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

Notes: \*\*\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%, \*Significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade. Time-invariant controls interacted with decade fixed effects are latitude, longitude, caloric suitability, coast distance, river, altitude, population density in 1830, area, average precipitation, ruggedness, and suitability for barley, maize, trye, oats and wheat. Standard errors clustered by location in parentheses.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.014	0.024	0.259***	0.099**
	(0.037)	(0.036)	(0.055)	(0.046)
N	2,027	2,027	2,017	2,017
Sample	Above	Above	Below	Below
	Median	Median	Median	Median
	Years of	Years of	Years of	Years of
	Education	Education	Education	Education
	in 1900	in 1900	in 1900	in 1900
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

Notes: \*\*\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%, \*Significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade. Time-invariant controls interacted with decade fixed effects are latitude, longitude, caloric suitability, coast distance, river, altitude, population density in 1830, area, average precipitation, ruggedness, and suitability for barley, maize, rye, oats and wheat. Standard errors clustered by location in parentheses.

## Results by female labor force participation c. 1900

	(1) Total	(2) Total	(3) Total	(4) Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.033	0.032	0.289***	0.273***
,	(0.050)	(0.000)	(0.043)	(0.047)
N	1,623	1,623	1,843	1,843
Sample	Above	Above	Below	Below
	Median	Median	Median	Median
	FLFP	FLFP	FLFP	FLFP
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

Notes: \*\*\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%, \*Significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade in-invariant controls interacted with decade fixed effects are latitude, longitude, caloric suitability, coast distance, river, altitude, population density in 1830, area, average precipitation, ruggedeness, and suitability for barley, maize, rye, oats and wheat. Standard errors clustered by location in parentheses.

# Alternative Mechanisms (1/2)

- Diffusion of norms?
  - Compute "fertility access" as  $\sum_{l'} w_{l'd} F_{l'0}$ .
  - Here,  $w_{l'd} = \frac{\tau_{ll'd}^{-\theta}}{\sum_{l'} \tau_{ll'd}^{-\theta}}$ .
  - $F_{l'0}$  is initial fertility of location l', and  $w_{l'd}$  are travel cost weights.
  - Diffusion of norms may have played a role, but the evidence is weak, with a standardized  $\beta$  of  $\frac{0.287 \times 0.309}{8 \text{ R}^3} \approx 0.001$ .
- Similarly, "mortality access" (i.e. access to infant mortality) reduces fertility with a standardized  $\beta < 0.1$  that is not robust to controls.
- Reshaping the data to a panel of pairs: falling  $\tau_{ll'd}$  does not predict fertility convergence.
- What matters having a railway or being connected to other markets? Results survive controlling for railway density (length per unit area), and railway density has the opposite sign.

# Alternative Mechanisms (2/2)

- Sectoral change? Data on employment shares from Roses and Wolf (2020) suggest muted impacts on sectoral shares.
  - Urbanization? The result survives controlling for urbanization.
- Human capital? The result survives controlling for country literacy in the Clio Infra data.
- Mortality? Results are driven by countries with greater life expectancy in 1870.
- Political connections? Results survive dropping capitals.

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# Robustness (1/2)

#### Results survive:

- Tests of the parallel trends assumption.
- Estimation in long differences 1870 to 1910, and most other year combinations.
- Alternative measures of market access.
  - Alternative θ; census data on population from 1850 from Martí Henneberg; contemporary populations; country populations from Federico and Tena-Junguito; city populations from Reba et al. (2016), which are mostly from Chandler; city populations from Bosker et al. (2013), which are mostly from Bairoch.
  - Railway speed of 30 or 120 km per hour.
  - Add border costs. Add roads that predate the railway. Allow steam (i.e. rapid) travel over water.
  - City populations in 1850 from Martí Henneberg.
- Conley (1999) standard errors.

# Robustness (1/2)

#### Results survive:

- Alternative IV cutoff distances.
- In Fertility.
- Discarding Belgium.
- Discarding periods after 1914.
- Country trends and country-year fixed effects.
- Accounting for coal.
- Discarding the 40% largest units by area those for which market access and fertility may be most poorly measured.
- Retaining only locations that appear 9 times. The maximum, 10, is <20% of the sample.

#### Tests of Parallel Trends

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
F. In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.025	-0.007
	(0.041)	(0.039)
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.102***	0.044*
,	(0.026)	(0.025)
L. In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.143***	0.106***
,	(0.027)	(0.027)
N	2,731	2,731
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes

	(1)	(2)
	$\Delta$ Total Fertility	$\Delta$ Total Fertility
Δ In Market Access	0.340***	0.235***
	(0.062)	(0.069)
N	347	347
Controls	No	Yes

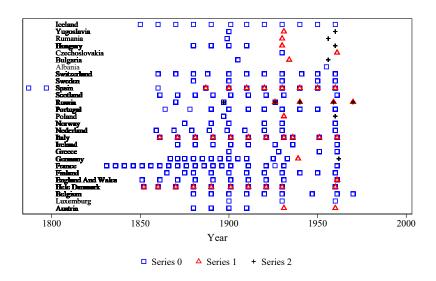
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#### Conclusion

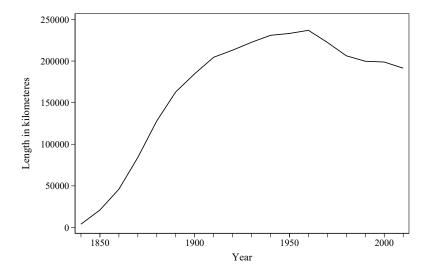
- Market access driven by railways predicts greater fertility in Europe, 1840-1940.
- Probable mechanism? Rising income:
  - Income itself increases with market access.
  - Nuptiality of women aged 20-24 is an intermediate mechanism.
  - The link is strongest in ultimately more developed locations where human capital and FLFP lagged.

- 8 Further Data Description
- 9 Further Results
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- 13 Maps of Controls

# Fertility Data: Availability



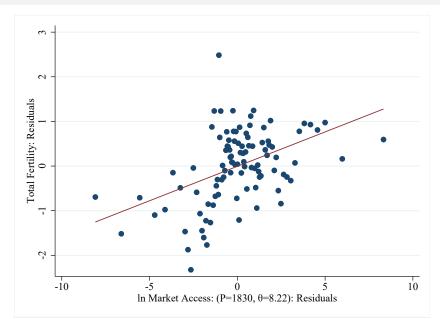
## Railway length over time



# Summary Statistics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	mean	sd	min	max	N
Total Fertility	30.2	8.93	5.90	68.1	4,104
n Market Access: (P=1830, θ=8.22)	6.98	7.91	-22.1	27.7	4,206
Latitude	49.6	5.75	35.2	70.0	4,206
Longitude	5.14	9.00	-18.6	29.7	4,206
Coast Distance	97.7	134	0	614	4,206
River	0.53	0.50	0	1	4,206
Altitude	318	340	-144	2,186	4,206
Population Density 1830	77.8	179	0.15	2,599	4,206
Area	7,138	12,013	12.3	166,762	4,206
Caloric Suitability	8,000	2,653	0	14,514	4,206
Barley Suitability	7,442	2,230	0	10,604	4,206
Maize Suitability	3,493	3,994	0	14,527	4,206
Rye Suitability	4,567	1,361	0	6,383	4,206
Oat Suitability	2,992	797	0	3,681	4,206
Wheat Suitability	7,286	2,158	0	10,303	4,206
Average Precipitation	73.5	25.2	28.7	231	4,206
Ruggedness	13.7	13.0	0.41	82.0	4,206
Year	1,895	25.1	1,840	1,940	4,206

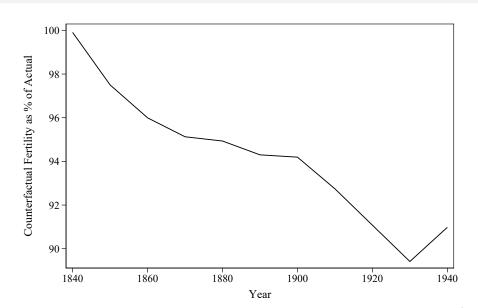
# Binned Scatterplot: Net of Fixed Effects



#### Results: First Stage

	(1)	(2)
	In Market Access: (P=1830	In Market Access: (P=1830
	$\theta$ =8.22)	$\theta$ =8.22)
In Distant Market Access: 500 k	m 1.225***	1.705***
	(0.053)	(0.074)
N	4,056	4,056
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes

# Counterfactual Fertility with 1830 Market Access



# Marital and non-Marital Fertility

	(1) Marital Fertility	(2) Marital Fertility	(3) Non- Marital Fertility	(4) Non- Marital Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.268*** (0.055)	0.197*** (0.052)	0.046*** (0.011)	0.033*** (0.011)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,040 Yes No	4,040 Yes Yes	4,034 Yes No	4,034 Yes Yes

# Urban Fertility (1/2)

	(1) Urban Fertility	(2) Urban Fertility	(3) Urban Marital Fertility	(4) Urban Marital Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.024	0.027	0.102	0.016
	(0.061)	(0.064)	(0.114)	(0.111)
N	687	687	718	718
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Urban Fertility (2/2)

	(1) Urban Non- Marital Fertility	(2) Urban Non- Marital Fertility	(3) Urban Nuptiality	(4) Urban Nuptiality
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	-0.044*	0.029	-0.132**	-0.017
	(0.023)	(0.027)	(0.057)	(0.047)
N	687	687	737	737
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Rural Fertility (1/2)

	(1) Rural Fertility	(2) Rural Fertility	(3) Rural Marital Fertility	(4) Rural Marital Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	-0.007	-0.002	0.168**	0.022
	(0.046)	(0.049)	(0.075)	(0.075)
N	888	888	936	936
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Rural Fertility (2/2)

	(1) Rural Non- Marital Fertility	(2) Rural Non- Marital Fertility	(3) Rural Nuptiality	(4) Rural Nuptiality
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22	) -0.020	-0.024	-0.121**	0.041
	(0.024)	(0.029)	(0.048)	(0.046)
N	888	888	984	984
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Intermediate Outcomes (1/2)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Nuptiality	Nuptiality	Infant	Infant
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.033	0.048*	Mortality -0.015	Mortality 0.059
III Market Access. (F = 1030, 0 = 0.22)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.039)	(0.039)
N	4,074	4,074	1,606	1,606
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Intermediate Outcomes (2/2)

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## Results by GDP in 1880

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22	0.293***	0.235***	0.044	0.012
	(0.037)	(0.049)	(0.048)	(0.044)
N	1,666	1,666	1,626	1,626
Sample	GDP in	GDP in	GDP in	GDP in
	1880 with	1880 with	1880 with	1880 with
	imputed	imputed	imputed	imputed
	Above	Above	Below	Below
	Median	Median	Median	Median
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Results by Population in 1900

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	` '	` '	` '	` '
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22	) 0 254***	0.161***	0.035	-0.001
III Warket Access. (1 =1050, 0=0.22	,			
	(0.040)	(0.054)	(0.044)	(0.039)
N	1,757	1,757	1,749	1,749
Sample	In RW	In RW	In RW	In RW
	Population	Population	Population	Population
	Above	Above	Below	Below
	Median in	Median in	Median in	Median in
	1900	1900	1900	1900
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Controls	INO	res	INO	res

## Results by Labor Share in Agriculture in 1900

	(+)	(=)	(-)	(.)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22	2) -0.043	0.007	0.219***	0.225***
	(0.047)	(0.039)	(0.049)	(0.054)
N	1,740	1,740	1,766	1,766
Sample	Agriculture	Agriculture	Agriculture	Agriculture
	Share	Share	Share	Share
	Above	Above	Below	Below
	Median in	Median in	Median in	Median in
	1900	1900	1900	1900
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

## Results by Labor Share in Industry in 1900

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
	0 007***	0 000***	0.001	0.005*
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.207***	0.208***	0.021	0.085*
	(0.048)	(0.053)	(0.049)	(0.044)
N	1,748	1,748	1,758	1,758
Sample	Industry	Industry	Industry	Industry
	Share	Share	Share	Share
	Above	Above	Below	Below
	Median in	Median in	Median in	Median in
	1900	1900	1900	1900
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

#### Results by Labor Share in Services in 1900

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.248***	0.261***	-0.013	0.004
	(0.050)	(0.059)	(0.044)	(0.034)
N	1,760	1,760	1,746	1,746
Sample	Services	Services	Services	Services
	Share	Share	Share	Share
	Above	Above	Below	Below
	Median in	Median in	Median in	Median in
	1900	1900	1900	1900
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Results by schooling in 1870

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.121**	0.033	0.223***	0.141***
	(0.048)	(0.046)	(0.035)	(0.038)
N	1,234	1,234	2,810	2,810
Sample	Above	Above	Below	Below
	Median	Median	Median	Median
	Years of	Years of	Years of	Years of
	Education	Education	Education	Education
	in 1870	in 1870	in 1870	in 1870
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Results by Numeracy in 1880

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.009	0.030	0.291***	0.177***
	(0.041)	(0.039)	(0.047)	(0.040)
N	1,932	1,932	2,022	2,022
Sample	Above	Above	Below	Below
	Median	Median	Median	Median
	Numeracy	Numeracy	Numeracy	Numeracy
	in 1880	in 1880	in 1880	in 1880
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Results by Numeracy in 1900

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	-0.059	0.009	0.191***	0.138***
`	(0.043)	(0.000)	(0.059)	(0.040)
N	1,740	1,740	1,726	1,726
Sample	Above	Above	Below	Below
•	Median	Median	Median	Median
	Numeracy	Numeracy	Numeracy	Numeracy
	in 1900	in 1900 °	in 1900	in 1900
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Fertility Access

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Weighted Fertility Access ( $\theta$ =8.22)	0.287 (0.640)	0.666 (0.437)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

#### Pairwise Results

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	AD. Total Fertility	AD. Total Fertility	In Fertility Difference	In Fertility Difference
Travel Time	-0.031***		-0.006***	
	(0.005)		(0.001)	
In Travel Time	` ′	-1.359***	` ′	-0.238***
		(0.283)		(0.046)
N	901,455	901,455	897,947	897,947
Pair and Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

# Mortality Access

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Weighted Mortality Access ( $\theta$ =8.22)	-3.529** (1.396)	-1.865 (1.332)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

# By Life Expectancy in 1870

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total Fertility	Total Fertility	Total Fertility	Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.276***	0.272***	0.158***	0.023
,	(0.043)	(0.047)	(0.032)	(0.038)
N	1,753	1,753	4,056	2,291
Sample	Above Median Life	Above Median Life	Below Median Life	Below Median Life
	Expectancy in 1870	Expectancy in 1870	Expectancy in 1870	Expectancy in 1870
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

## Control for Railway Density

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
	Total Fertility	Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.153***	0.146***
Rail Density	(0.031) -25.722***	(0.030) -21.105***
·	(7.161)	(5.700)
N	4,056	4,056
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes

Notes: \*\*\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%, \*Significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade.

It is not a significant at 10% and significant at 50%, significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade in the significant at 10% and significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant significant at 10% and significant at 10% and significant at 10%. All specifications in constant at 10% and significant at 10% and significant at 10% and significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant at 10% and significant at 10% and significant at 10% and significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade fixed significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade fixed significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade fixed significant at 10% and significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade fixed significant at 10% and signific

#### Sectoral Shares

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Agriculture	Agriculture	Industry	Industry	Services	Services
	Share	Share	Share	Share	Share	Share
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	-0.002*	-0.001	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
N	1,743	1,743	1,743	1,743	1,743	1,743
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

#### Control for the urbanization rate

	(1)	(2)
	Total Fertility	Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.140***	0.115***
	(0.032)	(0.030)
HYDE Urbanization Rate	-16.080***	-10.595***
	(2.263)	(2.174)
N	4,026	4,026
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes

### Control for Country-Level Education

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.135*** (0.043)	0.105*** (0.037)
N Fixed Effects Controls	3,665 Yes No	3,665 Yes Yes

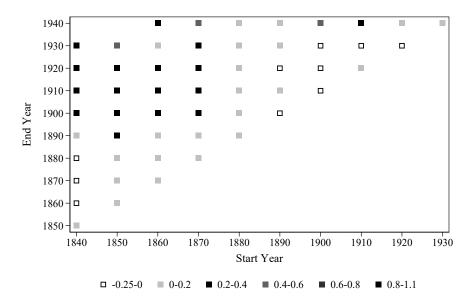
## Control for Country-Level Numeracy

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.163*** (0.031)	0.105*** (0.029)
N Fixed Effects Controls	3,463 Yes No	3,463 Yes Yes

#### **Drop Capitals**

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.161*** (0.033)	0.121*** (0.030)
N Fixed Effects Controls	3,925 Yes No	3,925 Yes Yes

## Every Long Difference



#### Long differences IV: 1870 to 1910

	$\Delta$ Total Fertility	(2) $\Delta$ Total Fertility
$\Delta$ In Market Access	0.562*** (0.104)	0.336*** (0.110)
N Controls KPF	347 No 89.13	347 Yes 141.4

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%, \*Significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Controls are latitude, longitude, caloric suitability, coast distance, river, altitude, population density in 1830, area, average precipitation, ruggedness, and suitability for barley, maize, rye, oats and wheat. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

# Alternative Market Access (1/6)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =1)	3.721*** (0.548)	4.395*** (0.827)		
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =3.60)	)		0.526*** (0.092)	0.437*** (0.095)
N	4,056	4,056	4,056	4,056
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

# Alternative Market Access (2/6)

	_(1)	(2)	(3)	_(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =12.86)	0.095***	0.075***		
, ,	(0.019)	(0.018)		
In Market Access: (P=1850, $\theta$ =8.22)	` ,	` ,	0.157***	0.124***
,			(0.032)	(0.030)
N	4,056	4,056	4,056	4,056
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

## Standardized $\beta$ by $\theta$

	(1) Total	(2) Total	(3) Total	(4) Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.111*** (0.026)			
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =1)	,	0.272*** (0.051)		
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =3.60)		,	0.149*** (0.032)	
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =12.86)	)		,	0.106*** (0.025)
N	4,056	4,056	4,056	4,056
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

# Alternative Market Access (3/6)

	(1)	(2)
	Total Fertility	Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=t, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.131*** (0.032)	0.103*** (0.030)
N	4,056	4,056
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes

# Alternative Market Access (4/6)

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access ( $\theta$ =8.22, P=FT 1830)	0.158*** (0.032)	0.125*** (0.030)
N Fixed Effects	4,056 Yes	4,056 Yes
Controls	No	Yes

# Alternative Market Access (5/6)

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access ( $\theta$ =8.22, P=Cities in 1830)	0.173*** (0.032)	0.131*** (0.031)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

# Alternative Market Access (6/6)

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access ( $\theta$ =8.22, P=Cities in 1800)	0.178*** (0.033)	0.130*** (0.033)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

#### Market Access with Cities in 1850

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access ( $\theta$ =8.22, P=Cities 1850)	0.159*** (0.032)	0.129*** (0.030)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

## Rail Speed of 30km per Hour

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22) 30km h	0.211*** (0.045)	0.169*** (0.041)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

## Rail Speed of 120km per Hour

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22) 120km h	0.122*** (0.024)	0.093*** (0.023)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

#### With Border Costs

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access with borders ( $\theta$ =8.22, P=1830)	0.157*** (0.031)	0.124*** (0.030)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

#### With Roads

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access with roads ( $\theta$ =8.22, P=1830)	0.131*** (0.031)	0.107*** (0.029)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

Notes: \*\*\*Significant at 1%, \*\*Significant at 5%, \*Significant at 10%. All specifications include a constant. Fixed effects are for location and decade.

1830, area, average precipitation, ruggedness, and suitability for barley, maize, rye, oats and wheat. Standard errors clustered by location in parentheses.

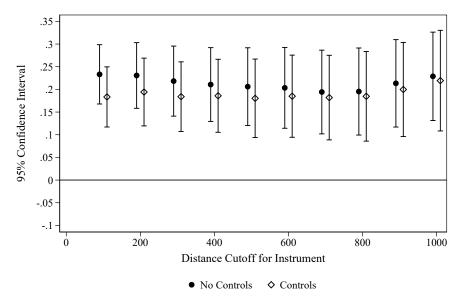
#### With Steam Travel Over Water

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
	Total Fertility	Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22) with steam	0.156***	0.123***
	(0.032)	(0.030)
N	4,056	4,056
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes

## Conley Standard Errors

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22) 250 km	0.158* (0.086)	0.125*** (0.043)
500 km 750 km	(0.076) (0.050)	(0.050) (0.050)
1000 km	(0.020)	(0.049)
N	4,104	4,104
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes

#### Alternative IV Cutoff Distances



#### In Fertility

	(1) In Total Fertility	(2) In Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)
N Fixed Effects	4,056 Yes	4,056 Yes
Controls	No	Yes

## Country Trends

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.055** (0.027)	0.063** (0.026)
N Fixed Effects Controls	4,056 Yes No	4,056 Yes Yes

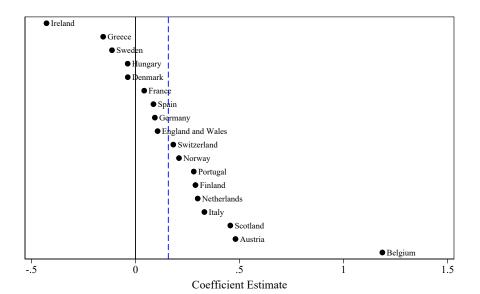
## Country-Year Fixed Effects

(1)	(2)
Total Fertility	Total Fertility
0.092***	0.084***
(0.025)	(0.026)
4,044 Yes	4,044 Yes Yes
	Total Fértility  0.092***  (0.025)  4,044

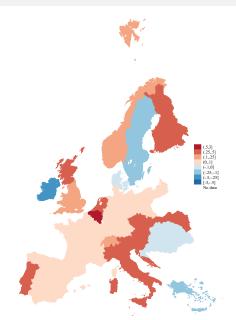
### Controlling for coal

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility	Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22	2)0.158***	0.124***	0.155***	0.125***
	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.030)
N	4.056	4,056	4,056	4,056
IV	4,050	4,050	4,050	4,050
Coal Control	Coal	Coal	Carbon	Carbon
	Share	Share	Share	Share
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

### Belgium? Results by Country...



#### Results by Country: Coefficient Estimates



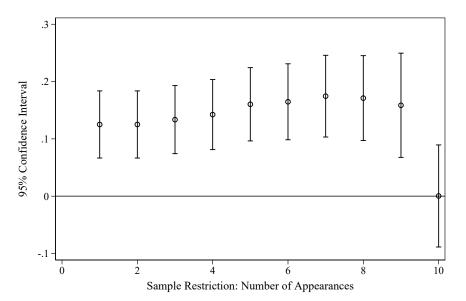
#### No Belgium

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.159*** (0.032)	0.125*** (0.030)
N Fixed Effects Controls	3,993 Yes No	3,993 Yes Yes

## Smaller Regions Only

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.231*** (0.038)	0.173*** (0.041)
N Fixed Effects Controls	2,437 Yes No	2,437 Yes Yes

## Restrict Sample by Appearances



#### Results by Time Period

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Total Fertility					
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22	2) 0.242***	0.102***	-0.089	0.012	-0.039**	0.003
	(0.039)	(0.038)	(0.133)	(0.057)	(0.016)	(0.019)
N	2,447	2,447	1,005	1,005	416	416
Period	1870 to 1910	1870 to 1910	After 1910	After 1910	Before 1870	Before 1870
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

#### Before 1914

	(1) Total Fertility	(2) Total Fertility
In Market Access: (P=1830, $\theta$ =8.22)	0.199*** (0.024)	0.127*** (0.026)
N Fixed Effects Controls	2,996 Yes No	2,996 Yes Yes

#### Controls: Latitude

# Controls: Longitude

### Controls: Caloric Suitability

### Controls: Wheat Suitability

#### Controls: Coast Distance

## Controls: Average Precipitation

#### Controls: Ruggedness

#### Controls: Altitude

# Controls: Barley Suitability

# Controls: Maize Suitability

# Controls: Oat Suitability

# Controls: Rye Suitability

#### Controls: Pop. Density 1830

#### Controls: River

#### Controls: Area