### Causation in demography

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Aims

Consider aggregate level change

#### Suggest causal criteria/guidelines

Full paper:

"On causation in demography: issues and illustrations," *Population and Development Review* 33 (1): 1-36, 2007

#### Preliminaries...

Intervention model rarely applicable

- can't manipulate => no causes?
- imaginary intervention irrelevant
- where intervene, good counterfactuals absent
- causes of effects, effects of causes

Confusion of levels of analysis

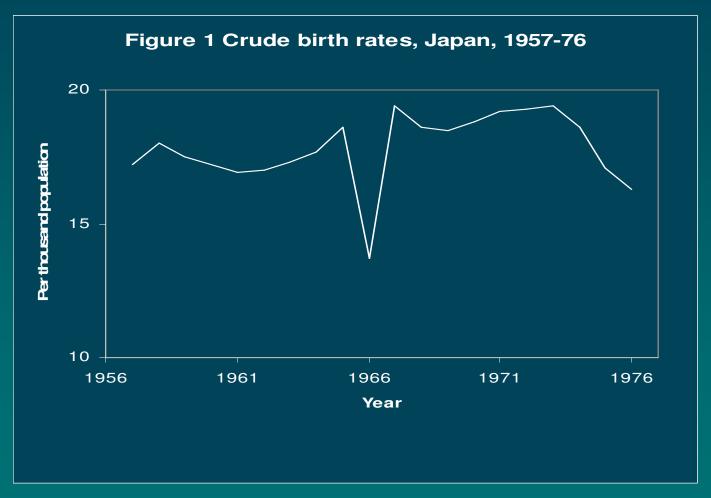
Variability not always of interest

# So, find an alternative approach

Start with causes we know for sure! mechanical demographic processes

Then, substantive examples from clear-cut to more complex

# Year of the Fire Horse —Japan 1966



Source: Japan Statistical Association (1987).

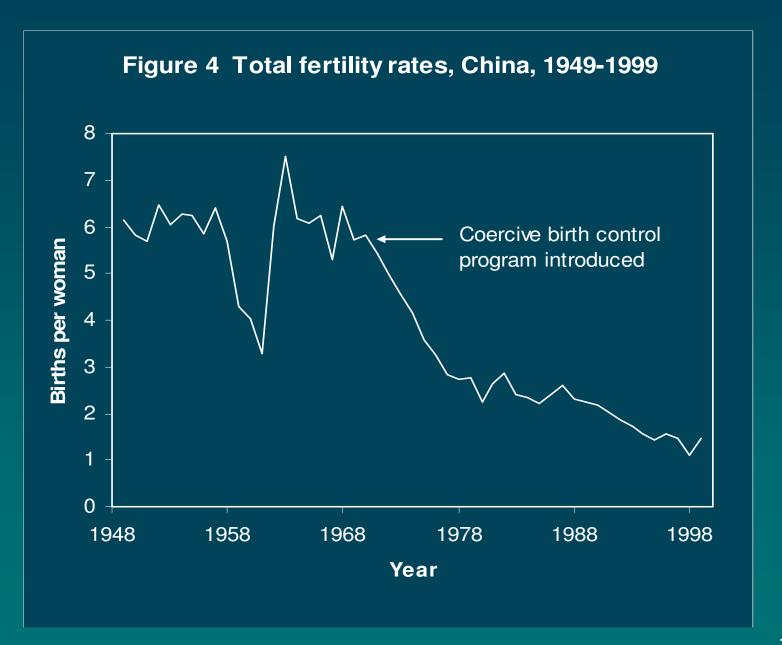
## Year of the Fire Horse —Japan 1966

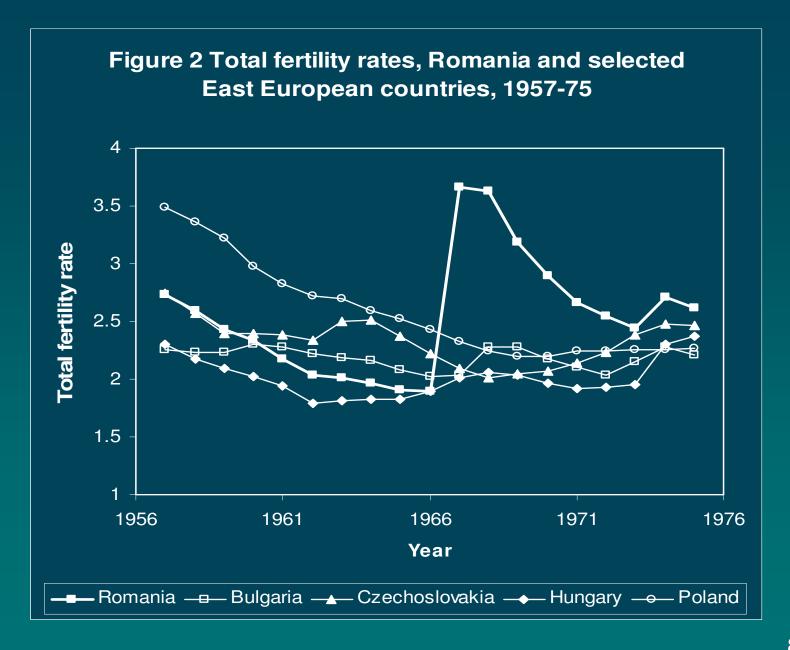
#### **Total Fertility Rate Japan 1947-2004**

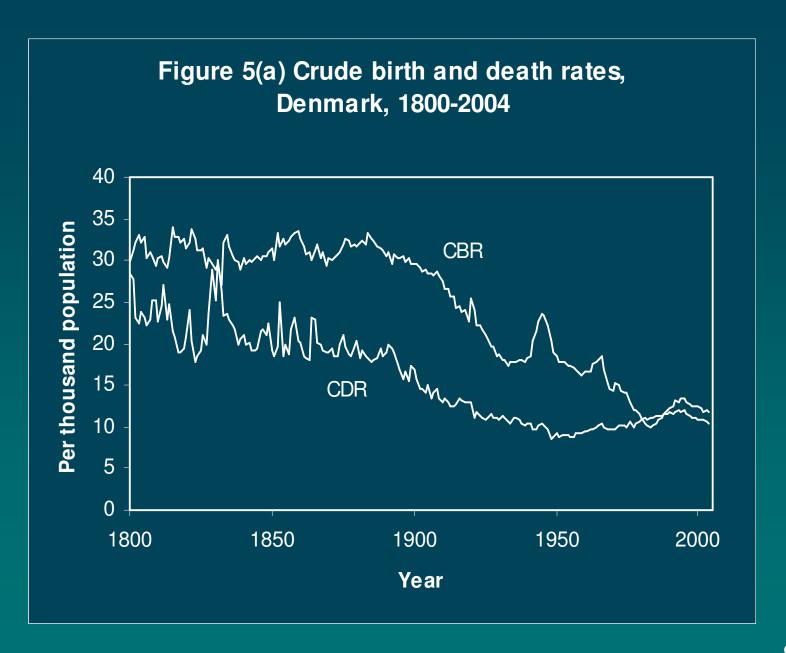


#### Distinctive features

- 1. cause precedes effect *time order*
- 2. effect follows soon after *contiguity*
- 3. effect lasts while cause does *duration*
- 4. unusual / large effect distinctiveness
- 5. in expected direction *direction*
- 6. appropriate scale *proportionality*
- 7. similar effects recurrence
- 8. only in Fire Horse year no cause, no effect
- 9. realistic process specifiable *mechanism*
- 10. alternatives ruled out no alternative











Sources: For Denmark, Chesnais (1992) and Statistics Denmark (2005); for Chile, Mitchell (1983) and INE-CELADE (2000)

# Exploring causation easier in these demographic examples because...

- events discrete, measurable
- can be located in time
- reasonable supply of reliable data
- can respond rapidly to exogenous factors
- mainly exogenously determined