

Aging threatens sustainability of smallholder farming in China

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1 **Aging threatens sustainability of smallholder farming in China**

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21
22 **Rapidly demographic aging substantially affects socioeconomic development ¹⁻⁴,**
23 **presents grand challenges for food security and agricultural sustainability ⁵⁻⁸,**
24 **which have so far not been well understood. Here, by using over 30,000 households**
25 **survey across China, we show that rural population aging lowers average**
26 **education level of farmers by 3% (0-11% across different provinces) and reduces**
27 **farm size by 4% (2-11%) due to land transfer-out and abandonment in 2019. These**
28 **changes further led to a reduction of agricultural inputs, including fertilizers and**
29 **machinery, which decrease agricultural output by 4% and labor productivity by**
30 **9%. Meanwhile, fertilizer use efficiency is reduced by 3%, while increasing**
31 **fertilizer-related pollutants emission to the environment. New farming models,**
32 **such as cooperative farming, tend to have larger farm sizes and being operated by**
33 **younger farmers, who have a higher average education level, hence reducing total**
34 **labor requirement. Without policy interventions, agricultural output, labor**
35 **productivity and fertilizer use efficiency would decrease by 3-16% as a**
36 **consequence of population aging by 2100, compared to 2019 levels. With policy**
37 **measures, such as new farming models, this decrease could be reversed and in fact**
38 **an increase by approximately one-third achieved in the same time period. Our**
39 **analyses suggest that population aging effects on agriculture could be effectively**
40 **addressed through labor saving in large-scale new farming models, further**
41 **contributing to a widespread transformation of smallholder farming to**
42 **sustainable agriculture in China.**

43
44 As life expectancy increases and population fertility rates decline, populations are aging
45 at an accelerating rate globally ⁹. Population aging brings grand challenges on multiple
46 global sustainable development goals (SDGs), mainly in relation to no poverty, zero
47 hunger, education, gender equality, decent work and economic growth, responsible
48 consumption and production, etc ^{1-4, 10, 11}. Labor shortage and innovation constraints
49 may become severe in a society with an aging population, especially in labor-intense
50 economic sectors ³. Policy interventions to increase birth rates seems to be largely

51 ineffective in many countries where aging issues have been considered serious ^{12, 13}.
52 Alternative strategies urgently need to be developed to achieve and maintain sustainable
53 development paths for human society. Agriculture as a typical labor-intensive industry
54 could be one of the sectors substantially affected by population aging, especially in
55 countries where smallholder farming is prevalent ^{8, 14}. However, how aging affects
56 agriculture and rural livelihoods has not been well researched or understood to date.
57 This sector is facing substantial challenges in squaring the circle between maintaining
58 food security and improving environmental protection through sustainable
59 intensification at many levels. However, it is indispensable to identify integrated,
60 comprehensive measures to ensure global food security, while protecting the
61 environment and achieving rural revitalization to achieve common prosperity.

62
63 Older age groups of farmers typically have a lower education levels, are less likely to
64 keep their agricultural skills up-to-date and embrace novel, cutting-edge methods ¹⁴⁻¹⁶.
65 Due to a consistent labor supply shortage, they can only operate small-scale farms,
66 which leads to an increase in cropland abandonment as rural populations age ^{17, 18}.
67 Meanwhile, the typical agricultural input mix and crop types (labor-intensive crops or
68 not) are likely to shift with rural aging, reducing agricultural productivity and efficiency
69 ^{5-7, 19}. These effects are usually worse in smallholder-farming-dominated countries such
70 as China ⁸. An aging society is defined as one in which more than 7% of the population
71 is over 65 years old ²⁰, and this ratio has doubled in rural China (Fig. 1a) in the period
72 from 2000 to 2019. In the coming decades, China's population aging rate is predicted
73 to accelerate ^{20, 21}. Thus, it is urgent and timely to address the threats of aging on
74 agricultural production in China and also other countries and regions globally, which
75 are facing similar issues.

76
77 Here, we explored the relationship between rural population aging (the proportion of
78 individuals over 65 years old at household-level) and agricultural sustainability based
79 on a panel model, using survey data from more than 30,000 rural households in China.
80 Nine indicators overall were selected to illustrate agricultural sustainability, including
81 farm size, farmer's education, labor productivity, agricultural total input and output,
82 profit-cost ratio, machine input, fertilizer input and fertilizer use efficiency (FUE). To
83 understand the full range of effects of aging on agriculture, other variables such as
84 transferred and abandoned cropland, pesticide and manure inputs, and technology
85 adoption were also incorporated into the analysis. In addition, the analysis quantified
86 the potential of new farming models, such as industrial, family and cooperative farming
87 for contributing to addressing the threats posed by aging on a predominantly traditional
88 smallholder farming sector. Finally, Shared Socioeconomic Pathways (SSP) scenarios
89 of future development were used to explore options for achieving sustainable
90 intensification of agriculture under conditions of aging rural populations.

91 **Results and discussion**

92 **How aging threatens agriculture?**

93 Population aging trends have been observed since the 1990s, in both urban and rural
94 areas in China (Fig. 1). However, rural aging is more severe and happening at a more
95 rapidly accelerating rate than that that of urban areas (Fig. 1a). The urban rate of aging
96 increased from 6% to 11% during the period between 2000 and 2019, rural aging from
97 7% to 15% over the same period. The rapid aging in rural area has resulted in a
98 substantial decline in the labor force available in the agricultural sector (Fig. 1b). Young
99 rural laborers are attracted to non-agricultural jobs in urban areas, resulting in an
100

101 imbalance of about 10% more workers in the age group from 15 to 64 being available
102 in urban compared to rural areas. Agriculture has been the sector primarily affected by
103 migration to urban centers as well as rural aging, with young workers becoming an
104 increasingly scarce commodity in rural areas⁶.

105
106 Using a fixed effect panel model, we found that for every one unit increase in the
107 proportion of rural aging ratio, there is on average a 1.5-year reduction in education
108 level of farmers (Table 1). In China, the effect of lower education levels is amplified by
109 the rapid socioeconomic development, with more and younger people typically
110 obtaining substantially higher education levels. Thus, regions with above-average
111 numbers of aging households are affected by overall lower education levels compared
112 to other regions. Meanwhile, we observe a correlation between aging and reduction in
113 farm size with a coefficient of -0.27, demonstrating that aging farmers tend to only
114 operate small-scale farms, and croplands are more likely to be abandoned or
115 transferred-out to others (Table 1). Smallholder farming is currently most prevalent in
116 regions of Central and South China, where rural aging is seen to be substantial (Fig. 1c,
117 d).

118
119 Aging is correlated with a decrease in agricultural inputs, mainly including chemicals
120 such as fertilizers and pesticides, and machinery and technology adoption (Table 1 and
121 S1). This typically reduces mechanization and intensification of agriculture. Moreover,
122 aging substantially lowers FUE by -0.13% for every one unit increase in aging. A lower
123 FUE indicates a higher rate of fertilizer-related losses to the environment and,
124 consequently, higher pollution. In addition, aging reduces the amount of manure input
125 (Table S1), inhibiting the recycling of manure and aggravating environmental pollution.
126 Consequently, agricultural output per area and labor productivity decrease substantially
127 with aging, despite the fact that the profit-cost ratio does not vary significantly (Fig.
128 S1). This decline in labor productivity reduces farmers' per capita income, further
129 discouraging young people from engaging in agriculture, and in turn further exacerbates
130 aging effects in the sector.

131
132 Aging affects agriculture both directly and indirectly as shown by a structural equation
133 model (Fig. 2). The standardized path coefficients for the direct effects of aging on labor
134 productivity and yield are both -0.05. This means that each standard deviation increase
135 in aging would lead to 0.05 standard deviations of decrease in labor productivity and
136 yield. Similarly, the direct effects of aging on fertilizer use and the FUE are -0.08 and -
137 0.02, respectively. These direct effects are only a small share of the total effect of aging
138 on agriculture.

139
140 More effects are factored in indirectly through farm size and education. For example,
141 the direct effect of aging on labor productivity has a standardized path coefficient of -
142 0.05, but the indirect effect through farm size and education is -0.08 and -0.02,
143 respectively. It results in a net effect of -0.15 of aging on labor productivity, of which
144 the direct effect accounts for one-third, while the indirect effect through farm size and
145 education accounts for two-thirds (Table S2). Similarly, 29%, 33%, and 67% of the net
146 effect of yield, fertilizer, and the FUE stem from indirect effects, respectively. This
147 implies that multiple initiatives are needed to mitigate the consequences of rural aging,
148 such as attracting young people to consider work in the agriculture sector, better
149 education and training and increasing average farm size^{22, 23}.

151 **Impacts on agricultural sustainability**

152 We quantified the impact of aging on agricultural sustainability in 2019 at provincial
153 level in China to account for the large spatial variability of aging and other related
154 factors^{24,25}. Average education levels of farmers are lower by around 3% in rural areas
155 (0-11% across different provinces) as a result of rural different rates of aging in
156 predominantly urban vs. rural areas (Fig. 3 and S2). The Chongqing-Sichuan area,
157 where aging has been accelerating since the 1990s, is the one of the most affected
158 regions, with an education level decline of 9% (0.6 years) (Fig. 3 and S2). Provinces
159 such as Zhejiang, Anhui, and Fujian are also affected, with a level of education 6%
160 lower (0.4 years) on average. Lower levels in farmers' education is associated with less
161 knowledge and adoption of technologies and scientific methods in agricultural practice,
162 inhibiting agricultural performance and modernization. Due to a lack of knowledge and
163 skills, aging farmers typically operate small-scale farms with outdated farming methods.
164 As a result, aging populations are associated with average farm size reduction by 4%
165 (2-11%) in 2019 nationally. Aging farmers tend to reduce farm size by cropland
166 abandonment or transferring increasing amounts of farmland out to others.
167 Approximately an additional 1 million hectares of cropland area would be expected to
168 be abandoned in 2019 as a result of aging (Fig. S3, Table S3). The abandonment ratio
169 is higher in hilly areas and comparatively lower in plain areas as a result of aging¹⁸,
170 however, the abandonment increasing rate is markedly higher in plain areas such as
171 Shandong and Jiangsu provinces (Fig. S3). This poses a severe threat to the preservation
172 of croplands as a key contributor to safeguarding food security.

173
174 The decline in farm size further leads to a reduction in the use of agricultural fixed
175 inputs such as machinery²⁶. We found that machinery inputs decreased by about 5% on
176 average with aging, and the largest decrease was estimated at 25% found in Chongqing.
177 In addition, aging also leads to a reduction in the use of non-fixed inputs such as
178 chemical fertilizers, pesticide, and manure fertilizer (Table 1 and S1). Chemical
179 fertilizer use is reduced by an average of 2% (0-8%) (Fig. 3). Total agricultural inputs
180 are reduced by about 3% (1-9%). The decrease in agricultural inputs reduces
181 agricultural output per area and labor productivity by 4% (2-10%) and 9% (4-22%),
182 respectively. Even though the correlation between aging and profit-cost ratio is not
183 significant, the reduction in farm size and education levels due to aging ultimately
184 reduces profit-cost ratio by about 2% (1-4%). The reduction in fertilizer use did not
185 contribute to an improvement in FUE, with aging reducing FUE by 3% (1-7%) and
186 leading to a 3% (1-12%) increase in fertilizer-related losses to the environment (Fig.
187 S3).

188
189 Aging in China's rural areas is likely to accelerate in the coming decades, especially in
190 the context of urbanization due to the migration of young, working-age populations
191 from rural to urban areas^{20,21}. This will further impact on the viability of agricultural
192 production in areas subjected to accelerated aging²⁷. The negative effects on
193 agricultural outputs could threaten the food security of 1.4 billion people in China, and
194 the loss in labor productivity would result in a decline in rural per capita income,
195 compromising the attainment of the SDGs focusing on 'no poverty' and 'zero hunger'.
196 The decline in FUE and the increase in fertilizer-related losses to the environment have
197 the potential to further exacerbate environmental pollution and present a threat to both
198 environmental and human health. China is already under pressure to ensure food
199 security while also protecting the environment, so it is critical to address the negative
200 effects of aging on agriculture.

201

202 **New farming models matter**

203 Chinese agriculture is currently dominated by smallholder farms ²⁸. Traditional
204 smallholder farming emerged in the 1980s as a consequence of the introduction of the
205 Household Contract Responsibility System (HCRS) in China ²³. The HCRS allocated
206 cropland equally to each rural household based on family size and the quality of
207 croplands. This resulted in small farm sizes as a status-quo across China, with a high
208 degree of cropland fragmentation ²³. New agricultural farming models have been
209 encouraged by Chinese government and increasingly emerging since 2010s, mainly
210 including family, cooperative and industrial farming, to improve overall agricultural
211 performance ^{29,30}. Family farming is still by rural households, but with larger farm size,
212 compared to traditional smallholders' farming. Cooperative farming is characterized by
213 shared agricultural equipment, such as machinery, across several families with much
214 larger farm size. Industrial farms are large-scale agricultural enterprises targeting
215 marketing and sales with large scales and professional production to maximize profits.
216 Also, young farmers with higher education levels are drawn to these new farming
217 models. Here, we considered these three models together as new farming models.

218

219 New farming models was observed to have better performance than that of traditional
220 smallholder farming in several aspects in 2019 (Fig. 4). Compared to traditional
221 farming, aging ratio in new farming was 33% lower, with 64% higher in education level
222 and 20% larger in farm size. In other words, new farming models attract younger
223 farmers to participate in agricultural practices who have a higher education level and
224 capability to operate large-scale farming. The total input and machinery input were 41%
225 and 68% higher in the new farming, respectively, therefore, the output per area and
226 labor productivity increased by 24% and 29% in the new farming, respectively,
227 although the profit-cost ratio was slightly changed. Furthermore, despite fertilizer input
228 was slightly higher in new farming, there is no statistically significant difference
229 compared to the traditional smallholder farming (Fig. 4, Table S4). On the contrary,
230 new farming had a 4% higher FUE than smallholder farmers in 2019, suggesting less
231 environmental pollution in new farming.

232

233 The reason why new farming models have better agricultural performance than
234 traditional smallholder farming is mainly because it has younger farmers with higher
235 education level. These younger farmers also have the opportunities to realize higher
236 incomes by working in non-agricultural sectors in cities, which means they face
237 substantial opportunity costs if they decide to engage in farming. To offset the
238 opportunity cost, these farmers have to increase their income by increasing farm size
239 and improving farm management. In contrast, older farmers in traditional farming do
240 not have such opportunities and are thus not prone to respond to incentives. Thus, we
241 can see a shift in agricultural input mix as well as an increase in output and labor
242 productivity under new farming models. Furthermore, as these new farming farmers are
243 younger and well educated, they are more likely to have scientific knowledge and
244 embrace new technologies ¹⁵, resulting in increased mechanization and FUE,
245 contributing to agricultural modernization and long-term sustainability.

246

247 **Mitigation pathways**

248 To quantitatively assess future trends of aging and its impacts, we accounted for
249 demographic change in Shared Socioeconomic Pathways (SSPs) scenarios ³¹. SSP1
250 (Taking the green road), SSP2 (Middle of Road), SSP3 (A rocky road) and SSP4 (A

251 road divided) are included in this analysis ³². SSP5 (Taking the highway) is excluded
252 due to having a similar population structure to SSP1. Among these scenarios, SSP1
253 includes the world's most pronounced population aging, with more than 60% of the
254 world's population over the age of 65 by 2100 (Fig. S4). Total population first increases
255 in the coming decades and then starts to decrease by the 2060s. Even with high
256 urbanization rates and economic growth under the green development path, high levels
257 of aging would exert substantial negative impacts on socioeconomic development and
258 agricultural production. SSP4 comprises the smallest rate of aging, with only 24% of
259 over 65s in 2100. However, in this scenario, the global population rises to 12.7 billion
260 by 2100, with an urbanization rate of under 60% and a severe slowdown in economic
261 growth.

262

263 Despite the different assumptions for future development paths, the aging trend
264 continues to rise in all scenarios (Fig. S4). We found that for China, the abandonment
265 ratio of croplands would increase from 5% in 2020 to 15-47% by 2100 nationally due
266 to aging, while average farm size would decrease by 5-16% (0.04-0.11 ha), and
267 education levels would fall by 8-28% (0.6-2 years) (Fig. 5, S5 and S6). Meanwhile,
268 agricultural performance would decline, with machinery and fertilizer inputs decreasing
269 by 3-5% and 1-5% by 2100, respectively. The overall input per area would reduce by
270 1-2% as well, leading to a decrease in output and profit-cost ratio by 3-5% and 3-13%,
271 respectively. Labor productivity is projected to decrease by about 7-14%, from an \$7.2
272 per labor hour in 2020 to \$5.2-6.6 in 2100. In addition, FUE would decrease by 5-16%,
273 and fertilizer loss increase by 3-5%. Without interventions, food security challenges
274 and environmental degradation would pose substantial threats to ecosystem and human
275 health and well-being.

276

277 Fortunately, the decline in agricultural performance caused by aging can be reversed by
278 promoting an increasing uptake of new farming models. With new farming models,
279 average farm size would increase by 11-22% from 2020 to 2100, accompanied by an
280 improvement in the average education level. This would lead to a 14-15% increase in
281 total inputs, a 13-46% increase in mechanization and a 4-5% decrease in fertilizer use.
282 As a result, output and labor productivity would increase by 12-14% and 57-72%,
283 respectively, FUE improve by 12-25% and fertilizer loss be reduced by 4-7%. New
284 farming models could mitigate impacts of aging on agriculture, resulting in a substantial
285 improvement in agricultural sustainability for China. In addition, new farming models
286 would accelerate the transformation of the agricultural sector from traditional
287 smallholder farming to large-scale sustainable agriculture.

288

289 **Social co-benefits**

290 The implementation of new farming may present a cost-effective solution for China,
291 especially considering the dual challenges of maintaining food security and protecting
292 the environment ²⁴. This strategy would also lead to additional social co-benefits, not
293 limited to agriculture.

294

295 The proportion of the population engaged in agricultural production has continued to
296 fall over time, while the proportion of people employed in non-agricultural sectors has
297 continued to rise (Fig. S7). In China, young people tend to move to cities, leaving older
298 people in rural areas maintaining an involvement in agriculture. But most rural young
299 people do not settle in city, continue to support rural families and eventually return to
300 the countryside. As a result, agriculture is no longer the primary source of income for

301 rural households. In 2019, income derived from agricultural activities accounted for
302 just 23% of rural household income (Fig. S7). This essentially implies that farmers do
303 not rely on agriculture any more and agricultural vitality is diminishing.

304
305 The increasing number of young people leaving to seek employment in cities may have
306 additional socio-economic impacts, e.g. contributing to a rising mortality rate of rural
307 elderlies and children in recent years^{33, 34}. The mortality rate of the elderly over 65
308 years old in rural areas due to accidents, mental illness and suicide is much higher than
309 that in urban areas (Fig. S8). That is mainly because elderly who are left behind in rural
310 areas face additional risks of living alone³³. Furthermore, the mortality rate of children
311 less than 14 years old in rural areas are often greater than for urban locations (Fig. S9).
312 Aside from variations in medical care provision, the greater prevalence of accidental
313 mortality among rural compared to urban children can also be attributed to the neglect
314 of children left behind due to their young parents moving to cities^{35, 36}.

315
316 However, new farming models can reinvigorate agriculture and improve rural income
317 levels, promoting rural revitalization and common prosperity. Meanwhile, it contributes
318 to the return of young people to their rural villages and hometowns, resolving the issue
319 of elderly and children being left behind on their own and sustaining rural communities.
320 These additional benefits are intertwined with agricultural sustainability, contributing
321 to attaining multiple SDGs.

322 **Policy changes and feasibility**

323 Adverse impacts of population aging would – without policy interventions - be
324 unavoidable in the future, and in particular the impacts on agriculture and rural
325 communities require urgent attention³⁷. Mitigating these adverse impacts is a great
326 challenge, but also presents a tremendous opportunity, which requires multiple
327 stakeholders' efforts. Increasing fertility policy is an important measure with long-term
328 benefits to address aging issues despite it may bring challenges on feeding more people.
329 It can directly stimulate childbirth, reduce demographic aging and mitigate its adverse
330 impacts. Under the family planning strategy in China, a couple was restricted to have
331 only one child on average before 2016¹³. In recent years, the government has
332 authorized the second and third children to each couple to increase birthrate. Meanwhile,
333 social security measures including maternity subsidies, insurance and maternity leave
334 have been improved gradually. However, changes of fertility policy may not
335 substantially reverse the population aging according to the experiences in other
336 developed countries/regions such as Japan and European Union. Other policies and
337 measures are still required to complement the interventions on aging.

338
339
340 Policy changes on *Hukou* and land tenure systems would make the implementation of
341 new farming models feasible, benefiting the controls on adverse impacts of population
342 aging. The smallholder aging issues are mainly due to the unique Chinese household
343 registration system that divides the Chinese population into two categories: rural and
344 urban, allocating lands and other public resources based on the *Hukou* status of
345 residents²⁸. The growing urbanization in recent years has resulted in young rural people
346 migrating to cities to engage in non-agricultural sectors, leaving the elderly in rural
347 areas. Rural elders are unable to move to cities because they are unable to access urban
348 social services such as pension and medical care under the restriction of *Hukou* system.
349 The large rural aging population inhibits the extension of new farming models. Thus,
350 new policies are needed to move rural aging population to urban areas and exchange

351 their rural resources (mainly croplands and homesteads) for urban social services,
352 especially the elderly whose children have moved to urban areas. It has been reported
353 that the Jiangsu governments have compensated farmers who give up croplands and
354 migrate to cities with a cash transfer equal to five times their annual income as social
355 security ²⁹. This effectively encourages rural-to-urban migration of aging people.
356 Meanwhile, croplands of these migrating aging farmers can be integrated for large-scale
357 farming and their homesteads can also be reclaimed for farming ³⁸. It is estimated that
358 the reclaimed lands due to rural-to-urban migration under urbanization could increase
359 the cropland area by 4.1% by 2050 nationally, approximately 5.8 million hectares ³⁹.
360 And average farm size can increase from less 0.6 ha to over 16 ha through land
361 consolidation in some regions ⁴⁰, benefiting the implementation of new farming models.
362 Reforming *Hukou* and land tenure systems to achieve such changes is an effective
363 pathway for the new farming models ³⁰.

364
365 Given the experiences in Jiangsu Providence, it should be feasible for the reform of
366 rural communities through reallocation of lands and other public resources to increase
367 their use efficiencies. Over 40,000 hectares of homesteads have been reclaimed during
368 past decade, suggests that it is not only feasible but also happening in practice ³⁹. These
369 released croplands could be integrated for large-scale new farming, which normally
370 have much higher cost-efficiencies than that in smallholders (Fig. 4). Similarly, urban
371 areas have higher efficiency on the supply of non-agricultural services such as health
372 care and education, and the rural-to-urban migration would benefit the increase of labor
373 productivity through training and better health care. Therefore, it should be cost-
374 effective to compensate rural-to-urban migrated farmers ²⁹. This strategy would bring
375 in multiple social benefits that far outweigh its cost. Increasing cropland area through
376 both homesteads reclamation and decreasing the abandonment benefit food security
377 that is the top priority of national strategy. Improving rural income under new farming
378 models encourages return of young people, promoting rural revitalization and
379 sustainable rural communities. The cost of land consolidation can also be recovered in
380 the following decades, despite a large number of one-time inputs ⁴⁰. When the
381 environmental and human health benefits are considered, the reforming cost should be
382 much lower than the benefits. Chinese central government has already issued a policy
383 of giving 'Priority to Development of Agriculture, Rural Areas and Farmers' in early
384 2019 to accelerate the construction of large-scale high-standard croplands. These
385 ongoing changes suggest that reforming Chinese agriculture to address the threats of
386 rural population aging on the sustainability of smallholder farming is not only important
387 but also feasible.

388 **Methods**

389 **Data sources.** We used data from the China Rural Household Panel Survey (CRHPS)
390 database, which includes the Chinese Family Database of Zhejiang University, and
391 data of the China Household Finance Survey conducted by the Survey and Research
392 Center for China Household Finance at the Southwestern University of Finance and
393 Economics, China. From this database, rural household level data concerning age,
394 education, income, farm size and agricultural inputs and outputs in 2015, 2017, and
395 2019 was obtained for statistical analysis, resulting in about 33,058 observations after
396 being screened. This database is openly available at
397 <http://ssec.zju.edu.cn/dataset/CRHPS/>.
398

399
400 The province and country-level population aging and rural aging data was derived

401 from the China Population & Employment Statistics Yearbook (available at
 402 <https://data.cnki.net/yearbook/Single/N2021020056>). County-level population aging
 403 data in 2020 shown in Fig.1c is taken from the Sixth National Census in 2010
 404 (available at <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/rkpc/6rp/indexch.htm>) and weighted by
 405 province-level aging data for the year 2020 from the Seventh National Census
 406 (available at <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/rkpcgb/qgrkpcgb/>). County-level farm
 407 size data in Fig.1d is from the statistics of the Second National Pollution Census (non-
 408 public database), which is averaged by investigated household farm size.

409
 410 We obtained future population data across all age groups based on the Shared
 411 Socioeconomic Pathways (SSP) database hosted by the IIASA Energy Program
 412 (<https://tntcat.iiasa.ac.at/SspDb>). In this paper, scenario SSP5 was not considered as
 413 its population change is in line with that of scenario SSP1.

414
 415 **Statistical analysis.** CRHPS data allowed estimating the relationships between
 416 population aging and agricultural performance. Aging ratio, the proportion of people
 417 65 years and older in rural households, was adopted as an indicator to demonstrate
 418 population aging at household-level. Adult farmer's ratio, defined as the proportion of
 419 people over 15 but less 64 years old in rural households, was also considered to
 420 demonstrate age groups. Nine different indicators were determined to illustrate
 421 agricultural sustainability, including farm size (ha), education (yr), labor productivity
 422 (\$ hr⁻¹), total agricultural input (\$ ha⁻¹), output (\$ ha⁻¹), profit-cost ratio, machine input
 423 (\$ ha⁻¹), fertilizer input (\$ ha⁻¹) and fertilizer use efficiency (FUE). Other variables
 424 concerning transferred-out cropland, abandoned cropland, pesticide, pesticide use
 425 efficiency, manure and technology adoption were also incorporated to demonstrate
 426 agricultural performance changes under population aging. The detailed interpretation
 427 of these indicators is documented in Supplementary Information.

428
 429 To explore the relationships between population aging and agricultural sustainability,
 430 we first used a fixed effect panel (FEP) regression model to conduct the longitudinal
 431 analysis, while controlling for confounding factors such as crop type, plot numbers,
 432 regional and year effect. We estimated the following equation using data on
 433 households from 2015, 2017 and 2019:

$$434 \quad Agriculture_{it} = \alpha + \beta \cdot Aging_{it} + \gamma \cdot Education_{it} + \delta \cdot Farmsize_{it} +$$

$$435 \quad \sum_m \theta_m \cdot p_{mit} + \varepsilon_{it} + \sigma_k \quad (1)$$

436 where subscript i , k and t denote household, county and time, respectively.
 437 $Agriculture_{it}$ refers to the agricultural sustainability indicators and other inputs and
 438 outputs on household level. $Aging$ refers to the proportion of people ≥ 65 years in
 439 rural households. $Education$ refers to average years of education of family
 440 members aged 15 and over. $Farmsize$ is the logarithm of total cultivated area
 441 covering all crops. p_m is control variable including adult farmer's ratio, income ratio
 442 from non-agricultural sectors, crop type, plot numbers, county-level regional effect
 443 and year effect. α is a constant, ε_{it} and σ_k are error items. β, γ, δ and θ are
 444 coefficients that need to be estimated. The detailed results are listed in Table 1 and S1.

445
 446 Given too many zeros in variables of variables of transfer-out cropland, abandoned
 447 cropland, machine input and owned, and manure fertilizer input, we also used a Tobit
 448 regression model to validate the relationship between these variables and aging. We
 449 estimated the following equation using data on households in 2015, 2017 and 2019:

$$y_{it}^* = \alpha + \beta \cdot Aging_{it} + \gamma \cdot Education_{it} + \delta \cdot Farmsize_{it} + \sum_n \varphi_n q_{n,it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

where subscript i and t denote household and time, respectively. y_{it}^* refers to latent variables including transfer-out cropland, abandoned cropland, machine input and owned, and manure fertilizer input in each household. Latent variables can be observed when over 0, truncated at 0 when the value is equal to 0 or less 0. *Aging* refers to the proportion of people over 65 years old in rural households. *Education* refers to average years of education of family members aged 15 and over. *Farmsize* is the logarithm of total cultivated area covering all crops. q_n is control variable including adult farmer's ratio, income ratio from non-agricultural sectors, crop type, plot numbers, city-level regional effect and year effect. α is a constant and ε_{it} is the error item. β, γ, δ and φ are coefficients that need to be estimated. Farm size was removed in explaining variables in the equation with explained variable of transfer-out and abandoned cropland considering multi-collinearity. The results are listed in Table 1 and S1.

The latent variable is expressed in terms of the observed variable y_{it}^* in the following form:

$$\begin{cases} y_{it} = y_{it}^* & \text{if } y_{it}^* > 0 \\ y_{it} = 0 & \text{if } y_{it}^* \leq 0 \end{cases} \quad (3)$$

Besides, a Logit regression model was adopted as technology adoption (Tech) is a binary variable. This model is formulated as follows based on household-level data from 2015, 2017 and 2019:

$$\text{Logit}\{P_{it}(\text{Tech}_{it} = 1)\} = \alpha + \beta_1 \cdot Age_{it} + \beta_2 \cdot Age_{it}^2 + \gamma \cdot Education_{it} + \delta \cdot Farmsize_{it} + \sum_n \varphi_n q_{n,it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (4)$$

where subscript i and t denotes household and time, respectively. P_{it} is the probability of the occurrence of Tech (Tech_{it}=1: event occurs; Tech_{it}=0: event does not occur). *Age* refers to the log-transformed age of the head of the investigated household. *Education* refers to education years of the head of the investigated household. *Farmsize* is the logarithm of total cultivated area covering all crops. q_n is control variable including income ratio from non-agricultural sectors, crop type, plot numbers, city-level regional effect and year effect. α is a constant and ε_{it} is the error item. β, γ, δ and φ are coefficients that need to be estimated. The results are listed in Table S1.

To test the difference of agricultural performance of traditional and new farming model under aging, a binary variable indicating the occurrence of new farming (NF_{it}) (NF_{it}=1: event occurs; NF=0: event does not occur) was introduced based on Eq. (1) and (2). The equations are expressed in the following forms:

$$Agriculture_{it} = \alpha + \omega \cdot NF_{it} + \beta \cdot Aging_{it} + \gamma \cdot Education_{it} + \delta \cdot Farmsize_{it} + \sum_m \theta_m \cdot p_{mit} + \varepsilon_{it} + \sigma_k \quad (5)$$

$$y_{it}^* = \alpha + \omega \cdot NF_{it} + \beta \cdot Aging_{it} + \gamma \cdot Education_{it} + \delta \cdot Farmsize_{it} + \sum_n \varphi_n q_{n,it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (6)$$

$\omega, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \theta$ and φ are coefficients that need to be estimated. Related results are listed in Table S4. Note that as new farming is not widely prompted in China, new farming data is limited. Thus, we consider that when the variable NF with $p < 0.05$ in Table S4, there is a significant difference.

497 Meanwhile, we replaced aging ratio with the age of the head of the investigated
 498 household and average education years with the head's education for a robustness
 499 check. The results of this robustness check are detailed in Table S1 and S5.

500
 501 We then used a structural equation model (SEM) to understand the direct and
 502 indirect effects of aging on agriculture⁴¹. Considering the multi-collinearity of
 503 agricultural indicators, such as output with labor productivity, fertilizer input with
 504 total input, only some of typical indicators were selected. Also, we excluded
 505 variables with nonlinear relationships with aging (e.g. machine input) to deduce
 506 comparable standardized path coefficients. Income ratio from non-agricultural
 507 sectors and the ratio of cash crops area to total cultivated area were controlled when
 508 doing SEM analysis. In this model, the goodness-of-fit statistics are reasonable
 509 based on CRHPS data in 2019: non-normed fit index (NNFI) > 0.90, comparative
 510 fit index (CFI) > 0.90, root mean square error (RMSE) < 0.05, and standardized
 511 root mean square residual (SRMR) < 0.05. Using the results from the SEM, the
 512 direct and indirect effects of aging with standardized path coefficients are shown in
 513 Fig.2.

514
 515 Summary statistics for main variables used in statistical regression analysis are
 516 listed in Table S7. We did all statistical analysis in Stata12.0 software.

517
 518 **Impact of aging on agricultural sustainability.** We assume that the population age
 519 distribution remains at the 1990 level to represent no aging. Province-level population
 520 data for 1990 from the China Population & Employment Statistics Yearbook was
 521 introduced after weighting by the difference between this data and CRHPS to reduce
 522 the error caused by variations in data stemming from different databases. Then
 523 province-level population data was downscaled to household-level proportionally.
 524 Finally, aging and adult farmer's ratio without aging are deduced. We assume that other
 525 variables remain the same and calculated the predicted value of agriculture without
 526 aging on each household based on coefficients estimated in Eq. (1). For household i ,
 527 the predicted without aging is calculated as follows:

$$528 \quad Y_{ijt}^{Predicted\ Without\ Aging} = \exp(Ln Y_{ijt}^{Observed} + Ln Y_{ijt}^{Without\ Aging} - Ln Y_{ijt}^{With\ Aging})$$

(7)

529
 530 where the subscript i, j and t denote household, explained variable and year, respectively.
 531 Y_j includes farm size, output, input, labor productivity, fertilization and
 532 FUE. $Y_{ijt}^{Observed}$ refers to the observed value of each household. $Y_{ijt}^{Without\ Aging}$ is the
 533 deduced value based on estimated coefficients in Eq. (1) using the aging and adult
 534 farmer's ratio data in 1990. $Y_{ijt}^{With\ Aging}$ is the deduced value using the observed aging
 535 and adult farmer's ratio (age over 15 but less than 64) data from CRHPS. For explained
 536 variables without log-transformed such as education and profit-cost ratio, the predicted
 537 is calculated as follows:

$$538 \quad Y_{ijt}^{Predicted\ Without\ Aging} = Y_{ijt}^{Observed} + Y_{ijt}^{Without\ Aging} - Y_{ijt}^{With\ Aging}$$

(8)

539
 540 Y_j includes education and profit-cost ratio.

541 For some variables with nonlinear relationship with aging, the following equation was
 542 adopted to calculate the impact of aging based on Eq. (2):

$$543 \quad Impact_{ijt} = \beta \cdot \Delta Aging_{ijt} + \gamma \cdot \Delta Education_{ijt} + \delta \cdot \Delta Farmsize_{ijt} + \varphi_1 \cdot$$

$$544 \quad \Delta Adult_{ijt} \tag{9}$$

545 where the subscript i, j and t denote household, explained variable and year, respectively.
 546 Δ refers to the value difference with and without aging. Y_j includes abandoned
 547 cropland and machine input. $Adult_{ijt}$ refers to adult farmer's ratio in rural household.
 548 Then the predicted value on each household without aging was calculated:

$$549 \quad Y_{ijt}^{Predicted \text{ Without Aging}} = Y_{ijt}^{Observed} - Impact_{ijt} \quad (10)$$

550 Note that we first derived the predicted education without aging. Then abandoned
 551 cropland area was derived based on predicted education as it is one of the explanatory
 552 variables. Farm size was derived based on predicted education and considering
 553 abandoned cropland changes. The remaining variables were finally calculated based on
 554 predicted education and farm size.
 555

556 When the household-level predicted value in 2019 was calculated, the provincial
 557 predicted means including input, output, machine and fertilization were averaged after
 558 weighted by the total cultivated area on province-level. The rest were arithmetic
 559 averages.
 560

561 **Scenario analysis.** We based our analysis of future socio-economic development on
 562 the SSP scenarios to determine the impact of population aging on agricultural
 563 sustainability. We obtained population age data (2015-2100) from the SSP database. We
 564 undertook a comparison between the population age data for 2015 in the SSP and
 565 CRHPS databases, and weighted aging and adult farmer's ratio by their difference to
 566 reduce the error. Then country-level population data was downscaled to household level
 567 proportionally. Then the aging and adult farmer's ratio data of the SSP scenarios for the
 568 period between 2020 and 2100 were calculated for each household. Finally, the
 569 predicted values ($Y_{ijt}^{Predicted \text{ SSP}}$) of nine agricultural sustainability indicators and
 570 abandoned cropland under future aging were calculated based on Eqns. (7), (8), (9) and
 571 (10) under the hypothesis that other variables remain stable at 2019 levels. The
 572 equations are expressed in the following forms:

$$573 \quad Y_{ijt}^{Predicted \text{ SSP}} = \exp(Ln Y_{ij,2019}^{Observed} + Ln Y_{ijt}^{SSP} - Ln Y_{ij,2019}^{With \text{ Aging}}) \quad (11)$$

$$574 \quad Y_{ijt}^{Predicted \text{ SSP}} = Y_{ij,2019}^{Observed} + Y_{ijt}^{SSP} - Y_{ij,2019}^{With \text{ Aging}} \quad (12)$$

$$575 \quad Impact_{ijt} = \beta \cdot \Delta Aging_{ijt} + \gamma \cdot \Delta Education_{ijt} + \delta \cdot \Delta Farmsize_{ijt} + \varphi_1 \cdot \Delta Adult_{ijt} \quad (13)$$

$$577 \quad Y_{ijt}^{Predicted \text{ SSP}} = Y_{ijt}^{Observed} - Impact_{ijt} \quad (14)$$

578 Δ in Eq. (13) refers to the value difference between year 2019 and year t .
 579

580 To improve agricultural performance and estimate the effectiveness of mitigating
 581 negative impacts of future population aging, we assume that new farming models will
 582 be promoted as a key element of future agricultural sector development. Based on the
 583 relative sector share of the new farming models, which is 2% in 2019, we hypothesize
 584 that its coverage will increase by about 1.2% annually, reaching 100% by 2100. For
 585 household i , the predicted value of nine agricultural sustainability indicators and
 586 abandoned cropland under new farming is calculated as follows:

$$587 \quad Y_{ijt}^{Predicted \text{ NF}} = \exp(Ln Y_{ijt}^{Predicted \text{ SSP}} + \rho_j \cdot Coverage_t) \quad (15)$$

589 where the subscript i, j and t denote household, explained variable and year, respectively.
 590 Y_j includes farm size, output, input, labor productivity, fertilization and FUE.
 591 $Y_{ijt}^{Predicted \text{ NF}}$ is the predicted value new farming (NF) models. $Y_{ijt}^{Predicted \text{ SSP}}$ is the

592 predicted value under SSP scenarios. ρ_j refers to estimated coefficients of new
593 farming responding to explained variable j . The results of these estimated coefficients
594 are detailed in Table S4. $Coverage_t$ means the assuming coverage of new farming in
595 year t .

596

597 For explained variables without log-transformed, the predict is calculated as follows:

$$598 \quad Y_{ijt}^{Predicted\ NF} = Y_{ijt}^{Predicted\ Under\ SSP} + \rho_j \cdot Coverage_t \quad (16)$$

599 Y_j includes education and profit-cost ratio, abandoned cropland and machine
600 input.

601

602 Note that we first derived the predicted education under SSP scenarios. Then abandoned
603 cropland was derived based on predicted education as it is one of the explanatory
604 variables. Farm size was derived based on predicted education and considering
605 abandoned cropland changes. The remaining variables were finally calculated based on
606 predicted education and farm size.

607

608 Country-level mean values of each year including input, output, machine and
609 fertilization were averaged after weighting by the total cultivated area across the
610 whole country. The rest were arithmetic averages.

611

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718 **Data availability**

719 Data supporting the findings of this study are available within the article and its
720 supplementary information files.

721

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725

726 **Author contributions**

727 B.G. designed the study. C.R. conducted the research. B.G. and C.R. wrote the first
728 draft of the paper, S.R. revised the paper. C.W., Y.G., Y.D., S.S., and W.L. processed
729 the raw data. X.Z. and J.X. contributed to the discussion of the paper.

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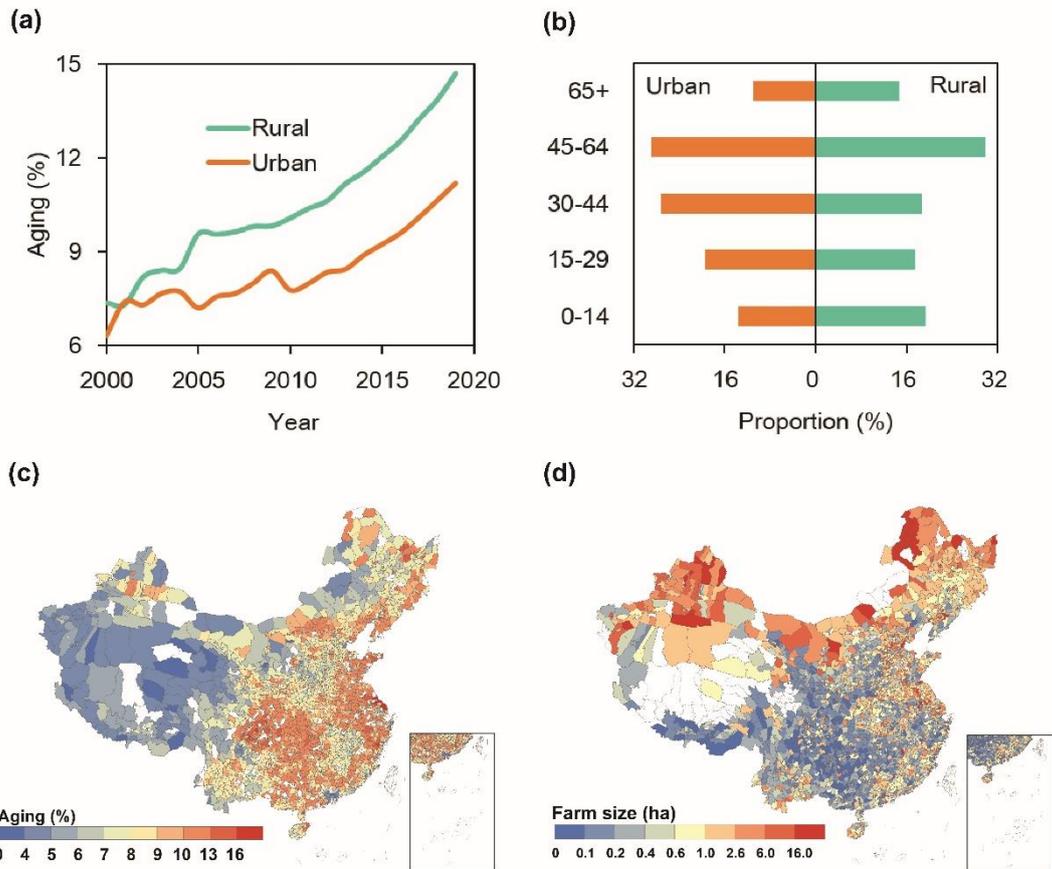
731 **Declaration of competing interest**

732 All authors have no conflicts of interest to report.

733 **Table 1 Fixed effect panel models determining the effect of aging on agricultural sustainability**

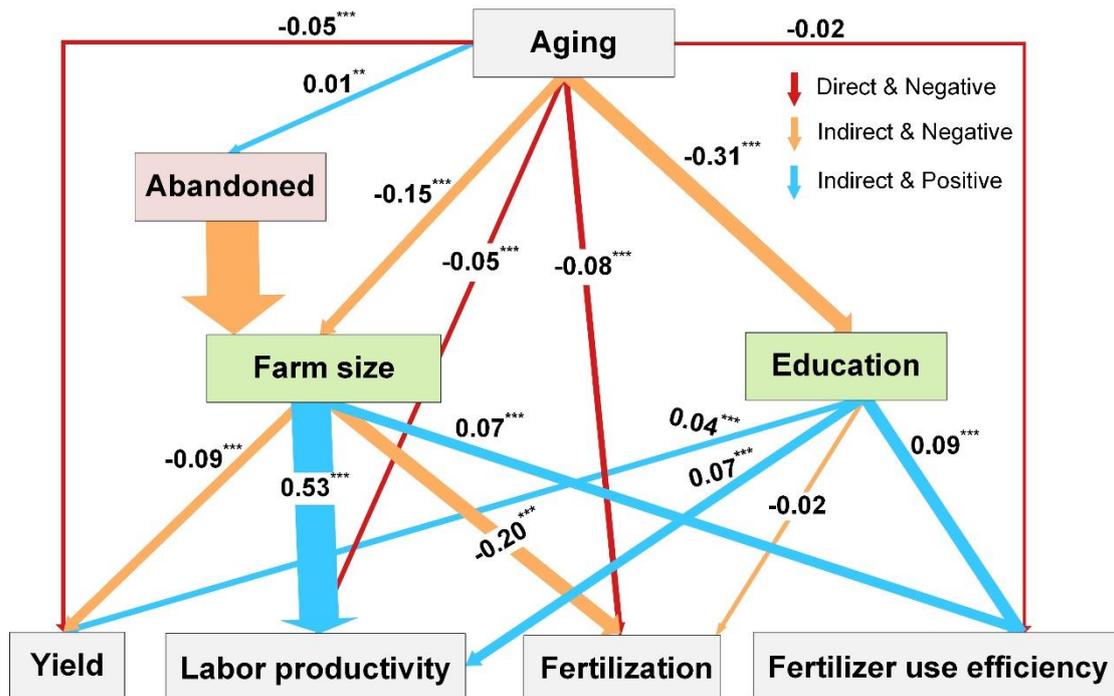
	Farm size and Education				Cost and Benefit				Fertilizer and Machinery			
	Ln Farm size (ha)	Education (yr)	Transfer-out	Abandoned (ha)	Ln Output (\$ ha ⁻¹)	Ln Input (\$ ha ⁻¹)	Profit-cost ratio	Ln LP (\$ hr ⁻¹)	Ln Fertilization (\$ ha ⁻¹)	Ln FUE	Machine input (\$ ha ⁻¹)	Machine owned (\$ ha ⁻¹)
Aging	-0.27***	-1.54***	0.76***	0.19**	-0.32***	-0.30***	-0.03	-0.37***	-0.23***	-0.13***	-112***	-919***
Ln Farm size (ha)					-0.14***	-0.20***	0.13***	0.61***	-0.28***	0.10***	-25.2***	464***
Education (yr)	0.01***		0.04	-0.01	0.03***	0.01***	0.03***	0.03***	-0.003	0.04***	12.8***	55.0***
County	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
City			Yes	Yes							Yes	Yes
N	16767	16767	16137	12304	16767	15602	15460	16247	15447	15292	16542	16593
Adjust R ²	0.51	0.29			0.26	0.20	0.08	0.41	0.21	0.13		
Model	FEP	FEP	Tobit	Tobit	FEP	FEP	FEP	FEP	FEP	FEP	Tobit	Tobit

734 * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, and *** $p < 0.005$. LP, Labor productivity. FUE, Fertilizer use efficiency. FEP, Fixed effect panel. Farm size is the total
735 cultivated area covering all crops. Education refers to average years of education of family members aged 15 and over. Transfer-out are the ratio
736 of transferred-out cropland area to the current total cropland area. Abandoned indicates the area of abandoned cropland by farmers. Profit-cost
737 ratio means the ratio of difference between agricultural income and input to the input. Labor productivity (LP) indicates agricultural output per
738 working hour of labor. Fertilizer use efficiency (FUE) is the ratio of agricultural output to fertilizer input, measuring fertilizer contribution and
739 reflecting its loss. Machine input is total machine cost including machinery rent and depreciation to total cultivated area. Machine owned means
740 original value of agricultural machinery the household owned per area. Aging refers to the proportion of people over 65 years old in rural
741 households. County and city mean county-level or city-level regional effect is controlled, respectively. Adult farmer's ratio, income ratio from
742 non-agricultural sectors, crop type, plot numbers and year effect have been controlled in all regression equations.



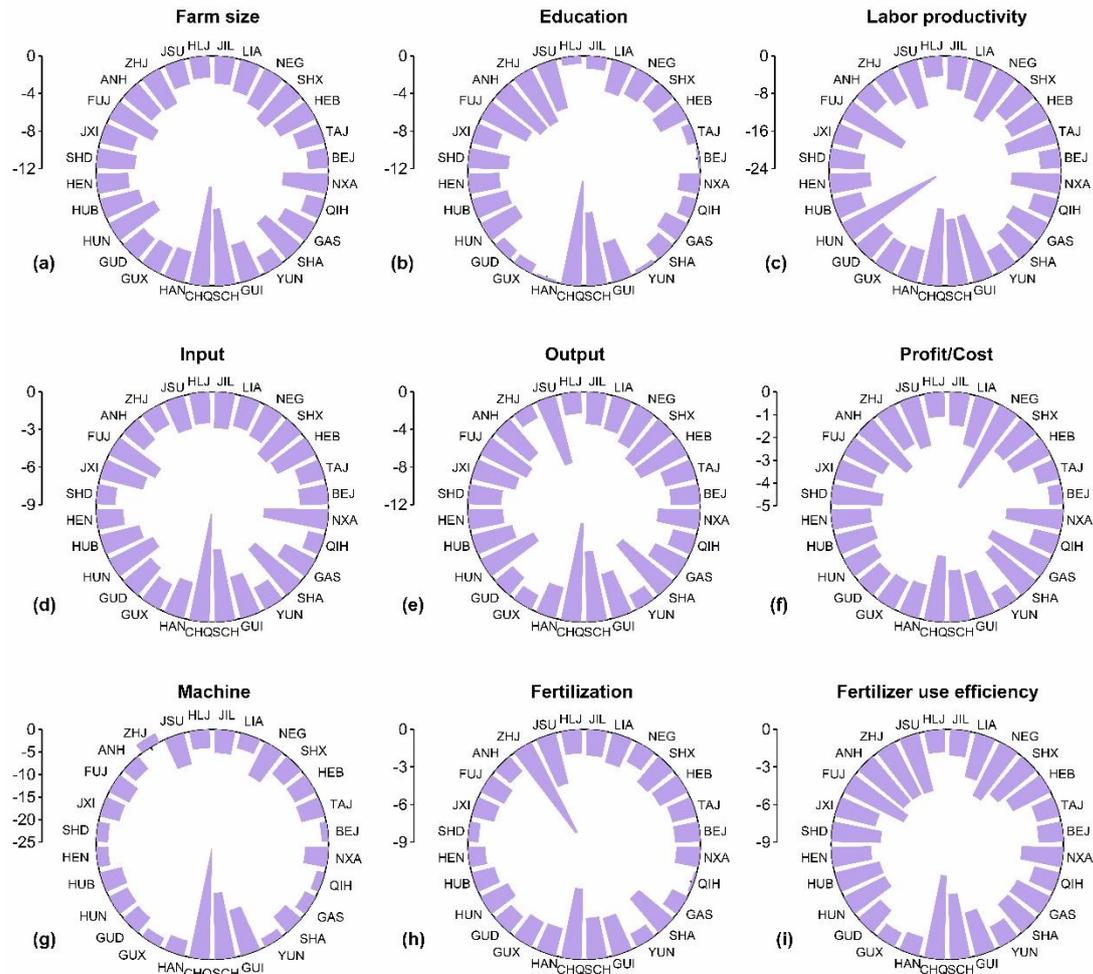
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Fig. 1 Population aging and farm size in China. (a) Aging trend in rural and urban China from 2000 to 2019; (b) Age stages in rural and urban China in 2019; (c) County-level aging in 2020; (d) Farm size in 2017. Aging in (a) and (c) refers to the proportion of people over 65 years old on country and county-level, respectively. It is calculated by the number of people over 65 years old to the total population.



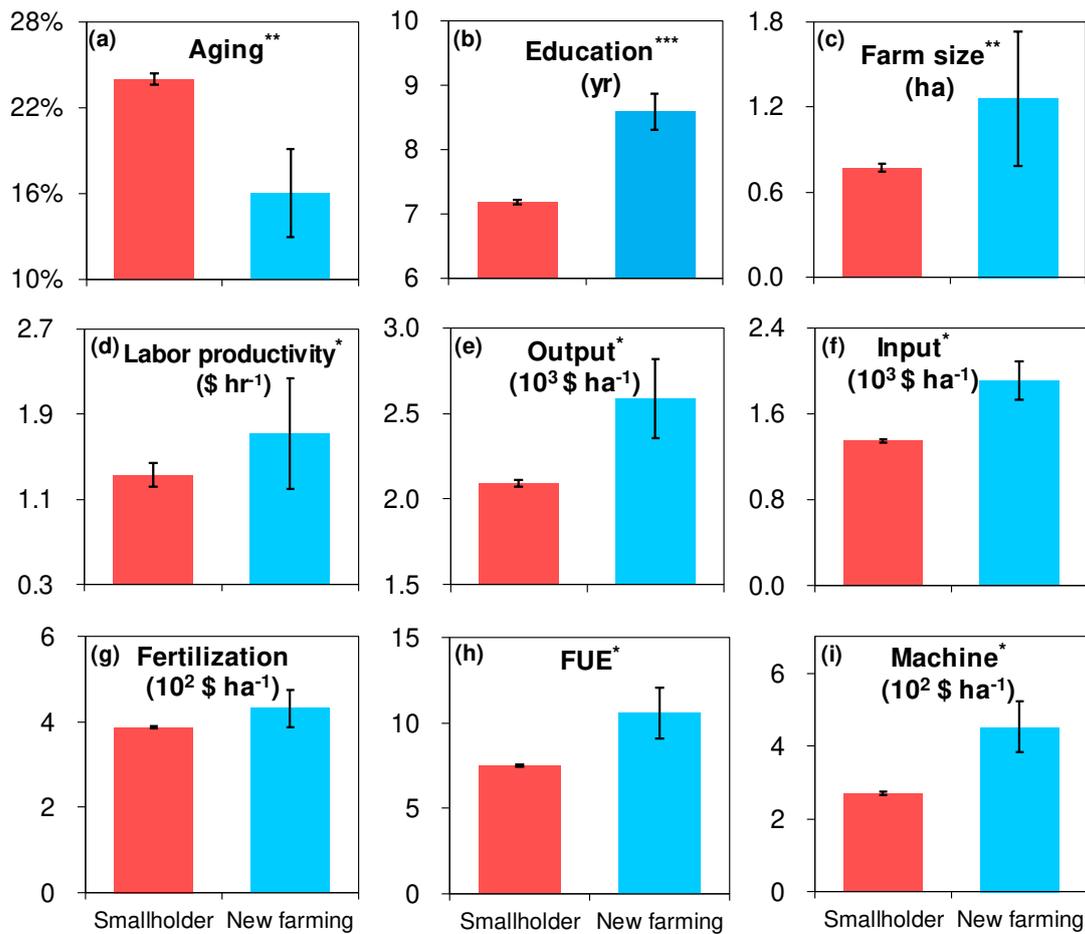
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Fig. 2 Structural equation model of aging impacts on agricultural sustainability. $*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$, and $***p < 0.005$. The numbers adjacent to the lines are the standardized path coefficients, which means how much standard deviation changes in dependent variable if each of the independent variable changes by one standard deviation. The blue and red lines represent positive and negative effects, respectively. Dark and light red indicate the direct and indirect negative effects of aging on agriculture, respectively. The line width is proportional to the strength of the standardized path coefficient. Variables in this figure except aging, abandoned cropland and education have been log-transformed. It is worth noting that the path coefficient between aging and abandoned cropland was not incorporated in this structural equation model considering the nonlinear relationship between these two variables. The coefficient of “0.01” between aging and abandoned cropland means the abandoned cropland area increase when aging ratio increase by one unit averagely. Then the abandoned cropland squarely decreases household-level farm size.



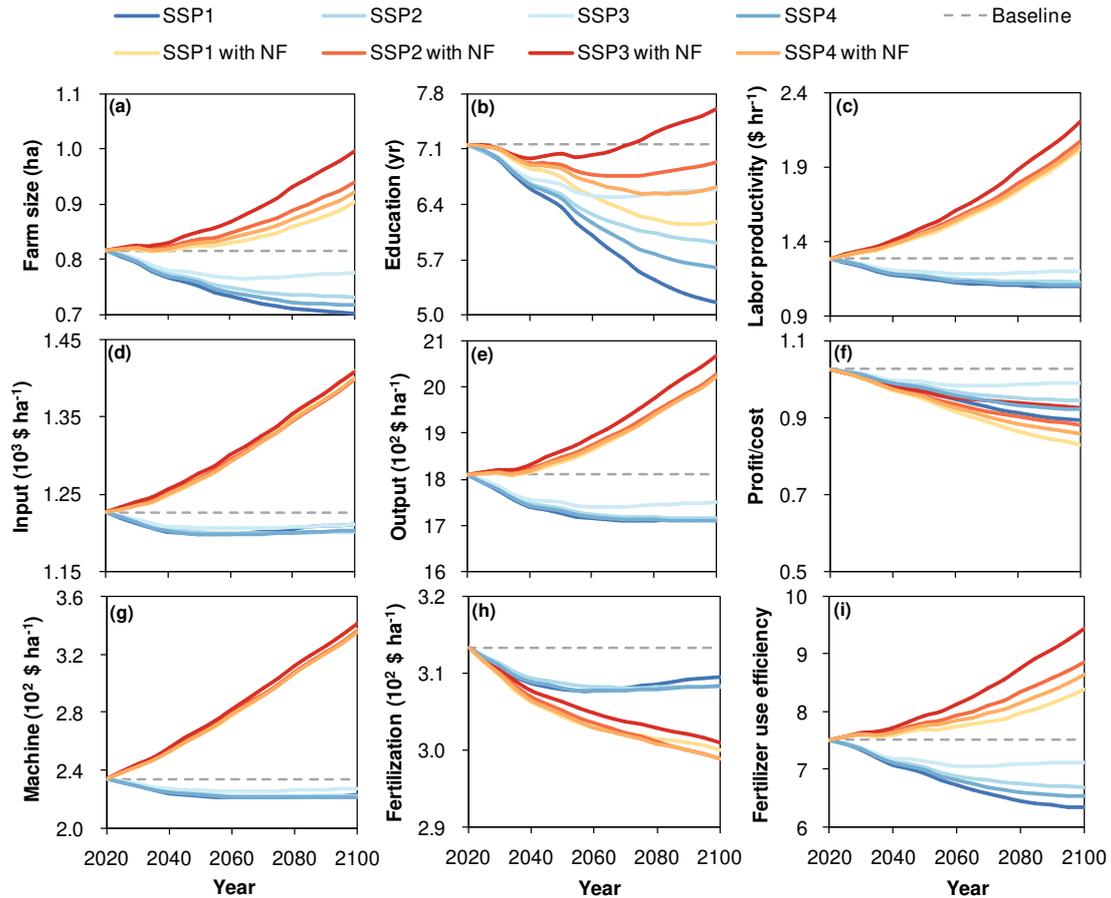
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Fig. 3 Impact of aging on agricultural sustainability across China's provinces in 2019. (a) Farm size; (b) Education; (c) Labor productivity; (d) Total agricultural input; (e) Agricultural output; (f) Profit-cost ratio; (g) Machine input; (h) Fertilization; (i) Fertilizer use efficiency. It is calculated by determining the difference between the predicted values without aging and the observed values with aging divided by the observed value on province-level, and the result is carried out in percentage terms. Acronyms for 31 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government are listed in Table S6. Shanghai, Tibet and Xinjiang aren't depicted due to data limitation.



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Fig. 4 Comparison of smallholder and new farming models on agricultural sustainability in 2019. (a) Aging farmer's ratio; (b) Education; (c) Farm size; (d) Labor productivity; (e) Agricultural output; (f) Total agricultural input; (g) Fertilization; (h) Fertilizer use efficiency (FUE); (i) Machine input. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, and *** $p < 0.005$, which indicates the significant difference level between smallholder and new farming responding to indicators of agricultural sustainability. Error bars refer to standard errors. The statistical results are in Table S4.



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Fig. 5 Future agricultural sustainability changes due to aging under SSP scenarios by 2100. (a) Farm size; (b) Education; (c) Labor productivity; (d) Total agricultural input; (e) Agricultural output; (f) Profit-cost ratio; (g) Machine input; (h) Fertilization; (i) Fertilizer use efficiency. The Baseline assumed no changes in the future. SSP1-4 refers to Shared Socioeconomic Pathways (SSPs) scenarios. NF, New farming. The changes of input, output, machine and fertilization are all weighted with the total cultivated area.

Supplementary Files

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