Economic consequences of the 1933 Soviet famine

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Krugman (1991):

- Fixed land, rural population is located in accordance with marginal productivity of land
- Multiple urbanization equilibria are possible due to mobility of urban capital and increasing returns
- Temporary shock to urban population or capital can have a persistent impact

Empirical question Do multiple equilibria exist? No persistent effects from temporary population and capital losses:

- Davis and Weinstein (2002), Davis and Weinstein (2008) Japan, WW2
- Brakman et al. (2004), Bosker et al. (2007) Germany, WW2
- Redding and Sturm (2008) partition and reunification of Germany
- Miguel and Roland (2011) Vietnam

Location characteristics affect long-term urban development:

- ▶ Nunn and Puga (2012) terrain ruggedness in Africa
- Bleakley and Lin (2012) portage sites in the U.S.
- Michaels and Rauch (2018) Roman cities in contemporary England and France

Russia:

- Acemoglu et al. (2011) holocaust changed social structure and therefore had a detrimental effect
- Mikhailova (2018) some persistence due to evacuation, but economically small

Studies 1933 famine consequences

Rural population recovers

Persistent negative impact on urbanization

Not explained by differential natural increase

Timing of the shock to population might be important: lack of labor during rapid construction of new cities

Background

Data

Empirical strategy

Results

Province population Rural and urban economy Urban settlements Mechanism: natural population increase v. migration 1917 Revolution

1928 Start of the first 5-year plan; Rapid industrialization and urbanization, especially after 1933

1933 Famine; Victims: 6 - 8 million

New Economic Policy:

Private rural economy

Private small-scale urban enterprises

Large-scale industry under government control

Unrestricted migration

5-year plans for industrialization of the country:

All industry and trade are nationalized

Large-scale capital investment



Until 1933

- Land, livestock, and implements belong to the collectives
- Peasants work together on collective farms
- After the harvest, grain is put in kolkhoz storages
- The government takes its share
- Procurement is unpredictable as officials struggle to fulfill the plan
- The remainder is distributed among kolkhoz members
- Trading of foodstuffs is banned, food is rationed in the cities

As a result:

 Production drops, the government overprocures, famine in 1933

After 1933

- Procurement quotas are fixed in advance
- Kolkhoz members allowed to work small individual plots and to keep some livestock
- Peasants can trade food on kolkhoz markets with free prices

As a result

Peasants are guaranteed subsistence

Mortality and population losses



Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. Constant administrative borders. Territories added in 1939 are not included.

Rapid urbanization

- ▶ 1927 18%
- 1932 22%
- ▶ 1939 34%



Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. Constant administrative borders. Territories added in 1939 are not included.

A note on passport system

- Was introduced in 1932
- Designed to remove 'undesirable elements' (criminals, refugees, 'class enemies') from important cities
- Under control of MVD, not NKVD
- MVD keeps decentralized catalogues, no evidence of exchange of information between cities
- Employed urban dwellers are eligible for a passport
- If a person is denied a passport, no mark is made in her documents

Background

Data

Empirical strategy

Results

Province population Rural and urban economy Urban settlements Mechanism: natural population increase v. migration

Data 1/2

- Province-level population panel
 - 81 provinces (contemporary Belarus, Russia, Ukraine)
 - All censuses: 1897, 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989, 2002, 2010
 - 1913 from statistical yearbook
 - 1939 corrected for centralized additions
 - 1949, 1950 from the Russian State Archive of the Economy
- Urban settlement panel
 - 525 settlements
 - All census years
 - 1946, 1947, 1950 from the archives
 - Selected sample: only settlements that achieved "town" status by 1989
- Yearly mortality and natality data
 - 25 large administrative units

Famine severity:

Province-level 1933 excess mortality from the archives:

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1933 excess mortality = 1933 mortaliy-\frac{1}{4} ({\rm 1928\ mortality} + {\rm 1937}\text{-}{\rm 1939\ mortality})
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WW2 losses =
$$1 - \frac{\text{actual population 1949}}{\text{projected population 1949}}$$

1933 excess mortality



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OLS

Use cross-sectional variation in 1933 famine severity

► IV

• Idea: weather \rightarrow [harvest] \rightarrow famine

Use 1932 weather

Demeaned 1932 weather and 1933 excess mortality

						Deper	ident varia	able: Exe	cess morta	ality 193	3			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Fall														
temp	-0.009 (0.006)		-0.010 (0.006)										-0.001 (0.008)	
precip	. ,	0.000	(0.000)										0.001* (0.000)	
Winter		. ,	. ,										()	
temp				-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)							0.000 (0.001)	
precip				. ,	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)							0.000 (0.000)	
Spring					. ,	. ,							. ,	
temp							-0.015 ^{**} (0.007)		-0.017 ^{**} (0.007)				-0.018 ^{**} (0.008)	-0.016*** (0.006)
precip							. ,	0.000 (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)				0.000 (0.000)	
Summer								. ,	. ,				. ,	
temp										-0.005		-0.001	-0.001	
precip										(0.000)	0.001^{***}	0.001***	0.001***	0.001^{***}
N	77	77	77	77	77	77	77	77	77	77	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
R^2	0.588	0.585	0.603	0.581	0.573	0.582	0.603	0.584	0.621	0.579	0.689	0.690	0.742	0.723

All regressions control for grain suitability, grain volatility, capital province indicator, WW2 losses, Nazi occupation indicator, Ln distance to Moscow, 1932 number of RR stations per km², republic FE, and region FE. * p < .10, *** p < .05, **** p < .01 [Two conditional scatter plots from the same regression]



[Two sets of coefficients from one regression]



Background

Data

Empirical strategy

Results

Province population

Rural and urban economy Urban settlements Mechanism: natural population increase v. migration

Empirical specification (1)

$$y_{i,t} = \beta fam_i I_t^{post} + X'_{i,t} \gamma + \alpha_i + \delta_t + \epsilon_{i,t}$$

- ▶ I_t^{post} post-famine indicator, $I_t^{post} = 1$ if t > 1933
- X_{i,t} province characteristics (grain suitability × Post-famine, grain volatility × Post-famine, capital province indicator × Post-famine, WW2 losses × Post-war, Nazi occupation indicator × Post-war, Ln distance to Moscow × Post-famine, 1932 number of RR stations per km² × Post-famine)

•
$$\alpha_i$$
, δ_t – province and year FE

1933 famine and population

Panel A: Panel data estimation

		Dependent variable:									
		Ln population			rural popu	lation	Ln urban population				
Model:	OLS (1)	IV (2)	OLS (3)	OLS (4)	IV (5)	OLS (6)	OLS (7)	IV (8)	OLS (9)		
Excess mortality 1933 × Post-famine	-8.687*** (1.863)	-8.588*** (3.215)		-1.819 (1.941)	-2.186 (3.371)		-10.069*** (2.770)	-10.206** (4.179)			
Excess mortality 1933 \times 1939	. ,	. ,	-9.615 ^{***} (2.375)	. ,	. ,	-5.443 ^{**} (2.701)			-10.383*** (3.671)		
Excess mortality 1933 × Post-1949			-8.560 ^{***} (1.914)			-1.325 (1.983)			-10.027*** (2.762)		
Ln rural population							\checkmark	√	\checkmark		
Observations R ²	972 0.638	924 0.868	972 0.639	972 0.634	924 0.837	972 0.636	972 0.925	924 0.947	972 0.925		
Provinces	81	77	81	81	77	81	81	77	81		
Panel B: First stages of t	he correspor	nding 2SLS p	<i>anel regressi</i> Dependent	<i>ons</i> variable: I	Excess mor	tality 1933	× Post-famin	e			
Demeaned spring 1932 temp \times Post-famine		-0.012*** (0.004)			-0.012*** (0.004)			-0.012*** (0.004)			
Demeaned summer 1932		0 001***			0.001***			0 001***			

All regressions control for province and year FE, grain suitability \times Post-famine, grain volatility \times Post-famine, capital province indicator \times Post-famine, WW2 losses \times Post-war, Nazi occupation indicator \times Post-war, Ln distance to Moscow \times Post-famine, 1932 number of RR stations per km² \times Post-famine, republic-year FE, and region-year FE.

(0.000)

22 782

Standard errors clustered at the province level separately before and after the famine.

(0.000)

22 782

* p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01

precip \times Post-famine

F

(0.000)

22 711

Population by quartiles of 1933 excess mortality



Rural population by quartiles of 1933 excess mortality



Urban population by quartiles of 1933 excess mortality



Empirical specification (2)

$$y_{i,t} = \sum_{t \neq 1926} \beta_t fam_i \cdot 1[year = t] + X'_{i,t} \gamma_t + \alpha_i + \delta_t + \epsilon_{i,t}$$

i – province, t – year

- y_{it} outcome of interest (Ln population etc)
- fam_i excess 1933 mortality in province i
- X_{i,t} province characteristics (grain suitability × Post-famine, grain volatility × Post-famine, WW2 losses × Post-WW2)
- α_i , δ_t province and year FE

1933 famine and population



1933 excess mortality X Year coeff Beta

1933 famine and rural population



1933 famine and urban population



1933 excess mortality X Year coeff Beta

- Additional geographic controls: latitude and longitude
- Natural resources: Check
- Political repressions and Gulag camps: Check
- Political preferences of the population
- Ethnic deportations
- Holocaust
- Evacuation
- 1947 famine

Background

Data

Empirical strategy

Results

Province population Rural and urban economy

Urban settlements Mechanism: natural population increase v. migration

		Dependent variable:								
	Lr	Ln grain		wn area	Ln cattle					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)				
Excess mortality 1933 \times Post-famine	-1.128 (1.625)		-1.098 (2.119)		-2.897 (1.917)					
Excess mortality 1933 \times [1934,1940] Excess mortality 1933 \times Post-1949		-9.031*** (2.620) 1.736 (1.881)		-8.230** (3.235) 1.063 (2.315)		-4.720* (2.836) -2.760 (1.950)				
Observations R ² Provinces	3413 0.594 77	3413 0.609 77	4957 0.563 77	4957 0.572 77	1500 0.881 60	1500 0.881 60				

All regressions control for province and year FE, grain suitability \times Post-famine, grain volatility \times Post-famine, capital province indicator \times Post-famine, WW2 losses \times Post-war, Nazi occupation indicator \times Post-war, Ln distance to Moscow \times Post-famine, 1932 number of RR stations per km² \times Post-famine, republic-year FE, and region-year FE.

Standard errors clustered at the province level separately before and after the famine.

		Dependent variable:								
	Ln power plants capacity		Ln ele prod	ctricity uced	Ln industrial output					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)				
$\begin{array}{l} \mbox{Excess mortality 1933} \\ \times \mbox{Post-famine} \\ \mbox{Excess mortality 1933} \\ \times \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \$	-2.442 (2.314)	-3.019 (2.669) -2.203 (2.442)	-7.072*** (2.592)	-6.384** (3.055) -7.357*** (2.748)	-5.833*** (1.790)	-4.681** (1.896) -6.912*** (2.042)				
Observations R^2	1408 0.891	1408 0.891	1408 0.894	1408 0.894	898 0.922	898 0.922				
Provinces	79	79	79	79	78	78				

All regressions control for province and year FE, grain suitability \times Post-famine, grain volatility \times Post-famine, capital province indicator \times Post-famine, WW2 losses \times Post-war, Nazi occupation indicator \times Post-war, Ln distance to Moscow \times Post-famine, 1932 number of RR stations per km² \times Post-famine, republic-year FE, and region-year FE.

Standard errors clustered at the province level separately before and after the famine.

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Province population Rural and urban economy

Urban settlements

Mechanism: natural population increase v. migration

Urban settlements



1933 mortality and population of urban settlements

Panel A: Panel data estimation		Ln population			
Model:		OI	_S		IV
Sample:	All	Belarus	Russia	Ukraine	All
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Mortality 1933 $ imes$ Post-famine	-7.158*** (2.681)	1.531 (23.235)	-9.380 ^{**} (3.693)	-7.648 ^{**} (3.306)	-9.245 (8.142)
Observations	`4802´	`630 ´	`2181´	`1991´	4161
R ²	0.809	0.625	0.875	0.764	0.395
Settlements	525	98	205	222	426
Panel B: First stages of the corre	esponding 2SLS D	<i>6 panel regres</i> Dependent var	<i>sions</i> iable: Mortal	ty 1933 $ imes$ Post	-famine
Demeaned spring 1932 temp × Post-famine Demeaned summer 1932 precip × Post-famine F					-0.010*** (0.002) 0.000** (0.000) 19.751

All regressions control for settlement and year FE, grain suitability \times Post-famine, WW2 losses \times Post-war, Nazi occupation indicator \times Post-war, and province-year FE. Standard errors clustered at the settlement level.

1933 mortality and population of urban settlements



1933 mortality X Year coeff Beta

Background

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Province population Rural and urban economy Urban settlements Mechanism: natural population increase v. migration

The correlation between 1933 excess mortality and natural population increase

No evidence that rural population recovered due to differential birth and death rates \implies recovery must be due to migration

	Dependent variable:									
		Total, 1899 -	- 1990	Rural, 1928 – 1990						
	Birth rate Death rate Natural increase		Natural increase	Birth rate	Death rate	Natural increase				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)				
Excess mortality 1933 \times [1934,1940]	0.002 (0.043)	-0.063*** (0.019)	0.061 (0.036)	0.076 (0.060)	0.041 (0.031)	0.032 (0.068)				
Excess mortality 1933 \times [1946,1990]	-0.048 (0.039)	-0.022 (0.013)	-0.027 (0.033)	0.027 (0.028)	0.080** (0.032)	-0.054 (0.043)				
Observations <i>R</i> ² Administrative units	1470 0.964 25	1491 0.969 25	1470 0.895 25	1130 0.950 25	1151 0.904 25	1130 0.930 25				

All regressions control for province and year FE, grain suitability \times Post-famine, WW2 losses \times Post-war, Nazi occupation indicator \times Post-war, urbanization rate, and republic-year FE.

Natural increase is birth rate minus death rate.

Robust standard errors.

The correlation between 1933 excess mortality and natural population increase, by 5 - 10 year periods

(a) Natality

(b) Mortality

(c) Natural increase







(d) Rural natality



(e) Rural mortality



(f) Rural natural increase



	Dependent variable: Ln population						
Sample:	1926 population $\leq 25K$	1926 population $\geq 25K$					
	(1)	(2)					
Mortality 1933 $ imes$ Post-famine	-9.284*** (3.528)	-2.736 (5.181)					
WW2 losses $ imes$ Post-war	\checkmark	\checkmark					
Observations	2909	1893					
R^2	0.814	0.888					
Towns	320	205					

All regressions control for town and year FE, grain suitability \times Post-famine, WW2 losses \times Post-war, Nazi occupation indicator \times Post-war, and province-year FE. Standard errors clustered at the town level.

- 1933 famine had a strong persistent negative impact on urban population
- Recovery of rural population must be explained by differential migration
- Smaller urban settlements were more affected
- For the future:
 - Compare plan and the actual urban development
 - Add omitted urban settlements
 - Complete robustness checks
 - Mechanism?

WW2 losses estimates





1933 famine and pop: controlling for natural resources 1/2

Panel A: Panel data estimation

		Dependent variable:								
	-	Ln population			rural popula	ation	Ln urban population			
Model:	OLS (1)	IV (2)	OLS (3)	OLS (4)	IV (5)	OLS (6)	OLS (7)	IV (8)	OLS (9)	
Excess mortality 1933 × Post-famine	-7.202*** (1.690)	-8.521*** (3.051)		-1.489 (1.963)	-2.622 (3.226)		-8.201*** (2.358)	-9.290** (3.922)		
Excess mortality 1933 \times 1939	. ,	. ,	-8.381*** (2.265)	. ,	. ,	-5.129* (2.720)	. ,	. ,	-8.850*** (3.283)	
Excess mortality 1933 \times Post-1949			-7.036*** (1.742)			-0.978 (2.009)			-8.111*** (2.352)	
Natural resources Ln rural population	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
Observations	960	912	960	960	912	960	960	912	960	
R^2	0.660	0.876	0.660	0.637	0.839	0.639	0.930	0.951	0.930	
Provinces	80	76	80	80	76	80	80	76	80	

Panel B: First stages of the corresponding 2SLS panel regressions

Dependent variable: Excess mortality 1933 × Post-famine

-0.014***	-0.014***	-0.013***
(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
0.001***	0.001***	0.001***
(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
22.662	22.662	22.554
	$\begin{array}{c} -0.014^{***} \\ (0.004) \\ 0.001^{***} \\ (0.000) \\ 22.662 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{cccc} -0.014^{***} & -0.014^{***} \\ (0.004) & (0.004) \\ 0.001^{***} & 0.001^{***} \\ (0.000) & (0.000) \\ 22.662 & 22.662 \end{array}$

All regressions control for province and year FE, grain suitability \times Post-famine, grain volatility \times Post-famine, capital province indicator \times Post-famine, WW2 losses \times Post-war, Nazi occupation indicator \times Post-war, Ln distance to Moscow \times Post-famine, 1932 number of RR stations per km² \times Post-famine, republic-year FE, and region-year FE.

Natural resources are oil 2006 production \times Post-famine, and coal 2006 production \times Post-famine.

Standard errors clustered at the province level separately before and after the famine.

	Dependent variable: Ln population						
Sample:	1926 pop \leq 20 K	$20K$ $<$ 1926 pop \leq 30 K	$30K$ $<$ 1926 pop \leq 40 K	1926 pop $> 40K$			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)			
Mortality 1933 × Post-famine	-8.695** (3.615)	-3.214 (22.864)	17.937* (10.514)	1.860 (8.017)			
Observations	2649	467	302	1384			
R ² Settlements	0.818 295	0.969 45	0.972 28	0.893 157			

All regressions control for settlement and year FE, grain suitability \times Post-famine, WW2 losses \times Post-war, Nazi occupation indicator \times Post-war, and province-year FE.

Standard errors clustered at the settlement level.



Famine and pop: controlling for political repressions 1/2

Panel A: Panel data estimation

		Dependent variable:							
	Ln population			Lnı	rural popula	ation	Ln urban population		
Model:	OLS (1)	IV (2)	OLS (3)	OLS (4)	IV (5)	OLS (6)	OLS (7)	IV (8)	OLS (9)
Excess mortality 1933 × Post-famine Excess mortality 1933 × 1030	-8.470*** (2.000)	-9.082*** (3.076)	-9.376*** (2 467)	-1.760 (2.071)	-2.493 (3.156)	-5.374* (2 764)	-9.688*** (2.763)	-10.112** (3.937)	-9.989*** (3.640)
Excess mortality 1933 × Post-1949			-8.347*** (2.051)			-1.270 (2.117)			-9.648*** (2.759)
Political repressions Ln rural population	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
Observations	972	924	972	972	924	972	972	924	972
R^2	0.644	0.871	0.644	0.640	0.840	0.642	0.925	0.948	0.925
Provinces	81	77	81	81	77	81	81	77	81

Panel B: First stages of the corresponding 2SLS panel regressions

Dependent variable: Excess mortality 1933 × Post-famine

-			
Demeaned spring 1932	-0.010***	-0.010***	-0.010***
temp \times Post-famine	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Demeaned summer 1932	0.001***	0.001***	0.001***
precip \times Post-famine	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
F	26.641	26.641	26.397

All regressions control for province and year FE, grain suitability \times Post-famine, grain volatility \times Post-famine, capital province indicator \times Post-famine, WW2 losses \times Post-war, Nazi occupation indicator \times Post-war, Ln distance to Moscow \times Post-famine, 1932 number of RR stations per km² \times Post-famine, republic-year FE, and region-year FE.

Political repressions are Ln number of convicted and Ln number of executed individuals under Article 58 imes Post-famine.

Standard errors clustered at the province level separately before and after the famine.

Famine and pop: controlling for political repressions 2/2



7/8

The correlation between 1933 excess mortality and natural population increase, yearly data

(a) Natality

(b) Mortality

(c) Natural increase







(d) Rural natality



(e) Rural mortality



(f) Rural natural increase

