# The Effect of The 1959-1961 Chinese Famine on Political Connections of Entrepreneurs

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#### Overview

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#### Background

- The 1959-1961 Chinese Famine: 20-30 million death
- Causes: Natural disaster & systematic political failures
- Sen (1981): caused by misallocation of the available food not by the shortage of food
- The government: blame to weather (drought)

#### Motivation

## The effects of the 1959-1961 Famine on political connections of private entrepreneurs

Are those survived entrepreneurs become more politically connected or politically estranged?

- Political connected: risk-aversion ↑, insecurity ↑, protection needs ↑
- Politically estranged: propaganda message was inconsistent with the local weather condition—> distrust towards the government

#### What I did

- Cross sectional data of private entrepreneurs born between 1956 and 1965
- diff-in-diff strategy: take advantage of the temporal and regional variations in famine intensity
- Preliminary finding: Entrepreneurs who experienced the severe famine are less likely to join the Communist Party of China(CCP), to join the National People's Congress (NPC)<sup>1</sup>, and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) Committee<sup>2</sup>; Entrepreneurs who experienced the severe famine spend less money and time on rent-seeking activities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Chinese version of upper houses of parliament

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Chinese version of lower houses of parliament

## Research Hypotheses (1/2)

**Hypothesis 1:** Early-life exposure to the 1959–1961 Chinese Famine had a negative effect on cultivation of political connections for private entrepreneurs.

- Local weather condition were observable
- Survivors were able to distinguish nature or man-made disasters(Healy et.al, 2010)
- Famine increased political distrust when local weather conditions contradicted the propaganda(Chen and Yang, forthcoming)

## Research Hypotheses (2/2)

**Hypothesis 2:** Early-life exposure to the 1959–1961 Chinese Famine had a positive effect on cultivation of political connections for private entrepreneurs.

- political connections: alternative formal institutional support, reduce barriers to growth(Bartels and Brady, 2003)
- Private firms: at a disadvantage; more in need of political connections (Li et.al, 2008)
- survived entrepreneurs: more risk averse (example: Malmendier and Nagel, 2011)

#### Data: Political Connections (1/2)

#### Political connections data: Survey of Chinese Private Firms in 2006

- Cover information of the characteristics of the private firm owners, their personal experience and the performance of the firms
- Focus on individuals who born between 1956 to 1965: pre-famine cohorts(1956-1958), during-famine cohorts(1959-1961), post-famine cohorts(1962-1965)
- Proxies for political connections: CCP\_dummy, NPC\_CPPCC\_dummy, NPC\_CPPCC\_level

## Data: Political Connections (2/2)

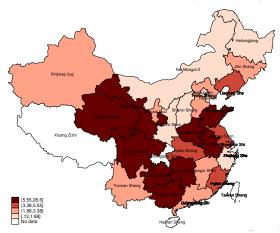
Table: Descriptive Statistics of political connections. N=3039

	Number	%
1. Party members	1,453	47.85
2. NPC deputies or CPPCC members	1,709	56.22
At national level	20	0.67
At province level	91	2.99
At city level	532	17.52
At County level	942	31.00
At Township Level	122	4.03

#### Data: Famine severity

Use province level excess death rates to approximate the Famine severity. Data source: Lin and Yang (2000).

the difference between the average death rate in famine years (1959–1961) and the average death rate before the famine(1956-1958).



## Identification Strategy (1/2)

$$TE = \underbrace{\left( \underbrace{Y^{\text{during/before famine}}_{\text{severe}} - Y^{\text{post famine}}_{\text{severe}} \right)}_{\text{Diff}_{\text{treated}}} - \underbrace{\left( \underbrace{Y^{\text{during/before famine}}_{\text{less severe}} - Y^{\text{post famine}}_{\text{less severe}} \right)}_{\text{Diff}_{\text{control}}} \tag{1}$$

two sources of exogenous variations in famine severity, namely, variation across birth cohorts and variation across provinces.

Sample selection bias? Because people can migrate. Maybe no: Strict residence registration system

#### Identification Strategy (2/2)

$$y_{ijc} = \beta_1 Pre_{ijc} + \beta_2 During_{ijc} + \gamma_1 (Pre_{ijc} \times edr_j) + \gamma_2 (During_{ijc} \times edr_j) + X\mu + \lambda_j + \alpha_c + \epsilon_{ijc}$$
(2)

 $y_{ijc}$ : political connections for individual i born in province j and in industry c.

Preijc , Duringijc: pre-famine and during-famine cohorts

 $edr_j$ : the excess death rate

 $\lambda_j$ ,  $\alpha_c$ : province/industry fixed effect

X: individual-level controls

 $\gamma$ : parameters of interest

#### Preliminary Results (1/2)

Table: The effects of the 1959-1961 Famine on political connections of entrepreneurs

Dependent Variables:	CCP_dummy	NPC_CPPCC_dummy	NPC_CPPCC_level
•	(1)	(2)	(3)
Pre×edr	-0.0046**	-0.0048**	-0.0044
	[0.0018]	[0.0022]	[0.0081]
During×edr	-0.0010	-0.0050	-0.0094
	[0.0023]	[0.0034]	[0.0083]
Pre	0.1563***	0.0853***	0.1909**
	[0.0174]	[0.0304]	[0.0906]
During	0.0661**	0.0547*	0.1493
	[0.0257]	[0.0299]	[0.0890]
Education	0.0727***	0.0905***	0.2922***
	[0.0100]	[0.0099]	[0.0245]
Gender(female=1)	-0.1226***	-0.0513**	-0.0802
	[0.0266]	[0.0229]	[0.0627]
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Industry FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	3039	3039	3039
R <sup>2</sup>	0.086	0.124	0.138

Note: Standard errors are clustered at province level. \* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01.

#### Preliminary Results (1/2)

Table: Alternative Test: The effects of the 1959-1961 Famine on rent-seeking of entrepreneurs

Dependent Variables:	Ln(1+time on rent-reeking) (1)	Ln(1+money on rent-reeking) (2)
Pre×edr	-0.0206***	-0.0029*
	[0.0061]	[0.0016]
During×edr	-0.0108*	-0.0033
	[0.0062]	[0.0029]
Pre	0.1461**	0.0005
	[0.0537]	[0.0165]
During	0.0008	-0.0093
	[0.0540]	[0.0241]
Education	0.2903***	0.0285***
	[0.0273]	[0.0080]
Gender	-0.2368***	-0.0764***
	[0.0625]	[0.0211]
Province FE	Yes	Yes
Industry FE	Yes	Yes
N	2741	2741
$R^2$	0.165	0.060

Notes: I use firm expense on public relations as proxy of money spent on rent-reeking, entrepreneur's daily hours spent on public relations as proxy of time spent on rent-reeking.

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