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TO DRINK OR NOT TO DRINK: DEMAND FOR ALCOHOL IN MODERN RUSSIA

1. Introduction¹

The problem of alcoholism in Russia remains one of the most urgent in the beginning of the XXI century as well as hundred years ago. The features of alcohol use in modern Russian society make it possible to consider it as a very dangerous. Many key parameters of alcohol use and its consequences have dramatically rose during the last 20 years (volume of alcohol consumption, morbidity and mortality rates, criminality because of abusing spirits, susceptibility to alcoholism of various social-demographic groups and population strata). World health organization (WHO) experts assert that every fifth man in Russia and the CIS countries dies of the illnesses due to alcohol consumption. According to WHO experts, annual consumption of pure alcohol more than eight liters is hazardous to health and also to human life [WHO, 2010]. At the same time Rosstat² data show that spirits sales (in pure alcohol per capita) exceeded 9 liters a year in 2009 in Russia. But some other experts believe it to be considerably higher (up to 18 liters per capita including moonshine).

Consumption of substances changing of consciousness and producing the dependence effect (in particular alcohol, cigarettes, drugs) is named “addictive behavior”. From the economic point of view, the use of these goods damage population health. This one, in turn, influences incomes, efficiency, expenses on services of public health system. “The total tangible cost of alcohol to the European Union as it existed in 2003, has been estimated at €125 billion, 1,3% of the gross domestic product” [WHO, 2010, p. 8].

¹ This study was carried out within the National Research University Higher School of Economics Academic Fund Program in 2012–2013, research grant No. 11-01-0213.

² FSSS, Federal State Statistics service. URL: <http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat/rosstatsite.eng/>.

2. Methodology

Methodology of empirical research. The purpose of this research is to find out the economic and social factors influencing alcohol consumption by Russians in 2006–2011. Russian population at the age over 15 years is its object.

“The Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS-HSE)”³ is an empirical basis of this project. It represents a number of annual national representative inquiries on the basis of the likelihood stratified multistage territorial sample developed with the assistance of leading world experts in this area. The most important here is the panel nature of the data that allow to use lagged variables and to test panel regressions. We use data for 2006–2011.

The methodology of estimation of demand for alcohol. In this paper, we will follow the methodology of estimation of demand for addictive goods offered by [Becker, Grossman, Murphy, 1994] and then developed by [Labeaga, 1999]. Their theoretical approach is based on the model of rational addiction. [Becker, Grossman, Murphy, 1994] tested the demand for tobacco on aggregate data, using information about expenditure on tobacco. They also offered a way to estimate the model with lagged and leaded consumption using the IV (instrumental variables) of tobacco past and future prices as they are not correlated with the error term.

Consumption of alcohol is usually censored at two levels. Firstly, we can assume that an individual makes a decision on participation in the consumption, i.e. “to drink or not to drink”. The model on participation is usually tested with the use of Probit regression. Drinkers or smokers might have their consumption on a zero level, depending on the time of survey. [Labeaga, 1999] proposed to use the Tobit model for the estimation of demand using the Mills inverse ratio for correction bias. This methodological approach is based on the idea of double-hurdle theoretical model.

We believe that a two-step consumer decision (to drink or not to drink and that how much drink) requires a two-step model. Firstly, we will estimate the equation of participation with a binary depending variable ($=0$ for an abstainers and $=1$ for a drinkers). Then we will calculate the Mills inverse ratio to introduce it in the Tobit model. This one is estimated for drinkers only, but the consumption of “light drinkers” is equal to zero (as it is assumed in double-hurdle model).

³ “The Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey of NRU-HSE (RLMS-HSE)”, accomplished by the National research university Higher school of economics and Joint-Stock Company “Demoscop” with the assistance of the Carolina Population Center at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Sites of RLMS-HSE survey: <http://www.hse.ru/rflms>, <http://www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/rflms>.

The problem is that in both myopic and rational addiction models there is the endogeneity of explanatory variables being equal to the lagged and lead dependent variable. Some researchers used lagged and lead prices as the instrumental variables in this case [Becker, Grossman, Murphy 1994; Andrienko, Nemtsov, 2005]. So we decided to use as instrument individual income in the past (income in the future can not be used because it should be dependent on the present alcohol consumption), smoking in the past and in the future (smoking status as the instrument for drinking status and number of cigarettes used as the instrument for alcohol consumption), and prices and sales of pure alcohol in the past and in the future. All pooled regressions are estimated as clustered by individuals.

3. Estimation of the participation model⁴

It was found out that the risk to be drinker is higher for men, people of middle age and those who live in the regional centers. Our estimation has shown that income per capita is insignificant but log of individual income influence the participation decision positively. At the same time the effect of incomes of all other family members is negative. We use here total income but not the income per capita as we control the number of household member (separately adults and children). All this results correspond to the theoretical hypothesis.

Now we turn our attention to other additional variable included in the model. First of all there are variables on drinking status of respondent in the past and of his/her relatives in the present. As one can see, to be drinker in the past strongly increase the risk to not be abstainer in the present. This fact also corresponds to the theory of the “myopic” consumer. If respondent’s spouse use alcohol, it has the positive impact on the decision to be drinker, as for as the presence of other drinkers in the household. At the same time the abstainer status of spouse is the important factor of the same status of respondent. Here, as one can conclude, we see the cross influence of two variables: marital status and whether spouse is drinker. In general, married people have more chances to drink alcohol. But it is the truth only for those whose spouse is not abstainer.

Family structure also influences the addictive behavior. There are few drinker in large households (taking into account adults only). It should be expected that baby is a good argument for woman for not to drink. But it is difficult to explain why women from households, were there are children of 1–2 years old, are more disposed to be drinkers than that ones from family without kids. Men are drinker less probably in the families with children of 7–15 years.

⁴ All tables with the results of models estimations were omitted due to the space limits.

The educational level is a negative factor of drinking alcohol (but in static model without past drinking status it is positive). Some theoretical approach and empirical estimation have shown that for some reason more educated people should be less disposed to use alcohol. In the matter of fact, last medical researches confirmed that the moderate alcohol consumption is even favorable for health. This can explain why educated individuals do not refuse drinking. At the same time the most important harm to the health is caused not by the alcohol use, but amount of consumption. And demand model estimation shows that more educated people drink less of pure ethanol. But the university diploma is significant only for women, and technical school diploma — only for men. Employment status in the past is also a significant factor of alcohol use. The chance of drinking is higher for unemployed. We believe that unemployed Russian men should be more stressed than employed ones because of their fidelity to the stereotype that man must be the breadwinner. May be it confirms the social theory considering alcohol use as the escape from some problems and bad emotional state.

As it was foreseen, nationality is the important factor of alcohol use. Unfortunately, we have no information about people religion in these rounds; that is why nationality can be used as a proxy. As social theory says, religion creates serious barriers for some social action, including alcohol prohibition. That is why it is not surprisingly that Tatars (most of them are Muslim) both men and women are less liable to weakness for alcohol than Russians. But such dependence was not confirmed for people of North Caucasus and Volga and Russian North.

It was expected that the bad health (measured as self-estimation in the past) is a serious argument for to be abstainer, besides the influence of the great age. It was confirmed for static choice model, but in this myopic model it is insignificant. We also noted that some fact confirms the concept of alcohol use as the some sort of escape; but it is not confirmed for the variable, measuring the anxiety (in the past) about future income (as well as for the life satisfaction).

Finally, let look on the prices impact. In the model using the calculated price on pure alcohol any dependence was not found. If we include regional prices on different beverages we found some confirmation of the economic theory, because the prices on vodka and wine have the negative effect, but only for women. But the prices on beer have the positive effect on the decision to be drinker that looks not corresponding to the theory. If so all measures of tax politics aimed on reducing of alcohol use will have controversial effect.

We see here at list two possible explanations. The first one appeals to the theory of demand and supply where prices result the balance of demand and supply. Thus the higher demand on beer (i.e. the percent of drinkers) would increase the price on it. This may express the differences as between regions as between years. As a matter of fact, real prices on vodka and fortified wine were diminishing and beer price

were increasing in 2006–2011 according Rosstat data. At the same time the percentage of drinkers among Russians has fallen. But the average price on beer has increase by 15%, and the average price on vodka has decrease by only 5%: at the same time the regional difference in prices was much higher. For example, in 2011 the average price on the one liter of vodka in Tatarstan was 208 rubles (the lowest), and in Kamchatka — 415 rubles (the highest), i.e. more than 2 times. The same difference was found in the beer prices (minimum — 48 rubles, maximum — 100 rubles). So, we can expect the greater impact of regional difference in price on the alcohol use.

According to the data, there is a significant correlation between prices on all alcoholic beverages, and also between prices, regional level of average income per capita and the probability to be drinker. So, in more wealthy regions the prices on all alcoholic beverages are higher as well as the percentage of drinkers, but at the same time the relative price of beer in comparison to vodka (beer price divided to vodka price) is lower. That is why the influence of prices on decision to be drinker in the model estimated is relative: for the average vodka price the influence on beer price is positive, and for the average beer price the influence of vodka price is negative. The influence of prices on the decision to drink vodka or/and beer in Russia was found by [Yakovlev, 2012], but it was estimated as negative. But the most important should be the influence of prices not on the decision to be drinker, but on the volume of alcohol consumed because the alcohol abuse and not the use is the threat to the health and violence. Let us now to pass to the results of the estimation of the demand model.

4. Estimation of the demand model

Now we will explain the results of our estimation of demand models. Static model of alcohol consumption was estimated as a tobit regression including inverse Mills ratio. So the lagged and lead consumption are not included and there is no problem with it's estimation. We found the coefficients in the model for all population (testing the influence of the log income per capita as well as the square dependence on income) and for men and women separately.

We can look now at the significance of coefficients. As it could be predicted, men are drinking more than women. Influence of age is square as it was found in the selection model. Higher education has the negative effect on the amount of the alcohol consumed (but only for men). This fact conform the theoretical idea about it. People who worked in the past ($T - 1$) are less moderate consumers than the unemployed. Income per capita has predicted positive impact but only for women. The square dependence of consumption on income was also confirmed for the whole sample and for women. As social theory predict, there is a high correlation between

the alcohol consumption of family members. The influence of family size remains significant. So, married women drink less than single ones, as well as those who have children under 1. But there is no difference between single and married men, and babies under 3 even stimulate alcohol consumption of men. May be the birth of a child can be treated as some sort of stress for fathers leading to the increase of drinking. Older children (of 7–15 years) stimulate the reduction of alcohol consumption by men. Both men and women drink less in the great families (measured as the number of adults over 16).

Nationality is insignificant for the demand model (besides woman from North Caucasus), and it means that ethnic barriers are high at the decision about drinking but not about consumption level for those who decided to drink. As in the selection model family structure is important parameter. Health was not one of the barriers to drink, being drinker signifies also to not worry about health and not reduce the alcohol consumption. The fact of negative impact of life satisfaction (in the past) on the present consumption looks no surprisingly because the bad emotional state is predicted as the possible determinant of heavy drinking.

There are some influence of the site characteristics. So, women in the villages consume less than in the cities being the administrative center of the region. Regional unemployment rate has positive influence on female consumption that can also confirm the theory of problem escape. If there are cafes and restaurants in the site it has some negative influence on consumption, we believe that this let is possible to make alcohol use more institutionalized and less inclined to be “heavy”. But our hypothesis that the presence of a stadium or a park in the sit can create an alternative way to pass the leisure was not confirmed, just on the contrary.

The influence of the prices does not confirm the economic theory. The prices on vodka and beer are insignificant (on the contrary to the selection model), and these two alcoholic beverages ensure more than 80% of all pure alcohol consumed, so the influence of its’ prices should be the most important. Only the price on the fortified wine has the predictable effect but only for men; on the contrary the price on the wine under 14% influence the consumption of women positively. Some possible explanation of the price influence was given above.

The static model also show that the alcohol consumption was reduced in 2008–2011 in comparison with 2006.

But these conclusions were made only for the static model, i.e. if the effect of lagged consumption (or the stock of habits) is negligible. But the most important result of the economic theory is the addictive character of alcohol use so we can expect that the influence of habits (consumer capital) should be significant. In the micro level only panel data give us possibility to include the past consumption in the myopic model. As it was said above the estimation of such a model requires the use of instrumental variables; lagged alcohol consumption was instrumented by the

lagged tobacco use (there are very high correlation between these two variables), the lagged income per capita, regional price on pure alcohol and regional level of pure alcohol sales (in liters). The influence of lagged alcohol use was found significant and positive that confirm the theory of “myopic” consumption.

Some of the independent variables keep their significance: gender, consumption of alcohol by other family members, family size and baby presence in the households. Other are influencing only for women: income, age, marital status, nationality of North Caucasus and living in the village. Education, past employment status, life satisfaction, social infrastructure (cafes, restaurants and stadiums) became insignificant. More contradictory result is the positive influence of the Tatar nationality on the men alcohol consumption.

All prices on alcoholic beverages are insignificant in the myopic model for women. Men’s consumption is influenced by fortified wine price negatively and by wine and beer prices positively. Vodka price is insignificant. These facts do not confirm the theory.

New let us see on the results of the rational addiction model testing. Lead alcohol consumption was instrumented by future tobacco consumption and regional prices on pure alcohol (T+1) and alcohol sales (in liters). Both past and future alcohol consumption has positive impact that confirms the theory of rational addiction. Alcohol use of other family member and gender, as the family characteristics and nationality for women keep their significance. But the influence of all other variable including prices is almost negligible.

Inverse Mills ratio is significant and negative in static models, what let us to conclude that estimation without this correction would bias the coefficients. In all regression with lagged and lead consumption inverse Mills ratio is significant but positive. It means that in myopic and rational addiction models there is a positive association between the stochastic components in both the consumption and the selection model.

5. Conclusions

The main conclusion of our research is that in modern Russia culture seems to be more important factors of alcohol consumption than the change in prices on alcoholic beverages. May be the one of the most important is the collective way of this practice. The influence of the consumer capital (i.e. the addiction) also is very high so we can not expect that the increase of prices on alcohol will stimulate it’s consumption decrease. The most probable in this case is the change of the structure of consumption in favor of more cheap brands of moonshine of alcoholic surrogates. But the fall of alcohol consumption need some long-term measure aimed on the culture changing.

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К. Абанокова

Национальный
исследовательский университет
«Высшая школа экономики»,

М. Локшин

Всемирный банк

АДАПТАЦИОННОЕ ПОВЕДЕНИЕ ДОМОХОЗЯЙСТВ В УСЛОВИЯХ МАКРО- ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИХ ШОКОВ

1. Введение

С 1994 г. российские домохозяйства испытали два больших экономических кризиса (в 1998 и 2008 гг.), повлекших за собой беспрецедентное снижение доходов. Сталкиваясь с экономическими шоками, домохозяйства ищут стратегии, позволяющие не допустить снижение уровня потребления. Они могут кредитовать, сберегать или продавать активы, изменять предложение труда, мигрировать. Подобные стратегии носят название самострахования [Skoufias, 2003]. Домохозяйства также могут использовать как неформальные связи, так и частные, или государственные институты страхования [Fafchamps, Lund, 2003].

Одним из механизмов является объединение индивидов, посредством чего изменяются размер и структура домохозяйств [Frankenberg et al., 2003]. Почему домохозяйства и их члены выбирают изменение своей структуры как способ приспособления в условиях экономических шоков? Слабый рынок труда и высокие цены на жилье делают самостоятельную жизнь менее привлекательной и повышают вероятность того, что индивиды будут делить жилье с родителями, друзьями или романтическими партнерами, чтобы экономить на расходах. Исследуя причины кризиса на рынке жилья в США, Ли и Пэйнтер [Lee, Painter, 2013] обнаружили, что во время рецессии вероятность образования нового домохозяйства снижается на 1–3 п.п. Используя данные за 30 лет по США, Мацудария [Matsudaira, 2010] пришел к выводу, что ухудшение экономической ситуации, сопровождающееся падением реальных заработных плат, ростом уровня безработицы и арендной платы, повышает вероятность объединения индивидов в домохозяйства. Используя панельные данные по американским семьям, Каплан [Kaplan, 2009, 2010] обнаружил, что потеря работы увеличивает вероятность возвращения подростков в родительскую семью в тот же месяц на 64% для мужчин и на 71%