Roads and Loans

Sumit Agarwal, Abhiroop Mukherjee and S. Lakshmi Naaraayanan

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Roads and Loans

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2 Background and Data

3 Main Results

Distributional Effects

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• When productive opportunities improve, financing should flow to those who see gains

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- When productive opportunities improve, financing should flow to those who see gains
- But does private financing really respond to productivity changes even in the day-to-day lives of the world's poor?
 - private banks typically do not lend in rural areas
 - for the handful that do, they have little experience in rural banking and face a steep learning curve

• 3.5 billion people live in rural areas



• Most 'Emerging Markets' are still poor and largely rural



• We shed new light on this issue by focusing on a large rural road-building initiative in India



- We shed new light on this issue by focusing on a large rural road-building initiative in India
- Do private lenders respond to new lending opportunities created by connectivity?



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- In many parts of the world, infrastructure projects are thought to be key to unlocking productivity increases
 - e.g., Storeygard(2014), Aggarwal (2018), Donaldson(2016), Shamdasani (2017), Asher and Novosad (2018), Lin (2018)

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 - Tremendous growth in roads in Asia, Africa, South America, and Eastern Europe in the past 20 years alone
 - China's trillion dollar 'Belt and Road Initiative' "the biggest investment project in history"
 - India built 1.96 million kilometers of rural roads between 2000-2016 connecting 100s of millions

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• How are roads meant to create productive opportunities for people connected?

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- allowing surplus agricultural laborers to commute to nearby towns to access more productive jobs
- opening or expansion of small businesses, like village grocery shops

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- Typically assumed that such financing to households will automatically follow once roads are built
- But many rural economies suffer from chronic problems of financing
 - Formal finance is largely absent in many parts of the world
 - Informal money lenders charge usurious interest rates, tying down laborers to dismal conditions

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 - Outside of very limited microfinance wings, private banks typically do not lend to rural households, ticket sizes are small
 - But massive market sizes and growth rates of the rural sector in emerging economies has piqued interest recently
 - Can these new rural wings of banks recognize new lending opportunities arising out of infrastructure programs and utilize these to establish/expand footprints?



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 - If private financing does NOT respond:

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 - room for private sector financing can mean less fiscal pressure, easier path to benefits percolating down

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- Relates to literature on the role of financing in development
 - King and Levine (1993), Black and Strahan (2002), Burgess and Pande (2004), Levine (2005), Beck, Demirguc-Kunt and Peria (2007), Demirguc-Kunt and Levine (2008), Beck (2012), Demirguc-Kunt, Feyen, and Levine (2013)

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 - Richer villagers who had access to finance before roads, and might be in a better position to exploit new opportunities?

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 - Or the poor people who were excluded from formal finance, but can now find a way in?

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- If financing does respond, who does it benefit more?
 - Richer villagers who had access to finance before roads, and might be in a better position to exploit new opportunities?
 - Or the poor people who were excluded from formal finance, but can now find a way in?
- Will roads increase or reduce inequality in financial access?

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 - We can observe what happens before and after new infrastructure is constructed in 'treated' areas
 - But incorrect to attribute the change exclusively to roads maybe policy is to help a region: roads and financing are both a result of that
 - Could be solved if we could find 2 identical villages, one that randomly gets a road, the other does not

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 - Assuming a village with population just below the threshold, say population 480, is very similar to one just above, say population 520 if one has a road and the other does not, this is almost random

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 - Assuming a village with population just below the threshold, say population 480, is very similar to one just above, say population 520 if one has a road and the other does not, this is almost random
- Allows us to identify the effect of roads better

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Population-based Cutoffs for Road Building



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May 22, 2018 15 / 41

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• In villages right above the population cutoff

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 - average amount lent to them is 20-40% higher
- Roads seem to disproportionately benefit
 - villagers who lack collateralizable assets
 - lower caste villagers with basic education

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2 Background and Data

3 Main Results

4 Distributional Effects

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Does being above the population cutoff really predict road construction?



Does being above the population cutoff really predict road construction?

Bandwidth	Census sample		Bank Loan sample	
	$(1) \pm 200$	$(2) \pm 250$	$(3) \pm 200$	$(4) \\ \pm 250$
Above Cutoff	0.073^{***} (0.011)	0.069^{***} (0.010)	0.552^{***} (0.017)	0.454^{***} (0.010)
F-statistic	41.8	47.8	1106.8	1894.9
District-Threshold FE	Yes	Yes	No	No
Threshold FE	No	No	Yes	Yes
\mathbb{R}^2	0.07	0.06	0.20	0.22
Observations	10616	13527	8141	9260

- An average *Odisha* village right above the population cutoff is more than twice as likely (6.2% vis-a-vis 13.3%) to get a road than one right below
 - Similar differences in our bank loan sample

No evidence of population manipulation



Population figures from 2001 census – before PMGSY policy cutoffs announced

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May 22, 2018 20 / 41

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No differences in other village characteristics around cutoff



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May 22, 2018 21 / 41

• Proprietary loan-level dataset from one of India's earliest private lenders to enter the rural sector

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- Proprietary loan-level dataset from one of India's earliest private lenders to enter the rural sector
 - Loans made to villagers in the largely rural district of *Ganjam* in the eastern state of *Odisha*
 - Detailed information on loans made, purpose of loan, maturity, repayment behavior, and borrower characteristics

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- Proprietary loan-level dataset from one of India's earliest private lenders to enter the rural sector
 - Loans made to villagers in the largely rural district of *Ganjam* in the eastern state of *Odisha*
 - Detailed information on loans made, purpose of loan, maturity, repayment behavior, and borrower characteristics
- Supplemented by data from PMGSY and Census websites, carefully hand-matched

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Bank presence in Ganjam



Sample villages within population range (+/-200) in very close proximity

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- Compare various financing-related outcomes for villagers in above cutoff villages, relative to below
 - All villages were unconnected when the bank started operations in our district
 - Most of the above-cutoff ones received roads before the end of our sample; many below-cutoff ones did not

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- Key idea:

24/41

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- Key idea:
 - Villagers in above cutoff villages are very similar to those below
 - EXCEPT that they are much more likely to have received a road in the recent past
- Note that we will not exploit the exact timing of road construction, since that is still likely endogenous

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4 Distributional Effects

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Bandwidth	± 200	± 250	
	(1)	(2)	
Above Cutoff	0.044^{***}	0.028***	
	(0.013)	(0.009)	
Control group mean	0.051	0.051	
Threshold FE	Yes	Yes	
\mathbb{R}^2	0.0072	0.0088	
Observations	8141	9260	

Standard errors in parentheses

* p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Number of people who get loans substantially higher above population cutoff

26/41

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Intensive Margin: Loan Amounts

	Panel A: Scaled Loan Amount				
Bandwidth	±:	200	±	250	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Above Cutoff	0.027^{**}	0.026^{**}	0.033***	0.033***	
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	
Age(Years)	-0.001**	-0.001**	-0.001**	-0.001**	
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	
Household Assets(Lakhs)	0.002**	0.001	0.002**	0.001	
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	
School Education	0.003	0.004	0.002	0.003	
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	
Female(1=Yes)	-0.048***	-0.048***	-0.046***	-0.046***	
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	
CollateralIndex		0.004		0.004	
		(0.004)		(0.004)	
Control group mean	0.055	0.055	0.055	0.055	
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Threshold FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
\mathbb{R}^2	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	
Observations	759	759	792	792	

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• Loan amounts substantially higher

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- Loan amounts substantially higher
 - loans made to villagers in above-cutoff villages about 55% higher

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- Loan amounts substantially higher
 - loans made to villagers in above-cutoff villages about 55% higher
- Note that this is after controlling for all borrower characteristics in our dataset

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Maturity

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- Maturity
- Interest rates

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- Default behavior

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- No substantial difference in other loan features:
 - Maturity
 - Interest rates
 - Default behavior
- Indicates loans not riskier or less profitable consistent with connectivity expanding profitable lending opportunities

Bandwidth	± 200			±250		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Ln(Maturity)	ODAmount	%OD Amount	Ln(Maturity)	ODAmount	%OD Amount
Above Cutoff	-0.007	91.374	0.159	-0.008	75.348	0.032
	(0.020)	(75.876)	(0.566)	(0.018)	(70.225)	(0.480)
Control group mean	1.07	61.4	0.19	1.07	61.4	0.19
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Threshold FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Loanpurpose FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
\mathbb{R}^2	0.44	0.11	0.068	0.47	0.10	0.065
Observations	370	370	370	386	386	386

30/41

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- Productive loans are crop loans, micro-enterprise loans for village shops, or those that are meant for business expansion, asset acquisition, and working capital needs
- Non-productive loans are those meant for consumption needs, marriage and festival expenses

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	Product	ive Loans	Non-Productive Loans	
Bandwidth	$(1) \pm 200$	$(2) \pm 250$	$(3) \pm 200$	$(4) \\ \pm 250$
Above Cutoff	0.028^{**} (0.011)	0.034^{***} (0.010)	-0.022^{***} (0.008)	-0.019^{***} (0.007)
Control group mean	0.052	0.052	0.045	0.045
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Threshold FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
\mathbb{R}^2	0.16	0.15	0.15	0.14
Observations	759	792	759	792

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- Difference comes entirely from productive loans
- Non-productive Loans are actually *lower* in above cut-off villages
- Consistent with reallocation from consumption-oriented to production-orientation lending
- Not consistent with wealth effects driving lending

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• Higher demand for bank loans in above-cutoff villages to utilize new opportunities

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- Higher demand for bank loans in above-cutoff villages to utilize new opportunities
- Supply-side story

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A (10) × (10) × (10) ×

• Higher demand for bank loans in above-cutoff villages to utilize new opportunities

• Supply-side story

• Easier to provide and travel to monitor bank loans in above-cutoff villages

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• Demand-side story

• Loan amounts are higher in above-cutoff villages, conditional on borrower having been reached by bank

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• Demand-side story

- Loan amounts are higher in above-cutoff villages, conditional on borrower having been reached by bank
- Productive loans higher at the expense of non-productive loans

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• Demand-side story

- Loan amounts are higher in above-cutoff villages, conditional on borrower having been reached by bank
- Productive loans higher at the expense of non-productive loans
- Bank operates on a nodal branch model villagers come to the branch to seek loans, bank officers typically do not travel to villages regularly to 'market' loans

• Comparing similar villages across the population cutoff

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- Comparing similar villages across the population cutoff
 - Difference: already had roads under a different program that had nothing to do with population-based cutoffs

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- Comparing similar villages across the population cutoff
 - Difference: already had roads under a different program that had nothing to do with population-based cutoffs
 - Connected and Unconnected villages share similar characteristics (e.g. access to electricity, water etc.) and are located within the same block

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- Comparing similar villages across the population cutoff
 - Difference: already had roads under a different program that had nothing to do with population-based cutoffs
 - Connected and Unconnected villages share similar characteristics (e.g. access to electricity, water etc.) and are located within the same block

Bandwidth	:	± 200		± 250		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		
	ExtMargin	Loan Amount	ExtMargin	Loan Amount		
Above Cutoff	0.007	0.007	0.002	-0.002		
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.007)		
Control group mean	0.052	0.062	0.059	0.070		
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Threshold FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
\mathbb{R}^2	0.0050	0.062	0.0014	0.064		
Observations	18332	2237	21372	2649		

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None of our results obtain, in spite of more statistical power in tests

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3 Main Results



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• Households that have low assets – especially those without significant cultivable land ownership

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- Lower caste villagers SCs, STs and OBCs

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- No differential effect for women, or the young

- Households that have low assets especially those without significant cultivable land ownership
- Lower caste villagers SCs, STs and OBCs
- Villagers with basic education
- No differential effect for women, or the young
- None of this is due to any government mandate or rule this is a private sector lender

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• Setting buys us clean identification, at the cost of sample size

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 - We next loosen identification, but extend analysis to all 6 states that followed PMGSY rules, using Central Bank data

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- Setting buys us clean identification, at the cost of sample size
 - We next loosen identification, but extend analysis to all 6 states that followed PMGSY rules, using Central Bank data
- Results are very consistent: rural lending responds to rural roads, urban lending within the same district– does not

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Roads and Growth: Do Loans Matter?

Dependent variable	Log(GDP)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	GDP	Agri & Allied	Agriculture	Industry
$Log(road_{t-1})$	-0.003	-0.017***	-0.017**	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.003)
Δ Rural $\mathrm{Credit}_{t,t-1}$	$0.008 \\ (0.014)$	$0.016 \\ (0.022)$	$ \begin{array}{c} 0.008 \\ (0.028) \end{array} $	0.011 (0.011)
$\operatorname{Log}(\operatorname{road}_{t-1}) \times \Delta$ Rural $\operatorname{Credit}_{t,t-1}$	0.017^{**}	0.080^{***}	0.065**	-0.013
	(0.009)	(0.022)	(0.027)	(0.011)
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Ves
\mathbb{R}^2	0.99	0.98	0.97	0.99
Observations	900	900	900	900

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Dependent variable	Log(GDP)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	GDP	Agri & Allied	Agriculture	Industry
$\operatorname{Log}(\operatorname{road}_{t-1})$	-0.003	-0.017***	-0.017**	0.003
	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.003)
Δ Rural $\mathrm{Credit}_{t,t-1}$	0.008 (0.014)	0.016 (0.022)	$ \begin{array}{c} 0.008 \\ (0.028) \end{array} $	0.011 (0.011)
$\operatorname{Log}(\operatorname{road}_{t-1}) \times \Delta \operatorname{Rural} \operatorname{Credit}_{t,t-1}$	0.017^{**}	0.080^{***}	0.065^{**}	-0.013
	(0.009)	(0.022)	(0.027)	(0.011)
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.99	0.98	0.97	0.99
Observations	900	900	900	900

• Rural roads seem to bring growth, especially in agriculture & allied sectors: but only when accompanied by credit flows

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• We find that private financing does indeed respond to changes in productive opportunities resulting from road connectivity



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• In spite of private-sector rural banking being a relatively new phenomenon

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- In spite of private-sector rural banking being a relatively new phenomenon
- Financing productivity increases might see a lot more interest among private lenders going forward

• We find that private financing does indeed respond to changes in productive opportunities resulting from road connectivity



- In spite of private-sector rural banking being a relatively new phenomenon
- Financing productivity increases might see a lot more interest among private lenders going forward
- Lending related to connectivity can have distributional effects, but no evidence to suggest that it worsened inequality, at least at the intra-village level
- Our results seem to suggest broader macro implications on the complementarity between financial and physical infrastructure

Agarwal, Mukherjee and Naaraayanan

Roads and Loans