

Lecture 17:
Policy Lab
Does rural electrification work? I

PPHA 34600
Prof. Fiona Burlig

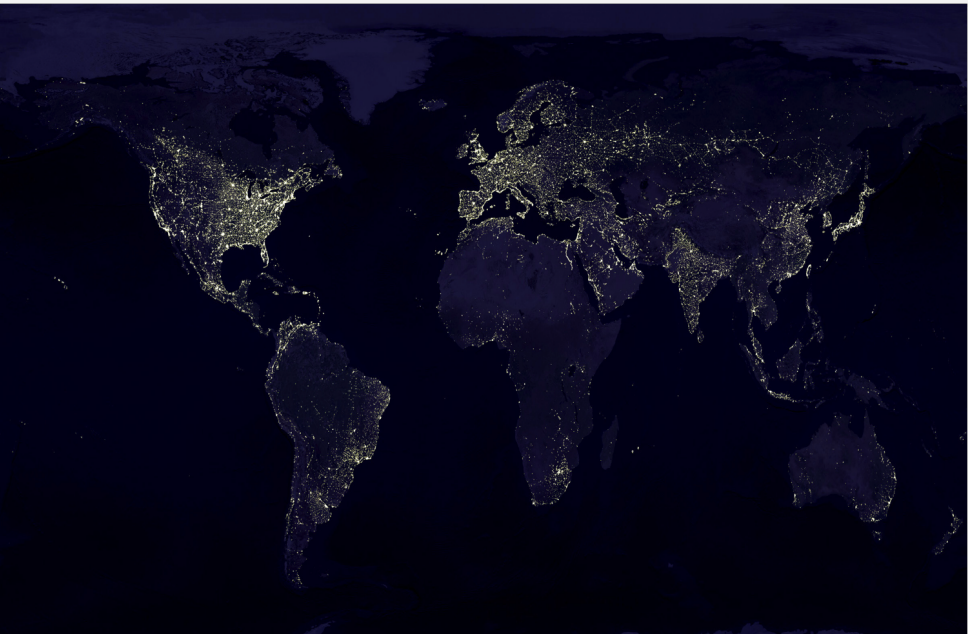
Harris School of Public Policy
University of Chicago

From last time: Machine learning for causal inference

We looked at several ways to incorporate ML into CI

- 1 Generating (big) data
- 2 Exploring heterogeneity
- 3 Improving research designs
 - ML works with SOO to handle functional form
 - And with SOU to aid in generating counterfactuals

The world at night



Electrification is a major policy goal

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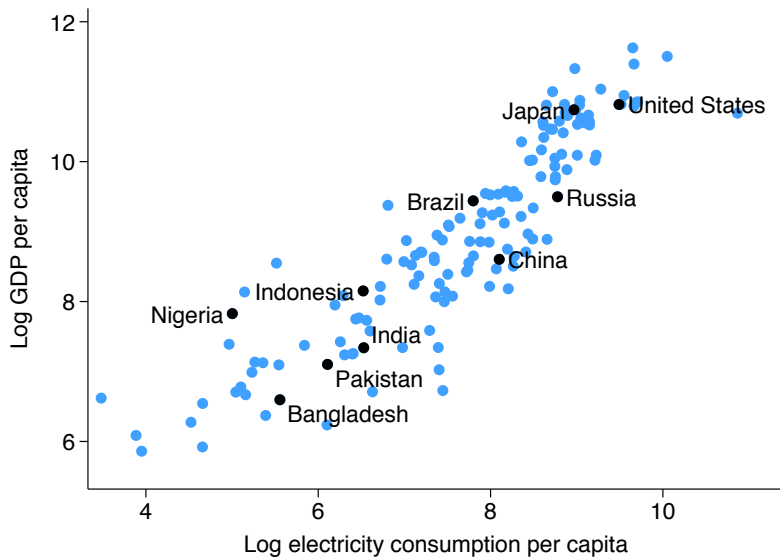
“Access to energy is essential to reduce poverty.”

— *The World Bank*

“By developing infrastructure that provides sustainable, reliable and affordable access to modern energy services, people, communities and countries can significantly improve their living standards and economic status.”

— *United Nations Development Programme*

Wealthy countries use more electricity per capita



Source: World Bank tables

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 - Growing faster (slower) than non-electrified places
 - More (less) politically connected
 - Have other infrastructure (roads, etc)
 - Be wealthier (less wealthy)
 - Etc

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→ There are many forms of selection bias!

The ideal experiment

What would we do if we could do anything?

- Some kind of random assignment to electricity
- ... but even this is not straightforward

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- Do we want to randomly assign 24x7 power?
 - Or should actual power supply reflect existing conditions?

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 - Or do we consider general equilibrium?

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 - Do we think about electrification in one location at a time?
 - Or do we consider general equilibrium?
- Actually ideal experiment probably requires multiple Earths
- Or at least a really large sample!

If you thought the *ideal* experiment was tricky...

An additional practical wrinkle:

- Randomizing electricity access is impractical!
 - Like roads, electricity works on a network
 - Putting a random segment in the middle of nowhere would not work
 - Simple randomization is therefore not really going to work
 - Not to mention that it's going to be extremely hard to randomize at any meaningful scale

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→ A quasi-experimental approach may be useful here

First paper: Dinkelman (2011)

This is the most prominent early econ paper estimating effects of RE:

- **Research question:** What is the effect of electrification on “the ability of the poor to use their labor resources for market production?”

→ AKA, what is the effect of RE on employment?

What do we expect to happen?

There are lots of potential effects here:

- The nature of work at home may change
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- Can also lead to firm growth
 - Or more jobs in the household
 - Both in- and out-migration effects

Dinkelman (2011): Context

Dinkelman studies immediately-post-Apartheid South Africa:

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 - 2x as many households electrified as the first five years of the REA (US)

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 - **2001:** 1/4 of households were newly connected to the grid
 - 2x as many households electrified as the first five years of the REA (US)
- Massive push towards rural electrification
- Opportunity for a natural experiment!

What did the electrification program look like?

- National Electrification Programme (NEP): electrify 300k households
- Implemented through Eskom, the monopoly utility
- Cost \$1.4bn; connected 470,000 hhs in KZN (1993–2003)
- Connections powerful enough to run a few (small) appliances
- Places that were more expensive to electrify got power later

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- A big switch from no power to power
- Very poor, marginalized groups getting access
- At the same time, many people getting access
- Important evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa

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Post-Apartheid South Africa is an interesting place to study RE:

- A big switch from no power to power
 - Very poor, marginalized groups getting access
 - At the same time, many people getting access
 - Important evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa
 - Also a unique setting
 - Nothing has ever really looked just like this context
- You should ask about external validity

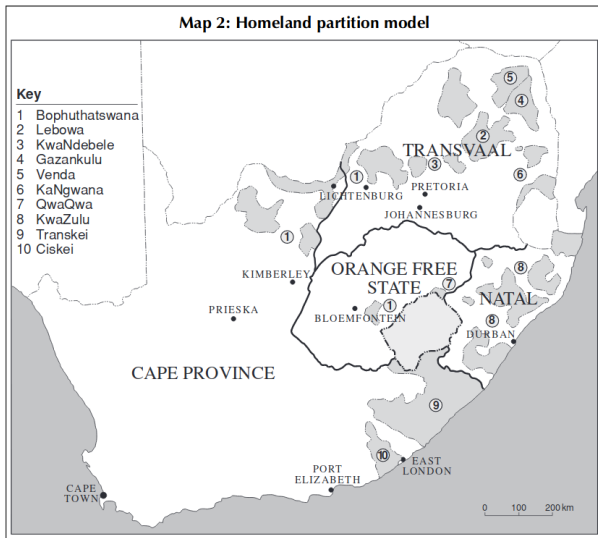
Dinkelman (2011): Data

	Means (standard deviation)			Differences in means (standard error)		
	Full sample	Eskom project	No project	Columns 2-3	By gradient	
					No controls	Controls
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Covariates in 1996						
Poverty rate	0.61 (0.19)	0.59 (0.17)	0.61 (0.20)	-0.024** (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.002 (0.00)
Female-headed HHs	0.55 (0.13)	0.55 (0.12)	0.55 (0.13)	0.00 (0.01)	0.005*** (0.00)	0.001 (0.00)
Adult sex ratio ($N_{females}/N_{males}$)	1.48 (0.28)	1.41 (0.25)	1.49 (0.29)	-0.080*** (0.02)	0.011*** (0.00)	0.004** (0.00)
Indian, white adults \times 10	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)
Kilometers to road	37.95 (24.57)	35.62 (24.18)	38.54 (24.64)	-2.917** (1.44)	-0.201 (0.41)	-0.156 (0.18)
Kilometers to town	38.57 (18.12)	36.34 (15.34)	39.13 (18.72)	-2.790*** (1.06)	0.278 (0.41)	0.180 (0.13)
Men with high school	0.06 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.016*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.003** (0.00)
Women with high school	0.07 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.020*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.000)	0.000 (0.00)
Household density	22.05 (30.48)	32.56 (49.31)	19.41 (22.75)	13.152*** (1.76)	-0.523* (0.31)	-0.944*** (0.30)
Kilometers from grid	19.06 (13.32)	15.75 (10.20)	19.89 (13.88)	-4.139*** (0.77)	-0.235 (0.36)	0.029 (0.12)
Land gradient	10.10 (4.89)	9.12 (4.21)	10.35 (5.02)	-1.232*** (0.29)		
N communities	1,816	365	1,451	1,816	1,816	1,816

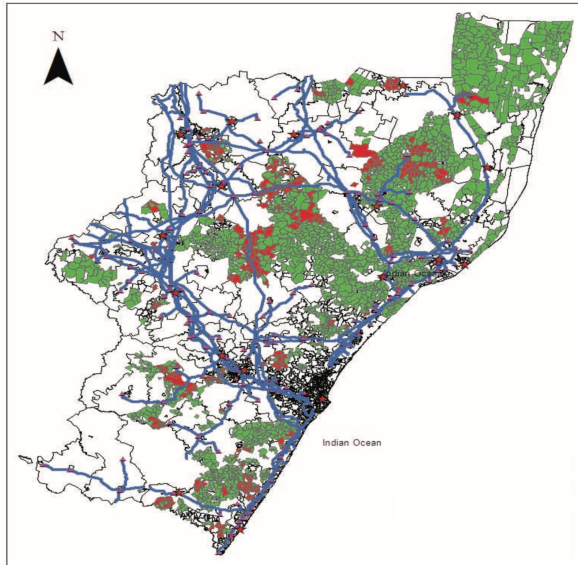
Dinkelman (2011): Data

	Year	Means (standard deviation)			Difference: Column 2-3 (4)
		Full sample (1)	Eskom project (2)	No project (3)	
Female employment rate	1996	0.07 (0.08)	0.09 (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	0.021*** (0.00)
	2001	0.07 (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.017*** (0.00)
Difference	Δ_t	0.000 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.005)	0.001 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)
Male employment rate	1996	0.14 (0.11)	0.16 (0.11)	0.13 (0.11)	0.031*** (0.01)
	2001	0.10 (0.09)	0.11 (0.09)	0.10 (0.09)	0.014** (0.01)
Difference	Δ_t	-0.04*** (0.00)	-0.050*** (0.01)	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.017*** (0.01)
<i>N</i>		1,816	365	1,451	

Dinkelman (2011): Context



Dinkelman (2011): Data



Dinkelman (2011): Estimation approach

Electrification was not randomly assigned in South Africa:

- We need a research design to estimate the causal effect of interest

Ideally, we'd estimate:

$$Y_{id} = \alpha + \tau D_{id} + \varepsilon_{id}$$

where:

Y_{id} is the outcome (female employment rate) in community i in district d

D_{id} is an electrification indicator

ε_{id} is an error term

→ Without random assignment, we will get bias (why?)

Dinkelman (2011): Estimation approach

Without random assignment, we could leverage time:

$$Y_{idt} = \tau D_{idt} + \alpha_{id} + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{idt}$$

→ Note that Dinkelman writes this a bit weirdly

$$y_{jdt} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 t + \alpha_2 T_{jdt} + \mu_j + \delta_j t + \rho_d + \lambda_d t + \epsilon_{jdt},$$

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- Why a time trend, not time FE?
 - You can't have a district and a community FE?
- Even with time, we still have identification concerns (why?)

Dinkelman (2011): Estimation approach

Dinkelman uses an IV approach to overcome the selection problem:

- We want to isolate the effect of electrification from everything else

For the instrument to be valid, we need:

- 1 **First stage:** Our IV needs to be correlated with electrification
- 2 **Exclusion restriction:** Our IV needs to only move Y through electrification

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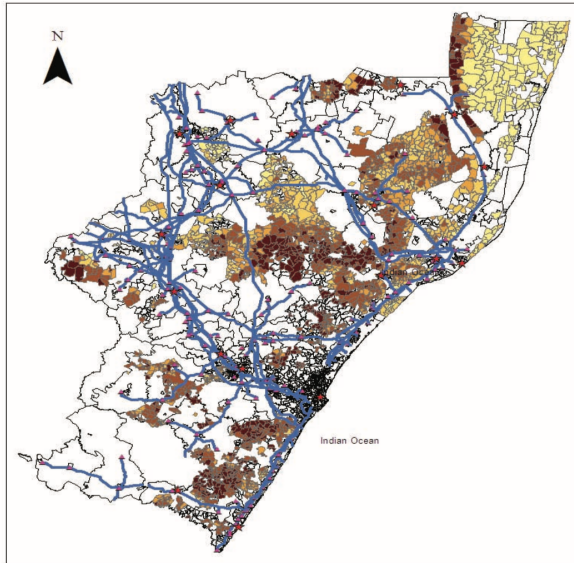
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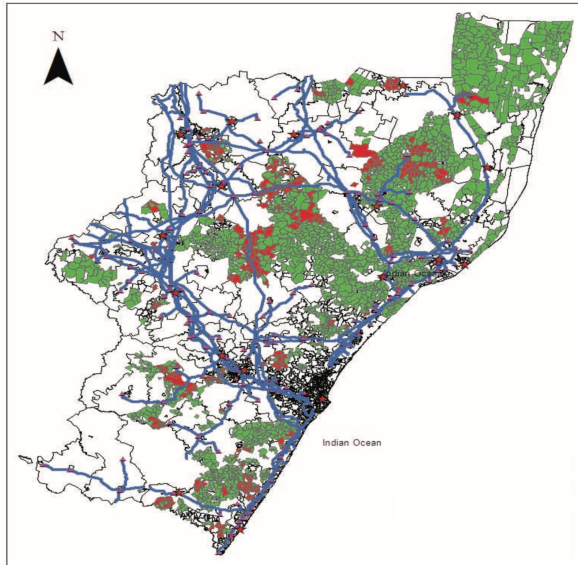
Instrument of choice: land gradient

- Steeper land is more expensive to electrify
- The first stage should be negative

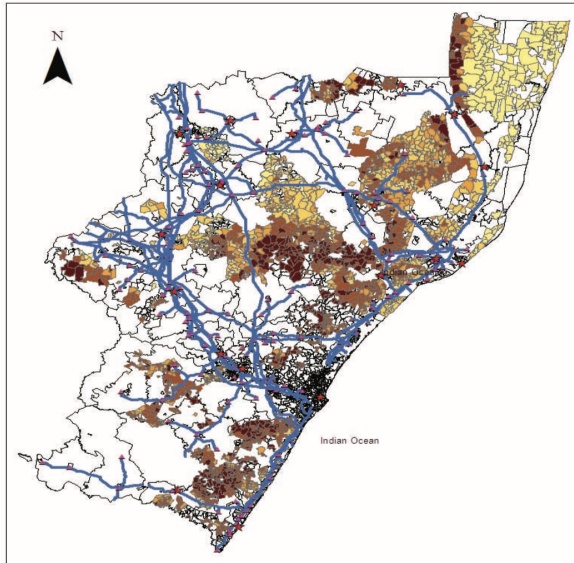
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LATEs: Estimates are the LATE for relatively flatter places

- How should this compare to ATE?

Dinkelman (2011): First stage

Dependent variable: Eskom project = [1 or 0]	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gradient \times 10	-0.083** (0.040)	-0.075** (0.034)	-0.078*** (0.027)	-0.077*** (0.027)
Kilometers to grid \times 10		-0.040* (0.021)	-0.012 (0.023)	-0.011 (0.023)
Household density \times 10		0.017*** (0.004)	0.012** (0.006)	0.013** (0.006)
Poverty rate		0.023 (0.069)	0.019 (0.070)	0.017 (0.069)
Female-headed HHs		0.393*** (0.120)	0.165 (0.107)	0.155 (0.107)
Adult sex ratio		-0.173*** (0.052)	-0.130*** (0.042)	-0.121*** (0.042)
Indian, white adults \times 10		-1.236*** (0.401)	-1.116** (0.459)	-1.105** (0.452)
Kilometers to road \times 10		0.003 (0.009)	-0.010 (0.010)	-0.010 (0.010)
Kilometers to town \times 10		0.016 (0.015)	0.008 (0.015)	0.008 (0.016)
Men with high school		-0.269 (0.500)	-0.185 (0.411)	-0.152 (0.417)
Women with high school		1.046** (0.475)	0.965** (0.413)	0.984** (0.409)
Δ_j water access				0.012 (0.048)
Δ_j toilet access				0.155 (0.104)
District fixed effects	N	N	Y	Y
Mean of outcome variable	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20
<i>N</i> communities	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816
<i>R</i> ²	0.01	0.07	0.18	0.18
<i>F</i> -statistic on gradient	4.20	4.87	8.34	8.26
Pr > <i>F</i>	0.04	0.03	0.00	0.00

Dinkelman (2011): Household Behavior

Outcome is Δ_t in:	OLS No controls (1)	OLS Controls (2)	IV No controls (3)	IV Controls (4)
(1) Lighting with electricity Mean: 0.08	0.251*** (0.032)	0.221*** (0.031)	0.577*** (0.188)	0.635*** (0.227)
(2) Cooking with wood Mean: -0.035	-0.045*** (0.012)	-0.039*** (0.012)	-0.266 (0.179)	-0.275* (0.147)
(3) Cooking with electricity Mean: 0.037	0.068*** (0.009)	0.056*** (0.009)	0.250** (0.107)	0.228** (0.101)
(4) Water nearby Mean: 0.007	-0.029 (0.029)	0.005 (0.024)	-0.483* (0.249)	-0.372 (0.248)
(5) Flush toilet Mean: 0.03	0.003 (0.006)	0.008 (0.005)	0.018 (0.069)	0.067 (0.068)

Dinkelman (2011): Female Employment

	Δ , female employment rate							
	OLS regression coefficients				IV regression coefficients			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Eskom project	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.005)	0.000 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.005)	0.025 (0.045)	0.074 (0.060)	0.090* (0.055)	0.095* (0.055)
<i>A. R. 95 percent C.I.</i>							[0.05; 0.3]	[0.05; 0.3]
Poverty rate		0.029*** (0.011)	0.033*** (0.010)	0.031*** (0.010)		0.027** (0.012)	0.032** (0.013)	0.031** (0.013)
Female-headed HHs		0.042** (0.019)	0.051*** (0.019)	0.047** (0.020)		0.014 (0.031)	0.036 (0.026)	0.033 (0.026)
Adult sex ratio		0.019** (0.009)	0.017** (0.008)	0.020*** (0.007)		0.033** (0.014)	0.029** (0.012)	0.032*** (0.012)
Baseline controls?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
District fixed effects?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Δ , other services?	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
<i>N</i> communities	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816

Dinkelman (2011): Male Employment

	Δ , male employment rate							
	OLS regression coefficients				IV regression coefficients			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Eskom project	-0.017** (0.007)	-0.015*** (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.010* (0.006)	-0.063 (0.073)	0.069 (0.082)	0.033 (0.064)	0.035 (0.066)
<i>A. R. 95 percent C.I.</i>							<i>[-0.05; 0.25]</i>	<i>[-0.05; 0.25]</i>
Poverty rate		0.062*** (0.020)	0.064*** (0.018)	0.063*** (0.018)		0.059*** (0.022)	0.064*** (0.019)	0.062*** (0.019)
Female-headed HHs		0.217*** (0.029)	0.233*** (0.030)	0.227*** (0.030)		0.187*** (0.042)	0.227*** (0.034)	0.220*** (0.034)
Adult sex ratio		0.018* (0.011)	0.012 (0.011)	0.017 (0.011)		0.034* (0.019)	0.018 (0.015)	0.023 (0.015)
Baseline controls?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
District fixed effects?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Δ , other services?	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
<i>N</i> communities	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816

Dinkelman (2011): Panel Results

	Females		Males		Females		Males	
	OLS (1)	FE (2)	OLS (3)	FE (4)	OLS (5)	FE (6)	OLS (7)	FE (8)
	<i>Panel A. Employment [1/0]</i>				<i>Panel B. Usual weekly hours of work</i>			
MD electrification rate	0.126** (0.058)	0.128 (0.149)	0.090 (0.077)	0.134 (0.164)	6.646*** (1.771)	8.920 (6.634)	5.671** (2.597)	13.090 (12.947)
Trend (1995–2001)	−0.010 (0.012)	0.046** (0.020)	−0.051*** (0.012)	−0.075*** (0.022)	−0.407 (0.491)	−0.588 (0.872)	−0.322 (0.620)	−1.424 (1.701)
N	152	152	152	152	151	151	151	151
Mean of outcome	0.25	0.25	0.42	0.42	42.82	42.82	46.94	46.94
R ²	0.06	0.63	0.09	0.76	0.06	0.42	0.03	0.45
	<i>Panel C. Log hourly wage</i>				<i>Panel D. Log monthly earnings</i>			
MD electrification rate	−0.148 (0.253)	−1.380 (1.046)	0.101 (0.211)	0.171 (0.483)	−0.070 (0.225)	−0.616 (0.995)	0.414** (0.191)	1.107** (0.477)
Trend (1995–2001)	−0.079*** (0.030)	0.132 (0.137)	−0.027 (0.032)	0.077 (0.063)	−0.091** (0.037)	−0.065 (0.131)	−0.047 (0.033)	−0.085 (0.063)
N	146	146	148	148	146	146	148	148
Mean of outcome	1.17	1.17	1.49	1.49	6.42	6.42	6.80	6.80
R ²	0.03	0.52	0.00	0.51	0.03	0.52	0.05	0.57

A slight digression: multiple testing

The “reproducibility crisis” is becoming a Thing:

- We have lots of results that don't replicate
- When we try to re-do experiments, we don't find the same results
- Famous example: power poses!

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- When we try to re-do experiments, we don't find the same results
- Famous example: power poses!

→ A central culprit: **p-hacking**

- Researchers get jobs based on statistically significant effects
- This generates incentives to find them
- We get a lot of results with $0.051 < p < 0.043$
- ... a lot more than 20%!
- Adding controls, etc to get “stars” is common

A slight digression: multiple testing

One way to generate “stars” is to run a lot of regressions:

- With a 95% confidence threshold, you will find stars 5% of the time, even if your null hypothesis is true
- So if you run a lot of regressions, you are bound to find some with stars
- If you then only report the ones with stars, we have a problem
- (If you report all of them, we're fine!)

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 - So if you run a lot of regressions, you are bound to find some with stars
 - If you then only report the ones with stars, we have a problem
 - (If you report all of them, we're fine!)
- If we do this, we're killing the usefulness of stars
- And generating results that won't replicate

Addressing multiple testing

There are a few fixes to this issue:

① Pre-specification

- Before you look at data, write down exactly what you're going to run
 - And make this public
 - So I can tell how many tests you actually did!
- To make this credible, need to prove you couldn't see data first

Addressing multiple testing

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② Multiple correction adjustment

- Adjust for the fact that you ran many tests
 - Essentially involves inflating your p-values
 - Many ways to do this: FWER, FDR, Bonferroni
- This is best paired with prespecification

Dinkelman (2011): Spillovers?

Outcome: Δ , female employment	OLS (1)	IV (2)	<i>N</i> communities (3)
<i>Panel A.</i>			
Full sample	-0.001 (0.005)	0.095* (0.055)	1,816
<i>Panel B.</i>			
Excluding nonproject areas < 1 km from project site	-0.004 (0.006)	0.076 (0.057)	1,205
<i>Panel C.</i>			
Excluding nonproject areas < 5 km from project site	-0.003 (0.008)	0.069 (0.077)	840

Dinkelman (2011): Migration

	Δ_t log population		Δ_t females with high school		Δ_t males with high school	
	OLS (1)	IV (2)	OLS (3)	IV (4)	OLS (5)	IV (6)
<i>Panel A.</i>						
Eskom project	0.171*** (0.045)	3.897*** (1.427)	0.001 (0.005)	0.129* (0.058)	0.001 (0.003)	0.076 (0.050)
<i>N</i>	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816
	Δ_t log non-in-migrant population		Δ_t female employment excluding in-migrants		Δ_t male employment excluding in-migrants	
	OLS (1)	IV (2)	OLS (3)	IV (4)	OLS (5)	IV (6)
<i>Panel B.</i>						
Eskom project	0.181*** (0.048)	4.349*** (1.586)	0.000 (0.005)	0.116* (0.069)	-0.008 (0.005)	0.086 (0.069)
<i>N</i>	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816	1,816

TL;DR:

- 1 Dinkelman (2011) is a seminal study of the effects of rural electrification
- 2 Finds that electrification dramatically increases female employment
- 3 Uses an IV strategy based on land gradient (credible?)