### Financial Deepening, Macro-Stability, and Growth in Developing Countries

### Keynote speech

## Robert M. Townsend

*Elizabeth & James Killian Professor of Economics, MIT* IMF – September 24<sup>th</sup>, 2012

### Questions Raised by the Conference Title

- Implementation of monetary and fiscal policy
- Risk-sharing
- Risk-taking incentives
- Transmission of financial shocks/contagion
- Regulation impedes innovation ?

Financial deepening

Promotes OR hinders?

- Relaxation of borrowing constraints
- Improved formal intermediation, monitoring, transaction services
- Unbalanced financial development
- Negative impact on local systems

Macrostability Growth

• More stability, less growth?

#### Questions we are discussing today

- What prevents financial depth in the first place?
  - Adverse selection, hidden states, moral hazard problems, limited commitment?
  - What is the role of political economy factors? Institutions?
  - Do we take these as given? If so, is there still room for efficiency gains?
- Consequences of credit/savings/payments expansion?
  - How beneficial is it for welfare? (taking into account the costs of building financial systems)
  - How do you promote financial access while preserving financial stability?
  - What are the policies that achieve the right balance?
  - How involved should the government, monetary authority, regulators be?
- Distributional effects of financial deepening?
  - Across categories of population, sectors

### Methods for Answering these Questions

Historical studies

- Reinhardt and Rogoff (2009), Schularick and Taylor (2012)
- Reduced-form studies (with identification)
  - Cross-country: King and Levine (1993), Rajan and Zingales (1998)
  - Within-country: Jayaratne and Strahan (1996), Guiso, Sapienza, Zingales (2004)
- Models
  - (Tell a story) Development, financial deepening and growth: Greenwood and Jovanovic (1990), Lloyd-Ellis and Bernhardt (2000), Acemoglu and Zilibotti (1997)
  - (Tell a story and provide reduced-form identification restrictions) Macro-stability and growth: Rancière, Tornell, Westermann (2008)
  - (Tell a story but can be calibrated and tested with micro data)

#### The model-based approach

- Financial Deepening, Macro-Stability and Growth: how do we achieve balance?
  - These are proximate targets
  - Welfare (efficiency, possibly distribution) is what should ultimately matter
  - General Equilibrium modeling with micro data allows us to judge policy based on well-defined welfare criteria

- Models
- Measurement
- Featuring General Equilibrium models with measured micro underpinnings
- Applications (with policy implications)
  - E-money
  - Credit
  - Insurance
  - Micro underpinnings and policy

### **Class of Widely Used Models**

- Contrast with "standard" macro general equilibrium models with only implicit micro financial underpinnings
- AGE: Applied General Equilibrium
  - To compute Walrasian outcome: Scarf (1967)
  - U.S. taxes on capital gains: Shoven and Whalley (1972, 1973)
- CGE: Computable General Equilibrium
  - Predecessor: Johansen (1960) (Monash, Australia and Cambridge, U.K.)
  - Reviews: Kehoe and Kehoe (1994); Dawkin, Srinivasan and Whalley (2001)
  - Applications: World Bank policy assessments, climate modeling
  - Measurement
    - Drawing on, integrated with, NIPA (HH, Firms, etc.), input/output matrix
  - Key underpinning: Complete markets or equivalent
    - What if not true ⇒ Separation of households/firms fail

#### DSGE: Dynamic Stochastic General Equilibrium

- RBC: Real Business Cycles. Kydland and Prescott (1982)
  - Review: Cooley (1995)
  - Measurement (drawing on NIPA)
- Key Underpinning: Gorman aggregation with complete markets
- Method does generalize
  - With Pareto weights: Negishi (1960)
- But what if as-if-complete-markets fail? Then separation fails
- Where is the financial modeling?

| Advantage                 | Disadvantage   |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| Lots of realistic sectors | Static         |
|                           | No uncertainty |

| Advantage | Disadvantage   |  |
|-----------|----------------|--|
| Dynamics  | Assumes        |  |
|           | representative |  |
|           | consumer       |  |
| Shocks    | No             |  |
|           | redistributive |  |
|           | wealth effects |  |

#### Continuing With the Contrast: Financial-Frictions "Augmented" DSGE Models

Persistence, Amplification, Monetary Phenomena, Credit Channel, Bank Lending Channel

- Bernanke and Gertler (1989, 1990); Bernanke, Gertler and Gilchrist (1998); Kiyotaki and Moore (1997); Christiano, Motto and Rostagno (2003)
- Surveys: Brunnermeier, Eisenbach and Sannikov (2012)
- Sweden: Jacobson, Linde and Roszbach (2005)

Application of CMR 2003 to Indian Economy, RBI





| Advantages  | Disadvantages  |
|---|--|
| Using more micro<br>data  | Still creating economic<br>actors not intending to<br>match to data      |
| Firm size data:<br>Influence of<br>development (Hsieh<br>and Klenow 2009) | Implicitly assuming separation   |
| Financial variables   | Households, separate<br>from firms, even with<br>financial imperfections |
| Bankruptcy  |  |

#### Applied General Equilibrium Development Economics : Using Measured Micro Underpinnings

- Background: Empirical relationship between finance and growth
  - Reduced form: King and Levine (1993); Levine (1997); Rajan and Zingales (1998); Beck, Demirguc-Kunt and Levine (2004)
- > Qualitative theory becomes quantitative, theories now estimated in data
  - Occupation choice, investment and credit
    - Lloyd-Ellis and Bernhardt (1993); Galor and Zeira (1993); Banerjee and Newman (1993); Aghion and Bolton (1997)
  - Risk sharing, insurance and endogenous financial deepening
    - Greenwood & Jovanovic (1990); Bencivenga and Smith (1991)

- Big wage effects on poverty reduction, wage more than doubles: Gine and Townsend (2004)
  - Endogenous TFP in transition 78%: Jeong and Townsend (2005)
- Cannot run regressions on transition data: Townsend and Ueda (2006)
- Welfare losses from government takeover of banking, up to 28% gain from liberalization: Townsend and Ueda (2010)
- Next wave of models: The literature takes off
  - Financial reforms and the persistence of history: Buera and Shin (2010), Peters (2012)
  - Distinguishing two sectors: Kaboski, Buera and Shin (2009)
  - Inequality and growth: Blaum (2012)
- Transient misallocations: Moll (2010); Banerjee and Moll (2010)
- Financial intermediation, technological progress and costly-state verification: Greenwood, Sanchez and Wang (2012)
- Private and public sectors, growing like China: Song, Storesletten and Zilibotti (2011)

#### Models

#### Measurement

- Featuring General Equilibrium models with measured micro underpinnings
- Applications (with policy implications)
  - E-money
  - Credit
  - Insurance
  - Micro underpinnings and policy

### Townsend Thai Project: Data From Regions, Villages/cities, 15 Year Panel

- Monthly survey: 180 months for selected villages
- Annual Rural Survey and Urban Survey: wider crosssection
  - In 2009, surveyed 3,184 households across 200 villages, towns and cities
  - New Enterprise Survey, including medium and large
  - (includes city neighborhoods, as in earlier work on Chicago ethnic neighborhoods)
- There are other data gathering projects: Mexico, Chile, ...
- Even one year of crosssectional data can be useful



### Measurement: From Local to Global







(High wealth in red)

(High wealth in red)

- Featuring other existing secondary data on GIS database archive with auto search
  - Here wealth from CDD, archive includes SES, Labor Force Survey, Population Survey, bank location, surveys of industry
  - These should be assembled for each country and easily available for analysis

Featuring villages surveyed monthly, (and others) with roads: Townsend Thai Project Advantage of additional surveys

#### Measure Micro and Build up, all with Standard NIPA

Use corporate financial accounting but apply to households: (households run enterprises and make high contribution to GDP )

- Income statement, balance sheet, cash flow
- Standard basis for NIPA and Flow of funds
- Can be applied to surveys more generally
- Paweenawat and Townsend (2012): using the language of international, crosscountry economics to think about villages (and regions) as open economies





#### Bringing Flow of Funds back into Macro Modeling

- Adjustment and equilibrium in asset demand and supply (or policy) equations
  - India: Green, Moore, Murinde and Suppakitjarak (2012) building on Brainard and Tobin (1968)
- VAR's distinguish firms, households in response to monetary shocks: Christiano, Eichenbaum and Evans (2006) - looking at particular financial instruments
  - Indonesia: Ridhwan, de Groot, Rietveld and Nijkamp (2011)
  - Thailand: Srivisal (in progress)
- Distribution within firm/sector, self-finance and dividends vs. borrowing firms:
  - Chari, Christiano and Kehoe (2008); Armenter and Hnatkovska (2011)
- CFSP projects underway: Researchers and policymakers in collaboration to measure and model.
  - Flow of funds in Thailand (NESDB), Mexico (CNBV), Brazil
  - But distinguish SME's from large corporations, urban vs. rural, geographic flows 0
  - Transactions outside formal banking system 0



Corners of

- Models
- Measurement
- Featuring General Equilibrium models with measured micro underpinnings
- Applications (with policy implications)
  - E-money
  - Credit
  - Insurance
  - Micro underpinnings and policy

#### How To Do Policy with General Equilibrium: Research Policy Algorithm

- Algorithm
  - Tests of benchmark standards (full or constrained-efficient)
  - If do not reject  $\Rightarrow$  leave it alone or build on this base
    - e.g., build formal/national on informal/village
  - If with obstacles to trade (constrained-efficient)
    - ⇒ reject full efficient
      - but accept constrained-efficient and leave it alone
    - $\Rightarrow$  or, alleviate constraints
      - collateral constraints ⇒ legal reforms might help
      - moral hazard constraint => possibility of more monitoring
- ► If distortion comes from ill-designed regulation ⇒ Fix the policy
- Not as unlikely as it might seem
  - Regulation can lack theoretical/empirical underpinnings
    - A patchwork to fix perceived problems or symptoms when things go wrong
    - Not based on fundamentals
- The Welfare Theorems
  - can apply in settings with private information, moral hazard, nonconvexities
  - Give guidance to optimal market/institutional design to fix externalities, adverse selection, collateral constraints
  - Or correct liquidity shortages via model-guided monetary policy.

- Models
- Measurement
- Featuring General Equilibrium models with measured micro underpinnings
- Applications (with policy implications)
  - E-money
  - Credit
  - Insurance
  - Micro underpinnings and policy

#### Application : Kenya, e-Money: Regulation and Monetary Policy in Economies Where Spatial Separation is Real and Matters

- Financial deepening with e-money causes economic growth
  - Wicksell (1935); Cass and Yaari (1966); Lucas (1980); Townsend (1983)
- Real bills vs. quantity theory, inside and outside money; inflation and growth are not appropriate welfare targets-
  - Townsend (1980); Sargent and Wallace (1982); Manuelli and Sargent (2009), Howitt (2003)
- Circulating private debt, liquidity but need for a coordinating device
  - Townsend and Wallace (1982)
- Models of settlement, limited market participation, monetary policy
  - Lucas (1990); Grossman and Weiss (1983); Rotemberg (1984); Romer (1987); Christiano and Eichenbaum (1992); Fuerst (1992); Lacker (1997); Perez-Verdia (2000)
  - Actual optimal liquidity management
  - Friedman and Schwartz (1963)
    - Interest rates and agricultural cycle in the U.S. prior to and need for Federal Reserve
  - Freeman (1996); Green (1999)



Jack, Suri and Townsend (2010)

- Models
- Measurement
- Featuring General Equilibrium models with measured micro underpinnings
- Applications (with policy implications)
  - E-money
  - Credit
  - Insurance
  - Micro underpinnings and policy

Tests of Credit, Savings, Investment, Rates of Return

- This is a test of financial intermediation
  - GE efficiency of entire economy our main theme
- Unlike consumption smoothing (see next), here there are dramatic failures
  - Certainly in Thai data
  - And failures robust to heterogeneity, geography, formal/informal institutions
- Benchmark standard
  - Equalizing rates of return on assets (better, estimated marginal product)
    - Literature review: Banerjee and Duflo (2005)
      - Persistence of (some) high rates of return
      - High dispersion in rates
      - Money is not flowing from low to high productivity firms

### Modeling Interventions with Imperfect Markets

- Kaboski and Townsend (2012, *Econometrica*)
- Studies the Thai Million Baht Village Fund program: in 2001/2002, each of 80,000 villages received the same amount (irrespective of size)
  Borrowing constraints loosened more for households in small villages
- Structural model to understand and evaluate the impact of this quasiexperimental microcredit intervention program
- Features buffer stock saving/borrowing, default, indivisible investment

Household ]

Household

- Heterogeneous impact:
  - Near default  $\Rightarrow$  consumption flat
  - Binding liquidity  $\Rightarrow$  consumption up
  - Near investment threshold ⇒ consumption drops
- Advantage of structural model:
  - Can quantify distribution of welfare gains
  - Can do counterfactual policies
- Example: model tells us the intervention was on average less cost– effective than a simpler transfer program

0.6

0.4

Project Size/

### Similar approaches, with U.S. focus

- Guerrieri and Lorenzoni (2012)
  - Study the impact of credit tightening in a financial crisis (with interest rate effects)



- These models can be used to study strategic consumer default: Chatterjee, Corbae, Nakajima, Rios-Rull (2007); Livshits, MacGee, Tertilt (2007)
  - CCKR: Introducing means-testing for households contemplating Chapter 7 filing yields large welfare gains
- Wealth distribution and international capital flows: Mendoza, Quadrini and Rios-Rull (2009)
  - Assess the impact of financial liberalization between countries that have different initial levels of financial development

- Models
- Measurement
- Featuring General Equilibrium models with measured micro underpinnings
- Applications (with policy implications)
  - E-money
  - Credit
  - Insurance
  - Micro underpinnings and policy

### **Tests of Insurance : Financial Access**

- Test of benchmark standard- idiosyncratic/pooled vs aggregate risk shared
- Geography: Key building block

- Individual vs. household vs. village, region, nation, cross-countries
  - Kenya: Suri (2011); Cote d'Ivoire; Deaton (1990); Pakistan: Rashid (1990)
  - Thailand: Paweenawat and Townsend (2012) and Kilenthong, Phongthiengtham and Townsend (in progress)
- Battery of tests all in one country: Needed, become part of policy toolkit
  - Shocks
    - Rainfall: Paxson (1992); Rubber: Townsend and Vickery (2004)
  - "Macro markets: Creating institutions to manage society, greatest economic risks" Shiller (1995)
    - But what is really missing? Need these micro tests!
- A priori targeting, financial access vs. theory/data tests
  - Within village but poor with family  $\Rightarrow$  do well
  - Across village still quite good ⇒ remittances and rainfall
  - Despite safety net literature, groups not actually vulnerable  $\Rightarrow$  female, elderly: Alem and Townsend (2008)
  - Rainfall insurance: Gine (2010); Cole, Gine, Tobacman, Topalova, Townsend and Vickery (2012)
    - Take up is mixed: Lack of underlying test of benchmarks haunts the discussion

#### Evaluation of Existing Institutions: Formal and Informal

- Formal Institutions: Alem and Townsend (2012)
  - Joint tests, consumption, cash flow, investment
  - Score card for formal institutions
    - commercial banks, BAAC, credit cooperatives
  - Not what is done in "international best practice"
- BAAC risk contingency systems, part of operating system, misdiagnosed in Asia crisis
  - inappropriate capital adequacy ratios (Townsend and Yaron 2001)
- Informal networks: Hot topic, rightly so
- Interaction of formal/informal: Gine (2001), Mobarak and Rosenzweig (2012), Kinnan and Townsend (2010)
  - Indirect connection is as good as direct
  - Those not connected at all ⇒ shown to be much more vulnerable
    - Difference between consumption and investment
    - Modeling investment requires kinship, penalties for reneging



Networks: Measured Connections Across Households and with Outside Financial Institutions (Kinnan-Townsend, 2010)

#### Managing Risk: Implications from General Equilibrium

- Insuring aggregate shocks can be damaging to most risk tolerant who were providing insurance to others
  - Chiappori, Samphantharak, Schulhofer-Wohl and Townsend (2012)
- Shadow banking in developing countries
  - Good to have indirect connection
    - financial access
  - Bad to allow re-trade
    - externalities, stability issues
- Need to put the two together
  - ⇒ new directions
  - Shadow banking (macro) meets risk sharing (micro)
  - Joint liability loans: Default rates will increase or decrease with interest rates or loan size, depending on which model captures reality best=
  - Ahlin and Townsend (2007)
- Cooperative or competitive behavior will vary over time and with the level of wealth and inequality among participants (Madeira and Townsend (2008))



- Models
- Measurement
- Featuring General Equilibrium models with measured micro underpinnings
- Applications (with policy implications)
  - E-money
  - Credit
  - Insurance
  - Micro underpinnings and policy

#### Micro Underpinnings Matter for Policy

- Tests of financial regimes: Karaivanov and Townsend (2011)
- Behavior of Financial Service Providers Assunção, Mityakov and Townsend (2011), Townsend and Zhorin (in progress)
  - Inefficient equilibria?
  - Distributional consequences
- Moll, Townsend and Zhorin (2012)
  - Urban vs. rural, moral hazard vs. limited commitment
  - Matters for aggregate TFP, etc.
  - Variables are not convex combos
  - Direct and indirect, general equilibrium effects

|                 | First-Best | Moral<br>Hazard | Limited<br>Comm. | Mixed MH–LC<br>Regime |
|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| GDP             | 1          | 0.582           | 0.614            | 0.684                 |
| TFP             | 1          | 0.704           | 0.720            | 0.760                 |
| Capital Stock   | 1          | 0.533           | 0.623            | 0.676                 |
| Wage            | 1          | 0.583           | 0.641            | 0.663                 |
| Interest Rate   | 0.007      | -0.046          | 0.006            | -0.010                |
| % Entrepreneurs | 0.089      | 0.170           | 0.133            | 0.133 0.118           |



## Conclusion

- Important questions raised by the conference
- Benefits of general equilibrium modeling with measured explicit micro underpinnings
  - Possibility of conducting counterfactual policy experiments
  - Welfare analysis efficiency and distribution
  - Finding the "financial possibility frontier" amounts to finding the constrained-efficient allocations respecting the economic environment with real obstacles taken into account

#### Clear operational agenda

- For measurement in surveys and improved flow of funds
- For tests using benchmark standards
- for the construction of models using existing data