

# Fracking, farmers, and rural electrification in India\*

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## Abstract

Is large-scale electrification necessary for the structural transformation of rural economies? We combine two natural experiments in India within a regression discontinuity design to shed light on this question. Most of the world's guar, a crop that yields a potent thickening agent used during hydraulic fracturing ("fracking"), is grown in northwestern India. In response to the United States' fracking boom, Indian guar prices increased by nearly 1,000 percent. Leveraging population-based discontinuities in the contemporaneous roll-out of India's massive rural electrification scheme, we show that access to electricity significantly increased non-agricultural employment in villages located in India's booming guar belt. In contrast, electrification had no discernible impact on labor-market outcomes in villages in the rest of the country. The growth of non-farm work is partly driven by the rise of electricity-intensive firms that complement agricultural production. Electrification alone is typically not sufficient to deliver economic benefits but it may be necessary to enable households and firms to respond to rapidly changing economic contexts in welfare-enhancing ways.

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# 1 Introduction

Over a billion people worldwide lack access to electricity, and many more are served by unreliable systems capable of supporting little more than a light bulb. The belief that access to reliable electricity catalyzes job creation and economic growth—reflected in the inclusion of energy access targets as part of the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals—has thrust energy to the fore of development policy (United Nations, 2018). Indeed, governments and international organizations alike are mobilizing considerable resources to ensure access for all. According to the International Energy Agency (2011), over \$9 billion was spent in 2009 to extend modern energy services to underserved populations, a figure that it estimates must rise to over \$48 billion per year by 2030 in order to achieve universal access. Yet the evidence on the impacts of such efforts remains mixed. Dinkelman (2011) and Lipscomb et al. (2013), for instance, identify large positive effects on employment as a result of rural electrification in South Africa and Brazil, respectively. Burlig and Preonas (2016), on the other hand, find that the effects of rural electrification on labor-market outcomes in India are far more muted. Others have uncovered similarly lackluster impacts in the African context (Bernard and Torero, 2015; Lenz et al., 2017).<sup>1</sup>

This lack of consensus surrounding the benefits of grid expansion highlights both a significant knowledge gap and a critical policy challenge. Indeed, the world’s poor are constrained by far more than a lack of access to modern energy services (Banerjee and Duflo, 2007), and there may be profound opportunity costs associated with large-scale investments in energy infrastructure in low- and middle-income settings. India alone is home to nearly 250 million people living without electricity (International Energy Agency, 2015). If electrification by way of resource-intensive grid expansion is foundational in promoting livelihoods among unconnected populations, it represents a necessary first step for development policy. If, on the other hand, expected benefits are highly uncertain—or, worse, illusory—scarce public resources are better targeted elsewhere, and cost-effective approaches that enhance access to only rudimentary energy services (such as basic lighting) may be more appropriate (Grimm et al., 2017).

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<sup>1</sup>In a recent review of the empirical literature, Bonan et al. (2017) note that the current evidence on the impacts of electrification on adults’ time allocation and labor activities suggests “mild increases in employment and labor supply, particularly for women, non-agricultural activities and more formal activities” but that the magnitude of such effects “varies significantly across studies and geographical areas.”

Is large-scale electrification necessary for the structural transformation of rural economies? We exploit the interaction of two natural experiments in India to shed light on this question. As the hydraulic fracturing (“fracking”) boom began in the United States, it induced a parallel commodity boom in India in the production of an otherwise obscure crop called guar in India. Guar provides a key input into the fracking process and is primarily grown in the semi-arid northwestern tracts of the country by small and marginal farmers (Rai, 2015). Between 2006 and 2011, its price increased by over 1,000 percent, resulting in a large exogenous shock to rural economies in the region. Almost simultaneously, India began rolling out its massive rural electrification scheme, which aimed to electrify approximately 400,000 villages across 27 states. It prioritized villages for electrification on the basis of a strict population-based threshold, giving rise to discontinuous changes in a village’s probability of being electrified. We combine these two natural experiments within a regression discontinuity design to evaluate how the causal effect of electrification on labor-market outcomes varies with exogenous changes in economic contexts.

First, we show that electrification increased non-agricultural employment in villages located in India’s guar belt by approximately six percentage points (seventy percent). In these same villages, electrification reduced agricultural employment by a corresponding amount, representing a reduction of approximately twenty percent. This is particularly notable given the fact that this region—spread across three states in northwestern India—was in the grip of an unprecedented agricultural boom. We next highlight potential mechanisms by providing suggestive evidence that these labor-market dynamics are driven by the rise of complementary non-agricultural opportunities. An increase in guar production necessitates a shift in the labor force towards processing, which is made possible by new electricity connections. Simultaneously, increased wages and agricultural profits from both the production boom and new processing opportunities can be reinvested in household enterprises, which may also benefit from electricity connections. Consistent with this, we uncover a large increase in (i) the number of workers at firms related to the industrial (electricity-intensive) parts of the guar production chain (such as guar processing); and (ii) home production of income-generating products in electrified guar-growing regions. Finally, we find no discernible evidence of any effect of electrification on these labor-market outcomes in villages or regions located in the rest of India, suggesting that complementary economic conditions play a crucial role in driving the impacts of large-scale electrification infrastructure.

In so doing, we revisit work by [Burlig and Preonas \(2016\)](#), who conduct the first large-scale impact evaluation of India’s rural electrification scheme. They show that the program increased electrification rates, but also demonstrate that its impacts on a wide range of socioeconomic outcomes (including those related to the rural labor market) are precisely estimated null results.<sup>2</sup> Our results from non-guar regions of India—using an empirical strategy that follows their own—are consistent with these earlier findings. Using the exogenous shock to economic activity generated by the guar boom, however, also allows us to respond to some of the questions that emerge from this prior body of work and shed light on important drivers of heterogeneity.

Our study, thus, makes three key contributions. First, our results highlight how grid-scale electrification can support potentially welfare-enhancing structural change in the rural economy. Access to electricity alone cannot deliver economic and social welfare, as has been demonstrated a number of times in the literature. That electrification significantly enhances non-agricultural employment in boom areas suggests, however, that it may be necessary to fully exploit the opportunities presented by rapidly changing economic contexts.

Second, our findings highlight that the impacts of large-scale investments in grid electrification are crucially tied to local economic contexts, opportunity and potential. For instance, electricity from the grid may enable local industrial production of certain goods, yet this may make little difference in the short run if complementary factors—such as demand for these locally produced goods, a trained labor force to meet that demand, and rural roads that enable access to markets—are not also in place. If they are, however, grid-scale electricity may considerably expand how firms and households take advantage of economic opportunities to generate income and enhance welfare. Prior research—which typically estimates the “average treatment effect” of such investments as part of national rural electrification programs—implicitly neglects these context-specific factors.<sup>3</sup> While the particular agricultural boom we study is clearly unique to our setting, it—in combination with the roll-out of rural electrification—gives us an opportunity to investigate how electrified villages in boom and non-boom areas perform relative to unelectrified villages in the same regions.

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<sup>2</sup>Results from a randomized controlled trial in Kenya by [Lee et al. \(2018\)](#) echo these findings.

<sup>3</sup>This, we contend, is one reason we observe mixed evidence from settings as diverse as Bhutan, Brazil and Vietnam ([Khandker et al., 2013](#); [Lipscomb et al., 2013](#); [Litzow et al., 2017](#)). In addition, many national rural electrification schemes are grounded in an obligation—either perceived or real—to ensure universal access to electricity ([Tully, 2006](#)). While certainly aligned with broader equity goals, it is not immediately clear that such rights-based approaches are necessarily designed to maximize economic outcomes. That short- or medium-term impact evaluations of such efforts over large spatial scales may yield null results is unsurprising.

Insofar as the economic promise or potential of certain areas can be accurately assessed, the insights we generate can be used to inform spatial targeting of resource-intensive infrastructure by allowing policymakers to better gauge cost-benefit trade-offs, and choose appropriate grid-based and off-grid energy solutions for different contexts.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, from a methodological perspective, our study is part of a growing body of work that adopts a rigorous approach to understanding treatment-effect heterogeneity in the real world.<sup>5</sup> That the same intervention can have different impacts in superficially similar settings points to the importance of context-dependence; learning about what these contextual factors are is crucial to learning from these impact evaluations (Vivalt, 2015). Where a sufficiently large number of studies have been conducted, rigorous meta-analyses can shed light on underlying drivers of effectiveness. In most other cases, however, such efforts are typically restricted to relatively crude subgroup analyses, involving interactions of endogenous binary variables representing various subgroups of interest with the main treatment-effect parameter. Our quasi-experimental setting—the combination of an exogenous shock to economic activity with quasi-experimental variation in access to electricity within a regression discontinuity design—provides the first opportunity to study the heterogeneous effects of access to electricity over large spatial scales in a real-world setting.

This rest of this paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we provide background on our two natural experiments. Section 3 highlights our conceptual framework, and discusses our identification strategies. Section 4 describes our data. Section 5 reports impacts on the first set of outcomes, the size and composition of the rural labor force. Section 6 reports impacts from additional analyses to uncover mechanisms related to the growth of firms. Section 7 summarizes results, and discusses policy implications and avenues for future research.

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<sup>4</sup>We emphasize that there may be other channels driving heterogeneity in the benefits generated by large-scale infrastructure projects, such as institutions or access to markets. We believe this is a promising avenue for future research.

<sup>5</sup>In its use of multiple sources of exogenous variation in real-world settings, our study is related to Duque et al. (2018), who examine how early-life exposure to adverse weather shocks (that reduce children’s initial skills) in Colombia interacts with the introduction of conditional cash transfers (that promote investments in children’s health and education) to influence long-term outcomes. It is also similar to Wysokinska (2017), who studies the determinants of long-run development by similarly examining the interplay between plausibly exogenous variation in institutional and cultural factors in Poland.

## 2 Background

In this section, we first describe India's rural electrification scheme. We then provide a basic overview of hydraulic fracturing ("fracking"). Finally, we discuss guar production in India and, in particular, how it responded to the fracking boom in the United States.

### 2.1 Rural electrification

Rural electrification in India has a checkered past. In 1947, newly independent India had only 1,500 electrified villages, and progress on rural electrification remained slow well into the late 1960s (Banerjee et al., 2014, p. 35). The country's initial electrification efforts focused primarily on urban and peri-urban areas. Severe droughts and food shortages in the early 1960s brought rural electrification into the spotlight, yet subsequent policies prioritized productive uses over household access, and primarily aimed to increase access to electricity for irrigation. Rural household access finally emerged as a key priority area in the late 1970s, and has since featured prominently in India's successive Five-Year Plans. The growing recognition of the role of electrification in rural development—coupled with the existence of multiple national- and state-level electrification agencies with overlapping responsibilities—gave rise to a number of schemes over the decades.<sup>6</sup> The Rajiv Gandhi Grameen Vidyutikaran Yojana (RGGVY), launched in 2005, subsumed all existing grid-related rural electrification initiatives.

RGGVY was charged with enhancing access to electricity in over 100,000 unelectrified and 300,000 "partially electrified" villages across 27 Indian states. It aimed to do so primarily by installing and upgrading electricity infrastructure (namely, transmission and distribution lines, and transformers) to support commercial and productive activities in growing rural economies. These included electric irrigation pumps, education and health-care facilities, and small and medium enterprises. In addition to its focus on electricity infrastructure, RGGVY also extended free grid connections to rural households below the poverty line; households above the poverty line could

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<sup>6</sup>For instance, the Kutir Jyoti Yojana was launched in the late 1980s to increase access to electric lighting for households below the poverty line; the Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana, launched in 2001, extended financing to states to enhance access to public services, including electrification, in rural areas; the Remote Village Electrification program, launched in 2002, aimed to provide lighting to remote villages using solar photovoltaics and other off-grid energy technologies; and the country's Minimum Needs Program was updated in 2002 to extend financing for rural electrification to states that were seen to be performing especially poorly (Banerjee et al., 2014, p. 37-38).

purchase connections.<sup>7</sup> Both groups remained responsible for their own power use as RGGVY did not subsidize electricity consumption.

Although a national program that was largely funded by India’s federal government, RGGVY was implemented in practice through decentralized district-level projects overseen by local implementing agencies (such as the State Electricity Board).<sup>8</sup> Electrification under RGGVY proceeded in two steps. First, to qualify for RGGVY funds, the local implementing agency prepared a Detailed Project Report (DPR) for the district in question. The DPR outlined in detail the electrification-related infrastructure needs of the district, the number of households expected to be connected to the grid, and expected project costs. It also identified the set of villages eligible for electrification under RGGVY. These DPRs were reviewed and approved by India’s Rural Electrification Corporation as well as its Ministry of Power before disbursement of funds. Once approved, district-level implementation commenced in line with the village-by-village plan outlined in the DPR.

[Figure 1 about here.]

Districts were allocated to India’s Tenth (2002-2007) and Eleventh (2007-2012) Five-Year Plans for funding based on the order in which DPRs were submitted and approved. We refer to these as “RGGVY Phase I” and “RGGVY Phase II” districts, respectively, and identify these districts using state-level five-year-plan progress reports for RGGVY.<sup>9</sup> To keep program costs low, during Phase I, villages containing at least one habitation (a geographically distinct sub-village cluster of households) with a population of 300 or more were eligible to be electrified. Approximately 178,000 villages across 234 Phase I districts in 25 states (as per 2011 administrative boundaries) fit this criterion. Nearly all funds associated with Phase I districts had been disbursed between 2005 and 2008, while funding for Phase II districts—for which the RGGVY eligibility threshold

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<sup>7</sup>According to the [Ministry of Power \(2006\)](#), RGGVY’s primary mandate included the (i) provision of electricity sub-stations and transmission lines of adequate capacity to establish a “rural electricity distribution backbone;” (ii) electrification of unelectrified villages, including provision of distribution transformers of appropriate capacity; (iii) establishment decentralized distributed generation and supply in a subset of villages where grid connectivity is infeasible or not cost effective; and (iv) provision of household-level connections for households below the poverty line.

<sup>8</sup>An Indian district is administratively analogous to a county in the United States.

<sup>9</sup>For each state, these reports—entitled “Report C-Physical & Financial Progress of RGGVY Projects Under Implementation (Plan-wise)”—list the district name and DPR code, the name of the district-level local implementing agency, details about the financial scope and progress of the project (such as project approval date, total sanctioned amount, and the amount released so far), as well as the scope and progress of electrification (in terms of village- and household-level electrification targets). These reports are available via the website of the Deendayal Updhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojana (DDUGJY)—into which RGGVY was ultimately subsumed—at <http://www.ddugjy.gov.in/>.

was reduced to 100—was disbursed between 2008 and 2011. In this paper, we specifically focus on Phase I districts (shown in Figure 1) as village-level electrification in these districts had been completed well in advance of the release of the 2011 round of the Indian Census, one of our main data sources.<sup>10</sup>

## 2.2 Fracking

Hydraulic fracturing (“fracking”) is the process by which fracking fluid (a mixture of mostly water, granular “proppants” such as sand, and chemicals) is injected into crude oil and natural gas wellbores at high pressures to create small cracks (fractures) in the underlying rock formation. While not an entirely new approach, recent technological refinements—and, in particular, fracking in combination with horizontal drilling—have considerably increased the effectiveness of the process and transformed the energy landscape in the United States.<sup>11</sup>

[Figure 2 about here.]

Figure 2 provides an overview of natural gas (panel *a*) and oil (panel *b*) production from fracked and “conventional” wells in the United States between 2000 and 2015. In 2000, fracked wells produced 3.6 billion cubic feet per day of marketed gas, less than seven percent of the United States’ total. Starting in approximately 2005, the industry grew rapidly. By 2015, fracked wells produced around 67 percent of the country’s total natural gas. Oil production underwent a similarly momentous shift, albeit slightly later. In 2000, fracked wells yielded less than two percent of the national total. Following a period of growth that began around 2009, approximately half of the United States’ total oil output could be traced back to a fracked well in 2015.

A typical “frac job” is preceded by a vertical drill to a depth of around 1,000–5,000 meters, depending on the geophysical characteristics of the shale formation being explored. Upon reaching the desired depth, the well is then drilled horizontally, allowing for greater access to the shale

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<sup>10</sup>Indeed, because enumeration for the 2011 Census began in April 2010, villages electrified as part of RGGVY Phase II would have been only captured inconsistently during Census survey activities. In addition, they would have been electrified for a considerably shorter period of time.

<sup>11</sup>Compared to conventional (vertical) wells, horizontal wells can typically access greater reserves, and are two to five times more productive (Joshi, 2003). This can lead to considerable cost savings in the long run, despite higher initial drilling costs. Orr (2016) notes that “[a]lthough hydraulic fracturing and horizontal drilling had been used separately to stimulate production at conventional wells since 1947 and 1929, respectively, the combination of these methods has enabled scientists to extract oil and gas trapped in impermeable source rocks such as shale, well-cemented sandstone, and coal bed methane deposits once considered too costly to develop.”

formation. Once drilling is complete, fracking fluid is injected at high pressures into the drill site to induce fractures in the formation. Reductions in pressure following the initial injections cause fluids in the well to return to the surface as “flowback.” As production continues, the amount of flowback returning to the surface gradually decreases and the amount of oil or gas increases.

Fracking fluid consists almost entirely of water and proppants; the remaining elements usually include various chemicals that serve, among other things, as gelling agents, corrosion inhibitors, friction reducers, clay controls, and biocides (Tollefson, 2013). Of these chemicals, the gelling agent—which increases the viscosity (thickness) of fracking fluid—comprises the largest share. Its use confers two important advantages. First, viscous fluids enable better control of leak-off into the surrounding rock formation, reducing the amount of fracking fluid needed for a given frac job (Barati and Liang, 2014). Second, viscous fluids are more effective at suspending sand and other granular proppants and carrying them deep into the wellbore (Bellarby, 2009). These proppants prevent fractures induced in the rock by high-pressure pumping from closing down completely once the pressure has fallen. These partially open fractures are the passageways through which oil and gas flow out of rocks and into the well.

No particular combination of ingredients is perfect, and operators often face trade-offs.<sup>12</sup> For this reason, experimentation with the specific mix of chemicals used is rife (Fetter, 2018; Fetter et al., 2018). Yet despite operators’ readiness to modify the make-up of fracking fluid, guar gum—a powdery substance derived from the bean of the guar plant—is the industry’s most widely used gelling agent. Indeed, between 25-50 percent of all fracking operations rely on guar gum, making it “at least two to three times preferred over synthetic [alternatives]” (Elsner and Hoelzer, 2016). This is unsurprising; guar gum is uniquely effective at its job. It can alter the viscosity of fracking fluid by more than two orders of magnitude under certain conditions (Tapscott, 2015). In addition, whereas other natural gums require prolonged cooking, guar gum attains its full viscosity potential in cold water, and is effective even at relatively dilute concentrations (Thombare et al., 2016). Its viscosity potential also remains relatively stable over changes in temperature, and in the acidity or basicity of the solution in which it is mixed (Chudzikowski, 1971). Despite considerable efforts by major chemical companies in recent years, a synthetic alternative that is as effective as guar gum

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<sup>12</sup>For instance, although more viscous fluids are better able to suspend proppants, they are less “pumpable” and require more energy to be pumped at sufficiently high rates.

for high-viscosity fracking is yet to be developed ([Beckwith, 2012](#)).

### 2.3 Guar and guar gum

Guar (*Cyamopsis tetragonoloba*) is a drought-resistant legume that is primarily cultivated in the semi-arid northwestern tracts of the Indian subcontinent ([Kuravadi et al., 2013](#)). It can tolerate relatively high temperatures and requires only sparse but regular rainfall, which makes the rain patterns associated with the monsoon in this region ideal for cultivation ([Mudgil et al., 2011](#)). Guar—whose name is derived from the Sanskrit term for “cow food”—has traditionally been cultivated as both fodder and a vegetable crop. It grows well in many different types of soil, and its nitrogen-fixing potential combined with its relatively short planting season also make it an excellent soil-improving crop that fits conveniently within farmers’ crop-rotation cycles.<sup>13</sup>

Guar gum (sometimes also called guar flour) is obtained from the endosperm of guar seeds in two distinct energy-intensive steps ([Chudzikowski, 1971](#)). Guar seeds are first exposed to a rapid flame treatment, which loosens the hard seed hull (outer shell), which is removed in a scouring or “pearling” operation. The glassy endosperm that this process exposes is then separated from the germ in a milling operation. The resulting guar “splits” can be ground to various levels of fineness to obtain guar gum in powder form. This powder is sometimes further processed and combined with additional chemicals to obtain industry-specific derivatives.

India accounts for approximately eighty percent of global production, making it by far the world’s largest producer of guar ([National Rainfed Area Authority, 2014](#)).<sup>14</sup> The country occupies a similarly dominant role in the global trade of guar derivatives. Within India, guar is almost exclusively produced in the northwestern part of the country. The state of Rajasthan—which, in 2013-14, was home to nearly ninety percent of India’s total area under guar cultivation, and eighty percent of its production—is the epicenter of this industry. Other important producers include Haryana and Gujarat, which—together with Rajasthan—comprise nearly all of the total area under guar cultivation in India. At the level of the farmer, however, guar cultivation in India is relatively decentralized, and the crop is grown by thousands of small and marginal farmers. While precise data on agricultural practices are unavailable, industry experts also believe most

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<sup>13</sup>Like other legumes, the roots of the guar plant contain nodules inhabited by nitrogen-fixing bacteria, and crop residues—when plowed under—can improve soil fertility and the yield of subsequent crops ([Undersander et al., 1991](#)).

<sup>14</sup>Pakistan, the next largest producer, is responsible for approximately fifteen percent of global production.

guar cultivation is rainfed, and farmers have typically planted it as a secondary or tertiary crop on small subsistence-level plots of land (Beckwith, 2012).

Nearly all of India’s guar is processed domestically, and the country’s guar-processing industry dates back to the late 1950s. Indeed, the widespread use of guar gum in the petroleum industry is a relatively recent phenomenon.<sup>15</sup> In addition to its oil and gas applications, guar gum has long been used in a variety of industries, including as a food additive, thickener of cosmetics/toiletries such as toothpaste, and waterproofing agent for explosives (Thombare et al., 2016).

[Figure 3 about here.]

Nevertheless, the unprecedented growth of fracking in the United States in recent years has resulted in an equally unprecedented expansion in guar production in India.<sup>16</sup> Figure 3 shows trends in India’s global guar gum exports—by total weight and as a share of global trade value—between 2001 and 2015. At the beginning of this period, the value of India’s guar gum exports comprised approximately 35 percent of the global trade in guar gum. This share began to rise starting in 2004-05 as shale-gas exploration became increasingly feasible in the United States. It spiked sharply starting in 2009-10 corresponding to the rise in the use of fracking in oil production. At the height of the boom, nearly ninety percent of the global trade in guar gum (by value) originated in India. The total weight of India’s guar gum exports follows a similar pattern, except for a drop in 2009-10 on account of drought conditions in northwestern India (Rai, 2015). Because we rely on data from the 2001 and 2011 rounds of the Indian Census, our main analyses focus on the pre-2011 part of this boom.

### 3 Conceptual framework and empirical strategy

In this section, we collect three main hypotheses that connect access to electricity with household-level labor supply. We use these to develop a simple model of household time allocation. We

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<sup>15</sup>The Department of Agriculture first introduced guar to the United States in 1903 to investigate its potential as a soil-improving legume and as emergency cattle feed. These initial experiments appear to have been disappointing, and the crop fell into relative obscurity until World War II. Spurred on by the sudden unavailability of a thickening agent derived from the locust bean (*Ceratonia siliqua*)—which, until then, had been imported from the Mediterranean region—a search for domestically available alternatives for the paper industry ultimately unveiled the potential of guar (Hymowitz, 1972).

<sup>16</sup>Indeed, as we show in Appendix A using an application of the synthetic control approach to two decades of village-level nighttime luminosity data from India, the start of the fracking boom in the United States led to large increases in economic activity across the guar-growing regions of northwestern India.

then describe our regression discontinuity and difference-in-differences empirical strategies, and comment on the identifying assumptions implicit in each.

### 3.1 Electrification and labor supply

There are a number of pathways through which electrification can modify households' labor-supply decisions. One popular argument relates to the time burden imposed by home production activities, such as collecting and preparing traditional fuels for cooking and heating. If electricity can be used for these purposes instead, it frees up household members' time for engaging in market activities.<sup>17</sup> In practice, exclusive reliance on electricity for cooking is relatively uncommon in low- and middle-income countries, and use of traditional fuels such as firewood is widespread, including among electrified households (Barron and Torero, 2017; Pattanayak et al., 2016; Thom, 2000). In India, for instance, 66 percent of all households use biomass-based fuels for cooking (Adair-Rohani et al., 2016). In such settings, access to electricity is unlikely to significantly influence households' time allocation in this way.

Another prominent argument relates to the provision of lighting and its effect on total working hours. If electric lighting can enable households to allocate domestic activities that require good lighting to evening hours, daylight time can be allocated to activities that generate income. Yet this hypothesis also faces a number of limitations. Households in many rural areas have already transitioned away from low-quality kerosene lighting to relatively high-quality electric lamps powered by small-scale batteries (Bensch et al., 2017). The additional benefits of electric lighting delivered by the grid in such settings are unlikely to be large. More fundamentally, an increase in the total number of well-lit hours may simply lead to an increase in the time households dedicate to leisure activities (Pereira et al., 2011).<sup>18</sup>

A third channel—and one that is the focus of our paper—relates to the productive potential of domestic and income-generating activities that the household can conduct. Specifically, electrification may considerably increase the productivity of domestic or income-generating activities that

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<sup>17</sup>The burden of such household activities in the developing world falls almost entirely on women and girls. For this reason, access to modern energy services (including electricity) is also often promoted as contributing to women's empowerment (O'Dell et al., 2014).

<sup>18</sup>All else constant, an increase in the total number of hours available to households can unambiguously increase time dedicated to leisure. This is because additional hours need not lead to more time allocated to market-based activities (i.e., a "substitution effect") unless also accompanied by a change in the opportunity cost of leisure (e.g., the market wage rate).

do not necessarily require electricity, such as water collection or sewing. It may also enable new opportunities to engage in activities that were previously not possible, such as soldering/metal-working or industrial production. Together, these can (i) yield time savings, which can be allocated to income-generating activities; and (ii) influence the market wage rate that the household faces, which changes the opportunity cost of not participating in income-generating activities. Depending on the magnitude of these effects, households may reduce the amount of time allocated to leisure, and increase that allocated to home- or market-based activities.<sup>19</sup> Conditional on already being engaged in income generation, households may also reallocate hours to new types of work.

More formally, such changes in individuals' productive potential can be captured in an application of the basic home-production and household time-allocation model (Gronau, 1977). In this framework, the representative individual in household  $i$  obtains utility from consumption ( $c_i$ ) and leisure ( $t_i^l$ ). Consumption is generated through a home-production function:

$$c_i = c \left( t_i^h, x_i, v_i; \psi_i \right) \quad (1)$$

where  $t_i^h$  is the time allocated to home-based work;  $x_i$  is a numeraire input to home production that is purchased in the market; and  $v_i$  is non-labor income. In addition,  $\psi_i$  represents a production productivity parameter. It is, in turn, determined by a productivity production function given by

$$\psi_i = f \left( \eta_i, \epsilon_i, \gamma \right) \quad (2)$$

where  $\eta_i$  represents the household's electrification status on a continuous scale, thus capturing both basic access and quality. Productivity is also determined by household- and community-level unobserved factors, represented by  $\epsilon_i$  and  $\gamma$ , respectively. For instance, households' stock of education and health can drive the labor productivity of its members. Community-level characteristics—such as weather, institutions, and, in particular, differences in local or regional economic conditions—can play a similar role.

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<sup>19</sup>We use "leisure" here to mean time not spent engaged in consumption- or income-generating activities at home or in the market.

The problem of the household's representative individual is then given by

$$\max_{c_i, t_i^l} u_i = u(c_i, t_i^l; \psi_i) \quad (3)$$

subject to time and budget constraints, given by

$$t_i^m + t_i^h + t_i^l \leq T \quad (4)$$

and

$$x_i \leq w_i t_i^m + v_i, \quad (5)$$

where  $t_i^m$  is the time allocated to market-based work;  $T$  is the total time endowment; and  $w_i$  is the market wage. Equations (4) and (5) together yield the household's full-income constraint:

$$w_i T + v_i = x_i + w_i (t_i^h + t_i^l). \quad (6)$$

The Lagrangian associated with the household's problem is as follows:

$$\max_{c_i, l_i} \mathcal{L} = u(c_i, x_i, v_i; \psi_i) + \lambda (w_i T + v_i - x_i - w_i (t_i^h + t_i^l)). \quad (7)$$

As shown in Appendix B, the first-order conditions associated with the household's problem in Equation (7) equate the marginal rate of substitution between leisure and consumption with (i) the shadow value of home production; and (ii) the shadow value of market-based activities. Solving this system of equations yields a set of expressions for the household's optimum time allocation:

$$t_i^{j*} = f_j(w_i, v_i; \psi) \quad (8)$$

for  $j = h, l, m$ .

We look to investigate how changes in the household's access to electricity ( $\eta_i$ ) interact with community-level factors ( $\gamma$ ) to influence the household's productive potential ( $\psi_i$ ) and ultimately determine the time it allocates to home production, leisure, and market-based activities. Specifically, by exploiting exogenous variation in levels of economic activity across guar- and non-guar-growing

regions of India, we aim to shed light on how and why differences in the impacts of access to electricity can emerge.

There are at least two reasons why our model does not offer a clear answer to this question. First, even if we assume that an improvement in the household's access to electricity increases its productivity potential (i.e.,  $\psi'_{i,\eta} > 0$  and  $\psi''_{i,\eta} < 0$ ), additional assumptions are necessary about the exact shape of the home-production function in Equation (1) to predict how changes in  $\psi$  as a result of simultaneous changes in electrification and community-level characteristics influence time allocation. Second, even with such assumptions in place, variation in household-level preferences over labor and leisure—the shape of the household utility function—may give rise to counteracting income and substitution effects. Indeed, an increase in its productive potential may ultimately induce a household to allocate *less* time to income-generating activities.

This ambiguity is further compounded by the role household-level characteristics ( $\epsilon_i$ ) can play. The household's opportunity cost of leisure is determined by a variety of factors, such as its stock of education and health, the liquidity or credit constraints it faces, or its “entrepreneurial spirit.” Thus, how the impacts of electrification on labor-market outcomes vary with economic conditions is ultimately a question that can be best answered with data. Our study setting allows us a unique opportunity to address this question.

### 3.2 Regression discontinuity design

A comparison of labor-market outcomes in electrified villages located in guar-growing districts before and after electrification is unlikely to yield a causal estimate of the impact of electrification in the presence of high levels of economic opportunity for three reasons.<sup>20</sup> First, this approach lacks a suitable “non-boom” control. Second, it neglects heterogeneity within the set of electrified villages. Among other things, the largest electrified villages are also likely to have better access to schools and health facilities, both of which can directly influence labor-force productivity. Finally, this approach fails to account for changes in other factors over the course of the decade—such as the launch of India's massive rural workfare program in 2006—that can act as confounders. A cross-sectional comparison of guar-growing electrified villages with electrified villages in non-guar-growing regions would yield similarly unreliable estimates. Indeed, most guar-growing districts

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<sup>20</sup>We describe how we identify India's guar-growing districts in Section 4.1.

are located in Rajasthan, which, despite the recent boom, remains one of India's poorest states. A simple *ex post* comparison of guar-growing electrified villages with those in relatively wealthier regions is likely to provide an underestimate of our parameter of interest.

In contrast, we exploit a population-based threshold that guided the roll-out of India's rural electrification scheme as part of a village-level regression discontinuity (RD) design. Villages in districts approved under Phase I of RGGVY were eligible for electrification if they contained a habitation with at least 300 people. Indian villages, however, can contain multiple habitations—typically between one and three—which complicates identification. For instance, a village with a relatively large population may have been ineligible under RGGVY if its population was spread out over multiple habitations; a less populous (but more concentrated) village may have been electrified. A village's overall population can, thus, be a poor measure of its RGGVY eligibility; comparing villages with overall populations above the RGGVY threshold to villages with populations just below it is unlikely to yield an accurate estimate of the impact of electrification without additional information on sub-village habitation characteristics. To address this concern, we restrict our nationwide sample of villages to single-habitation villages, following the empirical approach developed by [Burlig and Preonas \(2016\)](#). This allows us to similarly estimate the local average treatment effect (LATE) of electrification on labor-market outcomes for villages with overall populations close to RGGVY's eligibility threshold. To highlight the importance of local economic conditions, we pay close attention to differences in the magnitude of the estimated LATE for villages located in guar-growing districts versus those in the rest of India.

We focus on all single-habitation villages in RGGVY Phase I districts with a population within a suitable bandwidth,  $b$ , of 300, the RGGVY Phase I threshold for electrification. Within this sample, we look at two overlapping subsets of villages: (i) those that are located in guar-growing districts; and (ii) those with a population greater than or equal to 300 (i.e., those that were electrified as part of RGGVY Phase I). The intersection of these criteria represents our sample of interest: guar-growing villages that were electrified as part of RGGVY Phase I. We compare the impacts of rural electrification in this sample to those in villages that were electrified in non-guar regions of the country.

More formally, we rely on an RD design to estimate

$$\begin{aligned}
y_{vds}^{2011} = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 T_{vds} + \beta_2 T_{vds} G_{ds} \\
& + \beta_3 \tilde{P}_{vds}^{2001} + \beta_4 T_{vds} \tilde{P}_{vds}^{2001} + \beta_5 G_{ds} \tilde{P}_{vds}^{2001} + \beta_6 T_{vds} G_{ds} \tilde{P}_{vds}^{2001} \\
& + \beta_7 y_{vds}^{2001} + \gamma_d + \gamma_s + \epsilon_{vds}
\end{aligned} \tag{9}$$

for  $-b \leq \tilde{P}_{vds}^{2001} \leq b$ .  $y_{vds}^{2011}$  represents an outcome of interest in 2011 for village  $v$  located in district  $d$  in state  $s$ ,  $\tilde{P}_{vds}^{2001} = P_{vds}^{2001} - 300$  (where  $P_{vds}^{2001}$  is its population in the 2001 Census round), and  $b$  denotes a suitable population bandwidth around the RGGVY's 300-person eligibility threshold. Our preferred specification relies on a narrow bandwidth of fifty people on either side of this cutoff.  $T_{vds}$  is a binary variable that equals one if  $P_{vds}^{2001} > 300$ , i.e., the population of village in  $v$  in 2001 is above RGGVY's eligibility threshold.  $G_{ds}$  is a binary variable that equals one if village  $v$  is located in a guar-growing district.  $y_{vds}^{2001}$  is the 2001 value of the outcome variable.  $\gamma_d$  represents a district fixed-effect, which allow us to control for all time-invariant district-specific characteristics that make a district more likely to be a guar producer.  $\gamma_s$  represents a state fixed-effect, which similarly allows us to control for time-invariant unobserved characteristics that drive variation in our outcome of interest at the state level.  $\epsilon_{vs}$  is a village-specific error term. We cluster our standard errors at the district level to allow for correlated unobservables between villages that are located nearby and, in line with RGGVY's implementation structure, electrified and served by the same district-level electrification agency.

In Equation (9),  $\beta_1$  represents the LATE of electrification on our outcome of interest in villages located in non-guar-growing regions of India. Our parameter of interest is  $\beta_2$ , which represents the additional effect of electrification in villages affected by the guar boom. If  $\hat{\beta}_2$  is statistically different from zero, we conclude that the LATE for electrification in the booming guar-growing regions of India is different from that in the rest of India. Conditional on the inclusion of state and district fixed-effects, which control for all unobserved spatial differences, this highlights the degree to which the economic activity generated by the exogenous guar boom augments the impact of electrification.

[Figure 4 about here.]

Identification relies on continuity of potential outcomes in village population (our running variable) at the RGGVY eligibility threshold. This assumption is plausible if (i) villages are not able to manipulate their population levels—either in actuality or in administrative reporting—to influence RGGVY eligibility; and (ii) all observable and unobservable village-level covariates that may be correlated with our outcomes of interest change smoothly at the threshold. The former is unlikely to be a concern in our case. RGGVY used population figures from the 2001 round of the Indian Census to gauge eligibility (Burlig and Preonas, 2016). These data predate the announcement of RGGVY by at least four years and are thus unlikely to have been manipulated at or near its 300-person eligibility threshold. Nevertheless, following McCrary (2008), in Figure 4 we check for bunching at the cutoff—for all single-habitation villages in India that lie within our preferred bandwidth (panel *a*) and for those located in RGGVY Phase I districts (panel *b*)—and find no evidence to suggest that this is the case. The latter component of this assumption is fundamentally untestable. That said, we provide evidence in support of it by examining the pre-RGGVY distribution of key village-level characteristics around the cutoff. We find no evidence to suggest that these change discontinuously at the 300-person mark prior to the implementation of RGGVY (Table E1). We are also aware of no other social program in India that uses RGGVY’s 300-person habitation-level eligibility criterion.<sup>21</sup>

### 3.3 “Quadruple-differences” estimator

For certain industry-level outcomes, we use data from all districts of the state of Rajasthan, which is responsible for approximately eighty percent of India’s guar cultivation.<sup>22</sup> In these instances, we rely on variation between (i) firms operating within and outside of industries related to guar-gum production and processing; (ii) guar-growing and non-guar districts; (iii) RGGVY Phase I and non-RGGVY Phase I districts; and (iv) the pre- and post-electrification periods to estimate a difference-in-difference-in-difference-in-differences (“quadruple-differences”) specification instead.

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<sup>21</sup>Indeed, to the best of our knowledge, the only other social program that considers habitation-level population data to decide eligibility is the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY), India’s rural roads program. PMGSY connected villages containing a habitation with at least 500 people to India’s road network, and a growing body of work uses this eligibility cutoff to evaluate the impacts of rural roads on a host of socioeconomic and environmental outcomes (Adukia et al., 2018; Aggarwal, 2018; Asher and Novosad, 2018; Asher et al., 2018). Given our fifty-person bandwidth around RGGVY’s 300-person threshold, however, all villages in our analytical sample would have been ineligible for PMGSY.

<sup>22</sup>Our data are described in detail in Section 4.

Consider the following regression:

$$\begin{aligned}
y_{idt} = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 POST_t + \beta_2 INDUSTRY_{id} + \beta_3 (INDUSTRY_{id} \times GUAR_d) \\
& + \beta_4 (INDUSTRY_{id} \times RGGVY_d) + \beta_5 (INDUSTRY_{id} \times RGGVY_d \times GUAR_d) \\
& + \beta_6 (INDUSTRY_{id} \times POST_t) + \beta_7 (GUAR_d \times POST_t) + \beta_8 (RGGVY_d \times POST_t) \\
& + \beta_9 (INDUSTRY_{id} \times RGGVY_d \times POST_t) + \beta_{10} (INDUSTRY_{id} \times GUAR_d \times POST_t) \\
& + \beta_{11} (GUAR_d \times RGGVY_d \times POST_t) + \beta_{12} (INDUSTRY_{id} \times GUAR_d \times RGGVY_d \times POST_t) \\
& + \gamma_d + \epsilon_{idt},
\end{aligned} \tag{10}$$

where  $y_{idt}$  represents an outcome of interest for industry  $i$  in district  $d$  in year  $t$ .  $INDUSTRY_{id}$  represents a binary variable that equals one if industry  $i$  is related to the production and processing of guar gum, and zero for all other industries.  $GUAR_d$  and  $RGGVY_d$  represent binary variables that equal one if district  $d$  is a guar-growing or a RGGVY Phase I district, respectively, and zero otherwise.  $POST_t$  is a binary variable that equals one if year  $t$  is in the post-electrification period.  $\gamma_d$  represents a district fixed-effect, which controls for time-invariant unobserved characteristics that make a district more likely to be a guar producer (such as agro-ecological conditions).  $\epsilon_{idt}$  represents an industry-year-specific error term.

Our parameter of interest in Equation (10) is  $\beta_{12}$ , the quadruple-differences estimand that sheds light on how industry-level outcomes evolve within the “guar-processing” industry in booming guar-growing districts where rural electrification rolled out. One might be concerned that changes in this specific industry-district group may occur at the expense of other industries or other types of districts. To evaluate the extent to which this might be the case, we compare our estimate for  $\beta_{12}$  with our estimates for the other coefficients in Equation (10), which highlight changes in other industry-district groups before and after electrification.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>For example,  $\beta_{11}$  highlights changes in the “non-guar-processing” industry in booming guar-growing RGGVY Phase I districts before and after electrification.

## 4 Data

We rely on four main sources of data. First, we refer to technical reports published by the governments of both India and the United States to identify India’s main guar-growing districts. We complement these data on guar production with information on the roll-out of rural electrification in India to identify those districts that were approved for electrification under RGGVY Phase I. Next, we obtain data on the composition of the village-level labor force from multiple rounds of the Census of India. We complement these with data on individual-level labor-market outcomes and domestic time allocation from multiple rounds of India’s National Sample Survey. Finally, we rely on multiple rounds of the Economic Census of India to obtain data on the size and sectoral composition of firms in Rajasthan.

### 4.1 Guar production

We review three separate technical reports on guar production in India to identify our sample of guar-producing Indian districts. Two of these—prepared by the [Agricultural and Processed Food Products Export Development Authority \(2011\)](#) and the [National Rainfed Area Authority \(2014\)](#)—represent efforts by the Indian government to systematically quantify and summarize the nationwide production and trade of guar.<sup>24</sup> The third—prepared by the United States Department of Agriculture—signals the growing interest the agency took in guar production as the crop grew to become India’s main agricultural export to the United States ([Singh, 2014](#)).

For each of these three reports, we systematically create lists of states and districts that they characterize as key producers of guar in India. In particular, we examine changes in state- and district-level rankings along three related metrics: overall production, total cultivated area, and productivity. We then combine each of our generated lists together, and identify the subset of districts that consistently appear on all three. Based on district boundaries at the time of the 2011 Indian Census, we ultimately identify a total of 23 districts: thirteen in the state of Rajasthan, six in Gujarat, and four in Haryana ([Figure 1](#)). In 2011, these 23 districts were home to nearly 60 million

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<sup>24</sup>The Agricultural and Processed Food Products Export Development Authority (APEDA) is housed within India’s Ministry of Commerce & Industry. It is broadly tasked with supporting the development of industries related to products with export potential. The National Rainfed Area Authority (NRAA) is housed within the Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers welfare, where it provides technical advice and monitoring for government schemes operating in rural areas with significant levels of rainfed agriculture.

people living over an estimated area of 300,000 km<sup>2</sup>—roughly equal in terms of both population and size to all of Italy.<sup>25</sup>

To partially validate our selection of these districts, we also estimate their share in total reported production and area under cultivation for guar using national data from the Ministry of Agriculture on annual district-wise production of the crop between approximately 1999 and 2015.<sup>26</sup> We note that the quality of these data is poor. For instance, districts in the state of Haryana—consistently referred to in the technical reports we use as one of the most important guar-producing states in India after Rajasthan—have non-missing data on guar production only for 2012. At the same time, other districts in regions of India not known for guar production consistently report trivial amounts of production for multiple years in the sample. Nevertheless, we find that the guar-growing districts we identify account for nearly 94 percent of overall guar production in 2012 (the year that contains these statistics for the largest number of districts).

## 4.2 Rural electrification

As mentioned previously, we identify Phase I districts for which DPRs were successfully submitted and approved using state-level five-year-plan progress reports for RGGVY. Identifying villages that were eligible to be electrified within these districts poses additional challenges. RGGVY implementing agencies were directed to determine a village’s eligibility for electrification based on the populations of its constituent habitations (geographically distinct sub-village clusters of households). A village was eligible for electrification under RGGVY Phase I if it contained at least one constituent habitation with a population greater than 300. Although a growing number of public-sector interventions are now tracked at the habitation level, to the best of our knowledge, there are only two comprehensive datasets that shed light on habitation-level populations: (i) the census of habitations conducted by the National Rural Drinking Water Program (NRDWP) in 2009; and (ii) the directory of habitation-level populations made available by the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY), India’s national rural roads program. In line with the directives for RGGVY implementing agencies, we rely on the former, which contains habitation-level population (by

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<sup>25</sup>In this paper, we interchangeably refer to these districts as India’s “guar-growing districts” or “guar-growing regions.”

<sup>26</sup>These data are available via the Ministry of Agriculture’s Crop Production Statistics Information System at <https://aps.dac.gov.in/APY/Index.htm>.

caste) for each village. Because the NRDWP data indicates only the name—and not the unique Census code—for each habitation’s corresponding village, we adopt a fuzzy matching algorithm originally developed by Asher and Novosad (2018) to match it with a list of Census-designated villages.<sup>27</sup> India’s nearly 600,000 villages consist of just over 1.6 million habitations. We are able to successfully match approximately 531,000 (89 percent) of these villages to their constituent habitations. To further validate the quality of these matches, we calculate the discrepancy between the given Census 2011 population for each village and the NRDWP 2009 population estimate that we obtain from summing over the population of all habitations in a village. We drop all villages with a Census-NRDWP population discrepancy of greater than twenty percent; these, we assume, are incorrect fuzzy matches. This leaves us with approximately 370,000 villages.<sup>28</sup>

Our fuzzy-matched dataset consists of village-level identifiers (i.e., state, district, subdistrict and village names, and their corresponding Census codes), village-level count of habitations, village population (obtained by summing over all habitations in a village), population of the largest habitation, and a variable indicating the quality of the match (i.e., distinct groupings based on the extent to which matches across the NRDWP and Census lists of names are exact or fuzzy). The average village in this fuzzy-matched sample contains three habitations; approximately 47 percent of villages contain exactly one habitation.

To obtain the analytical sample with which to estimate Equation (9), we restrict our sample of villages in three ways: (i) those located in RGGVY Phase I districts; (ii) those with exactly one habitation; and (iii) those with a Census 2001 population within a narrow fifty-person bandwidth of the 300-person RGGVY Phase I threshold. This yields 7,655 villages located across 22 Indian states; 148 are located in guar-growing districts.

### 4.3 Rural labor-market outcomes

Our data on the make-up of the rural labor force come from the 2001 and 2011 rounds of the Indian Census. Specifically, in addition to data on population for each of India’s approximately 600,000 villages, the Primary Census Abstract (PCA) data tables in the Census report information by gender on three distinct village-level subgroups: (i) “main workers,” who engage in any

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<sup>27</sup>The NRDWP census of habitation was first conducted in 2003, and again in 2009. The 2003 data are no longer publicly available, which is why we rely on the 2009 data, which are available at <https://indiawater.gov.in>.

<sup>28</sup>We describe our fuzzy habitation-village matching procedure in detail in Appendix C.

economically productive activity for at least six months a year; (ii) “marginal workers,” who do so for less than six months a year; and (iii) “non-workers,” who do not engage in any economically productive activity. Within the first two subgroups, workers are further categorized as cultivators, agricultural laborers, household-industry workers, or “other.” A person is classified as a cultivator if they are engaged in cultivation of land that they own or lease, implying that they bear the risks associated with cultivation. In contrast, a person is classified an agricultural laborer if they work on another person’s land for payment. In rural areas, a household industry is defined as “production, processing, servicing, repairing, or making and selling (but not merely selling) of goods” that is done by one or more members of a household within the confines of the village. Finally, “other” workers include all professions not captured by the other three categories, such as government employees, teachers and traders.<sup>29</sup>

For each village-year in our Census panel, we combine cultivators and agricultural laborers (both main and marginal) to calculate the population of agricultural workers, overall and by gender. We similarly combine household-industry and other workers to obtain corresponding figures for the village-level population of non-agricultural workers. These data—together with information on village population as well as the breakdown of that population into workers and non-workers—allow us to evaluate impacts along two dimensions: (i) the extensive margin, i.e., the net change in the overall labor force as a percentage of the village population; and (ii) the sectoral composition of the labor force, namely, the relative shares of agricultural versus non-agricultural workers.

We complement our village-level data on the composition of the labor force with individual-level data on labor-force outcomes and domestic time allocation from the Employment-Unemployment surveys conducted as part of the 2004 (60<sup>th</sup>) and 2011-12 (68<sup>th</sup>) rounds of India’s National Sample Survey (NSS).<sup>30</sup> These quinquennial surveys are representative at the level of the NSS region, a non-administrative sampling unit below the state but above the district. NSS regions typically consist of two or more contiguous districts and do not cross state boundaries. We combine our data on district-level guar production and roll-out of rural electrification with these NSS regions to create a region-level repeated cross-section covering over 400,000 people across rural India. In particular,

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<sup>29</sup> Additional information about these definitions is available in the 2011 Census’ meta data documentation at [http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/HLO/Metadata\\_Census\\_2011.pdf](http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/HLO/Metadata_Census_2011.pdf).

<sup>30</sup> Information on how NSS data can be purchased from the Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation is available at <http://mospi.gov.in/sample-surveys>.

we focus on (i) respondents' "usual principal activity" (the activity an individual contributed the bulk of their time to over the past year); (ii) for those in the labor force, the industry to which they belong; and (iii) for those not in the labor force, the extent to which they engage in home production in addition to domestic duties.

#### **4.4 Firm-level data**

Our data on the universe of firms and establishments employing more than ten people in the state of Rajasthan come from the Economic Census (EC) of India. Specifically, we rely on the "Directory of Establishments" associated with the 2005 (Fifth) and 2013-14 (Sixth) rounds of the EC.<sup>31</sup> This directory reports information on basic firm characteristics, including name, address, number of employees, and the sector/industry to which the firm belongs, as indicated by a National Industrial Classification (NIC) code.

In 2005, this directory listed a total of 20,715 firms in Rajasthan. By 2013, this number had increased to 27,803. We combine these two rounds of the EC in a district-level panel dataset with which to study changes in the nature and composition of firms in response to guar boom and the roll-out of rural electrification in Rajasthan. We focus, in particular, on firms in industries related to the guar production chain (such as industrial guar-processing units).

### **5 Size and sectoral composition of the rural labor force**

In this section, we estimate how rural electrification affects the size and composition of the labor force across guar- and non-guar-growing regions of India. We measure this using data on population and employment at the village- and region levels from the Indian Census and National Sample Survey (NSS), respectively. We find no evidence to suggest that electrification has a net effect on the overall size of the labor force in electrified villages located in guar-growing regions of India. We show next, however, that access to electricity substantially reduces (increases) the share of agricultural (non-agricultural) workers in these villages. In electrified villages located in non-guar-growing districts across the rest of India, in contrast, we find no evidence that access to electricity has any discernible effect on the labor-market outcomes that we study.

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<sup>31</sup>The Directories of Establishments for the Fifth as well as the Sixth round of the EC are available from the Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation at <http://www.mospi.gov.in/economic-census-3>.

## 5.1 Size of the rural labor force

We begin by studying the impacts of electrification on the size of the overall labor force (agricultural and non-agricultural workers together) as a share of the village population. We obtain data on the total number of workers in each village from the Indian Census, and apply the RD strategy outlined in Equation (9) to identify the effects of electrification on labor-force size separately in guar- and non-guar-growing regions.<sup>32</sup>

[Figure 5 about here.]

Figure 5 plots the share of total workers—overall and by gender—just above and below the RGGVY threshold separately for villages located in guar- and non-guar-growing regions. This figure graphically depicts the results from our RD specification. It shows that electrification has no discernible effect on the size of the labor force in villages in either guar or non-guar-growing regions. Examining these labor-market dynamics separately for male and female workers yields strikingly similar results.

[Table 1 about here.]

The regression results presented in Table 1 support these findings and attach a magnitude to the effects. The estimate in the first row of this table represents the effect of electrification in non-guar-growing districts; as the indicator variable suggests, these villages are located just above RGGVY's eligibility threshold. The estimate in the second row, the interaction of the preceding parameter with the indicator variable for if the electrified village is located in a guar-growing district, thus represents the degree to which the impact of electrification is augmented by the guar boom in villages in India's guar belt. Column (1) reports the main RD estimates for these two parameters for the overall working population. The magnitude of the estimates is small. In non-guar-growing villages, for instance, the results point to a reduction in the overall size of the workforce by 0.8 percentage points (s.e. 0.6), an imprecisely estimated decrease of less than two percent. The estimated coefficient for the additional effect in electrified guar-growing villages in the second row is similarly small. Importantly, neither of these result are statistically significant at

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<sup>32</sup>Total workers includes both "main" and "marginal" cultivators, agricultural laborers, household industry workers, and "other" workers. In 2011, workers comprised approximately 44 percent of the total population of India's villages.

conventional levels. We are, thus, unable to reject the hypothesis that access to electricity had no effect on the overall size of the labor force in these two settings.

Columns (2) and (3) report the same specification estimated separately for the share of male and female workers, respectively. The estimates are similar: electrification has no discernible effect on the share of male or female workers in both guar- and non-guar villages.

Taken together, these results suggest that, on net, households do not respond to electrification by adjusting their labor choices along the extensive margin.<sup>33</sup> Although we cannot rule out that large-scale entry and exit of workers in response to electrification may be taking place, these findings stand in contrast to those from earlier work (e.g., [Dinkelman, 2011](#)) that finds that access to electricity can increase labor-force participation (especially for women).

## 5.2 Sectoral composition of the rural labor force

### 5.2.1 Village-level RD

To shed more light on underlying labor-market dynamics, we turn next to impacts of electrification on the sectoral composition of the rural labor force (agricultural and non-agricultural workers separately). Our first set of analyses once again use data from the Indian Census, this time on the village-level population of (“main” and “marginal”) cultivators, agricultural laborers, household-industry workers and “other” workers, and non-workers.<sup>34</sup> We combine all workers belonging to the first two of these occupational sub-categories—cultivators and agricultural laborers—to calculate the population and share of agricultural workers for each of the villages in our sample. We similarly combine the last two of these sub-categories—household-industry and “other” workers—to obtain corresponding figures for non-agricultural workers. We use these as our outcome variables to study how the sizes of the agricultural and non-agricultural sector change relative to the size of the non-working population in response to rural electrification.

[Table 2 about here.]

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<sup>33</sup>We also examine the extent to which electrified villages experience large-scale in-migration. We do this by testing for discontinuous changes in the 2011 population of these villages. We find at the RGGVY threshold, electrified villages exhibit a discontinuous increase in the population of the village, driven entirely by an increase in the male population. However, as shown in [Table E2](#), the magnitude of this change is small (an average increase of approximately three people or less than one percent relative to the sample mean). We, thus, rule out that electrified villages are on the receiving end of large-scale in-migration due to electrification.

<sup>34</sup>We describe each of these categories in detail in [Section 4.3](#).

We find that, in guar-growing regions, electrification substantially reduces the size of the agricultural labor force and increases the size of the non-agricultural labor force. In addition, we find no differential impact of electrification on the share of the non-working population across villages in guar- and non-guar-growing regions of India. Table 2 provides numerical results from estimating Equation (9) separately for each of these three subgroups. Having electricity reduces the share of agricultural workers in the population of non-guar villages by 1.2 percentage points (s.e. 0.6) relative to a sample mean of approximately 36 percent (column 1). Guar-growing villages, in contrast, exhibit an additional reduction in this share of over six percentage points (s.e. 1.7). The guar boom, thus, leads to an approximately fivefold augmentation in the impact of electrification on the share of the agricultural labor force. Comparing the estimates in the third row for male (column 2) and female (column 3) agricultural workers suggests that the magnitude of this effect is especially large for women. The guar boom augments the reduction in the share of male agricultural workers due to electrification by 2.9 percentage points (thirteen percent) and that of female agricultural workers by 3.3 percentage points (24 percent).

Columns (4)–(6) report corresponding estimates for the non-agricultural labor force. The first row of these columns shows that electrification appears to have no discernible impact on the share of the non-agricultural workforce in villages in non-guar districts. Column (4) shows that electrification in guar-growing regions leads to a simultaneous growth in the size of the non-agricultural labor force, which increases by an additional 5.5 percentage points (s.e. 1.2), representing a seventy percent increase relative to the sample mean. This increase is nearly identical to the reduction in the share of agricultural workers in column (1). The second row of columns (5) and (6) shows that this effect is, once again, driven especially by the female workforce. As shown in column (6), the guar boom augments the increase in the share of female non-agricultural workers in guar-growing villages by over three percentage points (s.e. 1.2), approximately 115 percent of the sample mean. For male agricultural workers, the 2.3 percentage point (s.e. 1.1) additional increase represents an increase of just under 45 percent.

[Figure 6 about here.]

[Figure 7 about here.]

[Figure 8 about here.]

Columns (7)–(9) show that these labor-market dynamics in guar villages do not appear to be accompanied by an increase in the relative size of the non-working population. More broadly, comparing the results for guar- and non-guar-growing electrified villages in Table 2 shows that while the estimated coefficients for the effect of electrification in non-guar-growing villages generally have the same signs as those for guar-growing villages, the former are considerably smaller in magnitude and largely indistinguishable from zero. In other words, on average, electrification appears to have no discernible effect on the relative size of the agricultural, non-agricultural and non-working population in villages in the RGGVY Phase I districts in the rest of India. Figures 6, 7 and 8 graphically represent the results from our RD specification for agricultural workers, non-agricultural workers and non-workers, respectively, and visually highlight the large differences in impact across the two settings for the first two of these subgroups.

### 5.2.2 Does the guar boom drive these results?

Districts and states that are home to guar production could differ from the rest of India along a variety of metrics, such as agro-ecological conditions, income, and demographics. These could drive the results reported in Table 2 independently of the roll-out of rural electrification as part of RGGVY Phase I. The inclusion of district and state fixed-effects in the RD specification outlined in Equation (9), however, soaks up all such unobserved state- and district-level differences. In addition, conditional on state fixed-effects, we find that villages in guar- and non-guar-growing districts are statistically indistinguishable in 2001—before the guar boom or rural electrification—along a host of key socioeconomic indicators (Table E3).

Nevertheless, if there is considerable district-level heterogeneity in the impacts of rural electrification across India, any random subset of RGGVY Phase I districts can potentially exhibit the differential impacts that we identify in Table 2. In other words, the interaction of the guar boom with the roll-out of rural electrification in the eleven RGGVY Phase I districts that are guar growers need not be driving our results; it could be the case that we observe the results that we do simply by chance. To test this, we turn to a randomization-based inference procedure (Athey and Imbens, 2017).

[Figure 9 about here.]

Our approach relies on randomly assigning eleven placebo guar-growing districts and re-estimating Equation (9). We repeat this process 1,000 times for the share of agricultural and non-agricultural workers (overall and by gender) to obtain a distribution of placebo estimates for  $\hat{\beta}_2$  for each of these outcomes. Figure 9 shows these distributions and highlights their 90 and 95 percent confidence intervals. If the differential effect of electrification on the share of agricultural and non-agricultural workers that we observe in guar-growing districts was due to chance, we would expect to observe our actual estimated values for this parameter from Tables 1 and 2—indicated by the dashed lines in Figure 9—near the middle of these distributions. Instead, we find that our estimates of  $\hat{\beta}_2$  are extreme values outside the 90 or 95 percent confidence intervals of these distributions in all cases; any other configuration of eleven RGGVY Phase I districts is highly unlikely to yield estimates that are as large in magnitude. Taken together, this strongly suggests that it is indeed the advent of the guar boom and its interaction with the simultaneous roll-out of rural electrification as part of RGGVY Phase I that drives the results we observe.

### 5.2.3 Validating with region-level difference-in-differences

As an additional test of this difference between the effect of electrification in guar- and non-guar-growing districts of India, we turn to data from the 2004 (60<sup>th</sup>) and 2011-12 (68<sup>th</sup>) rounds of the Employment-Unemployment surveys carried out as part of India’s National Sample Survey (NSS). These quinquennial surveys report data on individual-level labor-force outcomes that are representative at the level of the NSS region, a non-administrative sampling unit below the state but above the district.<sup>35</sup> Because region boundaries have evolved over the years, we first generate 67 custom region groupings that remain unchanged between 2004 and 2011. We combine these to create a region-level repeated cross-section (before and after the roll-out of rural electrification) containing basic employment and demographic data for nearly 500,000 individuals across rural India. We assume that a region is home to guar production if it encompasses at least one of the 23 guar-growing districts shown in Figure 1. Similarly, a region is assumed to be part of the roll-out of rural electrification in India if at least one of its constituent districts was approved for RGGVY

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<sup>35</sup>NSS regions typically consists of two or more neighboring districts that broadly share geophysical characteristics. Larger states are separated into multiple regions. Smaller states and union territories are often encompassed by a single region. Regions do not cross state boundaries. The 2011-12 NSS round divided India into 88 regions, while the 2004 round had 78 regions.

Phase I. We restrict our analyses to these latter regions in order to evaluate differences between guar- and non-guar-growing RGGVY Phase I regions.<sup>36</sup>

Central to the Employment-Unemployment survey’s categorization of the labor-force status of respondents is their “usual principal activity,” the economic or non-economic activity to which the respondent has dedicated the bulk of their time over the past year. For individuals in the labor force, this categorization includes seven mutually exclusive types of work-related activities.<sup>37</sup> We generate a binary variable that equals one if the respondent reported having engaged in any one of these seven (that is, they were in the labor force), and use this to estimate the following difference-in-differences specification:

$$y_{irst} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (GUAR_{rs} \times POST_t) + X_{irst} + \gamma_r + \gamma_{st} + \epsilon_{irst}, \quad (11)$$

where  $y_{irst}$  is a binary variable that equals one if respondent  $i$  in region  $r$  in state  $s$  in year  $t$  is in the labor force and zero otherwise.  $GUAR_{rs}$  is a binary variable that equals one if region  $r$  contains a guar-growing district.  $POST_t$  is a binary variable that equals one for the post-electrification period.  $X_{irst}$  represents a control for the age of respondent  $i$ .  $\gamma_r$  is a region fixed-effect,  $\gamma_{st}$  is a state-year fixed-effect, and  $\epsilon_{rst}$  is a region-year-specific error term.

[Table 3 about here.]

Table 3 presents our results. Column (1) shows that the labor-force participation rate is no different between guar- and non-guar-growing NSS regions that saw the roll-out of rural electrification. This is consistent with the RD results reported in Table 1, which show that the effect of electrification on the share of total workers in the village population is broadly indistinguishable across electrified villages located in guar- and non-guar-growing districts.

To shed light on sectoral changes, we use the National Industrial Classification (NIC) code that the NSS provides for each respondent in the labor force to identify the industry to which they belong. To ensure consistency with our RD results, we create a new variable that indicates

<sup>36</sup>Per this definition, there are 45 RGGVY Phase I regions across the two NSS rounds; three of these are also guar-growing regions. Together, they contain labor-market data for 406,935 rural individuals.

<sup>37</sup>These are: (i) worked in a household enterprise as an own account worker (self-employed); (ii) worked in a household enterprise as an employer; (iii) worked in a household enterprise as an unpaid family worker; (iv) worked as salaried/wage employee; (v) worked as casual wage labor in public works; (vi) worked as casual wage labor in other types of work; and (vii) did not work but seeking/available for work.

whether a particular working individual is engaged in agricultural or in non-agricultural work.<sup>38</sup> We use this to estimate Equation (11) separately for each of the seven subcomponents of labor-force participation.

[Table 4 about here.]

Table 4 reports results. Column (1) shows large reductions in the share of workers employed in agricultural household industries. The share of workers reporting self-employment (the single largest subcomponent of labor-force participation) in agricultural fields, for instance, falls by nearly ten percentage points (fifteen percent relative to the mean) in electrified guar-growing regions relative compared to electrified non-guar-growing regions. This is consistent with the RD results pointing to a reduction in the size of the agricultural labor force in electrified guar-growing villages in Table 2.

[Table 5 about here.]

Finally, we turn to home production, the central component of the conceptual framework we outline in Section 3. For the subset of respondents not in the labor force, the NSS indicates whether their “usual principal status” is related to domestic responsibilities only or to domestic responsibilities in combination with home production.<sup>39</sup> We use these to estimate a linear probability model in line with Equation (11) with the sample of the rural population that is not in the labor force. Table 5 presents results. Column (1) shows a six percentage point (sixty percent) reduction in the share of the population engaged in domestic duties only in electrified guar-growing regions. At the same time, the share of the population engaged in domestic duties in combination with home production in these regions increases by a nearly identical amount, albeit one that is less precisely estimated. Column (1) also shows that this change is almost entirely driven by a shift in the share of

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<sup>38</sup>The 2011-12 (68<sup>th</sup>) round of the NSS lists a five-digit NIC code as per the 2008 NIC system. The 2004 (60<sup>th</sup>) round relies on the older NIC 1998 system. To match accurately across these two systems, we rely on the first two digits of each NIC system to identify the “division” each individual is employed within; this is the broadest categorization within India’s NIC system and largely concordant across the two different NIC systems. We assume an individual is engaged in agricultural work if their employment type falls within “Division 01: Crop and animal production, hunting and related service activities.”

<sup>39</sup>Specifically, the NSS contains two mutually exclusive categories for a subset of the population not in the labor force: (i) “domestic duties only,” which includes all activities that constitute the care economy, such as looking after the young, the sick and the elderly as well as other healthy household members, cooking, cleaning and provisioning for the household; and (ii) what we refer to as “domestic duties and home production,” which also includes being engaged in free collection of goods (vegetables, roots, firewood, cattle feed), sewing, tailoring, weaving, etc. for household use.

women engaged in home production in addition to domestic duties. These results, too, are broadly consistent with the impacts of electrification on household’s labor and time-allocation decisions being driven by local economic contexts.

### 5.3 RD robustness checks

We first use all non-RGGVY Phase I districts in India to conduct a large-scale placebo test. Specifically, using only those districts of India that were not approved for rural electrification as part of RGGVY Phase I, we estimate Equation (9) for the overall share of workers, agricultural workers, non-agricultural workers, and non-workers in the village population.<sup>40</sup> As large-scale roll out of rural electrification did not occur in these districts over the period covered by our data, we should not expect to see an impact of a village’s 2001 population being above RGGVY’s eligibility threshold in either guar-growing or non-guar districts. Table E4 confirms this intuition.

We turn next to our analytical sample of villages. In constructing the sample of single-habitation villages for our main RD analyses, we made two key choices: (i) during our village-habitation fuzzy matching procedure, we discard any village with a discrepancy of greater than twenty percent between its total Census 2011 population and its total NRDWP 2009 population (calculated by combining the population in each of its matched habitations); and (ii) we restrict our sample to villages within a narrow fifty-person bandwidth of RGGVY’s 300-person eligibility threshold. We test the sensitivity of our main results to each of these choices.

We first estimate Equation (9) allowing for increasingly greater levels of population discrepancy in our sample but keeping our preferred fifty-person RD bandwidth fixed. Figure D1 shows how  $\hat{\beta}_2$ , our parameter of interest, evolves as we relax our definition of what we consider a successful match, thereby increasing the size of the underlying analytical sample. As the sample expands to contain an increasing number of villages that are unlikely to have been good matches, the magnitude of  $\hat{\beta}_2$  generally attenuates gradually as expected. In particular, we do not observe erratic changes in the magnitude of this estimated parameter.

Next, we fix the sample population discrepancy rate at our preferred level of twenty percent and vary the size of the RD bandwidth around RGGVY’s 300-person eligibility threshold. Figure D2 shows how  $\hat{\beta}_2$  evolves as the RD bandwidth widens. Once again, as the analytical sample expands

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<sup>40</sup>As shown in Figure 1, twelve non-RGGVY Phase I districts are also guar-growing districts.

to contain an increasingly dissimilar number of villages on either side of the RGGVY eligibility threshold, the magnitude of  $\hat{\beta}_2$  attenuates smoothly.

Finally, we adjust our inference to account for multiple hypothesis testing using the free step-down resampling methodology of [Westfall and Young \(1993\)](#). This bootstrap-based procedure controls the family-wise error rate (the probability of a type I error when testing a “family” of hypotheses).<sup>41</sup> We combine all regressions reported in [Tables 1 and 2](#) into a family of hypotheses and use this approach to control the family-wise error rate associated with  $\hat{\beta}_2$ . [Table E5](#) reports that our main result—that electrified villages in guar-growing districts see a large reduction in the share of agricultural workers and a corresponding increase in the share of non-agricultural workers relative to electrified villages in non-guar districts—is robust to this adjustment.

## 6 Growth of firms

Many scholars contend that firms’ location decisions (the extensive margin) are informed by differences in comparative advantage that arise due to spatial heterogeneity driven by agglomeration, market size, and production or transport costs ([Amiti and Javorcik, 2008](#); [Carlton, 1983](#); [Wheeler and Mody, 1992](#)). In the short run, a shock that differentially impacts some locations may also induce changes in firm size (the intensive margin) ([Adhvaryu et al., 2013](#)).

In our setting, such firm-level location and size decisions are naturally linked to the rural labor market. Industry and agriculture exist side-by-side in rural India ([Srivastava and Srivastava, 2010](#)). In addition, firms’ choices are often influenced by the availability of infrastructure ([Martin and Rogers, 1995](#)) and closely related to the employment effects associated with commodity-price shocks ([Lederman and Porto, 2015](#)). These factors are the focus of our analyses. Changes in firm-level characteristics at the extensive and intensive margin are, therefore, a useful way to uncover potential mechanisms.

In this section, we estimate how the impact of rural electrification on firm creation and size differed across guar- and non-guar-growing districts. To measure impacts on firm proliferation, we rely on a “triple-differences” specification applied to district-level panel data on the universe of firms in the state of Rajasthan. To examine firm size, we further exploit variation between firms in

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<sup>41</sup>See [Jones et al. \(2018\)](#) for a detailed description of how this is implemented.

two broad industrial groups (firms within and outside industries related to the production and processing of guar gum), which allows us to employ a “quadruple-differences” approach. Along the extensive margin, we do not find an increase in the number of firms in “guar-related” industries in electrified guar-growing districts of Rajasthan relative to its unelectrified and/or non-guar districts. However, we uncover large increases in the size of firms in industries related to guar production in terms of the number of workers. Specifically, we show that “guar-related” firms located in guar-growing districts where rural electrification rolled out grew in size, broadly consistent with the increase in non-agricultural employment demonstrated in Section 5.2. Importantly, this growth does not appear to happen at the expense of firms operating in other industries, non-guar districts or non-RGGVY Phase I districts.

## 6.1 Proliferation of guar-processing firms

We look first at differential impacts of electrification on the proliferation of firms across guar and non-guar districts of Rajasthan. Our data come from the “Directory of Establishments” associated with the Fifth (2005) and Sixth (2013-14) rounds of the Economic Census (EC) of India. This directory reports information on basic firm characteristics, including name, number of employees (within a range), and the industry to which the firm belongs, as indicated by a National Industrial Classification (NIC) code. Because guar processing does not have its own NIC code, we use the 2013 EC’s directory (which lists a total 30,000 establishments in Rajasthan containing at least ten employees) to identify the set of NIC codes that can be assigned to guar processors. We start by finding guar-processing units in the directory that are easily identifiable as such (based on their use of “guar,” “guar gum” or some variant thereof in their names) and record the NIC codes assigned to them. We complement this step with a review of the detailed breakdown of NIC codes prepared by India’s Central Statistical Organization to identify additional codes that can contain guar-processing units.<sup>42</sup> Ultimately, we identify five three-digit NIC codes that can contain industrial units most directly related to guar processing.<sup>43</sup> Together, these represent approximately ten percent of all

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<sup>42</sup>The 2013 EC uses a 2008 update of the NIC system. This document is available at <http://mospi.nic.in/classification/national-industrial-classification>.

<sup>43</sup>As per the 2008 NIC system, these are: (i) Support activities to agriculture and post-harvest crop activities (016); (ii) Manufacture of basic chemicals, fertilizer and nitrogen compounds, plastics and synthetic rubber in primary forms (201); (iii) Manufacture of prepared animal feeds (108); (iv) Manufacture of non-metallic mineral products (239); and (v) Wholesale of agricultural raw materials and live animals (462). We use the concordance tables prepared by India’s Central Statistical Organization to map these codes to the 2004 NIC system, which is used in the 2005 EC.

listed establishments in Rajasthan.

[Table 6 about here.]

For each district-year in the EC, we calculate the number of firms that belong to one of these industries as a percentage of the total number of firms to create a district-level panel. We use this to estimate a triple-differences version of the specification outlined in Equation (10).<sup>44</sup> We find no evidence that the share of firms belonging to guar-related industries in guar-growing RGGVY Phase I districts changes at a different rate relative to other types of districts between 2004 and 2013. Column (1) of Table 6 reports our numerical estimates. The coefficient for the triple-interaction term (representing the triple-differences estimate of the additional effect of electrification in guar-growing districts) is statistically indistinguishable from zero. This suggests that an increase along the extensive margin (that is, the establishment of new guar-processing units) is not the main channel through which firms respond.

## 6.2 Growth in the size of guar-processing firms

We turn next to the relative sizes of guar-related firms to shed light on firm-level responses along the intensive margin. The Directory of Establishments in both rounds of the EC categorizes each firm into one of three groups: those with 10-100 employees, with 101-500 employees, or with greater than 500 employees. For each district-year, we calculate the share of guar-related and non-guar firms that belong in each group and use this to estimate a modified version of Equation (10) that also exploits intra-district differences between the sizes of firms in guar-related and non-guar industries.

[Figure 10 about here.]

Figure 10 plots these shares for the first two firm-size groups—which account for nearly all firms in our sample—and conveys the essence of our quadruple-differences approach. This graph shows that, in guar-growing RGGVY Phase I districts, the share of guar-related firms with 10-100 employees fell by over four percentage points between 2005 and 2013; over the same period, those

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<sup>44</sup>Specifically, because our outcome variable is the share of firms in guar-related industries, we do not exploit inter-industry variation.

with 101-500 employees increased by nearly the same amount. This suggests that firms in industries related to guar processing expanded their operations in guar-growing districts that were approved for rural electrification as part of RGGVY relative to those that were not. This graph also shows that these expansions do not appear to be accompanied by contractions in non-guar RGGVY Phase I districts.

The regressions in columns (2)–(4) of Table 6 confirm this finding. Column (2) reports the quadruple-differences estimate for the share of guar-related firms with 10-100 employees. In guar-growing RGGVY Phase I districts, this share falls by approximately twelve percentage points (s.e. 5.3) between 2005 and 2013. Over the same period, the share of guar-related firms with 101-500 employees increases by a nearly identical amount, as shown in column (2); relative to the sample mean of approximately five percent, this represents a more than doubling of the share of guar-related firms that employ between 101-500 people. In addition, we find no evidence to suggest that this growth in firm size occurs at the expense of firms in other industries or firms in non-guar/non-RGGVY Phase I districts; the estimates in all other rows of columns (2)–(3) are relatively small in magnitude and statistically indistinguishable from zero.

Broadly, these findings are consistent with reports of substantial increases in projected installed capacity by guar-gum manufacturers in northwestern India as the fracking boom began in the United States (Rai, 2015). We add to this largely observational evidence by demonstrating that firms in industries benefiting from the boom are cognizant of local infrastructural contexts, and restrict their expansions primarily to electrified areas.

## 7 Conclusion

In this paper, we combine two natural experiments—an exogenous fracking-induced boom in the production of a crop called guar in northwestern India, and population-based discontinuities in the contemporaneous roll-out of India’s massive rural electrification scheme—within a regression discontinuity design to evaluate how the causal effect of rural electrification on labor-market outcomes changes with exogenous variation in economic conditions and contexts. We assemble a variety of evidence from multiple large administrative datasets to reach three main conclusions. Our first finding is that, in villages located in India’s guar-growing regions, access to electricity led

to a large increase in non-agricultural employment relative to agricultural employment, especially among women. Our second finding is that these labor-market dynamics appear to be driven by an increase in employment by electricity-intensive industrial firms that complement guar production (such as guar-processing units) near these communities. It is also related to a proliferation of household-level enterprises and home production in these areas. Finally, our third finding is that, on average, access to electricity appears to have no discernible impact on these labor-market outcomes in villages located in the rest of India.

The main implication of these findings is related to the necessity of grid electrification. Proponents have long claimed that reliable electricity delivered by the grid is foundational for the structural transformation of rural economies. Its potential to drive job creation and employment growth is often central to this argument.<sup>45</sup> Yet the evidence base on this point remains thin. In particular, impact evaluations are typically unable to rigorously shed light on drivers of spatial and temporal heterogeneity. We show that access to electricity from the grid led to large-scale structural transformation of the rural economy in large swathes of northwestern India, which saw the rise of complementary economic opportunities. In the rest of India, where these complementary conditions were lacking on average, the impacts of grid-scale electrification on rural labor-market outcomes were largely negligible.

These results highlight the role electrification—and large-scale infrastructure, more broadly—can play in low- and middle-income countries. Alone, such investments may be insufficient, yet built in anticipation of (and to support) other policies and changes, large-scale infrastructure can provide a foundation for sustained economic growth and development. In our setting, access to grid-scale electricity allowed individuals, households, and firms to respond to rapidly changing economic contexts in ways that potentially deliver economic benefits and improve welfare. We believe that rigorously identifying other potential drivers of the success of large-scale infrastructure is a promising avenue for future research.

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<sup>45</sup>In an evaluation of one of its grid expansion projects in Namibia, for instance, the Swedish International Development Corporation Agency notes that “the most important effect of electricity expansion on the poor is . . . through the effect it can have on the general economic development by providing power to new investments in industry and small businesses” (Goppers, 2006). Other international donors echo these sentiments ([Independent Evaluation Group, 2008](#); [United Nations, 2018](#)).

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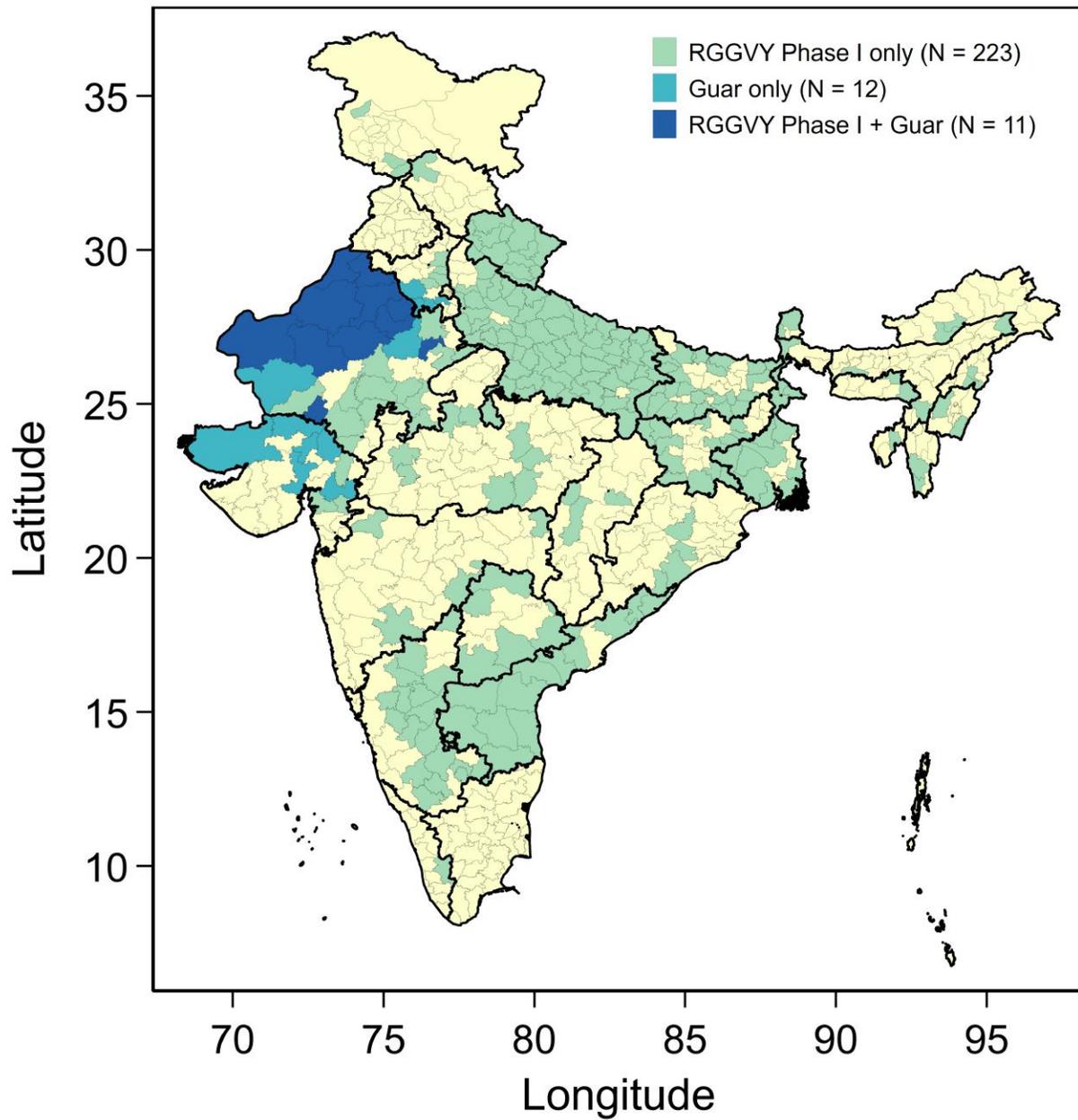
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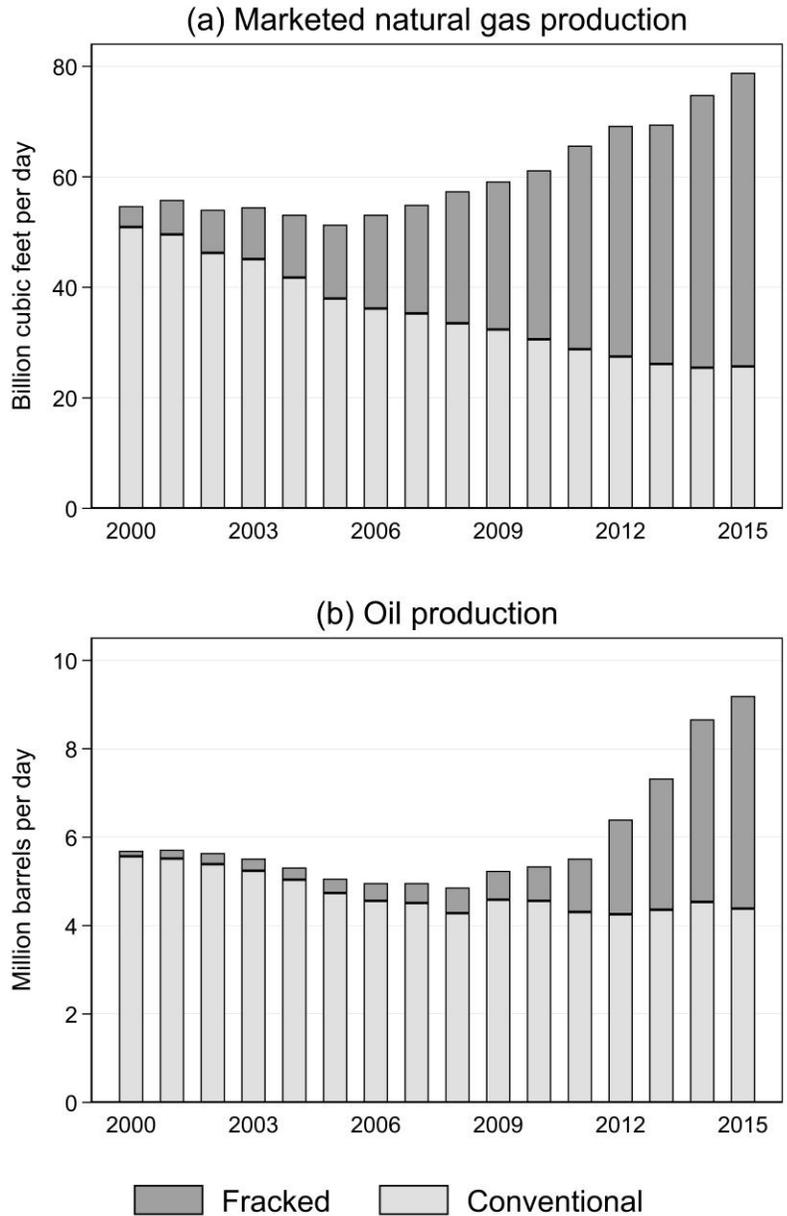
## Figures

Figure 1: Districts of India, by guar-production and electrification status



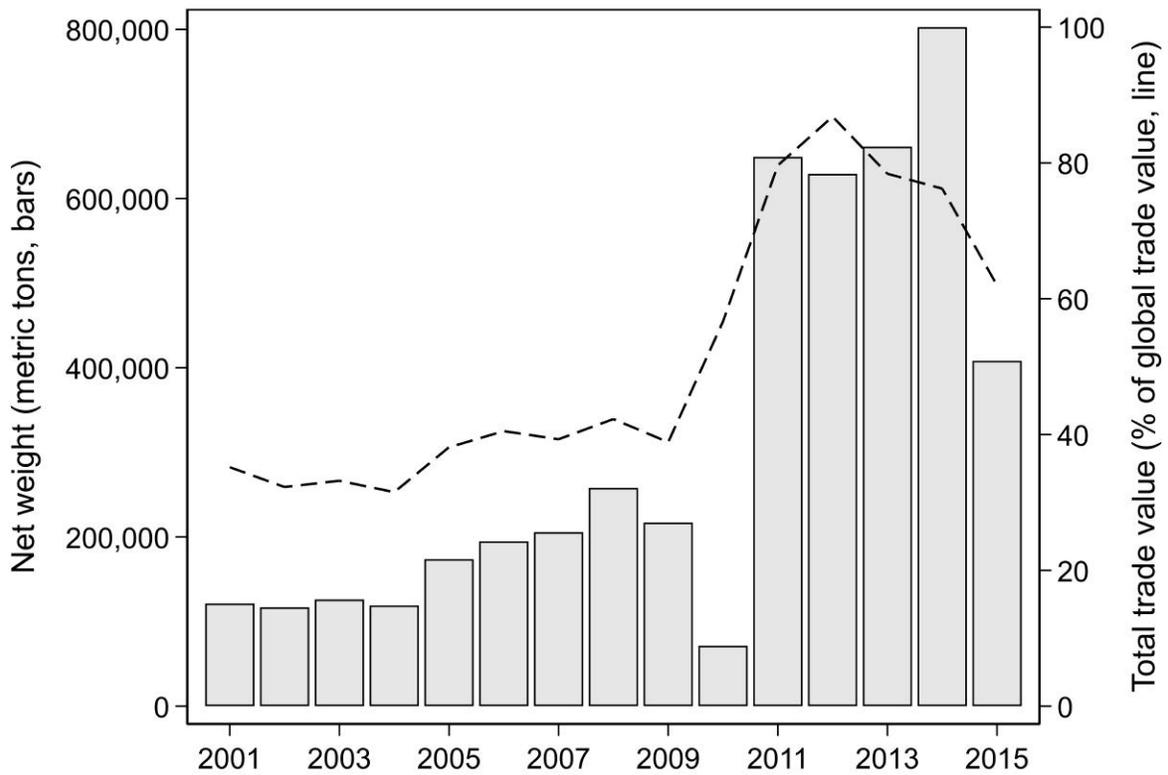
*Notes.* This map shows India's 2011 state (thick lines) and district (thin lines) boundaries. Districts are shaded by their electrification and guar-production status. Unshaded districts were neither approved for the roll-out of electrification as part of RGGVY Phase I nor contribute appreciably to guar production in India.

Figure 2: Natural gas and oil production in the United States, by source



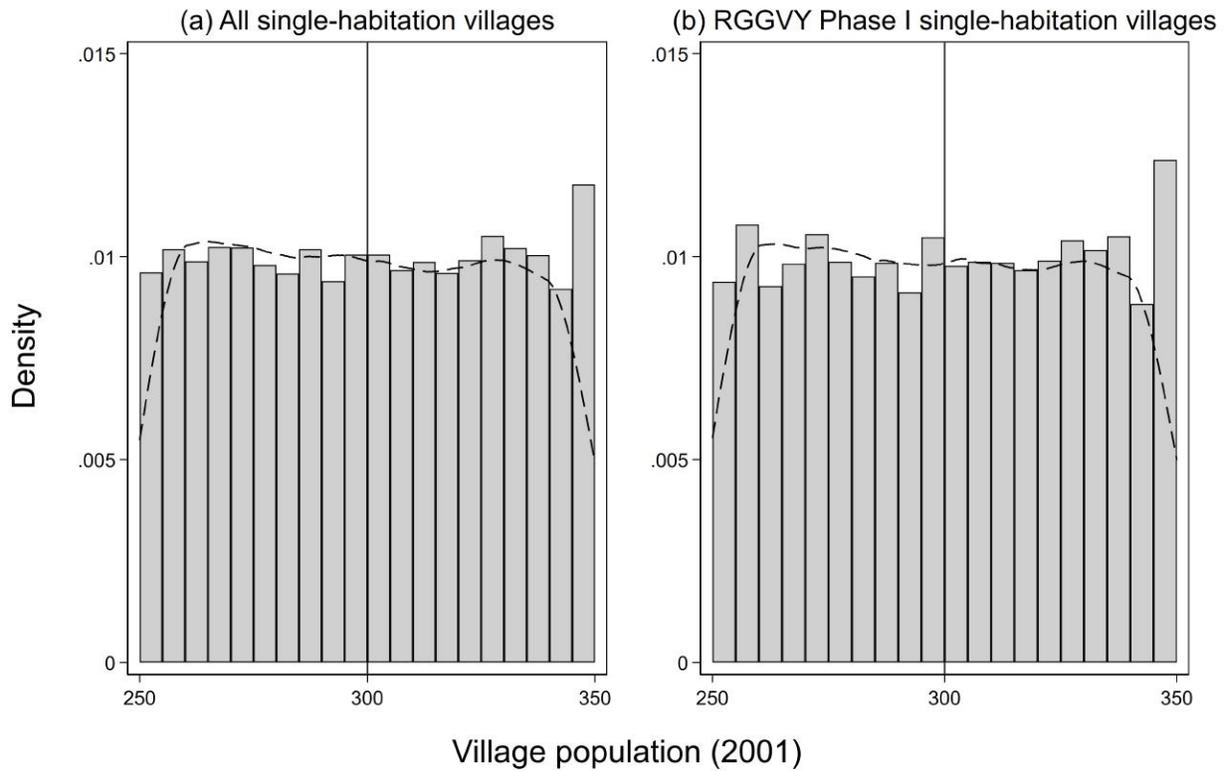
Notes. This figure shows marketed natural gas (panel *a*) and crude oil (panel *b*) produced from fracked and “conventional” wells in the United States between 2000 and 2015. Marketed natural gas production excludes natural gas used for repressuring the well, vented and flared gas, and any nonhydrocarbon gases. Source: United States Energy Information Administration, IHS Global Insight, and DrillingInfo, Inc, as outlined at <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=26112> and <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=25372>.

Figure 3: Weight and share (of global value) of India's guar gum exports



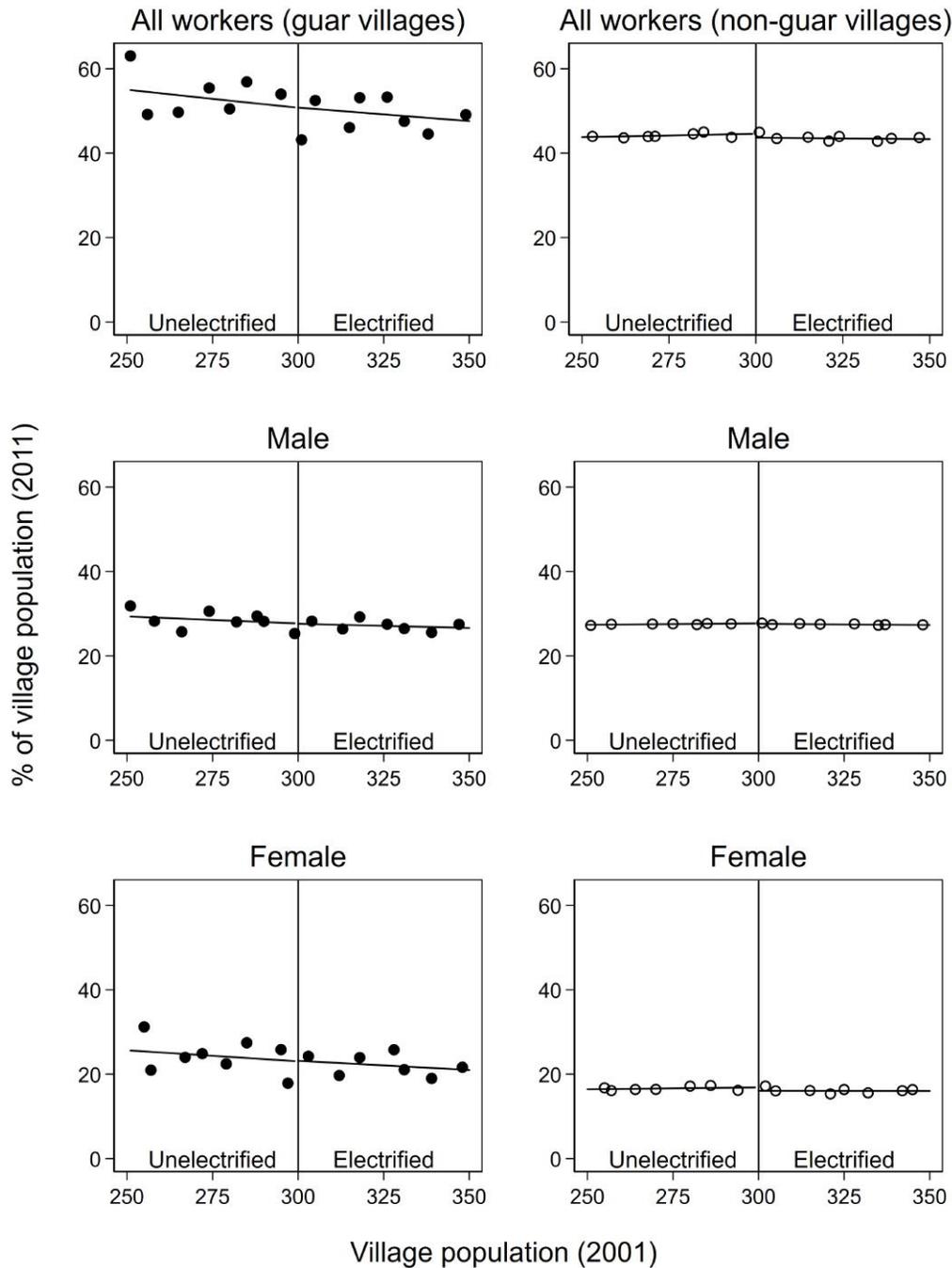
Notes. This figure shows the total weight (bar graph; left axis) and share of total global trade value (line graph; right axis) of India's exports of guar gum for each year between 2001 and 2015 based on data for guar gum (product code HS 130232) from the United Nations Comtrade Database (<https://comtrade.un.org/>). Guar cultivation in India exhibited a reduction in 2009-10 on account of drought conditions, resulting in a reduction in the weight of its guar gum exports.

Figure 4: Village population changes smoothly at RGGVY Phase I eligibility threshold



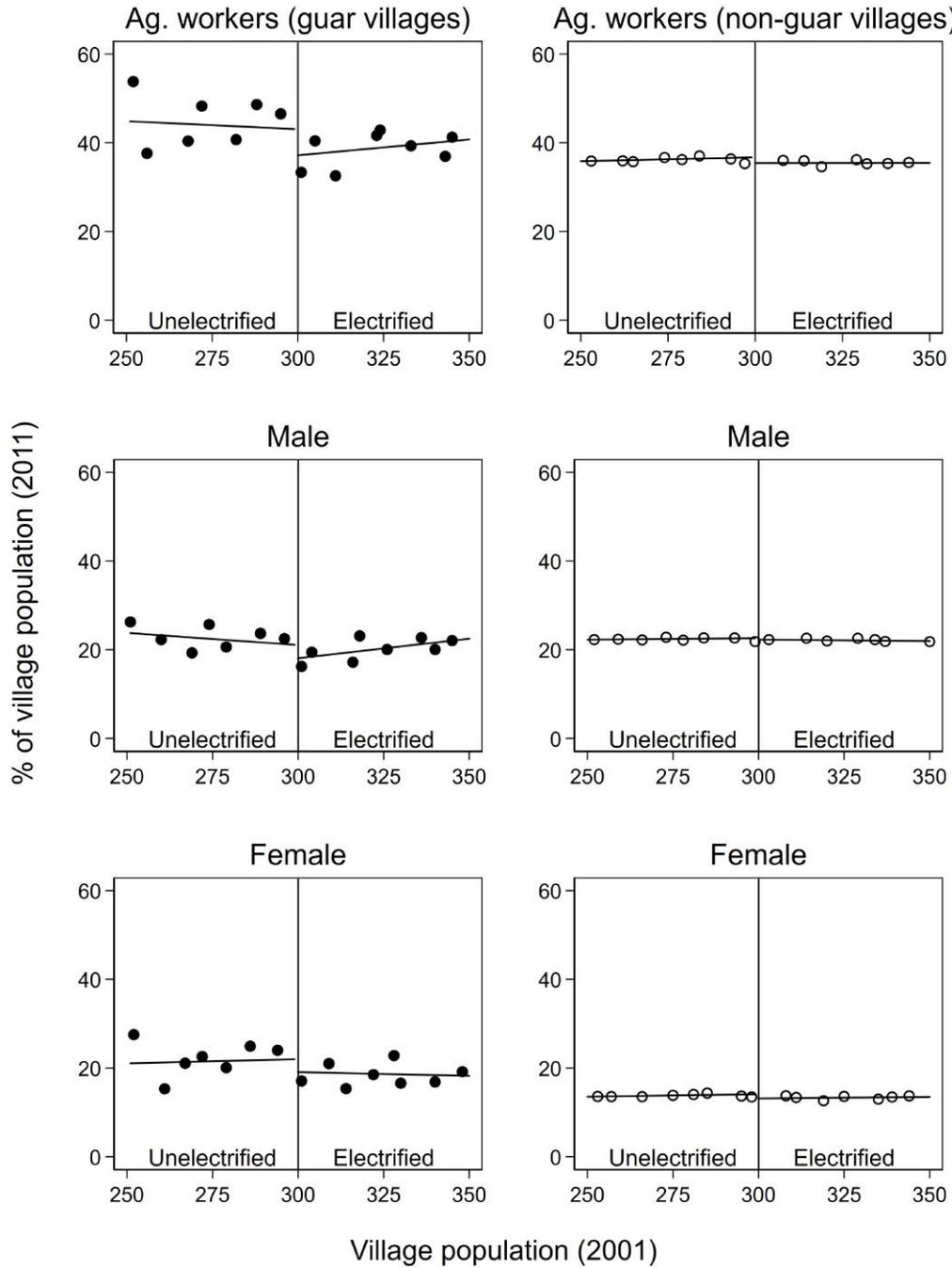
*Notes.* This figure shows the distribution of village-level population (in five-person bins) for fuzzy-matched single-habitation villages with a 2001 population (as per the Census) that is within a 50-person bandwidth of RGGVY's 300-person habitation-level eligibility threshold for electrification. Panel (a) shows this distribution for all such villages in India ( $N = 14,668$ ) while panel (b) shows it only for villages located within districts approved for the roll-out of rural electrification as part of RGGVY Phase I ( $N = 7,655$ ).

Figure 5: RD results of impact of electrification on size of labor force



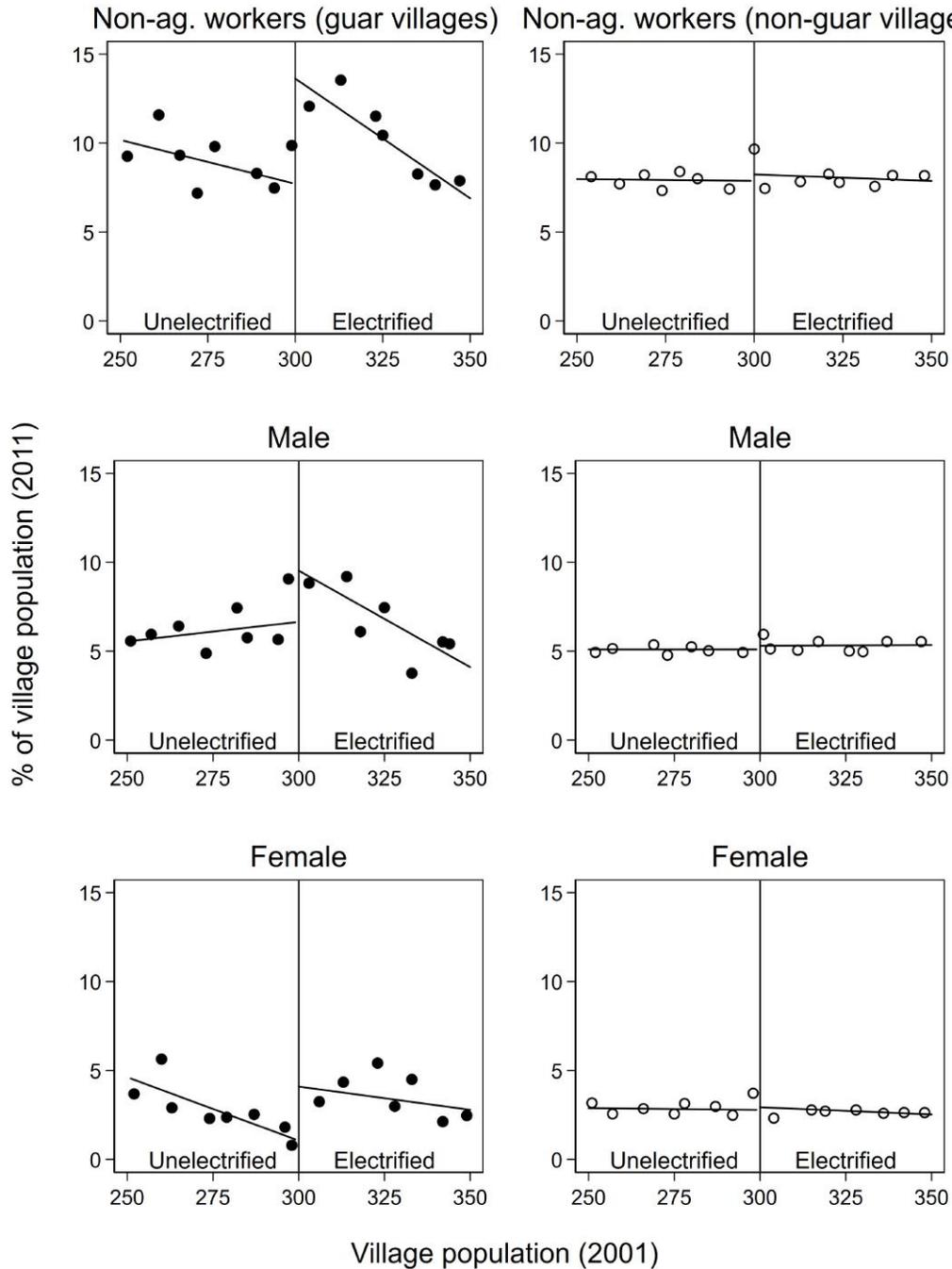
*Notes.* This figure shows the results from estimating the regression specification outlined in Equation (9). The left panels show the results for villages located in guar-growing districts; the right panels show the corresponding results for villages located in non-guar-growing districts. Table 1 reports associated numerical estimates. Best-fit lines are estimated using the predicted values from the regression. Each solid (hollow) dot represents the mean predicted values for approximately 10 (500) villages in fifteen-person bins.

Figure 6: RD results of impact of electrification on share of agricultural labor force



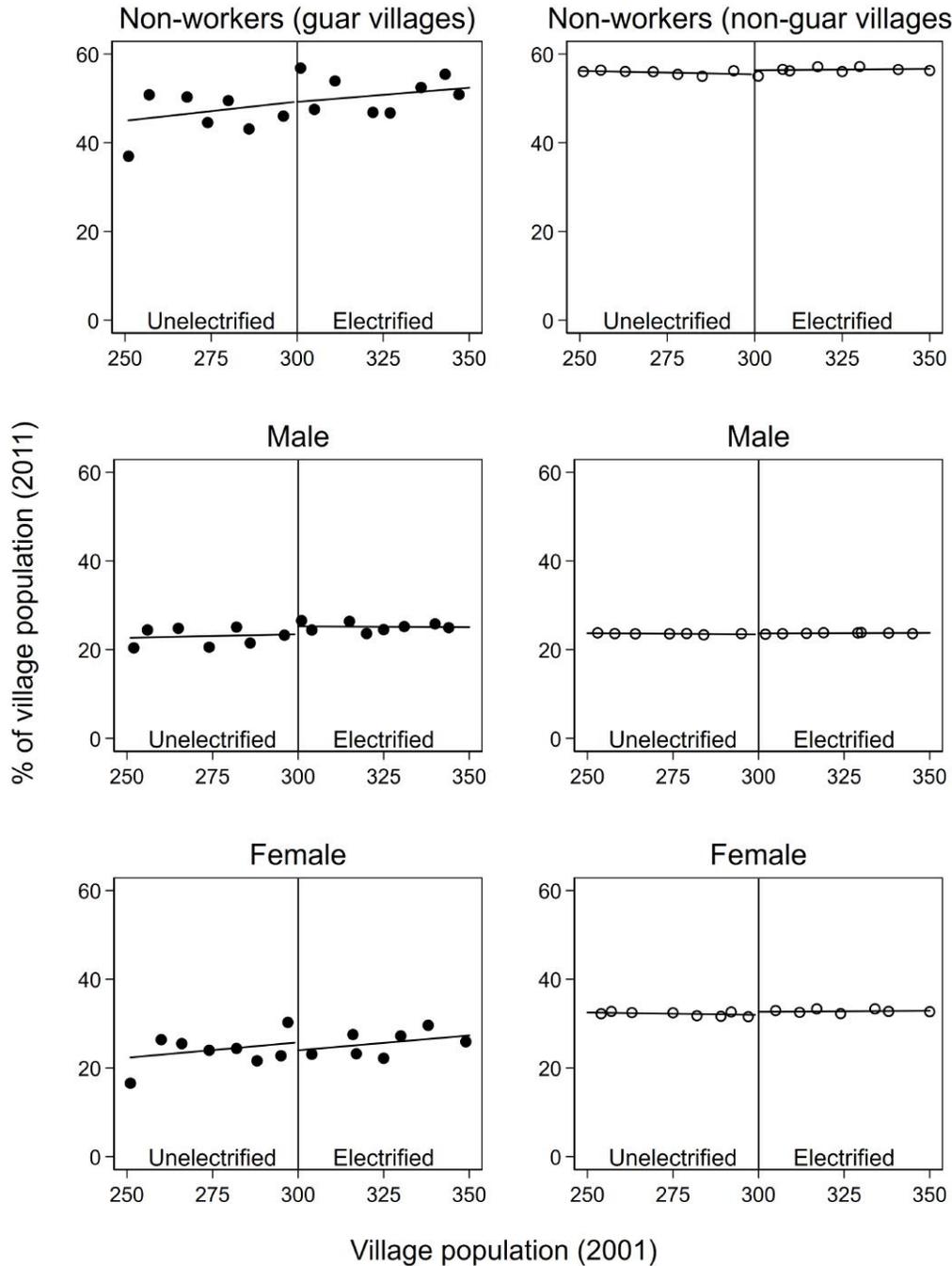
*Notes.* This figure shows the results from estimating the regression specification outlined in Equation (9). The left panels show the results for villages located in guar-growing districts; the right panels show the corresponding results for villages located in non-guar-growing districts. Columns (1)–(3) of Table 2 report associated numerical estimates. Best-fit lines are estimated using the predicted values from the regression. Each solid (hollow) dot represents the mean predicted values for approximately 10 (500) villages in fifteen-person bins.

Figure 7: RD results of impact of electrification on share of non-agricultural labor force



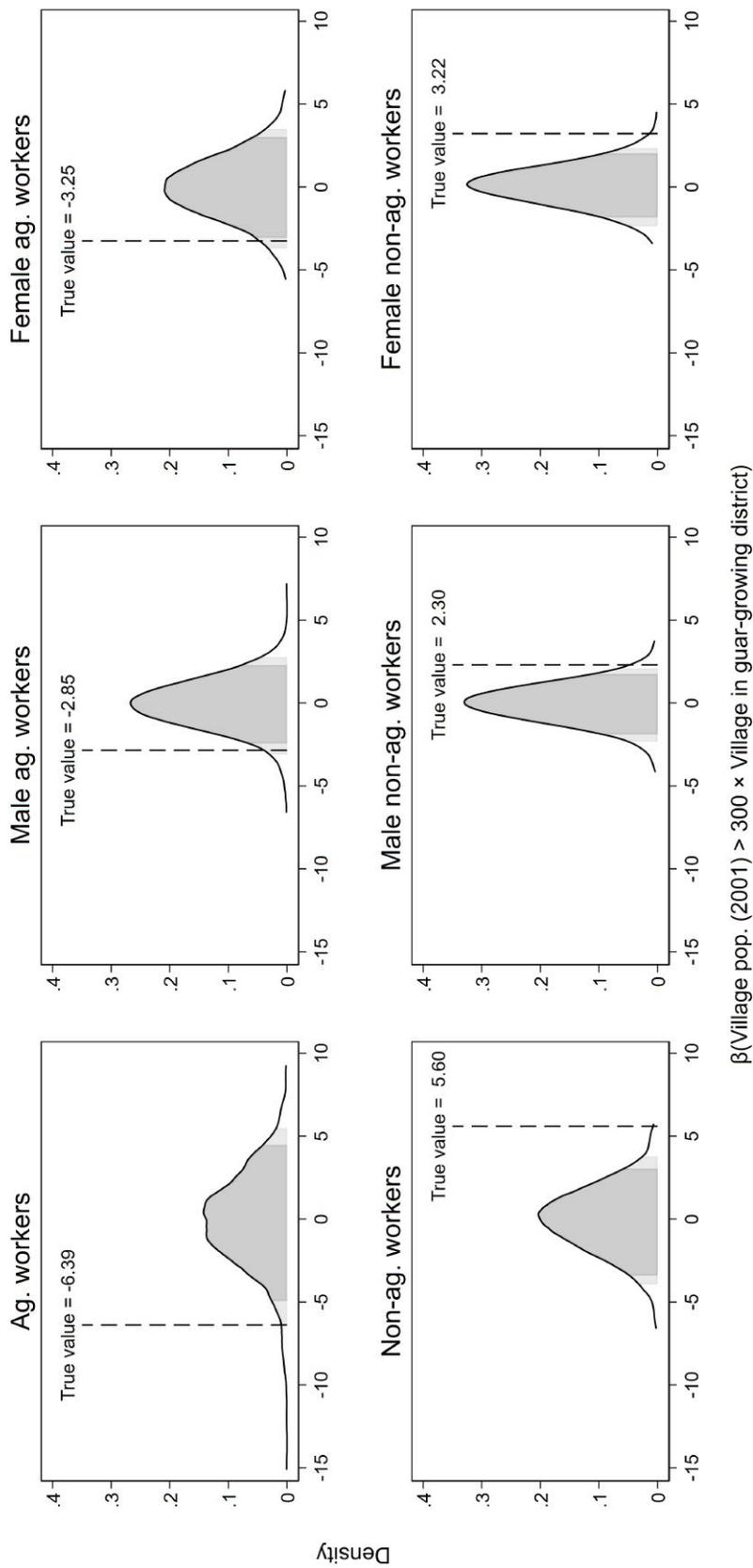
*Notes.* This figure shows the results from estimating the regression specification outlined in Equation (9). The left panels show the results for villages located in guar-growing districts; the right panels show the corresponding results for villages located in non-guar-growing districts. Columns (4)–(6) of Table 2 report associated numerical estimates. Best-fit lines are estimated using the predicted values from the regression. Each solid (hollow) dot represents the mean predicted values for approximately 10 (500) villages in fifteen-person bins.

Figure 8: RD results of impact of electrification on share of non-working population



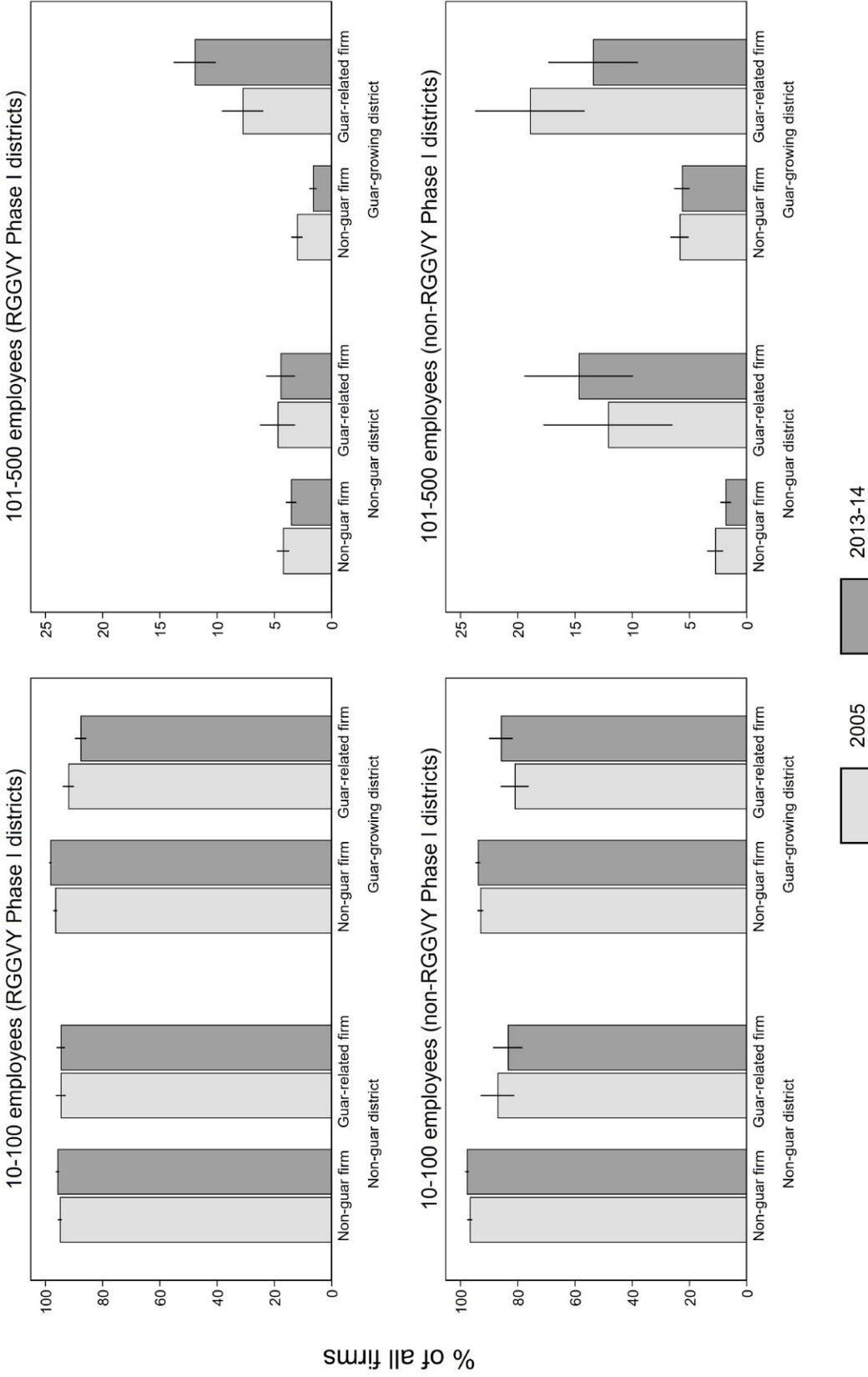
*Notes.* This figure shows the results from estimating the regression specification outlined in Equation (9). The left panels show the results for villages located in guar-growing districts; the right panels show the corresponding results for villages located in non-guar-growing districts. Columns (7)–(9) of Table 2 report associated numerical estimates. Best-fit lines are estimated using the predicted values from the regression. Each solid (hollow) dot represents the mean predicted values for approximately 10 (500) villages in fifteen-person bins.

Figure 9: Evaluating differential impact of electrification in guar-/non-guar-growing districts using randomization inference



Notes. Each panel of this figure plots the distribution of 1,000 estimated values of  $\beta_2$  from a randomization-based inferential procedure (Athey and Imbens, 2017). In each iteration, we randomly assign eleven RGGVY Phase I districts to placebo guar- and non-guar-growing groups, re-estimate Equation (9) to obtain a  $\beta_2$  placebo value for the degree to which the guar boom augments the impact of electrification. The dashed vertical line indicates the true value of  $\beta_2$ , as reported in Table 2. Dark (light) shading represents the 90 (95) percent confidence interval of each distribution.

Figure 10: Distribution of guar-related firms in RGGVY Phase I districts of Rajasthan



Notes. This figure shows the distribution, by firm size, of the firms listed in the “Directory of Establishments” associated with the 2005 ( $N = 13,816$ ) and 2013-14 ( $N = 18,336$ ) rounds of the Economic Census of India. A firm is assumed to be in a guar-related industry if its 2008 National Industrial Classification (NIC) code is one of the following: (i) Support activities to agriculture and post-harvest crop activities (016); (ii) Manufacture of basic chemicals, fertilizer and nitrogen compounds, plastics and synthetic rubber in primary forms (201); (iii) Manufacture of prepared animal feeds (108); (iv) Manufacture of non-metallic mineral products (239); and (v) Wholesale of agricultural raw materials and live animals (462). All firms in the sample are located in one of Rajasthan’s RGGVY Phase I districts. Error bars indicate 95 percent confidence intervals for the means.

## Tables

Table 1: RD estimates of impact of electrification on size of labor force

		(1)	(2)	(3)
		All workers (% of 2011 population)		
		All	Male	Female
$\hat{\beta}_1$	$\mathbb{1}(\text{Village pop. (2001)} > 300)$	-0.78 (0.55)	-0.13 (0.20)	-0.62 (0.46)
$\hat{\beta}_2$	$\mathbb{1}(\text{Village pop. (2001)} > 300) \times$ $\mathbb{1}(\text{Village in guar-growing district})$	0.14 (2.57)	-0.13 (1.37)	0.07 (1.43)
District FEs		Yes	Yes	Yes
State FEs		Yes	Yes	Yes
Census (2001) controls		Yes	Yes	Yes
$N$		7649	7649	7649
Adjusted $R^2$		0.39	0.38	0.39
Mean of outcome		43.98	27.51	16.47

*Notes.* This table shows results from estimating Equation (9). These results correspond to those presented graphically in Figure (5). The outcome variable for each regression comes from the Primary Census Abstract tables of the 2011 round of the Indian Census. Each regression includes all single-habitation villages in RGGVY Phase I districts with a 2001 population within a fifty-person bandwidth of RGGVY's 300-person eligibility threshold. Estimates associated with the population running variable ( $\tilde{P}_{vds}^{2001}$ ) are omitted. Following [Correia \(2015\)](#), six singleton observations are excluded. Standard errors—in parentheses—are clustered at the district level. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

Table 2: RD estimates of impact of electrification on share of agricultural and non-agricultural workers, and non-workers

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Agricultural workers (% of 2011 population)		Non-agricultural workers (% of 2011 population)		Non-agricultural workers (% of 2011 population)		Non-workers (% of 2011 population)		
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female
$\hat{\beta}_1$ $\mathbb{1}(\text{Village pop. (2001)} > 300)$	-1.17** (0.59)	-0.27 (0.29)	-0.91** (0.39)	0.53 (0.40)	0.17 (0.24)	0.27 (0.24)	0.78 (0.55)	0.26 (0.20)	0.50 (0.44)
$\hat{\beta}_2$ $\mathbb{1}(\text{Village pop. (2001)} > 300) \times$ $\mathbb{1}(\text{Village in guar-growing district})$	-6.39*** (1.71)	-2.85*** (0.97)	-3.25** (1.34)	5.60*** (1.19)	2.30** (1.12)	3.22*** (1.23)	-0.14 (2.57)	1.66 (1.55)	-1.65 (1.50)
District FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census (2001) controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	7649	7649	7649	7649	7649	7649	7649	7649	7649
Adjusted $R^2$	0.37	0.36	0.38	0.16	0.25	0.07	0.39	0.40	0.34
Mean of outcome	35.96	22.27	13.68	8.02	5.23	2.79	56.02	23.66	32.36

Notes. This table shows results from estimating Equation (9). These results correspond to those presented graphically in Figures 6 (columns 1–3), 7 (columns 4–6) and 8 (columns 7–9). Outcome variables for regressions reported in columns (1)–(6) are constructed using data from the Primary Census Abstract tables of the 2011 round of the Indian Census. Specifically, “agricultural workers” represents a village-level sum of main and marginal cultivators and agricultural laborers, while “non-agricultural workers” represents a village-level sum of main and marginal household-industry and workers. Each regression includes all single-habitation villages in RGGVY Phase I districts with a 2001 population within a fifty-person bandwidth of RGGVY’s 300-person eligibility threshold. Estimates associated with the population running variable ( $\hat{\beta}_{nds}^{2001}$ ) are omitted. Following Correia (2015), six singleton observations are excluded. Standard errors—in parentheses—are clustered at the district level. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

Table 3: Differential impact on labor-force participation in guar-growing electrified regions

Outcome variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	$GUAR \times POST$		$N$	Adj. $R^2$	Mean of outcome
	Coef.	Std. Err.			
1 (In the labor force)	0.017	(0.031)	406,935	0.19	0.37
Male	0.013	(0.016)	209,546	0.37	0.54
Female	0.016	(0.046)	197,389	0.16	0.19

*Notes.* This table shows results from estimating Equation (11) on a repeated cross-section of individual-level data from 45 RGGVY Phase I National Sample Survey (NSS) regions. Each row represents a separate regression for all individuals in the sample, overall and by gender. An NSS region consists of two or more contiguous districts within a state, and does not cross state boundaries. An NSS region is defined as a RGGVY Phase I region if it contains at least one RGGVY Phase I district; a RGGVY Phase I region is assumed to also be a guar-growing region if it contains at least one guar-growing district (as shown in Figure 1). The underlying data cover a total of 406,935 rural individuals sampled in 2004 ( $POST = 0$ ) and 2011-12 ( $POST = 1$ ). The NSS regions in the dataset are formulated to ensure consistency in regions across those used in 2004 (60<sup>th</sup>) and 2011-12 (68<sup>th</sup>) rounds of the NSS. All models include region fixed-effect and state-by-year fixed-effects, and control for the age of the respondent. Standard errors—in column (2)—are clustered at the NSS region level. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

Table 4: Differential impact on farm-related labor force in guar-growing electrified regions

Outcome variable: 1 (Agricultural worker)	$GUAR \times POST$		(3) <i>N</i>	(4) Adj. $R^2$	(5) Mean of outcome
	Coeff.	Std. Err.			
<i>Labor-force subcategory:</i>					
1 (Household enterprise: Own account worker)	-0.095***	(0.016)	57,257	0.14	0.62
1 (Household enterprise: Employer)	-0.65***	(0.058)	1,391	0.19	0.67
1 (Household enterprise: Unpaid family worker)	-0.024**	(0.0093)	34,079	0.081	0.84
1 (Salaried/wage employee)	0.0098	(0.018)	18,336	0.13	0.04
1 (Casual wage labor: Public works)	0.0068	(0.0053)	1,350	0.18	0.05
1 (Casual wage labour: Other types of work)	-0.038	(0.074)	34,126	0.29	0.57
1 (Seeking/available for work)	–	(–)	5,195	–	0.00

*Notes.* This table shows results from estimating Equation (11) on a repeated cross-section of individual-level data from up to 45 RGGVY Phase I National Sample Survey (NSS) regions. Each row represents a separate regression for distinct subgroups of the rural labor force; in each of these regressions, the outcome variable is a binary variable that equals one if the respondent is in a farming-related industry (Division 01 “Crop and animal production, hunting and related service activities,” as per the 2008 National Industrial Classification [NIC] system). An NSS region consists of two or more contiguous districts within a state, and does not cross state boundaries. An NSS region is defined as a RGGVY Phase I region if it contains at least one RGGVY Phase I district; a RGGVY Phase I region is assumed to also be a guar-growing region if it contains at least one guar-growing district (as shown in Figure 1). The underlying data cover a total of 406,935 rural individuals sampled in 2004 ( $POST = 0$ ) and 2011-12 ( $POST = 1$ ). The NSS regions in the dataset are formulated to ensure consistency in regions across those used in 2004 (60<sup>th</sup>) and 2011-12 (68<sup>th</sup>) rounds of the NSS. All models include region fixed-effect and state-by-year fixed-effects, and control for the age of the respondent. Singleton observations are dropped. Standard errors—in column (2)—are clustered at the NSS region level. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

Table 5: Differential impact on home production in guar-growing electrified regions

Outcome variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	$GUAR \times POST$		$N$	Adj. $R^2$	Mean of outcome
	Coeff.	Std. Err.			
1 (Domestic duties only)	-0.061***	(0.0079)	406,935	0.042	0.10
Male	-0.00058	(0.0011)	209,546	0.0043	0.003
Female	-0.13***	(0.019)	197,389	0.095	0.21
1 (Domestic duties and home production)	0.052*	(0.026)	406,935	0.060	0.10
Male	-0.0084**	(0.0033)	209,546	0.0025	0.003
Female	0.12**	(0.052)	197,389	0.14	0.20

*Notes.* This table shows results from estimating Equation (11) on a repeated cross-section of individual-level data from 45 RGGVY Phase I National Sample Survey (NSS) regions. Each row represents a separate regression for distinct subgroups of individuals, overall and by gender. “Domestic duties” includes all activities that constitute the care economy, such as looking after the young, the sick and the elderly as well as other healthy household members, cooking, cleaning and provisioning for the household, while “home production” includes being engaged in free collection of goods (vegetables, roots, firewood, cattle feed), sewing, tailoring, weaving, etc. for household use. An NSS region consists of two or more contiguous districts within a state, and does not cross state boundaries. An NSS region is defined as a RGGVY Phase I region if it contains at least one RGGVY Phase I district; a RGGVY Phase I region is assumed to also be a guar-growing region if it contains at least one guar-growing district (as shown in Figure 1). The underlying data cover a total of 406,935 rural individuals sampled in 2004 ( $POST = 0$ ) and 2011-12 ( $POST = 1$ ). The NSS regions in the dataset are formulated to ensure consistency in regions across those used in 2004 (60<sup>th</sup>) and 2011-12 (68<sup>th</sup>) rounds of the NSS. All models include region fixed-effect and state-by-year fixed-effects, and control for the age of the respondent. Standard errors—in column (2)—are clustered at the NSS region level. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

Table 6: Impact of electrification on firm type and size in Rajasthan

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Guar-related firms (% of all firms)	Number of employees (% of all firms)		
		10-100	101-500	>500
<i>POST</i>	-0.11 (0.96)	0.58 (0.71)	-0.72 (0.64)	0.14 (0.24)
<i>GUAR</i> × <i>POST</i>	0.84 (1.81)	-1.03 (1.41)	1.52 (1.15)	-0.49 (0.36)
<i>RGGVY</i> × <i>POST</i>	1.80 (2.25)	0.41 (0.89)	-0.23 (0.81)	-0.18 (0.26)
<i>GUAR</i> × <i>RGGVY</i> × <i>POST</i>	-3.18 (2.82)	1.40 (1.54)	-1.65 (1.29)	0.25 (0.38)
<i>INDUSTRY</i>		-3.65 (6.59)	3.87 (6.59)	-0.23 (0.62)
<i>INDUSTRY</i> × <i>GUAR</i>		-1.99 (8.11)	2.32 (8.36)	-0.33 (0.75)
<i>INDUSTRY</i> × <i>RGGVY</i>		2.91 (6.73)	-3.07 (6.72)	0.16 (0.68)
<i>INDUSTRY</i> × <i>RGGVY</i> × <i>GUAR</i>		-0.72 (8.36)	0.48 (8.61)	0.24 (0.82)
<i>INDUSTRY</i> × <i>POST</i>		-0.66 (3.29)	-0.89 (3.00)	1.55 (1.02)
<i>INDUSTRY</i> × <i>RGGVY</i> × <i>POST</i>		0.05 (3.44)	1.02 (3.13)	-1.07 (1.16)
<i>INDUSTRY</i> × <i>GUAR</i> × <i>POST</i>		3.30 (3.31)	-2.46 (3.15)	-0.84 (1.15)
<i>INDUSTRY</i> × <i>GUAR</i> × <i>RGGVY</i> × <i>POST</i>		-12.24** (5.30)	11.39** (5.26)	0.85 (1.29)
District FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of districts	32	33	33	33
Mean of outcome	10.36	94.60	4.86	0.54
<i>N</i>	64	129	129	129
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.81	0.32	0.32	0.23

*Notes.* This table shows results from estimating Equation (10). The results reported in columns (2)–(4) are related to those presented graphically in Figure (10). The outcome variable for each regression is calculated using data from the "Directory of Establishment" of the 2005 (*POST* = 0) and 2013-14 (*POST* = 1) rounds of the Economic Census of India. Standard errors—in parentheses—are clustered at the district level. A firm is assumed to belong to a "guar-related" industry if its 2008 National Industrial Classification (NIC) code is one of the following: (i) Support activities to agriculture and post-harvest crop activities (016); (ii) Manufacture of basic chemicals, fertilizer and nitrogen compounds, plastics and synthetic rubber in primary forms (201); (iii) Manufacture of prepared animal feeds (108); (iv) Manufacture of non-metallic mineral products (239); and (v) Wholesale of agricultural raw materials and live animals (462). \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

## Appendix A Using nighttime luminosity to evaluate the impact of the fracking-induced guar boom on economic activity

Did the fracking-induced guar boom in northwestern India have a meaningful impact on economic activity? To answer this question, we rely on the synthetic control methodology (SCM) applied to two decades of nighttime luminosity data covering nearly all of India’s approximately 600,000 villages. We find that guar-growing districts shine brighter at night as a result of the start of the guar boom than a synthetic “counterfactual.” As nighttime luminosity is a widely accepted proxy for regional economic activity, these results point to a large increase in economic activity in India’s guar-growing regions due to the start of the United States’ fracking boom.

### A.1 Synthetic control methodology

Like the conventional difference-in-differences estimator, the SCM relies on differences between “treated” and “untreated” units before and after an event of interest (Abadie and Gardeazabal, 2003; Abadie et al., 2010). However, SCM does not give equal weight to all untreated units. Instead, it hinges on using a linear combination of untreated units to generate a weighted average whose pre-treatment outcome trends closely match those of the treated unit. This synthetic “counterfactual” unit is then projected into the post-treatment period and compared with the treated unit to gauge the direction and magnitude of impacts.

This feature makes it particularly attractive for estimating treatment effects in small-sample settings such as our own, in which only 23 mostly contiguous districts in northwestern India are assumed to be “treated” by the fracking boom. Indeed, many applications have featured only one treated unit that is compared with multiple untreated units over time (e.g., Coffman and Noy, 2011; Singhal and Nilakantan, 2016).

Formally, let  $T_0$  represent the number of pre-treatment periods (out of  $T$  total periods) and  $J$  represent the number of untreated units. Let  $\mathbf{W} = (w_1, \dots, w_J)$  be a  $(J \times 1)$  vector of non-negative weights such that  $\sum_{j=1}^J w_j = 1$ . Each  $w_j \in \mathbf{W}$  represents the weight of the  $j^{\text{th}}$  untreated unit. Let  $\mathbf{Y}_1$  be a  $(T_0 \times 1)$  vector of outcome measures in the treated unit for each pre-treatment period  $t$ . Similarly, let  $\mathbf{Y}_0$  be a  $(T_0 \times J)$  matrix that contains the same outcome measures for each untreated unit  $j$  in pre-treatment period  $t$ . Broadly, the aim of the SCM is to pick  $\mathbf{W}^*$  such that:

$$\mathbf{Y}_1 = \mathbf{Y}_0 \mathbf{W}^*. \quad (\text{A.1})$$

Applications of the SCM typically specify a set of  $k$  pre-treatment characteristics  $\mathbf{X}$  as predictors, where  $\mathbf{X}$  includes observed covariates  $\mathbf{Z}$  that are unaffected by the treatment as well as linear combinations of the pre-treatment outcomes  $\mathbf{Y}$ . Given  $\mathbf{Y}$  and  $\mathbf{X}$ ,  $\mathbf{W}$  is picked so as to minimize the root-mean-squared prediction error (RMSPE) of the predictors:

$$\mathbf{W}^* = \arg \min_{\mathbf{W}} \left\{ \sqrt{(\mathbf{X}_1 - \mathbf{X}_0 \mathbf{W})' \mathbf{V} (\mathbf{X}_1 - \mathbf{X}_0 \mathbf{W})} \right\}, \quad (\text{A.2})$$

where the subscripts denote treated and untreated units as in Equation (A.1), and  $\mathbf{V}$  represents a  $(k \times k)$  matrix that specifies the relative importance of the predictors.<sup>46</sup> Placebo tests determine the statistical significance of the effects observed in the post-treatment period. Specifically, the treated unit is excluded from the sample, and the analysis is repeated for each untreated unit, which is

<sup>46</sup>Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003) choose  $\mathbf{V}$  so as to minimize the RMSPE of the outcome variable in the pre-treatment period.

now assumed to have been treated instead. The presence of many large effects in the resulting distribution of post-treatment placebo effects suggests that the original estimated effect may have been the result of chance.<sup>47</sup>

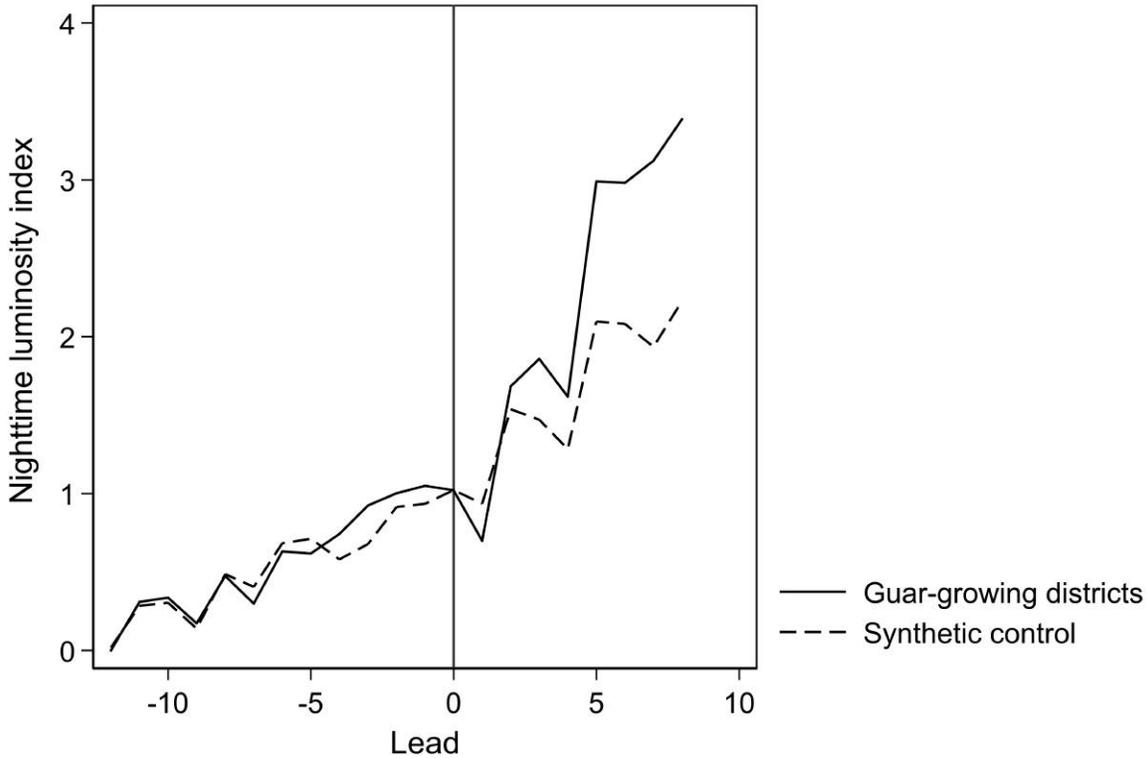
## A.2 Nighttime luminosity

Nighttime luminosity measures are increasingly used by economists to investigate changes in regional economic activity over time (Doll et al., 2006; Henderson et al., 2012). Recent applications also demonstrate that they serve as useful proxies for information on socioeconomic outcomes in low-income settings, where high-quality statistical data are often missing (Chen and Nordhaus, 2011; Pinkovskiy and Sala-i-Martin, 2016). This work typically uses data generated as part of the Defense Meteorological Satellite Program (DMSP) led by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). DMSP satellites take pictures of the Earth every night. NOAA processes and cleans these nightly images to remove irregularities (such as cloud cover or solar glare), averages them across years, and makes the annual composite images publicly available.<sup>48</sup> Each pixel of these annual images—representing 30 arc seconds or approximately 1 km<sup>2</sup> at the equator—is assigned a number on a relative brightness scale ranging from 0 to 63.

Most prior research has relied on these annual composites. While annual averages certainly provide useful information, they smooth away substantial variation in brightness over the calendar year and are, therefore, less precise (Min et al., 2017). We use a considerably richer dataset of monthly village-level nighttime luminosity measures developed by Gaba et al. (2016), who revisit the complete archive of raw visible band (VIS) imagery captured during every night in India between 1993 and 2013 to generate each observation. Because the DMSP includes multiple satellites, this archive consists of approximately 30,000 high-resolution image strips. Brightness values are extracted from these images for each date from each pixel corresponding to the latitude and longitude of each of India's approximately 600,000 villages. These values are processed in line with NOAA recommendations to remove irregularities, and the resulting 4.4 billion observations are aggregated to the village-month level by taking the median measurement for each village over the course of a month. In addition, because the 0–63 relative brightness levels in the raw data are not directly comparable over time, additional image processing and background noise reduction procedures are applied to generate statistically recalibrated visible band (SR-VIS) measures, which enable more reliable comparisons both cross-sectionally and across time.<sup>49</sup>

We use these data to evaluate differential impacts of the fracking-induced guar boom on nighttime luminosity—and, by proxy, economic activity—across guar- and non-guar-growing regions of India. Because we identify guar-growing regions of India at the district level, in our analysis we rely on district-month measures of nighttime brightness.<sup>50</sup>

Figure A1: Pre-/post-guar-boom trends in nighttime luminosity in guar-growing districts



*Notes.* This figure presents results from a synthetic control approach to evaluate the impact of the start of the fracking-induced guar boom in India on nighttime luminosity in India’s guar-growing districts (as shown in Figure 1). The outcome variable is an index of nighttime luminosity, aggregated to the district-year level from the village-month level. The fracking-induced guar boom is assumed to begin in 2006, indicated by the vertical line. Other years (covering the period 1993-2013) are presented as leads and lags relative to 2006.

### A.3 Results

We specify a parsimonious predictive model of nighttime luminosity, namely, one in which nighttime luminosity in district  $d$  in year  $t$  is a function of nighttime luminosity in year  $t - 1$ .<sup>51</sup> Figure A1 presents our main results. The solid line highlights the trend in mean monthly nighttime brightness for India’s guar-growing districts. The vertical line represents the start of the fracking boom in the United States (assumed to be 2006). The dashed line represents mean monthly nighttime bright-

<sup>47</sup>Given the geographical spread of the guar shock across many districts in northwestern India, our analysis relies on an extension to this basic approach developed by Cavallo et al. (2013), who generalize the application of SCM to multiple treated units possibly at different time periods.

<sup>48</sup>NOAA’s annual composite images are available at <https://ngdc.noaa.gov/eog/dmsp/downloadV4composites.html>.

<sup>49</sup>Min et al. (2017)—who use SR-VIS data to study power-supply irregularity across rural India—describe these image-processing procedures in more detail. The data are available at <http://api.nightlights.io/>.

<sup>50</sup>Gaba et al. (2016) determine these by identifying the median village light output within each district boundary for each month.

<sup>51</sup>Prior applications of the SCM have often used contemporaneous or lagged values of the outcome variable for all units  $j'$  as the sole predictor in estimation of treatment effects for unit  $j$  (e.g., Acemoglu et al., 2016). The justification for this approach is that the outcome variable fully characterizes all observed and unobserved determinants.

Table A1: Impact of fracking-induced guar boom on nighttime luminosity in Rajasthan

(1) Year	(2) Estimated coefficient	(3) <i>p</i> -value
2007	-0.24***	0.0006
2008	0.15	0.58
2009	0.39**	0.04
2010	0.33**	0.01
2011	0.89	0.14
2012	0.90**	0.03
2013	1.19***	0.004

*Notes.* This table presents the estimate effect of the fracking-induced guar boom on nighttime luminosity in India’s guar-growing districts (relative to a synthetically generated set of guar-growing districts) for each post-boom year (column 2). Column (3) presents *p*-values associated with each estimated coefficient, obtained by adjusting the observed effect sized by the pre-treatment match quality as outlined by [Cavallo et al. \(2013\)](#). \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

ness for a “counterfactual” set of guar-growing districts (unaffected by the fracking-induced guar boom). As described earlier, this is generated by estimating a set of weights for monthly nighttime brightness data for all other Indian districts over the pre-fracking-boom period (1993-2005) that are used to most closely track pre-boom—and predict post-boom—nighttime brightness trends in the guar-growing areas. The divergence in the two lines in the post-boom period is stark, and suggests that the start of fracking-induced boom resulted in sizable increases in nighttime brightness—and, by extension, economic activity in India’s guar-growing regions. Indeed, *p*-values estimated year-by-year using placebo tests for each post-boom year indicate that by 2011, the probability of this increased economic activity being detectable from space in this way by chance is extremely low (Table A1).

## Appendix B Home production and labor supply

The Lagrangian associated with the household's problem described in Section 3.1 is as follows:

$$\max_{c_i, l_i} \mathcal{L} = u \left( c \left( t_i^h, x_i, v_i; \psi_i \right), t_i^l \right) + \lambda \left( w_i T + v_i - x_i - w_i \left( t_i^h + t_i^l \right) \right). \quad (\text{B.1})$$

Ignoring the  $i$  subscripts, this yields the following first-order conditions for an interior solution:

$$\mathcal{L}_{t^l} = u_{t^l} - \lambda w = 0 \quad (\text{B.2})$$

$$\mathcal{L}_{t^h} = u_c c_{t^h} - \lambda w = 0 \quad (\text{B.3})$$

$$\mathcal{L}_x = u_c c_x - \lambda = 0 \quad (\text{B.4})$$

$$\mathcal{L}_\lambda = wT + v - x - w \left( t^h + t^l \right) = 0. \quad (\text{B.5})$$

These first-order conditions indicate that household's time allocations are chosen to equate the marginal rate of substitution between leisure and consumption with (i) the shadow value of home production; and (ii) the shadow value of market-based activities. Specifically, from Equations (B.2), (B.3) and (B.4):

$$\frac{u_{t^l}}{u_c} = c_{t^h} = c_x w. \quad (\text{B.6})$$

From this, the general form of the household's optimal time allocation to home production is obtained:

$$t^{h*} = f_{t^h} (w, v; \psi). \quad (\text{B.7})$$

Equations (B.2), (B.4) and (B.5) can be solved jointly to obtain the household's optimal time allocation to leisure and its demand for the market-purchased home-production input:

$$t^{l*} = f_{t^l} (w, v; \psi) \quad (\text{B.8})$$

$$x^* = f_x (w, v; \psi). \quad (\text{B.9})$$

Equation (B.9) and Equation (B.7) combined with the household's consumption production function yield the household's optimal consumption:

$$c^* = c \left( t^{h*}, x^*, v; \psi_i \right). \quad (\text{B.10})$$

Finally, combining the household's time constraint with Equations (B.7) and (B.8) yields the household's time allocation to market-based activities:

$$t^{m*} = T - t^{h*} - t^{l*} = f_{t^m} (w, v; \psi). \quad (\text{B.11})$$

## Appendix C Habitation-Village matching procedure

We use a multi-step matching procedure to identify villages eligible for electrification under RGGVY Phase I based on the populations of their constituent habitations, and identify corresponding village names from the 2001 and 2011 Census to those in the 2009 census of habitations conducted by the National Rural Drinking Water Program (NRDWP). The NRDWP habitation census covers 1.65 million habitations in 574,259 villages.<sup>52</sup> Because the NRDWP survey indicates only the name of each village (and not its unique Census code), matching on names is necessary; however, not all village names match exactly between the names used in NRDWP and those used in the Census, even conditional on an exact match for state and district. Accordingly, our matching process incorporates a combination of exact and fuzzy name matches, prioritizing exact matches where possible.

We treat the 2001 Primary Census Abstract (PCA) villages as the master dataset. As a first step for matching village names with the 2009 NRDWP habitations data, we standardize state, district, block, and village names to correct minor differences in spelling between the names in use by the NRDWP and the Census. We also account for districts that were renamed between 2001 and 2009. Our procedure for standardizing state and district names is sufficiently comprehensive to achieve a 100 percent match among state and district names between the NRDWP and Census, except for a handful of cases where districts are split or combined (not just renamed) between 2001 and 2009.<sup>53</sup>

We use information from the state, district, block, and village level, and prioritize exact matches. Where exact name matches are not possible, we employ a fuzzy match, using the “masalafied Levenshtein” distance and “Masala merge” code in Stata and Python (Asher and Novosad, 2018). This is a modification of the standard Levenshtein string distance metric, one that lowers the cost of certain substitutions that are common in Indian languages.<sup>54</sup> We thus create a five-tier matching hierarchy:

1. Exact match on state, district, block, and village name;
2. Exact match on state, district, and village name, with a fuzzy match on block name;
3. Exact match on state and district name, with a fuzzy match on block and village name;
4. Exact match on state, district, and village name (without regard to block name); and
5. Exact match on state and district name, with a fuzzy match on village name (without regard to block name).

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<sup>52</sup>This includes five of the seven Union Territories—Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu, Lakshadweep, and Puducherry—and Goa. However, we exclude these from the merge process because Goa and all seven Union Territories were fully electrified prior to 2005, so were excluded in RGGVY (Ministry of Power, 2012). Excluding the seven Union Territories and Goa, the 2009 survey covers 1.65 million habitations in 573,702 villages.

<sup>53</sup>One approach to match villages in split or combined districts would be to geolocate all villages from the old district(s) into the new district(s). We take a somewhat less intensive approach and look for name-based village matches in a proper subset of the old or new district area—specifically, an area of known overlap between old and new. For instance, Tiruppur district in Tamil Nadu was formed in 2009 from parts of Coimbatore and Erode. Among villages in the NRDWP belonging to Tiruppur district, we look for matching Census village names within Erode district, but not within Coimbatore district. We also flag any matches associated with split or combined districts. We have run our matching algorithm excluding these flagged matches and, after completing all five steps of the multi-step procedure, achieved virtually identical results.

<sup>54</sup>Additional information about Masala merge (including its underlying code) is available at <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~novosad/code.html>.

Of the 563,338 villages in the 2001 Census, we match 531,325 to villages in the NRDWP habitation census (94.3 percent). This includes 400,457 exact matches (71 percent), of which 271,774 (48 percent) are exact matches on state, district, block, and village name.<sup>55</sup> Further, our algorithm achieves a 90 percent or greater match rate across every state with the exception of Tripura (36 percent), Tamil Nadu (76 percent), Jammu and Kashmir (78 percent), Nagaland (82 percent), and Assam (83 percent). We also match at least 96 percent of villages in each of the three northwestern states where guar is produced (98 percent in Rajasthan and Gujarat, and 96 percent in Haryana).

As a further verification step, we compare the village population recorded by the NRDWP in 2009 to the village population recorded by the 2011 PCA. For any village name match in which these figures diverge by more than 20 percent, we exclude the village from the matched set.<sup>56</sup> Using this matched sample, we identify single-habitation villages, and use the population of each of these in the 2001 round of the Census to gauge its eligibility for electrification under RGGVY Phase I.

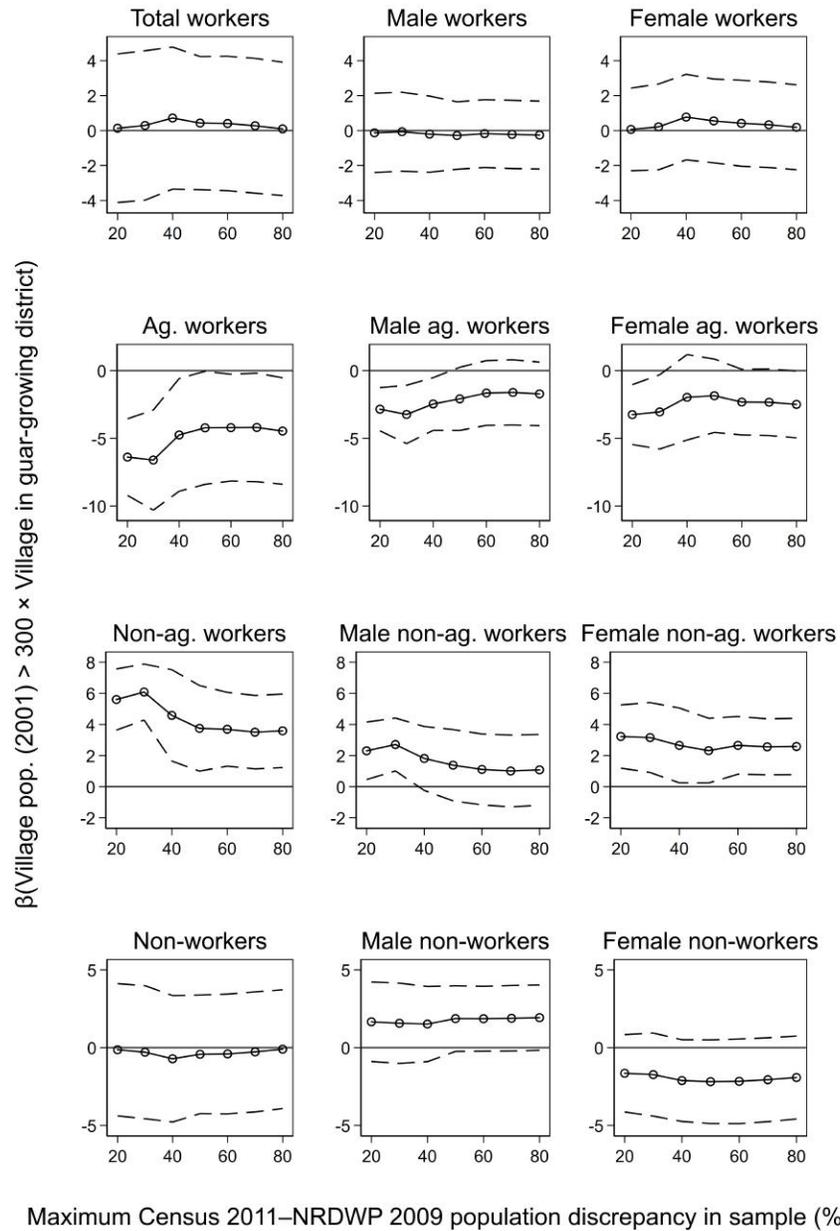
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<sup>55</sup>Our match rate is comparable to others in the literature. For instance, [Burlig and Preonas \(2016\)](#) report matching 86 percent of villages from the 2003 and 2009 NRDWP habitation surveys to corresponding Census villages. While [Asher and Novosad \(2018\)](#) do not report a village-level match rate, they do indicate they matched over 85 percent of habitations listed in the PMGSY to corresponding Census villages. [Aggarwal \(2018\)](#), who also evaluates the impact of India's rural roads program, reports a match rate of 80 percent.

<sup>56</sup>We have also run our analysis using thresholds other than 20 percent and find substantially similar results (Figure D1).

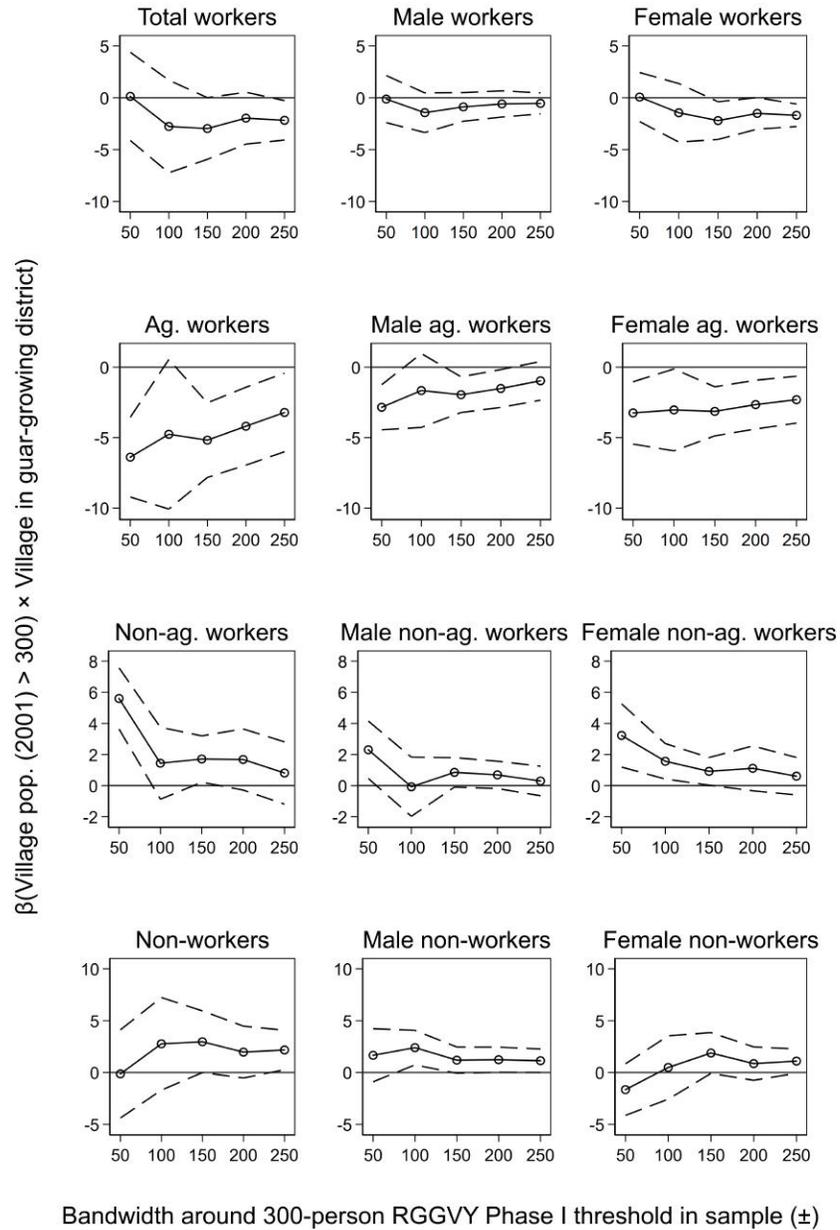
## Appendix D Additional Figures

Figure D1: Sensitivity of results to varying Census-NRDWP population discrepancy rates



*Notes.* This figure shows how the results reported in Tables 1 and 2 for the estimated value of  $\hat{\beta}_2$  evolves as we relax the Census 2011-NRDWP 2009 population discrepancy threshold we impose during our fuzzy matching procedure to validate matches (see Appendix C). Markers represent point estimates; dashed lines indicate 90 percent confidence intervals.

Figure D2: Sensitivity of results to varying RD bandwidths



Notes. This figure shows how the results reported in Tables 1 and 2 for the estimated value of  $\hat{\beta}_2$  evolves as we vary the population bandwidth around RGGVY's 300-person eligibility threshold to identify our analytical sample. Markers represent point estimates; dashed lines indicate 90 percent confidence intervals.

## Appendix E Additional tables

Table E1: Testing for discontinuous changes at RGGVY Phase I threshold in 2001

Outcome variable (2001)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	$\mathbb{1}$ (Village pop. (2001) > 300) Coef.	Std. Err.	$N$	Adj. $R^2$	Mean of outcome
Number of households	-0.08	(61.96)	7649	0.64	53.97
Females (% of population)	-0.01	(16.43)	7649	0.28	48.73
Ages 0–6 (% of population)	0.04	(35.86)	7649	0.36	17.78
Scheduled Caste/Tribe (% of population)	-0.57	(338.47)	7649	0.28	36.02
Literate (% of population)	-0.01	(6.49)	7649	0.36	45.01
All workers (% of population)	-1.00	(1.93)	7649	0.38	43.98
Agricultural workers (% of population)	-0.38	(228.06)	7649	0.32	37.22
Non-agricultural workers (% of population)	-0.62	(2.87)	7649	0.15	6.76
Area (Hectares)	-14.02	(101.07)	7649	0.36	158.07
Irrigated area (% of total area)	-0.65	(387.19)	7324	0.40	35.67
Primary schools (per 1,000 people)	-0.10	(0.40)	7649	0.27	1.97
Community health workers (per 1,000 people)	0.05	(0.22)	7649	0.10	0.20
$\mathbb{1}$ (Bus facilities)	0.01	(4.77)	7649	0.22	0.17
$\mathbb{1}$ (Postal facilities)	0.02	(0.13)	7649	0.15	0.18
$\mathbb{1}$ (Approach: Paved road)	0.00	(4.37)	7649	0.10	0.37
$\mathbb{1}$ (Power supply)	0.03	(0.08)	7649	0.35	0.66

Notes. Column (1) reports the value of  $\hat{\beta}_1$  obtained from estimating the following regression specification on our main analytical sample of single-habitation villages located in RGGVY Phase I districts:  $y_{vds}^{2001} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T_{vds} + \beta_2 \bar{P}_{vds}^{2001} + \beta_3 T_{vds} \bar{P}_{vds}^{2001} + \gamma_d + \gamma_s + \epsilon_{vds}$ , where  $y_{vds}^{2001}$  represents an outcome variable for village  $v$  in district  $d$  in state  $s$  in 2001,  $T_{vds}$  is a binary variable that equals one if the population of village  $v$  in 2001 is greater than 300,  $\bar{P}_{vds}^{2001}$  is the population running variable, and  $\gamma_d$  and  $\gamma_s$  represent a district and state fixed-effect, respectively. Standard errors—in column (2)—are clustered at the district level and inferred from  $p$ -values obtained using the free step-down resampling methodology of Westfall and Young (1993). \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

Table E2: RD estimates of impact of electrification on total population in 2011

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Total population (2011)		
	All	Male	Female
$\hat{\beta}_1$ $\mathbb{1}(\text{Village pop. (2001)} > 300)$	3.39** (1.70)	2.22** (0.94)	1.16 (0.91)
$\hat{\beta}_2$ $\mathbb{1}(\text{Village pop. (2001)} > 300) \times$ $\mathbb{1}(\text{Village in guar-growing district})$	2.27 (6.29)	6.53* (3.77)	-4.45 (2.91)
District FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census (2001) controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
$N$	7649	7649	7649
Adjusted $R^2$	0.54	0.54	0.49
Mean of outcome	349.24	178.92	170.32

*Notes.* This table shows results from estimating Equation (9). Each regression includes all single-habitation villages in RGGVY Phase I districts with a 2001 population within a fifty-person bandwidth of RGGVY's 300-person eligibility threshold. Estimates associated with the population running variable ( $\tilde{p}_{vds}^{2001}$ ) are omitted. Following [Correia \(2015\)](#), six singleton observations are excluded. Standard errors—in parentheses—are clustered at the district level. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

Table E3: Differences between villages in guar and non-guar-growing districts in 2001

Outcome variable (2001)	All RGGVY Phase I villages			RD sample villages		
	Non-guar	Guar	<i>p</i> -value of difference	Non-guar	Guar	<i>p</i> -value of difference
Total population	1390.86 (1654.30)	1502.61 (1455.01)	0.056*	299.99 (29.18)	306.22 (28.44)	0.284
Number of households	247.03 (316.25)	231.91 (225.51)	0.142	54.07 (11.68)	48.87 (8.78)	0.385
Females (% of population)	48.62 (2.91)	48.26 (2.40)	0.940	48.74 (3.04)	47.89 (2.85)	0.484
Age 0–6 (% of population)	18.07 (4.17)	19.87 (3.47)	0.940	17.75 (4.57)	19.09 (4.16)	0.972
Scheduled Caste/Tribe (% of population)	31.65 (27.65)	27.24 (22.97)	0.599	36.33 (34.78)	20.77 (26.04)	0.285
Literate (% of population)	44.74 (14.48)	47.00 (13.35)	0.462	44.94 (16.33)	48.81 (13.87)	0.434
Total workers (% of population)	41.61 (12.86)	46.14 (10.32)	0.219	43.91 (14.14)	47.12 (12.05)	0.434
Agricultural workers (% of population)	33.79 (14.10)	37.82 (13.32)	0.847	37.17 (15.27)	39.94 (13.96)	0.742
Non-agricultural workers (% of population)	7.81 (7.57)	8.31 (7.59)	0.729	6.75 (7.89)	7.18 (9.32)	0.972
Area (Hectares)	358.69 (756.26)	1428.10 (2316.45)	0.219	148.41 (224.87)	648.16 (1161.81)	0.486
Irrigated area (% of total area)	38.36 (33.84)	21.09 (25.04)	0.940	35.97 (33.69)	21.21 (27.24)	0.972
Primary schools (per 1,000 people)	1.27 (2.24)	1.45 (6.64)	0.628	1.95 (1.81)	3.01 (1.06)	0.678
Community health workers (per 1,000 people)	0.15 (1.10)	0.10 (0.60)	0.940	0.20 (0.83)	0.11 (0.59)	0.910
Ⓛ (Bus facilities)	0.27 (0.44)	0.60 (0.49)	0.092*	0.17 (0.37)	0.32 (0.47)	0.393
Ⓛ (Postal facilities)	0.40 (0.49)	0.64 (0.48)	0.219	0.18 (0.38)	0.36 (0.48)	0.678
Ⓛ (Approach: Paved road)	0.53 (0.50)	0.60 (0.49)	0.219	0.37 (0.48)	0.34 (0.48)	0.434
Ⓛ (Power supply)	0.73 (0.45)	0.89 (0.31)	0.940	0.65 (0.48)	0.84 (0.36)	0.972
<i>N</i>	182051	6232		7507	148	

Notes. This table reports mean and standard deviations (in parentheses) for villages located in guar- and non-growing districts of India. Columns (1) and (2) report these values for our full sample of habitation-matched villages in RGGVY Phase I districts; column (4) and (5) report these values for our main analytical sample of single-habitation villages. Columns (3) and (6) report the *p*-value for  $\hat{\beta}_1$  obtained from estimating the following regression specification on the relevant sample:  $y_{vds}^{2001} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 G_{ds} + \gamma_s + \epsilon_{vds}$ , where  $y_{vds}^{2001}$  represents an outcome variable for village *v* in district *d* in state *s* in 2001,  $G_{ds}$  is a binary variable that equals one if village *v* is located in a guar-growing district, and  $\gamma_s$  represent a state fixed-effect. Standard errors (not shown) are clustered at the district level; *p*-values are obtained using the free step-down resampling methodology of Westfall and Young (1993). \*\*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \* *p* < 0.1.

Table E4: Placebo RD estimates of impact of electrification on labor-market outcomes

	(1) All workers	(2) Ag. workers	(3) Non-ag. workers	(4) Non-workers
	(% of 2011 population)			
$\hat{\beta}_1$ $\mathbb{1}(\text{Village pop. (2001)} > 300)$	0.29 (0.56)	-0.18 (0.71)	0.55 (0.43)	-0.29 (0.56)
$\hat{\beta}_2$ $\mathbb{1}(\text{Village pop. (2001)} > 300) \times$ $\mathbb{1}(\text{Village in guar-growing district})$	-0.63 (1.51)	1.74 (2.21)	-2.39 (1.80)	0.63 (1.51)
District FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census (2001) controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
$N$	6992	6992	6992	6992
Adjusted $R^2$	0.38	0.45	0.32	0.38
Mean of outcome	48.23	39.94	8.28	51.77

*Notes.* This table shows results from estimating Equation (9) on a sample of single-habitation villages located in *non*-RGGVY Phase I districts with a Census 2001 population within a fifty-person bandwidth around RGGVY's 300-person eligibility threshold. Outcome variables for regressions reported in columns (1)–(4) are constructed using data from the Primary Census Abstract tables of the 2011 round of the Indian Census. Specifically, “agricultural workers” represents a village-level sum of main and marginal cultivators and agricultural laborers, while “non-agricultural workers” represents a village-level sum of main and marginal household-industry and “other” workers. Estimates associated with the population running variable ( $\hat{p}_{vds}^{2001}$ ) are omitted. Following [Correia \(2015\)](#), 21 singleton observations are excluded. Standard errors—in parentheses—are clustered at the district level. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

Table E5: RD estimates with multiple hypothesis test adjustment

Outcome variable	(1) $\hat{\beta}_2$	(2) Adj. $p$ -value
All workers (% of population)	0.14	0.997
Male	-0.13	0.996
Female	0.07	0.997
Agricultural workers (% of population)	-6.39*	0.095
Male	-2.85	0.203
Female	-3.25	0.265
Non-agricultural workers (% of population)	5.60**	0.043
Male	2.30	0.296
Female	3.22	0.265
Non-workers (% of population)	-0.14	0.997
Male	1.66	0.557
Female	-1.65	0.557

*Notes.* Column (1) reports the estimated  $\hat{\beta}_2$  coefficients from Tables 1 and 2. Column (2) reports corresponding  $p$ -values for this “family” of regressions, adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing using the free step-down resampling methodology of [Westfall and Young \(1993\)](#). \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .