

Railroads of the Raj:

Estimating the Impact of Transportation Infrastructure

Dave Donaldson

London School of Economics

Transportation Infrastructure

- Empirical Questions:
 1. How large are the economic benefits of transportation infrastructure projects (which aim to reduce trade costs)?
 2. What economic mechanisms explain these benefits?
- Motivation:
 - 20 percent of 2007 World Bank loans allocated to transportation infrastructure projects
 - Widespread policy initiatives aim to reduce trade costs more generally: tariffs, corruption, red tape

Approach of This Paper

- Study large improvement in transportation technology—**Railroads**—in setting with best possible data—**colonial India** (“the Raj”)

Approach of This Paper

- Study large improvement in transportation technology—**Railroads**—in setting with best possible data—**colonial India** (“the Raj”)
- Construct **new dataset** on Indian economy before and after the railroads
 - Output, prices, internal and external trade
 - District-level ($N = 239$), annual 1861-1930

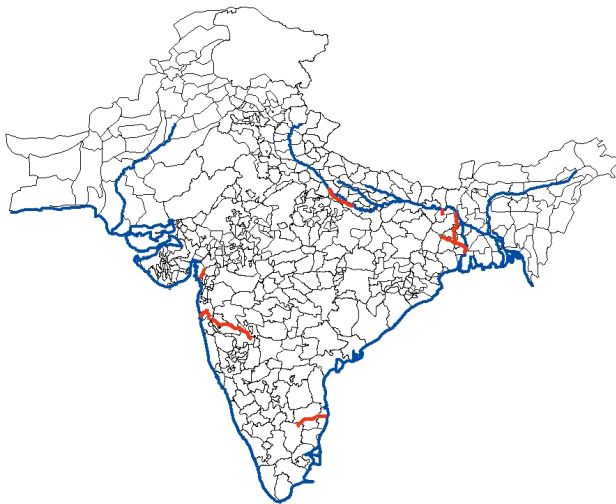
Indian Transportation Network: 1853

Eve of railroad age: first track in 1853



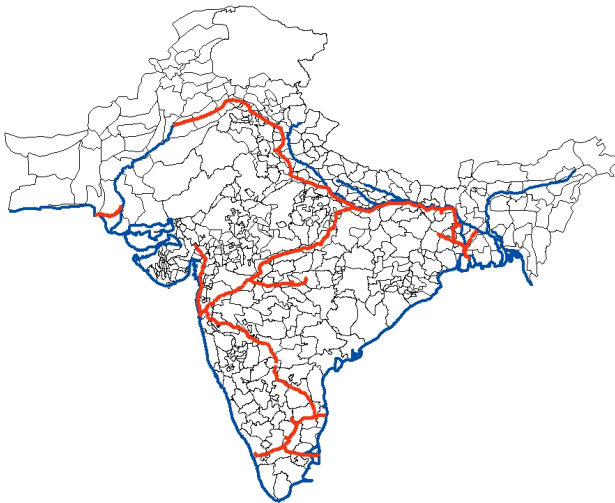
Indian Transportation Network: 1860

Each railroad 'pixel' coded with its year of opening

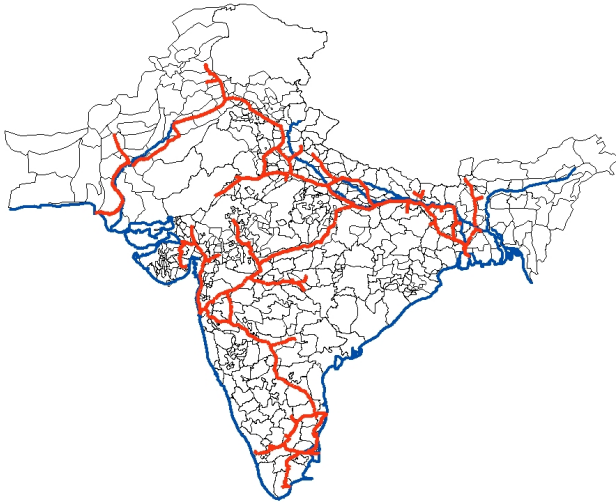


Indian Transportation Network: 1870

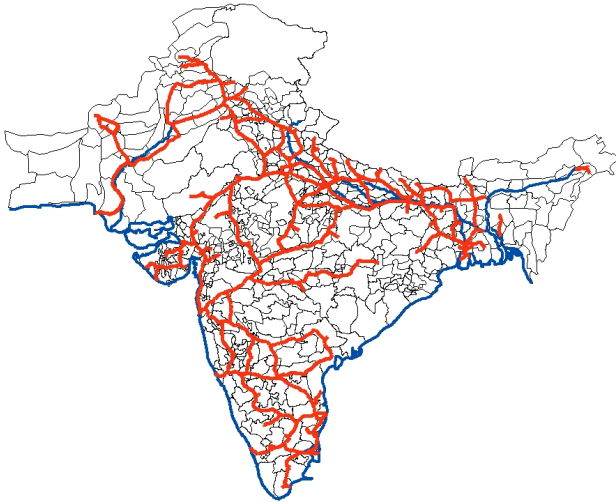
Seven provincial capitals connected



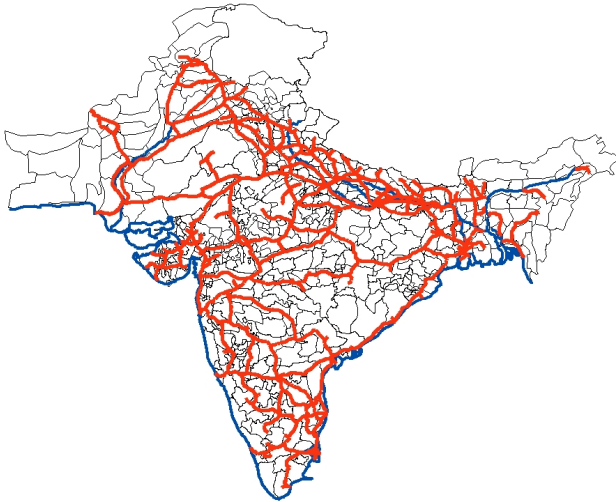
Indian Transportation Network: 1880



Indian Transportation Network: 1890

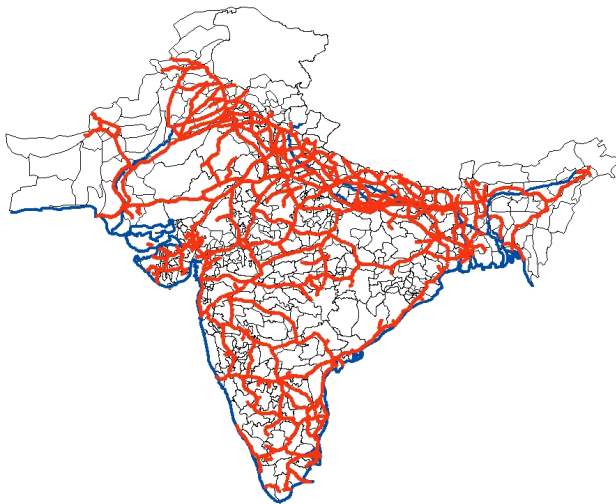


Indian Transportation Network: 1900

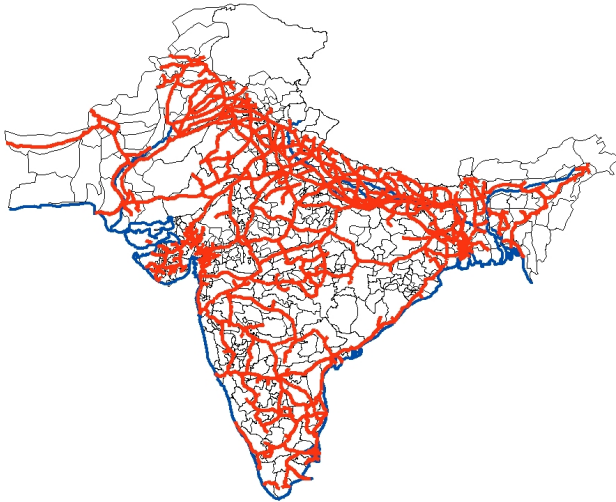


Indian Transportation Network: 1910

4th largest railroad network in the world

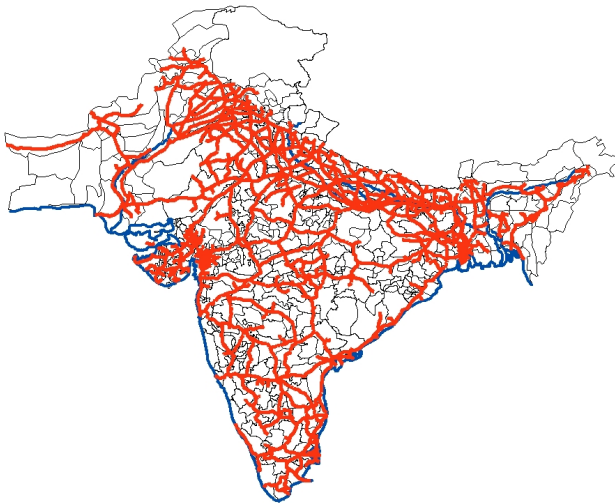


Indian Transportation Network: 1920



Indian Transportation Network: 1930

Network in 2009 is effectively that in 1930. 67,247 km of line open.



Approach of This Paper

- Study large improvement in transportation technology—**Railroads**—in setting with best possible data—**colonial India** (“the Raj”)
- Construct **new dataset** on Indian economy before and after the railroads
 - Output, prices, internal and external trade
 - District-level ($N = 239$), annual 1861-1930

Approach of This Paper

- Study large improvement in transportation technology—**Railroads**—in setting with best possible data—**colonial India** (“the Raj”)
- Construct **new dataset** on Indian economy before and after the railroads
 - Output, prices, internal and external trade
 - District-level ($N = 239$), annual 1861-1930
- Use **GE trade model** (based on Eaton and Kortum, 2002) to guide empirical approach
 - Comparative advantage (Ricardian) model of trade
 - Trade costs are primitive in model
 - Model makes 6 testable predictions

Step	Did railroads...	Result
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		

Step	Did railroads...	Result
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		

Step	Did railroads...	Result
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		

Step	Did railroads...	Result
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes
2	...expand trade?	Yes
3		
4		
5		
6		

Step	Did railroads...	Result
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes
2	...expand trade?	Yes
3		
4	...raise real income level?	Yes
5		
6		

Step	Did railroads...	Result
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes
2	...expand trade?	Yes
3		
4	...raise real income level?	Yes
5		
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?	

Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	
2	...expand trade?	Yes	
3			
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5			
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?		

Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	Trade costs
2	...expand trade?	Yes	
3			
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5			
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?		

Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	Trade costs
2	...expand trade?	Yes	Model parameters
3			
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5			
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?		

Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	Trade costs
2	...expand trade?	Yes	Model parameters
3			
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5			
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?	Yes: Trade model accounts for 88 % of real income gains	

Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	Trade costs
2	...expand trade?	Yes	Model parameters
3	... Increase price responsiveness?	Yes	
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5			
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?	Yes: Trade model accounts for 88 % of real income gains	

Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	Trade costs
2	...expand trade?	Yes	Model parameters
3	... Increase price responsiveness?	Yes	
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5	... reduce real income volatility?	Yes	
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?	Yes: Trade model accounts for 88 % of real income gains	

Outline of Talk

Historical Background

Model: 4 Predictions

4 Empirical Steps

Step 1: Railroads and Trade Costs

Step 2: Railroads and Trade Flows

Step 4: Railroads and Real Income

Step 6: Railroads and Gains from Trade

Conclusion

Outline of Talk

Historical Background

Model: 4 Predictions

4 Empirical Steps

Step 1: Railroads and Trade Costs

Step 2: Railroads and Trade Flows

Step 4: Railroads and Real Income

Step 6: Railroads and Gains from Trade

Conclusion

The Colonial Indian Economy

- Primarily agricultural:
 - 66 % of GDP in 1900 (Heston 1983)
 - Factory-based manufacturing extremely small: 1-3 % of GDP
- Agriculture was primarily rain-fed: 14 % irrigation in 1900
- \Rightarrow Focus on agriculture, and use rainfall as exogenous (and observable) shock to productivity

Transportation in Colonial India

- Pre-rail transportation (Deloche 1994, 1995):
 - Roads: bullocks, 10-30 km per day (ie 2-3 months to port)
 - Rivers: seasonal, slow
 - Coasts: limited port access for steamships
- Railroad transportation:
 - Faster: 600 km per day
 - Safer: predictable, year-round, limited damage, limited piracy
 - Cheaper:
 - $\sim 4.5\times$ cheaper than roads
 - $\sim 3\times$ cheaper than rivers
 - $\sim 2\times$ cheaper than coast

Outline of Talk

Historical Background

Model: 4 Predictions

4 Empirical Steps

Step 1: Railroads and Trade Costs

Step 2: Railroads and Trade Flows

Step 4: Railroads and Real Income

Step 6: Railroads and Gains from Trade

Conclusion

Model Set-up

- Multi-sector version of Eaton and Kortum (2002)—general equilibrium with:
 - Many (≥ 2) regions
 - Many (≥ 2) goods
 - Trade costs $T \in [1, \infty)$
- K goods (e.g. rice, wheat):
 - indexed by k
 - each available in continuum of varieties (j)
- D regions (districts, foreign countries)
 - o = origin
 - d = destination
- Static model

Model Environment

- Technology: $q_o^k(j) = L_o^k z_o^k(j)$ $p_{oo}^k(j) = \frac{r_o}{z_o^k(j)}$

$$z_o^k(j) \sim F_o^k(z) = \exp(-A_o^k z^{-\theta_k})$$

- Tastes: $\ln U_o = \sum_{k=1}^K \left(\frac{\mu_k}{\varepsilon_k} \right) \ln \int_0^1 (C_d^k(j))^{\varepsilon_k} dj$
- Trading: iceberg trade costs $T_{od}^k \geq 1$, $T_{oo}^k = 1$

$$\Rightarrow p_{od}^k(j) = T_{od}^k p_{oo}^k(j)$$

Prediction 1: Trade Costs

- **Prediction 1:** If good 'o' can only be made in one region (region o) but this good is consumed elsewhere (region d), then:

$$\ln p_d^o - \ln p_o^o = \ln T_{od}^o$$

- Useful: allows estimation of how railroads affect (unobserved) trade costs T_{od}^o

Prediction 2: Trade Flows

- **Prediction 2:** Exports take gravity form:

$$\pi_{od}^k \equiv \frac{X_{od}^k}{X_d^k} = \lambda^k A_o^k (r_o T_{od}^k)^{-\theta_k} (p_d^k)^{\theta_k}$$

- Useful: allows estimation of
 - unknown parameters θ_k
 - unknown relationship between (unobserved) A_o^k and rainfall shocks: $\ln A_o^k = \kappa RAIN_o^k$

Prediction 4: Real Income Levels

- Welfare (of representative agent owning unit of land) is equal to real income:

$$V(\mathbf{p}_o, r_o) = \frac{r_o}{\tilde{P}_o} = \frac{Y_o}{L_o \tilde{P}_o}$$

- Prediction 4:** Real income ($\frac{Y}{L\tilde{P}}$) and trade costs (T) around a symmetric equilibrium:

$$\frac{d\left(\frac{Y_o}{L_o \tilde{P}_o}\right)}{dT_{od}^k} < 0$$

Prediction 6: Sufficient Statistic Property

- **Prediction 6:** Despite complex GE interactions, real income can be written as:

$$\ln\left(\frac{Y_o}{L_o \tilde{P}_o}\right) = \Omega + \sum_k \frac{\mu_k}{\theta_k} \ln A_o^k - \sum_k \frac{\mu_k}{\theta_k} \ln \pi_{oo}^k$$

- Useful: 'Autarkiness' (π_{oo}^k) is a **sufficient statistic** for all of the effects of the railroad network on real income

Outline of Talk

Historical Background

Model: 4 Predictions

4 Empirical Steps

Step 1: Railroads and Trade Costs

Step 2: Railroads and Trade Flows

Step 4: Railroads and Real Income

Step 6: Railroads and Gains from Trade

Conclusion

Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	Trade costs
2	...expand trade?	Yes	Model parameters
3	...reduce price responsiveness?	Yes: to ≈ 0	Model evaluation
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5	...reduce real income volatility?	Yes	
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?	Yes: Trade model accounts for 88 % of real income gains	

Conditions Required for Prediction 1

Prediction 1: $\ln p_{dt}^o - \ln p_{ot}^o = \ln T_{odt}^o$

- Good differentiated by source
- Good consumed widely at regions away from source
- Free spatial arbitrage
- Homogeneous good (Broda and Weinstein, 2008)

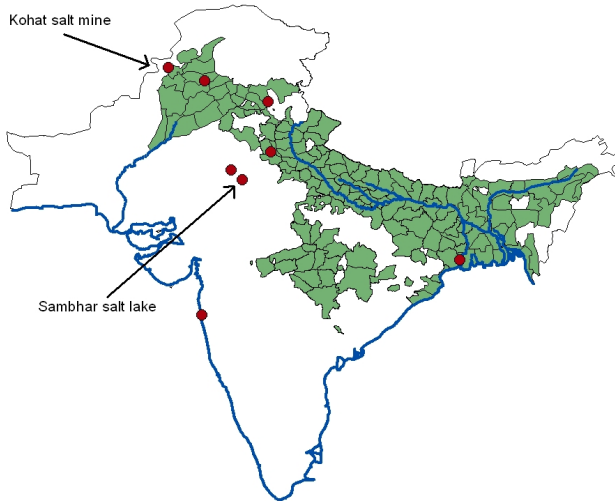
Conditions (Plausibly) Satisfied by Salt

Prediction 1: $\ln p_{dt}^o - \ln p_{ot}^o = \ln T_{odt}^o$

- Good differentiated by source
 - Each type could only be made in one location
 - “Kohat salt” vs. “Sambhar salt” (and 6 others)
- Good consumed widely at regions away from source
 - Biologically essential
- Free spatial arbitrage
 - Sold to unrestricted trading sector at ‘factory’ gate
- Homogeneous good (Broda and Weinstein, 2008)

8 Salt Sources and 125 Sample Districts

Annual data, 1861-1930




Empirical Specification

- Theory: $\ln p_{dt}^o = \ln p_{ot}^o + \ln T_{odt}^o$
- Empirical version:

$$\ln p_{dt}^o = \overbrace{\beta_{ot}^o}^{=\ln p_{ot}^o} + \overbrace{\beta_{od}^o + \phi_{od}^o t + \delta \ln LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \alpha)_{odt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^o}^{=\ln T_{odt}^o}$$

- $LCR(\mathbf{R}_t, \alpha)_{odt}$: 'lowest-cost route'

Lowest-cost Route: $LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \alpha)_{odt}$

- Two inputs:
 1. Model full transport system (rail, road, river, coast) in each year as a **network**: \mathbf{R}_t
 - 7651 nodes
 - ~ 3 million links out of potential ~ 59 million links (7651×7651)
 -  Network
 2. Per-unit distance **trade cost of each mode**: α
 - $\alpha \doteq (\alpha^{rail} = 1, \alpha^{road}, \alpha^{river}, \alpha^{coast})$
- Assume: Perfectly competitive trading sector, no fixed costs of trading, no congestion, traders know (\mathbf{R}_t, α) , traders choose cheapest route

Lowest-cost Route: $LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \alpha)_{odt}$

- Conditional on α , solve for lowest-cost route over \mathbf{R}_t for each $o-d$ pair (in each year t):
 - Computationally feasible, due to Dijkstra's 'shortest path' algorithm
- Search over (δ, α) to minimize squared residuals of price equation $\Rightarrow (\hat{\delta}, \hat{\alpha})$

Trade Costs: Baseline Results

$$\ln p_{dt}^o = \beta_{ot}^o + \beta_{od}^o + \phi_{od}^o t + \delta \ln LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \alpha)_{odt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^o$$

Dependent variable:	OLS
log destination salt price	(1)
Log distance to source along	0.135
lowest-cost route (ie $LCR(\mathbf{R}_t, \alpha)$)	(0.038)***
Mode-wise relative marginal costs	
Rail: (ie α^{rail})	1
Road: (ie α^{road})	4.5
River: (ie α^{river})	3
Coast: (ie α^{coast})	2.25
Observations	7329
R-squared	0.84
Note: Regressions include salt type x year, and salt type x destination fixed effects, and a salt type x destination trend. OLS standard errors clustered at the destination district level.	

Trade Costs: Baseline Results

$$\ln p_{dt}^o = \beta_{ot}^o + \beta_{od}^o + \phi_{od}^o t + \delta \ln LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \alpha)_{odt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^o$$

Dependent variable:	OLS	NLS
log destination salt price	(1)	(2)
Log distance to source along lowest-cost route (ie $LCR(\mathbf{R}_t, \alpha)$)	0.135 (0.038)***	0.247 (0.063)***
Mode-wise relative marginal costs		
Rail: (ie α^{rail})	1	1
Road: (ie α^{road})	4.5	7.88***
River: (ie α^{river})	3	3.82***
Coast: (ie α^{coast})	2.25	3.94*
Observations	7329	7329
R-squared	0.84	0.97
Note: Regressions include salt type x year, and salt type x destination fixed effects, and a salt type x destination trend. OLS standard errors clustered at the destination district level.		

Trade Costs: Extensions

$$\ln p_{dt}^o = \beta_{ot}^o + \beta_{od}^o + \phi_{od}^o t + \rho RAIL_{odt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^o$$


Dependent variable:	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS
log destination salt price	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Railroad from source to to destination	-0.112 (0.046)***			

Observations	7,329
R-squared	0.84

Note: Regressions include salt type x year and salt type x destination fixed effects, and a salt type x destination trend. Column 3 also contains bilateral district pair fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the destination district level.

Trade Costs: Extensions

$$\ln p_{dt}^o = \beta_{ot}^o + \beta_{od}^o + \phi_{od}^o t + \rho RAIL_{odt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^o$$

Dependent variable: log destination salt price	OLS (1)	OLS (2)	OLS (3)	OLS (4)
Railroad from source to to destination	-0.112 (0.046)***	-0.009 (0.041)		
				
		camels, elephants, carts and inland boats		
Observations	7,329	5,176		
R-squared	0.84	0.73		

Note: Regressions include salt type x year and salt type x destination fixed effects, and a salt type x destination trend. Column 3 also contains bilateral district pair fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the destination district level.

Trade Costs: Extensions

$$\ln p_{dt}^o = \beta_{ot}^o + \beta_{od}^o + \phi_{od}^o t + \rho RAIL_{odt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^o$$

Dependent variable: log destination salt price	OLS (1)	OLS (2)	OLS (3)	OLS (4)
Railroad from source to to destination	-0.112 (0.046)***	-0.009 (0.041)	-0.046 (0.009)***	



If conduct salt
regression on ALL
bilateral market
pair comparisons

Observations	7,329	5,176	631,451
R-squared	0.84	0.73	0.76

Note: Regressions include salt type x year and salt type x destination fixed effects, and a salt type x destination trend. Column 3 also contains bilateral district pair fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the destination district level.

Trade Costs: Extensions

$$\ln p_{dt}^o = \beta_{ot}^o + \beta_{od}^o + \phi_{od}^o t + \rho RAIL_{odt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^o$$

Dependent variable:	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS
log destination salt price	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Railroad from source to to destination	-0.112 (0.046)***	-0.009 (0.041)	-0.046 (0.009)***	-0.024 (0.019)



If conduct same regression on ALL bilateral market pair comparisons for 17 ag. goods

Observations	7,329	5,176	631,451	9,184,552
R-squared	0.84	0.73	0.76	0.81

Note: Regressions include salt type x year and salt type x destination fixed effects, and a salt type x destination trend. Column 3 also contains bilateral district pair fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the destination district level.

Trade Costs: Robustness Checks

- Insignificant changes when allowing for:
 - Divergent technological progress and/or input costs (allow α to change over time)
 - Cost for changing railroad gauge
- 'Out-of-sample' test for free arbitrage violations: How often is $\ln p_{it}^k - \ln p_{jt}^k > \hat{\delta} \ln LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \hat{\alpha})_{ijt}$?
 - 2.8 % of (non-source) pairs for salt
 - 4.8 % of all pairs for 17 agricultural goods

Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	Trade costs
2	...expand trade?	Yes	Model parameters
3	...reduce price responsiveness?	Yes: to ≈ 0	Model evaluation
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5	...reduce real income volatility?	Yes	
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?	Yes: Trade model accounts for 88 % of real income gains	

Railroads and Trade Flows: Summary I

$$\ln \frac{X_{od}^k}{X_d^k} = \ln \lambda^k + \ln A_o^k - \theta_k \ln r_o - \theta_k \ln T_{od}^k + \theta_k \ln p_d^k$$

- Suggests specification (based on earlier proxy for T_{od}^k):

$$\begin{aligned} \ln X_{odt}^k = & \beta_{ot}^k + \beta_{dt}^k + \beta_{od}^k + \phi_{odt}^k \\ & - \theta_k \hat{\delta} \ln LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \hat{\alpha})_{odt} + \varepsilon_{odt}^k \end{aligned}$$

- Data: 6 million observations on trade flows
 - Geography: 45 Indian 'trade blocks', 23 foreign countries
 - Goods: salt, 17 agricultural
 - Modes: Rail, River, Coast (and some Road)

Railroads and Trade Flows: Summary II

$$\ln X_{odt}^k = \beta_{ot}^k + \beta_{dt}^k + \beta_{od}^k + \phi_{od}^k t - \theta_k \hat{\delta} \ln LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \hat{\alpha})_{odt} + \varepsilon_{odt}^k$$

- Step 1: Goal is to estimate θ_k
 - Separate regression on each k
 - \Rightarrow average $\hat{\theta}_k = 3.8$

Railroads and Trade Flows: Summary II

$$\ln X_{odt}^k = \beta_{ot}^k + \beta_{dt}^k + \beta_{od}^k + \phi_{od}^k t - \theta_k \hat{\delta} \ln LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \hat{\alpha})_{odt} + \varepsilon_{odt}^k$$

- Step 1: Goal is to estimate θ_k
 - Separate regression on each k
 - \Rightarrow average $\hat{\theta}_k = 3.8$
- Step 2: Goal is to estimate A_{ot}^k
 - Assume: $A_{ot}^k = \gamma_{ot} + \gamma_o^k + \gamma_t^k + \kappa RAIN_{ot}^k + \varepsilon_{ot}^k$
 - $\Rightarrow \hat{\beta}_{ot}^k + \hat{\theta}_k \ln r_{ot} = \gamma_{ot} + \gamma_o^k + \gamma_t^k + \kappa RAIN_{ot}^k + \varepsilon_{ot}^k$
 - $RAIN_{ot}^k$: crop k -specific rainfall, from daily rainfall (3614 gauges) and *Crop Calendar* ► Rain gauges
 - $\Rightarrow \hat{\kappa} = 0.441 (0.082)$

Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	Trade costs
2	...expand trade?	Yes	Model parameters
3	...reduce price responsiveness?	Yes: to ≈ 0	Model evaluation
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5	...reduce real income volatility?	Yes	
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?	Yes: Trade model accounts for 88 % of real income gains	

Railroads and Real Income Levels

- **Prediction 4:** $\frac{d(\frac{Y_{ot}}{L_{ot}\tilde{P}_{ot}})}{dT_{odt}^k} < 0$

- Suggests linear approximation:

$$\ln\left(\frac{Y_{ot}}{L_{ot}\tilde{P}_{ot}}\right) = \beta_o + \beta_t + \gamma RAIL_{ot} + \varepsilon_{ot}$$

- Data on real agricultural income per acre:
 - $Y_{ot} = \sum_k p_{ot}^k q_{ot}^k$, 17 agricultural crops (ignores: savings, taxes/transfers, intermediate inputs, income from other sectors, income inequality)
 - \tilde{P}_{ot} = (chain-weighted) Fisher ideal price index, 17 agricultural crops (ignores: other costs of living, gains from new varieties)

Real Income Levels: Reduced-form Results

$$\ln\left(\frac{Y_{ot}}{L_{ot}P_{ot}}\right) = \beta_o + \beta_t + \gamma RAIL_{ot} + \varepsilon_{ot}$$

Dependent variable:	OLS	OLS
log real agricultural income	(1)	(2)
Railroad in district	0.165 (0.056)***	
Railroad in neighboring district		
Observations	14,340	
R-squared	0.744	
Note: Regressions include district and year fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.		

Real Income Levels: Reduced-form Results

$$\ln\left(\frac{Y_{ot}}{L_{ot}P_{ot}}\right) = \beta_o + \beta_t + \gamma RAIL_{ot} + \phi \frac{1}{N_o} \sum_{d \in N_o} RAIL_{dt} + \varepsilon_{ot}$$

Dependent variable: log real agricultural income	OLS (1)	OLS (2)
Railroad in district	0.165 (0.056)***	0.182 (0.071)***
Railroad in neighboring district		-0.042 (0.020)**
Observations	14,340	14,340
R-squared	0.744	0.758

Note: Regressions include district and year fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

Robustness Checks

1. 4 Placebo checks [no spurious 'impacts']
 - Over 40,000 km of planned lines that were not built for 4 different reasons
2. Instrumental variable [similar to OLS]
 - 1880 Famine Commission: rainfall in 1876-78 predicts railroad construction post-1884
3. Bounds check [tight bounds]
 - Lines explicitly labeled as 'commercial', 'military' or 'redistributive' display similar effects

Robustness Checks

1. 4 Placebo checks [no spurious 'impacts']

- Over 40,000 km of planned lines that were not built for 4 different reasons

2. Instrumental variable [similar to OLS]

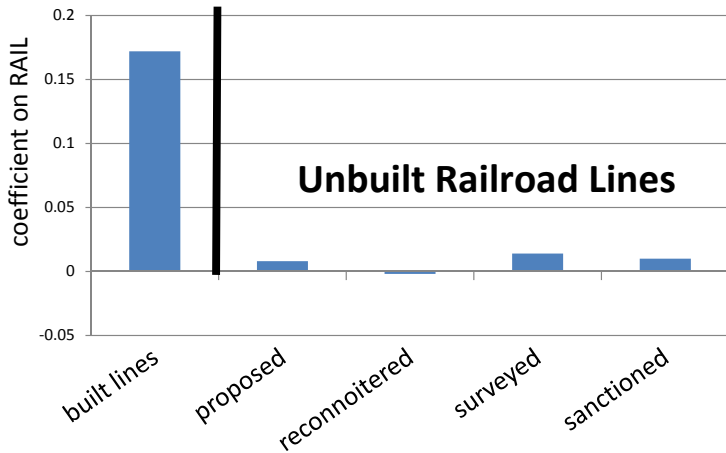
- 1880 Famine Commission: rainfall in 1876-78 predicts railroad construction post-1884

3. Bounds check [tight bounds]

- Lines explicitly labeled as 'commercial', 'military' or 'redistributive' display similar effects

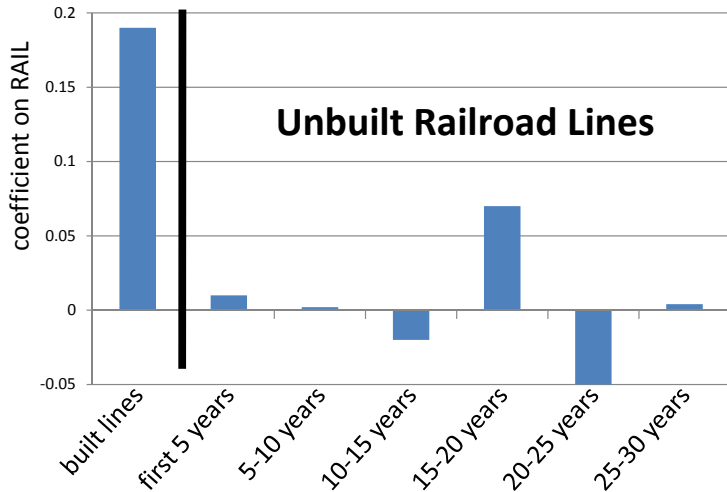
'Placebo' I: 4-Stage Planning Hierarchy

14,000 km: Lines reached increasingly costly stages but then abandoned



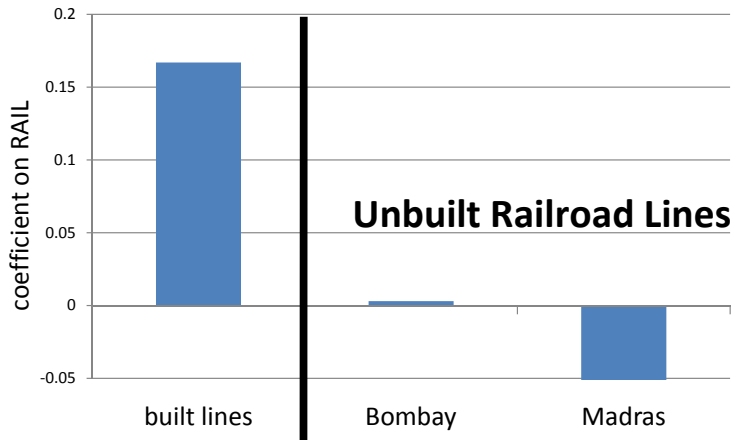
'Placebo' II: 1869 Lawrence Plan

12,000 km: Grand 30-year plan scrapped *en masse* by successor



'Placebo' III: Chambers of Commerce Plan

7,500 km: Bombay and Madras Chambers submit (commercially attractive) plan



'Placebo' IV: Major Kennedy 1853 Plan

9,000 km: Chief Engineer's cheapest way to connect capitals

Dependent variable:	OLS	OLS
log real agricultural income	(1)	(2)
Railroad in district	0.182 (0.071)***	0.188 (0.075)**
(Kennedy high-priority line) x trend		0.0005 (0.038)
(Kennedy low-priority line) x trend		-0.001 (0.026)
Observations	14,340	14,340
R-squared	0.758	0.770

Note: Regressions control for neighboring district railroad access and include district and year fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

Robustness Checks

1. 4 Placebo checks [no spurious 'impacts']
 - Over 40,000 km of planned lines that were not built for 4 different reasons
2. Instrumental variable [similar to OLS]
 - 1880 Famine Commission: rainfall in 1876-78 predicts railroad construction post-1884
3. Bounds check [tight bounds]
 - Lines explicitly labeled as 'commercial', 'military' or 'redistributive' display similar effects

Instrumental Variable

- 1876-78 famine led to 1880 Famine Commission:
 - 1880 Commission unique in recommending railroads
- Instrumental variable:
 - Rainfall anomalies in 1876-78 agricultural years predict railroad construction post-1884
 - Control for contemporaneous and lagged rain
- Falsification:
 - Does rainfall in other “famine” (Commission) years predict railroads? No.
 - Does rainfall in other “famine” (Commission) years correlate with real income? No.

Instrumental Variable Results

Dependent variable:	Railroad in district	Log real ag income
	OLS	IV
	(1)	(2)
(Rainfall deviation in 1876-78) x (post-1884 indicator)	-0.044 (0.018)***	
Rainfall in district	0.013 (0.089)	1.104 (0.461)**
Rainfall in district (lagged 1 year)	-0.003 (0.048)	0.254 (0.168)
(Rainfall in "famine" year) x (post-"famine" year indicator)	0.006 (0.021)	0.011 (0.031)
Railroad in district		0.197 (0.086)**
Observations	14,340	14,340
R-squared	0.65	0.74

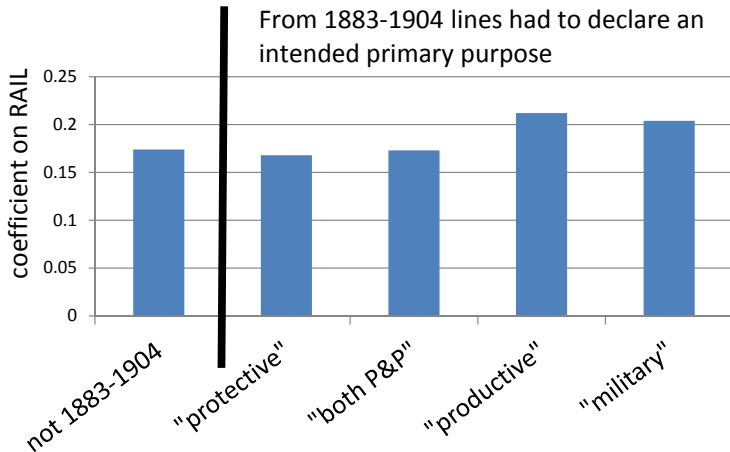
Note: Regressions include district and year fixed effects, and control for rainfall of 2 lagged and 3 lagged years, and neighboring district railroad access. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

Robustness Checks

1. 4 Placebo checks [no spurious 'impacts']
 - Over 40,000 km of planned lines that were not built for 4 different reasons
2. Instrumental variable [similar to OLS]
 - 1880 Famine Commission: rainfall in 1876-78 predicts railroad construction post-1884
3. Bounds check [tight bounds]
 - Lines explicitly labeled as 'commercial', 'military' or 'redistributive' display similar effects

Bounds Check

$$\ln\left(\frac{Y_{ot}}{L_{ot}P_{ot}}\right) = \beta_o + \beta_t + \sum_j \gamma^j \text{PURPOSE}^j \times \text{RAIL}_{ot} + \phi \frac{1}{N_o} \sum_{d \in N_o} \text{RAIL}_{dt} + \varepsilon_{ot}$$



Real Income: Extensions

- Consistent with model's predictions:
 - Bilateral (Krugman) specialization index rises
 - Real income volatility falls ▶ Volatility
- Railroads and demographic change:
 - Mortality rate: 3 % drop
 - Fertility rate: 4 % rise
 - Migration: no change
 - Population: 6 % rise
 - Real agricultural income per capita: 10 % rise
 - Real rural wage: 8 % rise
 - 'Real' urban wage: no change

Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	Trade costs
2	...expand trade?	Yes	Model parameters
3	...reduce price responsiveness?	Yes: to ≈ 0	Model evaluation
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5	...reduce real income volatility?	Yes	
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?	Yes: Trade model accounts for 88 % of real income gains	

Real Income Gains: Gains from Trade?

- **Prediction 6:** Autarkiness (π_{oot}^k) is a sufficient statistic for the impact of railroads on real income:

$$\ln\left(\frac{Y_{ot}}{L_{ot}\tilde{P}_{ot}}\right) = \Omega + \sum_k \frac{\mu_k}{\theta_k} \ln A_{ot}^k - \sum_k \frac{\mu_k}{\theta_k} \ln \pi_{oot}^k$$

- Use this to compare reduced-form real income estimates (Step 4) to model predictions:

$$\begin{aligned} \ln\left(\frac{Y_{ot}}{L_{ot}\tilde{P}_{ot}}\right) = & +\rho_1 \sum_k \frac{\hat{\mu}_k}{\hat{\theta}_k} \hat{\kappa} RAIN_{ot}^k + \rho_2 \sum_k \frac{\hat{\mu}_k}{\hat{\theta}_k} \ln \pi(\hat{\Theta}, \mathbf{z}_t)_{oot}^k \\ & + \alpha_o + \beta_t + \gamma RAIL_{ot} + \phi \frac{1}{N_o} \sum_{d \in N_o} RAIL_{dt} + \varepsilon_{ot} \end{aligned}$$

Real Income: Gains from Trade?

$$\ln\left(\frac{Y_{ot}}{L_{ot}P_{ot}}\right) = \gamma RAIL_{ot} + \frac{1}{N_o} \sum_{d \in N_o} RAIL_{dt} + \rho_1 \sum_k \frac{\hat{\mu}_k}{\hat{\theta}_k} \hat{\kappa} RAIN_{ot}^k$$

Dep. var: log real agricultural income	OLS	OLS
Railroad in district	0.182 (0.071)***	
Railroad in neighboring district	-0.042 (0.020)**	
Rainfall in district		
"Autarkiness" measure (computed in model)		
Observations	14,340	
R-squared	0.744	

Note: Regressions include district and year fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

Real Income: Gains from Trade?

$$\ln\left(\frac{Y_{ot}}{L_{ot}P_{ot}}\right) = \gamma RAIL_{ot} + \frac{1}{N_o} \sum_{d \in N_o} RAIL_{dt} + \rho_1 \sum_k \frac{\hat{\mu}_k}{\hat{\theta}_k} \hat{\kappa} RAIN_{ot}^k + \rho_2 \sum_k \frac{\hat{\mu}_k}{\hat{\theta}_k} \ln \hat{\pi}_{oot}^k$$

Dep. var: log real agricultural income	OLS	OLS
Railroad in district	0.182 (0.071)***	0.021 (0.096)
Railroad in neighboring district	-0.042 (0.020)**	0.003 (0.041)
Rainfall in district		1.044 (0.476)**
"Autarkiness" measure (computed in model)		-0.942 (0.152)***
Observations	14,340	14,340
R-squared	0.744	0.788

Note: Regressions include district and year fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

Conclusion

1. Railroads improved the trading environment in India
 - Trade costs (and price gaps) fell
 - Trade flows rose
 - Price responsiveness fell
2. Railroads raised real incomes in India
 - Real income volatility fell too
3. Welfare gains from railroads are well accounted for by a Ricardian model of trade
 - Suggests that static gains from trade were important economic mechanism behind the benefits of railroads

Equilibrium Prices

- Consumers in d face many potential suppliers of each variety
 - They consume the cheapest: $p_d^k(j) = \min_o \{p_{od}^k(j)\}$

$$p_d^k(j) \sim G_d^k(p) = 1 - \exp \left[- \left[\sum_{o=1}^D A_o^k (r_o T_{od}^k)^{-\theta_k} \right] p^{\theta_k} \right]$$

- Average price within good k :

$$E[p_d^k(j)] \doteq p_d^k = \lambda_1^k \left[\sum_{o=1}^D A_o^k (r_o T_{od}^k)^{-\theta_k} \right]^{-1/\theta_k}$$

From Theory to Empirics

- Adding time:
 - Exogenous variables (A_{ot}^k, T_{odt}^k) vary over time
 - Stochastic productivities ($z_{ot}^k(j)$) re-drawn (iid) every period
 - Parameters (θ_k, ε_k) fixed over time

Prediction 3: Price Responsiveness

- Recall: $p_d^k = \lambda_1^k \left[\sum_{o=1}^D A_o^k (r_o T_{od}^k)^{-\theta_k} \right]^{-1/\theta_k}$
- Prediction 3:** Price responsiveness ($\frac{dp}{dA}$) and trade costs (T) around symmetric equilibrium:

$$\underbrace{\frac{d}{dT_{do}^k} \left(\frac{dp_d^k}{dA_o^k} \right)}_{\text{less own responsiveness}} < 0$$

$$\underbrace{\frac{d}{dT_{do}^k} \left(\frac{dp_d^k}{dA_o^k} \right)}_{\text{more 'connected' responsiveness}} > 0$$

Prediction 4: Real Income Levels

- Welfare (of representative agent owning unit of land) is equal to real income:

$$V(\mathbf{p}_o, r_o) = \frac{r_o}{\tilde{P}_o} = \frac{Y_o}{L_o \tilde{P}_o}$$

- Prediction 4:** Real income ($\frac{Y}{L\tilde{P}}$) and trade costs (T) around a symmetric equilibrium:

$$\underbrace{\frac{d(\frac{r_o}{\tilde{P}_o})}{dT_{od}^k}}_{\text{own railroads good}} < 0$$

$$\underbrace{\frac{d(\frac{r_o}{\tilde{P}_o})}{dT_{jd}^k}}_{\text{others' railroads bad}} > 0 \quad j \neq o$$

Prediction 5: Real Income Volatility

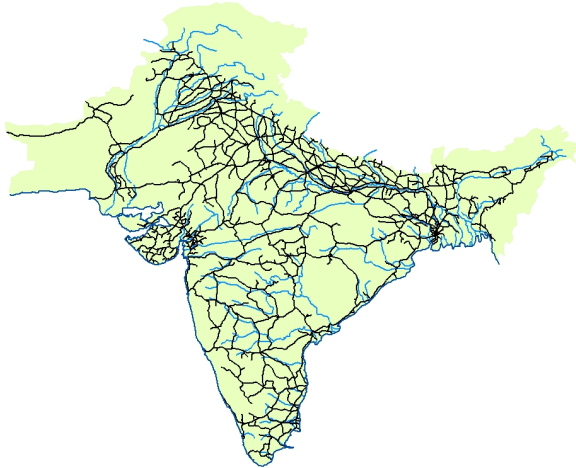
- **Prediction 5:** Real income responsiveness $\left(\frac{d(\frac{r}{P})}{dA}\right)$ and trade costs (T) around a symmetric equilibrium:

$$\frac{d}{dT_{od}^k} \left(\frac{d(\frac{r_o}{P_o})}{dA_o^k} \right) > 0$$

- If productivity (A_o^k) is stochastic, then less responsiveness means less volatility

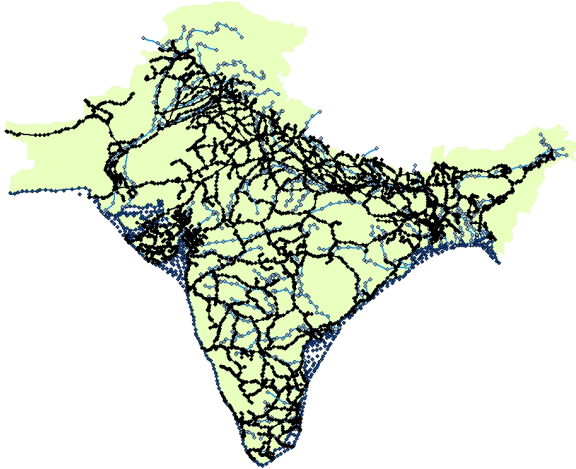
Transport system as a Network

Input: The transportation system (in 1930)



Transport system as a Network

Output: Network representation of transportation system (in 1930)



Trade Costs: Robustness Checks

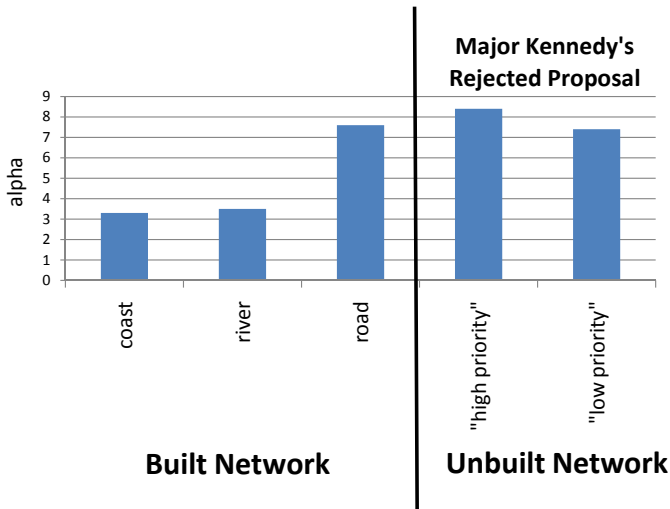
Ad valorem specification, demand effects, congestion

Dependent variable:	NLS	NLS	NLS
log destination salt price	(1)	(2)	(3)
Log effective distance to source along LCR	0.247 (0.063)***	0.204 (0.076)***	0.259 (0.071)***
(Log eff. dist. to source along LCR) x (Excise tax at source)		0.0184 (0.040)	
Rainfall at destination			0.013 (0.042)
Rainfall along source-destination route			-0.003 (0.081)
Observations	7329	7329	7329
R-squared	0.97	0.98	0.98

Note: Regressions include salt type x year and salt type x destination fixed effects, and a salt type x destination trend. OLS standard errors clustered at the destination district level.

Trade Costs: Major Kennedy's Placebo

Kennedy's 23,000 km proposal. (Recall: $\alpha^{rail} = 1$, for built lines)



Trade Flows: Reduced-form specification

- Prediction 2: $X_{od}^k = \lambda_3^k A_o^k (r_o T_{od}^k)^{-\theta_k} (p_d^k)^{\theta_k} X_d^k$
- Suggests empirical specification:

$$\ln X_{odt}^k = \beta_{ot}^k + \beta_{dt}^k + \beta_{od}^k + \phi_{odt}^k \\ + \rho_1 LCR_{odt} + \rho_2 G^k LCR_{odt} + \varepsilon_{odt}^k$$

- G^k = good-specific characteristics: weight per-unit value (1880), freight class (1880)

Trade Flows: Reduced-form results

$$\ln X_{odt}^k = \beta_{ot}^k + \beta_{dt}^k + \beta_{od}^k + \phi_{od}^k t + \rho_1 LCR_{odt} + \rho_2 G^k LCR_{odt} + \varepsilon_{odt}^k$$

Dependent variable:	OLS	OLS	OLS
log value of exports	(1)	(2)	(3)
Fraction of origin-destination districts connected by railroad	1.482 (0.395)***		
Log effective distance to source along lowest-cost route		-1.303 (0.210)***	-1.284 (0.441)***
(Log eff. distance to source along LCR) x (Weight per unit value of good)			-0.054 (0.048)
(Log eff. distance to source along LCR) x (Different freight class from salt)			0.031 (0.056)
Observations	6,581,327	6,581,327	6,581,327
R-squared	0.943	0.963	0.964

Note: Regressions include origin trade block x year x commodity, destination trade block x year x commodity, and origin trade block x destination trade block x commodity fixed effects and an origin trade block x destination trade block x commodity trend. OLS standard errors clustered at the exporting trade block level.

Trade: Estimating parameters—Step 1

- Estimate (once for each good k):

$$\ln X_{odt}^k = \beta_{ot}^k + \beta_{dt}^k + \beta_{od}^k + \phi_{od}^k t \\ - \theta_k \hat{\delta} \ln LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \hat{\alpha})_{odt} + \varepsilon_{odt}^k$$

Sample	Mean ($\hat{\theta}_k$)	Std. dev. ($\hat{\theta}_k$)
all 85 goods	5.2	2.1
17 ag. goods	3.8	1.2
Eaton-Kortum OECD manuf.	8.3	{3.60, 12.86}

Trade: Estimating parameters—Step 2

- Estimate determinants of (agricultural) productivity:
 - Fixed effect $\hat{\beta}_{ot}^k$ from previous regression interpreted as:

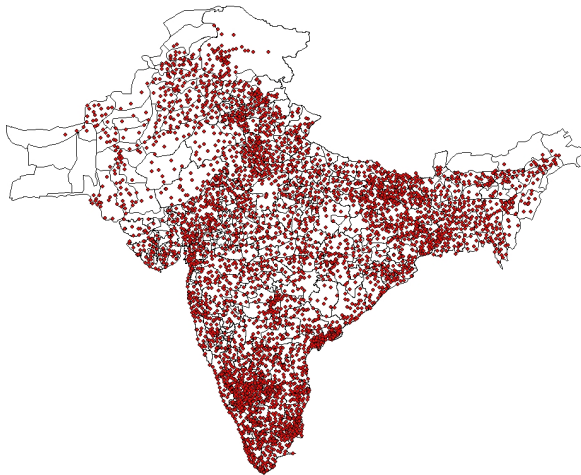
$$\hat{\beta}_{ot}^k + \hat{\theta}_k \ln r_{ot} = \ln A_{ot}^k$$

$$\Rightarrow \hat{\beta}_{ot}^k + \hat{\theta}_k \ln r_{ot} = \gamma_o^k + \gamma_t^k + \gamma_{ot} + \kappa RAIN_{ot}^k + \varepsilon_{ot}^k$$

- Data:
 - r_{ot} = per acre agricultural output value (17 crops)
 - Crop-specific rainfall from dates in *Crop Calendar*
 - Daily rainfall (3614 rain gauges) [▶ Rain gauges](#)
- Result:
 - $\hat{\kappa} = 0.441$ (0.082)

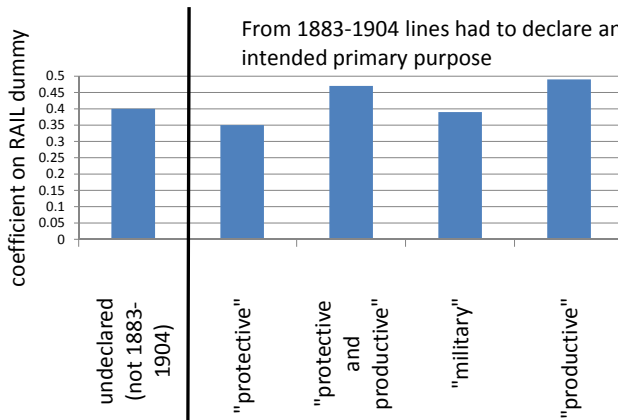
Daily Rainfall Data

3614 meteorological stations with rain gauges



Trade Flows: Bounds Check

$$\ln X_{odt}^k = \alpha_{ot}^k + \beta_{dt}^k + \gamma_{od}^k + \phi_{od}^k t + \sum_j \rho^j TC_{odt} \times PURPOSE^j + \varepsilon_{odt}^k$$



Step	Did railroads...	Result	Estimation
1	...reduce trade costs (and price gaps)?	Yes	Trade costs
2	...expand trade?	Yes	Model parameters
3	...reduce price responsiveness?	Yes: to ≈ 0	Model evaluation
4	...raise real income level?	Yes	
5	...reduce real income volatility?	Yes	
6	...promote (static) gains from trade?	Yes: Trade model accounts for 88 % of real income gains	

Prices and Local Rainfall

- **Prediction 3:** $\frac{d}{dT_{dot}^k} \left| \frac{dp_{dt}^k}{dA_{dt}^k} \right| > 0$
- Suggests linear approximation:

$$\ln p_{dt}^k = \beta_d^k + \beta_t^k + \beta_{dt} + \chi_1 RAIN_{dt}^k + \chi_2 RAIN_{dt}^k \times RAIL_{dt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^k$$

- Data:
 - p_{dt}^k = 239 districts, 17 crops, annually 1861-1930
 - $RAIN_{dt}^k$ = amount of rain over district-crop growing period
 - *Crop Calendar* and daily rain from 3614 gauges

► Rain gauges

Price Responsiveness Results

$$\ln p_{dt}^k = \beta_d^k + \beta_t^k + \beta_{dt} + \chi_1 RAIN_{dt}^k + \chi_2 RAIN_{dt}^k \times RAIL_{dt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^k$$

Dependent variable: log price	OLS (1)	OLS (2)	OLS (3)	OLS (4)
Local rainfall	-0.256 (0.102)**			
(Local rainfall) x (Railroad in district)				
Neighboring district rainfall				
(Neighboring district rainfall) x (Connected to neighbor by rail)				
Observations	73,000			
R-squared	0.89			

Note: Regressions include crop x year, district x year and district x crop fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

Price Responsiveness Results

$$\ln p_{dt}^k = \beta_d^k + \beta_t^k + \beta_{dt} + \chi_1 RAIN_{dt}^k + \chi_2 RAIN_{dt}^k \times RAIL_{dt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^k$$

Dependent variable: log price	OLS (1)	OLS (2)	OLS (3)	OLS (4)
Local rainfall	-0.256 (0.102)**	-0.428 (0.184)***		
(Local rainfall) x (Railroad in district)		0.414 (0.195)**		
Neighboring district rainfall				
(Neighboring district rainfall) x (Connected to neighbor by rail)				
Observations	73,000	73,000		
R-squared	0.89	0.89		

Note: Regressions include crop x year, district x year and district x crop fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

Price Responsiveness Results

$$\ln p_{dt}^k = \beta_d^k + \beta_t^k + \beta_{dt} + \chi_1 RAIN_{dt}^k + \chi_2 RAIN_{dt}^k \times RAIL_{dt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^k$$

Dependent variable: log price	OLS (1)	OLS (2)	OLS (3)	OLS (4)
Local rainfall	-0.256 (0.102)**	-0.428 (0.184)***	-0.402 (0.125)***	
(Local rainfall) x (Railroad in district)		0.414 (0.195)**	0.375 (0.184)*	
Neighboring district rainfall			-0.021 (0.018)	
(Neighboring district rainfall) x (Connected to neighbor by rail)			-0.082 (0.036)**	
Observations	73,000	73,000	73,000	
R-squared	0.89	0.89	0.90	

Note: Regressions include crop x year, district x year and district x crop fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

Price Responsiveness Results

$$\ln p_{dt}^k = \beta_d^k + \beta_t^k + \beta_{dt} + \chi_1 RAIN_{dt}^k + \chi_2 RAIN_{dt}^k \times RAIL_{dt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^k$$

Dependent variable: log price	OLS (1)	OLS (2)	OLS (3)	OLS (4)
Local rainfall	-0.256 (0.102)**	-0.428 (0.184)***	-0.402 (0.125)***	0.004 (0.035)
(Local rainfall) x (Railroad in district)		0.414 (0.195)**	0.375 (0.184)*	0.024 (0.120)
Neighboring district rainfall			-0.021 (0.018)	
(Neighboring district rainfall) x (Connected to neighbor by rail)			-0.082 (0.036)**	
Observations	73,000	73,000	73,000	8,489
R-squared	0.89	0.89	0.90	0.53

Note: Regressions include crop x year, district x year and district x crop fixed effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

↑
Salt

Model Validation Using Price Data I

- Recall, prices: $p_d^k = \lambda_1^k \left[\sum_{o=1}^D A_o^k (r_o T_{od}^k)^{-\theta_k} \right]^{\frac{-1}{\theta_k}}$
- Have estimates of RHS:
 - $A_{ot}^k = \hat{\kappa} RAIN_{ot}^k$ and $\hat{\theta}_k$ from trade flows
 - $\ln T_{odt}^k = \hat{\delta} \ln LCR(\mathbf{N}_t; \hat{\alpha})_{odt}$ from salt prices
 - r_{ot} : could use data on this, but compute model prediction instead $\Rightarrow \hat{r}_{ot}$
 - λ_1^k Contains σ_k , but don't need it
- Include predicted prices in regression to evaluate out-of-equation performance

$$\hat{p}_{dt}^k = \lambda_1^k \left[\sum_{o=1}^D \hat{A}_{ot}^k (\hat{r}_{ot} \hat{T}_{odt}^k)^{-\hat{\theta}_k} \right]^{\frac{-1}{\hat{\theta}_k}}$$

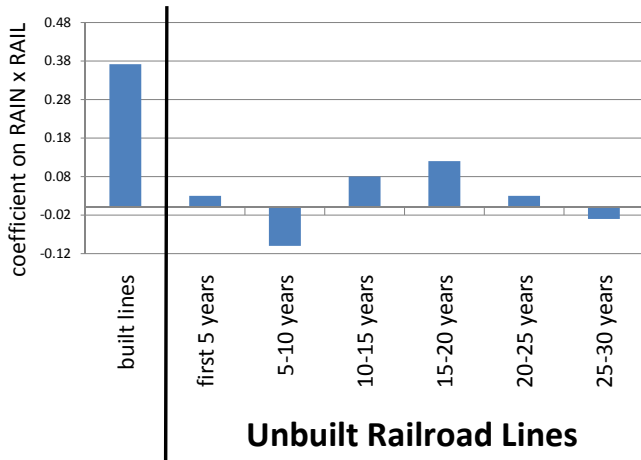
Model Evaluation using Price Data II

	OLS
Dependent variable: log price	(1)
Predicted prices	0.913 (0.189)***
Observations	73,000
R-squared	0.93

Note: Regressions include crop x year, district x year and district x crop fixed effects.
OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

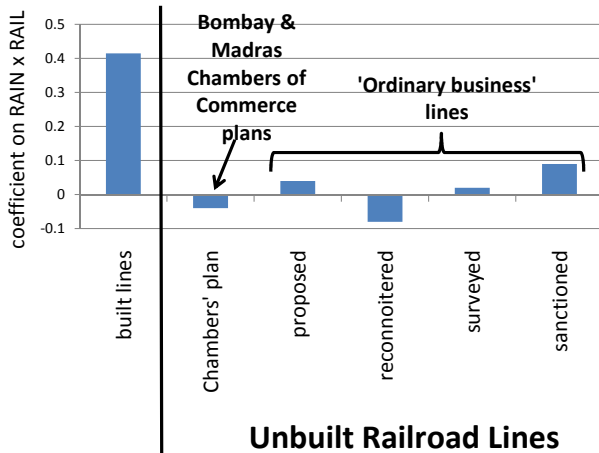
Price Responsiveness: Placebo Checks I

12,000 km Lawrence Plan scrapped *en masse* by successor



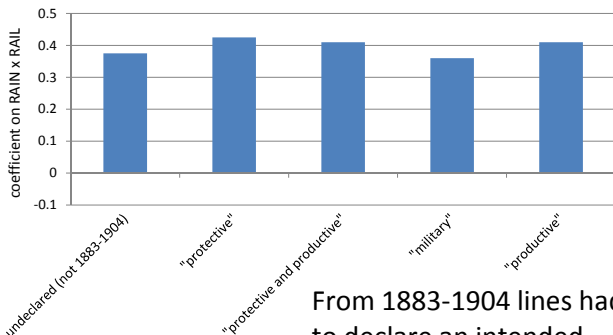
Price Responsiveness: Placebo Checks II

Chambers of Commerce Plans; 4-stage hierarchy



Price Responsiveness: Bounds Check

$$\ln p_{dt}^k = \alpha_d^k + \beta_t^k + \gamma_{dt} + \delta_1 RAIN_{dt}^k + \sum_j PURPOSE^j \gamma^j RAIN_{dt}^k \times RAIL_{dt} + \varepsilon_{dt}^k$$



From 1883-1904 lines had to declare an intended primary purpose

Real Income Levels: Robustness

Dependent variable: log real agricultural income	OLS (1)	OLS (2)	OLS (3)
Railroad in district	0.182 (0.071)***	0.197 (0.102)*	0.182 (0.095)*
Railroad in neighboring district	-0.042 (0.020)**	-0.055 (0.039)	-0.042 (0.025)*
District-specific trends	No	Yes	No
Standard errors	Clustered	Clustered	Conley
Observations	14,340	14,340	14,340
R-squared	0.758	0.813	0.758

Note: Regressions include district and year fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the district level. Conley standard errors calculated using 250 km cut-off.

Alternative Measures of Rail Access

$$\text{"Average log LCR"} = \frac{1}{N_d} \sum_{d \in N_d} \ln LCR(\mathbf{R}_t; \hat{\alpha})_{odt}$$

Dependent variable:	OLS	OLS
log real agricultural income	(1)	(2)
Railroad in district	0.223 (0.091)***	
(Railroad in district) x (Coastal or riverine district)	-0.064 (0.036)*	
Average log LCR of district		-0.350 (0.081)***
Neighbors' average log LCR		0.061 (0.022)***
Observations	14,340	14,340
R-squared	0.749	0.815

Note: Regressions include district and year fixed effects. Column (1) also controls for neighboring district rail access. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.

Real Income Volatility

$$\ln\left(\frac{r_{ot}}{p_{ot}}\right) = \gamma_1 RAIL_{ot} + \rho_1 \sum_k \frac{\hat{\mu}_k}{\hat{\theta}_k} \hat{\kappa} RAIN_{ot}^k + \gamma_2 RAIL_{ot} \times \left(\sum_k \frac{\hat{\mu}_k}{\hat{\theta}_k} \hat{\kappa} RAIN_{ot}^k \right) + \varepsilon_{ot}$$

Dependent variable:	OLS	OLS
log real agricultural income	(1)	(2)
Railroad in district	0.186 (0.085)*	0.252 (0.132)*
Rainfall in district	1.248 (0.430)***	2.434 (0.741)***
(Railroad in district)*(Rainfall in district)		-1.184 (0.482)***
Observations	14,340	14,340
R-squared	0.767	0.770

Note: Regressions include district, year and province x year fixed effects, and control for neighboring region railroad effects. OLS standard errors clustered at the district level.