Can Cashless Payments Spur Economic Growth? (by Tamanna Singh Dubey and Amiyatosh Purnanandam)

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Mechanisms:

- Reducing the transaction cost of cash: results stronger in regions with fewer bank branches and high crime rates
- Reducing financial frictions in borrowing: households more likely to borrow from a bank in the post-UPI period

Broader context

▶ Digital revolution in the monetary system – money (currency) and payment systems

- ▶ Money is the medium of exchange
 - ▶ Cattle, metal coins, gold standard, fiat currency, crypto, central bank digital currency
- Payment system determines the technology that underpins the efficiency of the exchange
 - ▶ Digital (online payment, mobile payment) vs physical (cash)
 - ▶ Real-time (PhonePe through UPI) vs deferred settlement (PayPal)
 - Overlay/open systems (GooglePay through UPI) vs closed-loop systems (WeChat Pay, AliPay)

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 - Overlay/open systems (GooglePay through UPI) vs closed-loop systems (WeChat Pay, AliPay)
- ▶ The paper focuses on innovations in the payment technology
 - ▶ Fiat currency (Rupee) is still the legal tender

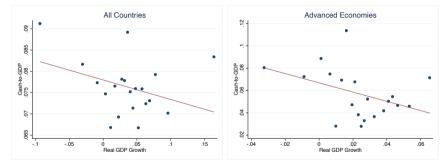
Important contribution to the literature

- 1. Studies the broader economic question about the effect of cash on economic growth
 - ▶ In "The Curse of Cash", Kenneth Rogoff argues that physical cash can negatively affect economic activity
 - ▶ Cost to banks of maintaining ATMs: as high as \$5 billion per year in North America
 - ▶ Cost of cash to consumers: commute time, ATM fees
 - ▶ Tax gap because of the underground economy



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- ▶ Hard to establish causality with cross-country data
- Exogenous shock to the use of cash helps achieve causality

Important contribution to the literature

- 2. Studies the effect of a landmark innovation in payment system in India
 - ▶ Massive in both scale and scope, global leader in payment system innovation
 - ▶ Real-time
 - No fee
 - ▶ C2C, C2B
 - ▶ Pay and collect requests
 - Usability across apps, merchants, bank accounts
 - Open system allows healthy competition
 - RBI oversight
 - Centralized regulation
 - ▶ Google sent a letter to the Fed on Nov 7, 2019 citing "The India Experience" as a successful template for payment system innovation in the US
 - ▶ Real time payments volume in India higher than in China in 2022
 - ▶ Enough anecdotal evidence but no formal analysis

Comments on empirical analysis to further sharpen measurement and mechanisms

Measurement of economic activity

- ► Cash facilitates tax evasion and illegal activities (Rogoff, 2016)
- ▶ Is the increase in economic growth a reflection of the digital payments more accurately measuring hidden/underground economic activity?

- ▶ Suggestion: Can use other metrics that are not affected by reporting
 - Night lights data
 - Pollution

Heterogeneity in treatment intensity

- ▶ What explains the heterogeneity in the intensity of digital payment adoption?
- ▶ Possibility of other confounding factors being correlated with treatment intensity
- Self employed households saw higher increase in income compared to salaried households
- Self employed households adopted digital payments to receive government transfers or had a business that was less negatively affected by covid

Suggestions

- Include industry fixed effects. Compare households in the same district and same industry
- Use an instrument for digital payments adoption. Penetration of mobile phones, mobile network coverage, etc.

Mechanisms: Financial frictions

- ▶ Potential entrepreneurs face financial constraints: credit rationing by banks
- ▶ Digital transactions create a financial/digital footprint which reduces information asymmetry between banks and households and induce banks to lend more
- Households in high digital payments districts more likely to borrow from a bank and use those funds for their business

▶ This is the key mechanism and it would be useful to provide more evidence

Mechanisms: Financial frictions

Suggestions

- 1. Severity of financial constraints
 - ▶ Exploit differences in reliance on external financing across industries
 - Exploit differences in ex ante household wealth/income
 - Exploit limit on monthly transaction amount
- 2. Information asymmetry
 - ▶ Individuals with no prior bank loan are more likely to benefit from the digital footprint
 - ▶ Frequency of transactions higher number of transactions create a larger footprint
- 3. Supporting evidence on relaxation of financing constraints using
 - Data on district level change in bank credit
 - Data on investment/employment at the district level

Other channels

- ▶ Real-time payment can reduce the time the funds are locked in the payments system after a payment is issued but before it is settled. Free up funds for investment
- ▶ Increase in borrowing from friends and family
- ▶ Reduce leakages due to bribes (usually paid in cash)
- ▶ Larger tax base. More public funds for investment in physical infrastructure. Higher long term growth

Ease of transactions can facilitate higher consumption spending \rightarrow higher GDP

Conclusion

- ▶ Important contribution quantifies the cost of cash and studies one of the most important innovations in the financial sector
- ▶ Opens up a lot of exciting avenues for further research
- Business model of payment service providers, incentive to innovate, concentration in the market