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## Effects of interest rate caps on microcredit: Evidence from a natural experiment in Bolivia

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Institute for Advanced Development Studies



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## Effects of interest rate caps on microcredit: evidence from a natural experiment in Bolivia\*

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*La Paz, September 2020*

### **Abstract**

This paper evaluates the imposition of caps on microcredit lending rates through directed credit policies for productive sectors. This financial inclusion intervention provides a unique quasi-experiment, allowing to estimate its causal effect following a difference-in-differences analysis. Our results suggest that the imposition of interest rate ceilings negatively affected the portfolio balance of new microcredits and loans to SMEs granted by MFIs. Particularly, we find robust results indicating that the balance of the microcredit and SME loans portfolio granted by MFIs, relative to the company portfolio granted by banks, decreased by 26.1% for an average MFI for the period 2011-2018.

**JEL Classification:** G18; G28; G38.

**Keywords:** Interest rate ceilings, financial inclusion, credit access, microcredit loans, small and medium enterprises loans.

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## Resumen

El presente trabajo evalúa el establecimiento de topes a las tasas de interés de los microcréditos mediante políticas crediticias dirigidas a los sectores productivos. La intervención de inclusión financiera proporciona un cuasi-experimento único, por lo que puede estimarse su efecto causal siguiendo un análisis de diferencias en diferencias. Los resultados sugieren que la política de topes a las tasas de interés afectó negativamente el saldo de la cartera de nuevos microcréditos y préstamos a PyMEs (pequeñas y medianas empresas) otorgados por las instituciones microfinancieras reguladas en Bolivia (IMFs). En especial, se encuentran resultados robustos de que el saldo de la cartera de microcréditos y el portafolio de préstamos de las PyMEs otorgadas por las IMFs, en relación con la cartera de las empresas otorgadas por los bancos, disminuyó en un 26,1% para una IMF promedio para el período 2011 - 2018.

**Códigos JEL:** G18; G28; G38.

**Palabras Clave:** Topes de tasas de interés, inclusión financiera, acceso al crédito, préstamos de microcrédito, préstamos para pequeñas y medianas empresas.

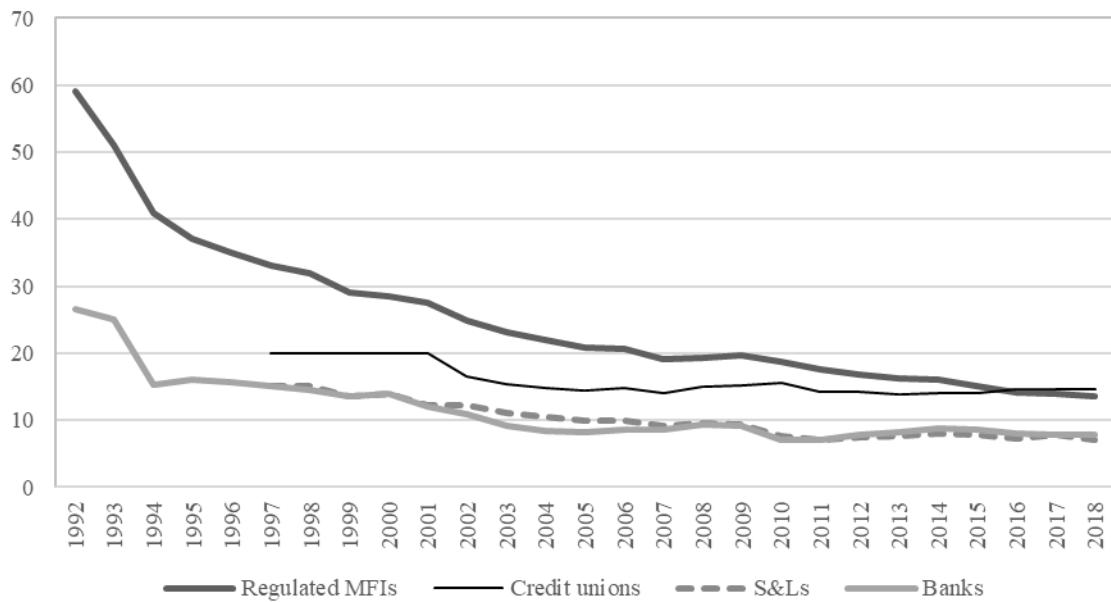
## 1. Introduction

Since the 1990s, microfinance has been a major segment of the Bolivian financial system, as well as being the most vigorous, reaching large segments of the population traditionally excluded from access to institutional financial services. This outstanding result responds to a virtuous conjunction of different elements. On the one hand, supply-side elements contributed to this outcome: excellent local non-government leaders, governance and institutional design that promote sustainability, and continued innovations in lending and deposit mobilization technologies. Noteworthy is the development, *in situ*, of credible relationships between borrowers and lenders.

On the other hand, the transformation of several of the original microfinance NGOs into prudentially regulated institutions (*fondos financieros privados*, FFP) and the creation of BancoSol — the first private commercial bank fully specialized in microfinance in the world — provided a suitable context for the prudential regulation and supervision of microfinance. Furthermore, this transformation into regulated institutions positively spilled over into the non-regulated sector, fostering strong competition among diverse financial intermediaries (Marconi and Mosley, 2006; Maclean, 2010; Gonzalez-Vega and Villafani-Ibarnegaray, 2011; Rojas and Ruesta, 2019).

During the 1990s and the first decade of the present century, the prudential framework adjusted to the evolution of the sector by allowing innovation while ensuring financial stability, with no state intervention. The credit portfolios of the traditional regulated Bolivian microfinance institutions (MFIs) grew along an almost exponential path with a huge reduction of interest rates. The interest charged declined broadly from 60% at December 1992 to 13% at December 2018 (**Figure 1**). The major force of this reduction was the decrease of operational costs. These MFIs have formed a greater share of the national financial system's overall loan portfolio. From December 2000 to December 2018, the loan portfolio of traditional microfinance institutions' share increased from approximately 4% to 20% of that of the national financial system (Gonzalez-Vega and Villafani-Ibarnegaray, 2011; Rojas and Ruesta, 2019, Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015).

**Figure 1. Implied interest rates**



**Note:** These rates are computed as the effective financial earnings on the gross loan portfolio for banks, credit unions, savings and loan associations (S&Ls), and traditional regulated microfinance institutions (MFIs, names at 2018): BancoSol S.A., Banco para el Fomento a Iniciativas Económicas S.A, Banco PYME Los Andes, Banco FIE, Banco PYME EcoFuturo and Banco Prodem. Source: Updated from “Las microfinanzas en la profundización del sistema financiero. El caso de Bolivia” by C. González-Vega, and M. Villafani-Ibarnegaray. 2007, *El Trimestre Económico*, 74, 41. Copyright 2007 by “Fondo de Cultura Económica”.

The landscape for microfinance in Bolivia drastically shifted over the last decade due to changes in its regulatory environment. The government established a long-anticipated financial services law, Financial System Law No. 393 (“the Law”), enacted in August 2013 and implemented in mid-2014. Within the framework of the Financial Services Law, MFIs had to obtain licenses to operate as commercial or Small-medium Enterprise (SME) banks, and take on a major tax change, which has limited their profitability.

With the objective of promoting productive credit and limiting usury practices, the Law imposed ceilings for interest rates for productive credits, and especially microcredit. Specifically, it defined upper limits for interest rates of 6% for productive loans to companies, 6-7% for productive loans to SMEs, and 11.5% for productive microcredits. Furthermore, the Law also established goals for the fulfillment of compulsory portfolio quotas for productive loans.

The Law was part of a comprehensive government plan responding to low levels of financial inclusion in the country. In Bolivia, despite the notable growth (above 4%-5%) and an impressive reduction of the poverty level (Gini coefficient around 0.47)<sup>1</sup> in the last decade – mainly due to high commodity prices<sup>2</sup> – and despite the performance of microfinance mentioned above, the majority of the population does not participate in the formal financial sector, and resorts to informal channels to carry out their financial transactions. In 2017, 51% of the population reported having a savings account in a formal financial institution, but only 16% reported having used it in the last year. On the credit side, 45% of people said they had borrowed some money in the last year, but only 16% did so from a formal financial institution (Demirguc-Kunt et al., 2018).

Recently, some works have pointed out the potential impact of the regulatory measures and state intervention on microfinance, and its unintended consequences (Global Microscope, 2015; Rojas and Ruesta, 2019). This paper's principal objective is to analyze the impact on microcredit access of imposing ceilings on interest rates in Bolivia.

In order to accomplish this aim, we will follow an empirical strategy of difference-in-differences (DID) within the framework of a natural experiment. After the imposition of the interest rate caps, compared to the other productive credit portfolios, the decrease of the effective interest rates of microcredits and credits to SMEs granted by MFIs remarkably stands out. Hence, in this study we estimate the impact of the imposition of ceilings on interest rates, analyzing the difference between the microcredit and SME portfolios granted by MFIs (treatment group), and the productive loans to companies granted by banks (control group). For this exercise, we use a unique database of high granularity, which contains information on the number and volume of new credit operations, disaggregated by financial institution (bank and MFI) and portfolio (loans to companies and SMEs, and microcredits).

The key findings of this study indicate that the imposition of ceilings on interest rates policy inhibited financial access. Our results suggest that this policy negatively affected the portfolio balance of new microcredits to SMEs granted by MFIs. More specifically, the balance of the microcredit and SME loan portfolios granted by MFIs, relative to the company portfolio granted by banks, decreased 26.1% for an average MFI for the period 2011-2018.

This paper is structured as follows: In the first section, the literature related to our work is reviewed. The second section describes in detail the database and the financial inclusion policies under analysis.

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<sup>1</sup> With information from the Ministry of the Economy and Public Finance; data for 2018 corresponds to the month of December.

<sup>2</sup> Gas and other hydrocarbons and minerals constitute the greater part of Bolivia's exports.

The third and fourth sections lay out our identification strategies and present the results for the natural experiment. Finally, we present our conclusions and discuss the main results.

## 2. Literature review

Our work contributes to the debate on the imposition of interest ceilings to promote access to credit. Advocates for this measure affirm that it protects financial consumers from usury practices, in addition to providing short-term credit to strategic industries (Dewatripont and Tirole, 1994; Miller, 2013). The use of interest rates caps would serve as a consumer protection policy against financial institutions that use information asymmetries to justify high and excessive lending rates. In addition, interest rate caps are most often used in low-income groups, where microfinance institutions impose the highest rates on a larger volume of low-value loans. Besides, in remote or rural areas, prices charged by these institutions are generally non-competitive, being higher than the real cost of lending. In this context, interest rate caps protect vulnerable segments by ensuring a maximum price. To the best of our knowledge, few empirical studies support arguments in favor of this type of intervention (Demitriades and Luintel, 2001; Crotty and Lee, 2002).

Critics of the imposition of ceilings on interest rates argue that the imposition of caps magnifies the problem of asymmetric information, since credit institutions cannot charge a high enough rate to a large pool of borrowers with unidentifiable creditworthiness. Institutions therefore end up lending to people with higher collateral and excluding those who have little or no access to credit. In addition, interest rate ceilings can increase the cost of loan screening, which is harmful to financial outreach. Using panel data for different countries, several papers show how the imposition of ceilings on interest rates reduces transparency, and diminishes financial deepening and financial inclusion (Helms and Reille, 2004; Capera et al., 2011; Agudelo and Steiner, 2012; Miller, 2013; Maimbo and Gallegos, 2014). Along the same lines, several studies show that economies with financial repression are found to impose financial restrictions and price distortions that turn into less financial system development, with unintended effects on poverty and growth as well as higher barriers to accessing deposit and lending services (Creane et al., 2003; Beck et al., 2009; Akhter and Daly, 2009; Gimet and Lagoarde-Segot, 2012). These studies conclude that the most effective policies in reducing lending rates and improving access to credit are those which directly affect the initial market failure – e.g., measures that enhance competition and product innovation, consumer protection laws, and financial literacy.



We acknowledge a few works that use DID to analyze the effects of interest rate caps in developing and emerging countries<sup>3</sup>. Using individual-level administrative data, Madeira (2019) analyzes the implementation of a policy that gradually reduced the maximum legal interest rate for consumer loans in Chile. The author finds that being above the interest rate cap reduces the probability of consumers to credit access by 8.7% on average. Cuestas and Sepulveda (2019) analyzed the same policy and found evidence that reducing the interest cap decreases the transacted interest rate by 9% and reduces the number of consumer loans by 19%. Our paper differs from these studies in that we exploit individual level administrative data to analyze the effect of the increase of the interest rate cap on the microcredit loan portfolio rather than on the consumer portfolio. For the case of Colombia, Cubillos et al. (2019) study the liberalization of the microcredit usury rate in Colombia and its effects on loan expansion.

In a manner similar to our study, using loan and deposit data from commercial banks, Safavian and Zia (2018) explored the imposition of an interest rate cap in Kenya. Their results show a significant decline in aggregate lending, an increase in nonperforming loans, and a change in composition of lending away from small and medium enterprises and toward safer corporate clients. They do not have variation across the cross-section of sectors or banks since all banks were affected by the caps and faced the same prevailing economic and market downturn. Given this, the only heterogeneity they were able to exploit was across three time periods. Hence, they do not make causal claims in their analysis, as we are able to do in our paper.

### **3. Background of microfinance sector in Bolivia**

In Bolivia's financial system, productive<sup>4</sup> loans granted to firms are divided into three different portfolios: loans to large companies (henceforth “companies”), loans to SMEs and microcredits. In this country, microcredit is credit given to people with self-employment activities and microenterprises, whose source of repayment is the income generated by said activities. SME credit is any credit granted to a natural or legal person to finance production, and where the size of the economic activity is classified as Medium Enterprise and Small Business by the Bolivian index. Credit to companies is any loan granted to a natural or legal person to finance production, and where the size of the economic activity is classified as Large Enterprise by the Bolivian index<sup>5</sup>. Henceforth,

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<sup>3</sup> In the context of developed countries; see Alessie et al. (2005); Zinman (2009), Benmelech and Moskowitz (2010) and Rigbi (2013)

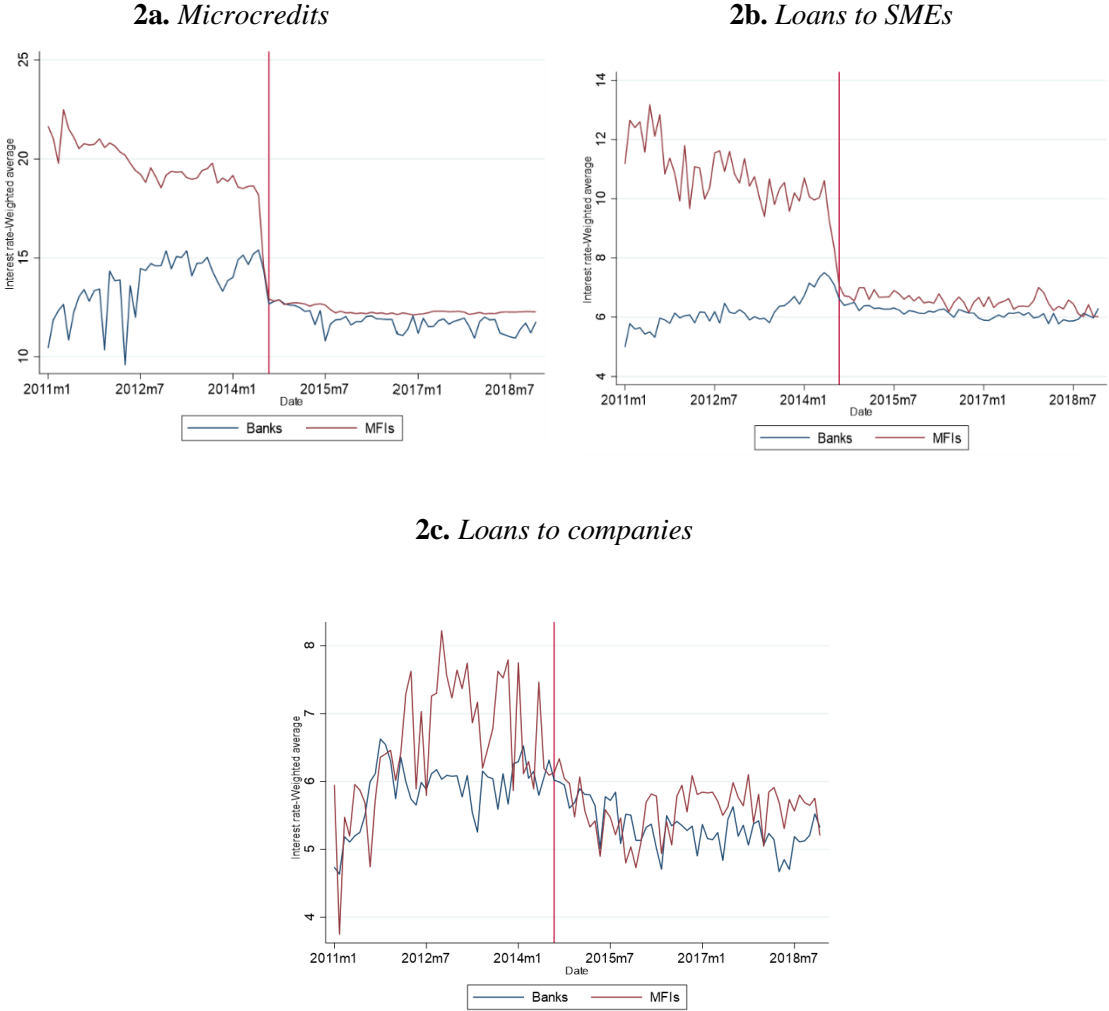
<sup>4</sup> Productive credit comprises the following economic sectors: agriculture and livestock, hunting, forestry and fishing, oil and natural gas extraction, metallic and non-metallic minerals, manufacturing, production and distribution of electricity, water and gas, construction and tourism (for investment capital), and intellectual property.

<sup>5</sup> The index can be found in ‘*Recopilación de Normas para Bancos y Entidades Financieras*’, compiled and published by ASFI.

we will refer to productive loans as “loans” or “credits”, since we will focus exclusively on credits granted for productive purposes.

Financial Services Law No. 393, enacted in August 2013, introduced important regulatory changes for all productive loans. Specifically, the Law defined upper limits for interest rates of 6% for productive loans to companies, 6-7% for productive loans to SMEs, and 11.5% for productive microcredits. As of the effective application of the Law in August 2014, the nominal interest rates for new credit operations decreased and were set below the regulatory limits. However, the magnitude of the change in the rate was different between credit types and between types of financial institutions.

**Figure 2.** Regulated effective interest rates, by portfolio and type of bank



Source: Prepared by the authors based on ASFI data

**Figure 2** depicts interest rates for the three portfolios, granted by commercial banks<sup>6</sup> (hereafter “banks”) and MFIs<sup>7</sup>. Microcredit rates charged by MFIs experienced a drop of close to 600 basis points (on average) while banks’ rates decreased less than 30 basis points. A similar situation is observed with SME and company portfolios, with a sharp drop in rates charged by MFIs and a less marked fall in banks’ rates. It is worth noting that in all three cases, the interest rates charged by banks were near to those established by the Law, hence the modest changes after the ceilings were imposed. The situation was different for MFIs, who had to undertake major adjustments in their rates to comply with the limits.

The volatility of the interest rate of credits to companies granted by MFIs (**Figure 2c**) results from the fact that they hold a minor part of the total portfolio of this type of loan (close to 0.1% of the joint portfolio). This, in addition to the fact that credit to companies is out of the business scope of the MFIs, justifies the exclusion of this part of the portfolio from the analysis we will develop.

The sharp drop in interest rates of microcredits and loans to SMEs charged by MFIs provides an ideal and unique quasi-experiment, one which allows us to estimate the causal effect of the imposition of interest rate caps on those credits. Specifically, we compare the microcredit and SME loans granted by MFIs (treatment group) with that of company portfolios of banks (control group), immediately after the ceilings were imposed. Our choice of company loans granted by banks as a control group is justified, since the Law did not imply a significant change in their interest rates. Also, both microcredits and loans to SMEs and corporate loans target the same type of clients and activities, namely entrepreneurs and productive credits. That is, loan submissions are tied to an economic activity or business model, and are disbursed mainly to pre-existing firms, ranging from large to microenterprises.

It is worth emphasizing that the classification of loans as companies, SMEs and microcredits is not arbitrary for the banks and MFIs, since the supervisory authority closely monitors compliance with the pre-established requirements. However, it can be argued that there are incentives to classify risky SME clients as microcredit loans to charge a higher rate. Therefore, we will study the joint evolution of these two types of credits. Given the requirements, it is not a simple task to classify companies as belonging to other categories, so as to analyze their portfolios separately. Also, the supervisory

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<sup>6</sup> We consider the following commercial banks: Banco BISA S.A., Banco Mercantil Santa Cruz S.A., Banco Nacional de Bolivia, Banco Económico S.A., Banco de Crédito de Bolivia S.A., Banco Ganadero S.A., Banco Unión S.A..

<sup>7</sup> We consider the following MFIs: BancoSol S.A., Banco para el Fomento a Iniciativas Económicas S.A., Banco Fassil S.A., Banco Prodem S.A., Banco PYME de la Comunidad S.A., Banco PYME Ecofuturo S.A..

authority monitors the classification of credits as productive credits, minimizing the risk of commercial or service credits being reclassified as productive.

Besides the interest rate caps imposition, the Law established that at least 25% of the credit portfolio of banks was to be allocated to productive credits (be they companies, SMEs or microcredits). Likewise, MFIs had to allocate 50% of their portfolio to productive credits. The implementation of these quotas began in 2015, establishing intermediate annual goals until 2018, the year in which the definitive goals were to be met. To control for this and other policies that affected all productive credits, we use time and bank fixed effects in our empirical analysis.

### 3.1 Data

The database used in this study contains monthly information on new credit operations in local currency and balance sheet data for banks and MFIs, provided by the Central Bank of Bolivia. This information has a unique level of disaggregation that allows for a comprehensive identification and evaluation of financial system policies.

We use information on credits disaggregated by bank and MFI, portfolio (loans to companies, SMEs and microcredits), and time (monthly). To capture the differences between the financial structures of banks and MFIs, we include indicators of liquidity, capitalization and size (**Annex 1**). The period covered by this experiment goes from January 2011 to December 2018, in order to capture the evolution of trends in the variables of interest three years before the implementation of the Law, and until the completion of the portfolio goals in 2018. The econometric estimations are made with a total of 2,016 observations. The panel is unbalanced because there are periods without records for some types of credits in specific banks or MFIs.

### 3.2 Empirical methodology

We use a DID model to analyze the effect of the imposition of interest rate caps on productive loans. In this setting, we argue that the outcomes of the treatment and control groups have had parallel trends in absence of the intervention. As was mentioned, the treatment group is the portfolio of microcredit and SME loans granted by MFIs<sup>8</sup>, and the control group is the portfolio of loans granted to companies by banks.

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<sup>8</sup> We also include the microcredit and SMEs portfolio of Banco Económico S.A., since its interest rate for these credits showed a sharp decrease after the regulation.

We follow the specification of the DID model suggested by Autor (2003) and Angrist and Pischke (2015), using bank-level data:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \theta_i + \lambda_t + \delta_{DD} D_{it} + \delta' X_{it} + \mu_{it} \quad (1)$$

where  $i$  represents the financial institution portfolio (bank or MFI) and  $t$  the time period (monthly). The endogenous variable,  $Y_{it}$ , denotes the logarithm of the balance<sup>9</sup> of the loan portfolio or the logarithm of the mean size of loans<sup>10</sup>. Our main variable of interest,  $D_{it}$ , captures the effect of the intervention, where  $D_{it} = 1$  for microcredit and SME portfolios granted by MFIs after the treatment ( $t \geq August\ 2014$ ), and  $D_{it} = 0$  otherwise.  $X_{it}$  is a vector of controls that includes bank characteristics, such as size, liquidity, and capitalization – which could affect the supply of credit (Kashyap et al., 2000; Díaz and Rocabado, 2018; Kishan et al., 2005). The terms  $\theta_i$  and  $\lambda_t$  are fixed effects for financial institution and time period, respectively. Finally,  $\mu_{ijt}$  is the error term, clustered by financial institution.

The identification strategy is valid if the parallel trend assumption is satisfied (Angrist and Pischke, 2008; 2015). It requires that in the absence of treatment, and conditional on a relevant history  $X_{jt}$ , the difference between treatment and control groups is constant over time prior to the intervention. In other words, the endogenous variables can differ in levels across treatment and control groups, but they cannot differ in changes (Bruhn and Love, 2014). If this assumption is violated, we could detect a positive effect of the new Regulation when no effect in fact occurred.

**Table 1** presents average differences in means between treated and control groups prior to treatment, from January 2011 to July 2014. The table shows that the differences in levels for outcome and bank-specific variables are statistically significant, which confirms pre-existing differences between the two groups. By contrast, changes in the mean size of credits are not statistically significant, which supports our main identifying assumption that in the absence of Regulation imposition, the average difference between outcome variables across groups would have been the same pre- and post-August 2014. However, there is a statistically significant difference across the treatment and control group in changes of the balance of loan portfolio<sup>11</sup>. Therefore, as suggested by Bruhn and Love (2014), when using the balance of loan portfolio as a dependent variable, we control for different linear time trends to avoid biases.

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<sup>9</sup> The balance of loan portfolio includes all the outstanding loans that do not have any installment of principal past due. Broadly speaking, the balance includes the value of all the new loans granted in a given period plus all the current loans.

<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, for a smaller sample window, this difference becomes statistically non-significant (Table A2).

**Table 1. Pre-treatment differences***(Full sample 2011m1-2014m7)*

	Mean control	Mean treated	t	P. Value
<i>Outcome variables in changes: Log-differences</i>				
Balance of loan portfolio	0.01	0.03	-2.53	0.011 *
Mean size of loans	0.02	0.03	-0.48	0.631
<i>Outcome variables in levels: Logs</i>				
Balance of loan portfolio	20.64	19.04	19.05	0.000 ***
Mean size of loans	15.06	11.31	53.73	0.000 ***
<i>Bank-specific variables in levels</i>				
Size	9.11	7.98	21.00	0.000 ***
Liquidity	32.91	48.48	-11.55	0.000 ***
Capital	6.61	6.33	3.13	0.002 **

**Note:** \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denote statistical significance at the 1, 5 and 10 percent levels respectively. The control group corresponds to company productive portfolios granted by banks, while the treatment group corresponds to microcredit and SME productive portfolios granted by MFIs. The detail of the remaining indicators included is presented in **Table A1** of the Annex. Period of estimation: monthly data from January 2011 to July 2014.

In order to perform a rigorous validation of the identification strategy, we carry out the following robustness exercises. First, as is common in the literature, we follow the test suggested by Angrist and Pischke (2009). This test analyzes whether, controlling for fixed effects, past values of the variable  $D_{it}$  predicts present values of the outcome variable, while future values do not. Therefore, the null hypothesis is that the past coefficients of the intervention variable are jointly statistically equal to zero. Consequently, we estimate the following regression:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \theta_i + \lambda_t + \sum_{\tau=0}^m \delta_{DD-\tau} D_{it-\tau} + \sum_{\tau=1}^q \delta_{DD+\tau} D_{it+\tau} + \delta' X_{it} + \mu_{it} \quad (2)$$

in which under the parallel trend assumption,  $\delta_{DD-\tau}$  should not be statistically significant. In addition, we conduct a graphical analysis of the resultant coefficients, setting  $m$  and  $q$  equal to 3. Specifically, we examine graphically whether estimated changes in outcome variables within the treatment group coincide with the time of the imposition of the Regulation. Then, we conduct an F-test to check whether the coefficients are jointly equal to zero ( $H_0: \delta_{DD-1} = \delta_{DD-2} = \delta_{DD-3} = 0$ ).

Second, following Bruhn and Love (2014) we control for the possibility that bank specific linear time trends influence outcome variables. If the estimated effects are driven entirely by differences in trends, then these differences should disappear once we control for time trends in the regressions. In this regard, we test whether our results still hold once we control for these variables into our specifications. Finally, we perform a placebo study by replicating the same methodology but replacing the year of the treatment with a prior period unrelated with the intervention. If the ‘placebo treatment’ has a statistically significant effect, then the parallel trend assumption is invalidated (Bertrand, et al. 2004; Abadie and Gardeazabal, 2003).

## 4. Results

### 4.1. DID estimations

In this section we analyze the impact of interest rates ceiling on credit variables. **Table 2** displays the DID results for equation (1) and different time windows<sup>12</sup>, in which our coefficient of interest is labeled as “Treatment dummy” and corresponds to  $\delta_{DD}$ . Following Bruhn and Love (2014), we control for the possibility that linear time trends in outcome variables differ between banks/MFIs. Columns (1) – (2) report the results for the outcome variables without a bank specific-time trend, while columns (3) – (4) show the effect of its inclusion. Overall, the results suggest that while the imposition of interest rate ceilings negatively affected the portfolio balance of microcredits and loans to SMEs granted by MFIs, it had a positive effect on the mean size of credits.

**Table 2.** *Impact of interest rates ceilings*

	Balance of loan portfolio	Mean size of credits	Balance of loan portfolio	Mean size of credits
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>Full sample: 2011M1-2018M12</b>				
Treatment	0.00611 (0.173)	0.685*** (0.151)	-0.261* (0.134)	0.389*** (0.106)
Observations	2,016	1,970	2,016	1,970
R-squared	0.648	0.478	0.707	0.533
<b>Sample: 2012M8-2016M8</b>				
Treatment	-0.171 (0.105)	0.511*** (0.132)	-0.359** (0.153)	0.334*** (0.102)
Observations	1,029	1,019	1,029	1,019
R-squared	0.415	0.412	0.540	0.462
<b>Sample: 2013M8-2015M8</b>				
Treatment	-0.221*** (0.0628)	0.322* (0.148)	-0.253* (0.124)	0.401*** (0.124)
Observations	525	524	525	524
R-squared	0.304	0.290	0.415	0.388
Bank-portfolio fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Month fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bank-specific linear trend	No	No	Yes	Yes

**Note:** \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denote statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels respectively. Standard errors adjusted by clusters at bank level are in parentheses. Dependent variables are expressed in logarithms. All regressions are controlled by the remaining bank-specific indicators included in **Table A1**.

Specifically, the negative effect of the imposition of the policy on the balance of loan portfolios is statistically significant for all the time windows when the bank-specific time trend is included, while the mean size of credits displays a positive effect of the intervention that holds for all time windows and specifications.

<sup>12</sup> In order to check the validity of our results, we show our regression estimates for two alternative time windows: one and two years around the imposition of the interest rates ceilings.

For an average MFI in the period 2011-2018, the imposition of interest rate ceilings implied a reduction of 26.1% in the balance of microcredit and SME loan portfolios granted by MFIs (relative to companies' portfolio granted by banks). Opposite to the intention of the policy, the balance of loans meant to improve financial inclusion became less important in the overall portfolio. In line with Safavian and Zia (2018), our results show a significant decline in the balance due to a change in the composition of lending, away from microcredits and SMEs toward safer corporate clients.

Conversely, we find a positive effect of the regulation on the mean size of credits. As stated in Rojas and Ruesta (2019), the enlargement of the size of the credits is explained by the fact that MFIs increased their average amount per credit granted to maintain their profitability and reduce operational costs. However, caution should be exercised when lending a causal interpretation to this last result, since, as we show in the next section, the parallel trend assumption holds only for the balance of total loans.

## 4.2. Robustness checks results

With the aim of validating the parallel trends assumption, crucial for identifying causal effects under the DID models, we perform statistical and graphical checks. Table 3 displays the statistical test proposed by Angrist and Pischke (2008) for equation (2), where the null hypothesis is that the coefficients are jointly equal to zero ( $H_0: \delta_{DD-1} = \delta_{DD-2} = \delta_{DD-3} = 0$ ). Overall, results suggest at a 95% of confidence level that we do not reject the null for the balance of loan portfolio, which implies that parallel trend assumption holds for this variable.

**Table 3. Parallel trends test**

	Balance of loan portfolio (1)	Mean size of credits (2)	Balance of loan portfolio (3)	Mean size of credits (4)
	<b>Full Sample: 2011M1-2018M12</b>			
Est. F	2.052	20.72	2.714	11.16
P-value (F)	0.160	4.89e-05	0.0915	0.000870
Passed?	Yes	No	Yes	No
	<b>Sample: 2012M8-2016M8</b>			
Est. F	0.474	18.05	1.566	17.18
P-value (F)	0.706	9.60e-05	0.249	0.000122
Passed?	Yes	No	Yes	No
	<b>Sample: 2013M8-2015M8</b>			
Est. F	2.361	12.56	2.920	31.17
P-value (F)	0.123	0.000519	0.0775	6.03e-06
Passed?	Yes	No	Yes	No
Bank-portfolio fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Month fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bank-specific linear trend	No	No	Yes	Yes

**Note:** The Table presents the F-tests where the null hypothesis is that all coefficients prior to the intervention are equal to zero. When the null hypothesis is not rejected at the 95% level of confidence indicates that the parallel trends assumption holds. All regressions are controlled by the remaining bank-specific indicators included in **Table A1**.



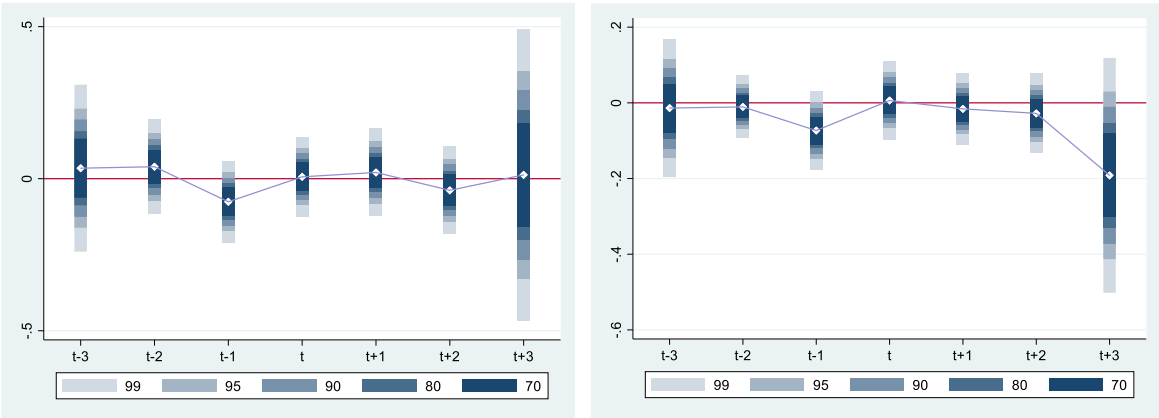
The graphical analysis for leads of the coefficients did not show an anticipatory effect of the policy (Figure 3). For the mean size of credits, the parallel trend assumption does not hold.

**Figure 3. Graphical test**

**Balance of loan portfolio**

**3a. Without time trends**

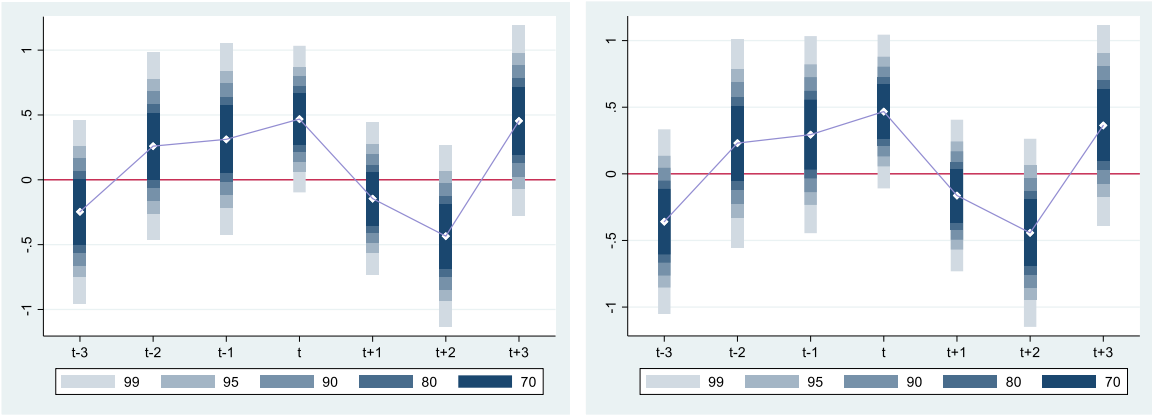
**3b. With time trends**



**Mean size of credits**

**3c. Without time trends**

**3d. With time trends**



**Note:** The figure displays the lag and lead coefficients for the treatment variable, as per Table 3, for the full sample.

Finally, we perform a placebo test by running our main specifications with a ‘placebo treatment’ where the actual year of the intervention (August 2014) is replaced by a prior unrelated date (August 2013). Table A3 displays the results of the estimations, with non-significant coefficients for the placebo treatments after controlling for bank-specific time trends. These results corroborate the validity of our parallel trend assumption for the balance of loan portfolios in all our specifications.

## 5. Conclusions

In the last decades financial access has increasingly become a priority for policymakers because of its potential to improve both the efficiency of the overall economy and the lives of individuals, especially the poorest. It is therefore essential to develop the appropriate financial inclusion interventions as well as to understand their effects. In an attempt to shed light on this issue, in this paper we analyze one of the most controversial policies to promote credit access and to limit usury practices: the imposition of caps on interest rates. We study the imposition of upper limits for interest rates for productive loans to SMEs and productive microcredits in Bolivia during 2014 and its effects on loan expansion. This policy was part of a comprehensive government plan to promote financial inclusion in the country due to the low levels of access to credit from formal financial institutions.

Through a specification of DID models and in a natural experiment framework, we evaluate the effects of these interventions by comparing the difference between the microcredit and SME portfolios granted by MFIs (treatment group), and the productive loans to companies portfolio granted by banks (control group), right after the imposition of the interest rates caps. The interest rates charged to loans for companies remained close to the previous values before the Law, while for microcredits and loans to SMEs, the rates sharply decreased. Our main findings suggest that the imposition of the ceilings policy hindered access to microcredits and loans to SMEs. More specifically, the balance of the microcredit and SME loan portfolios granted by MFIs relative to the company portfolio granted by banks, decreased 26.1% for an average MFI in the period 2011-2018. This effect is statistically significant for alternative time windows and specifications. In addition, the size of microcredits and loans to SMEs granted by MFIs increased, although the parallel trend assumption does not hold for this variable.

We conclude that interest rate controls could lead to harmful and unintended consequences on credit access. Therefore, seeking to promote financial inclusion in developing economies could be a complex policy objective and requires a full understanding of the specific market failures and underlying barriers to financial access. We stress the importance of continued progress in studying it, as well as the potential effects of credit access on the wellbeing of both individuals and societies. We hope the results of our study encourage researchers to further explore this line of research.

In this sense, our study has some specific limitations which will define future research. More empirical studies to quantify and collect data on other factors that could be affected by the imposition of interest rate caps policies are needed. Firstly, although we use a rich date base, it does not contain loan-specific information regarding maturity, risk rating (ex-ante probability of default), and number of non-performing days. This information will be valuable to evaluate the effect of the interest rate

cap imposition on default rates. Also, it could provide information on whether the banks became more demanding in the risk profile of their clients, in such a way that the measure causes them to exclude relatively more risky clients who, in the absence of interest rate ceilings, could have obtained a loan. The related literature (Rojas and Ruesta, 2019) suggests that, as MFIs narrow their loan portfolios, they generally increase the average size of loans and exclude riskier agents. Portfolio risk could also be analyzed related to the reduction in the diversification of clients, since banks might be granting more loans or bigger loans to the same clients.

Furthermore, it will also allow for addressing the still inconclusive relation between financial inclusion and financial stability. This literature discusses the extent to which the growing importance of institutions and instruments that promote financial inclusion, as in the case of MFIs, could be considered a threat to the financial stability of developing economies. The risk may rise from rapid credit growth associated to this financial inclusion institutions and instruments, and from unregulated parts of the financial system (Roa, 2016).

Related to this last statement, data on informal credit will be also important to assess the effect of the ceilings policy on informal and non-regulated credit transactions. Some empirical evidence shows that after the implementation of the Law, informal credit increased, in particular for the poorest and smallest clients, as well as the presence of informal financial institutions – previously displaced for the regulated MFIs (Rojas and Ruesta, 2019; Villafani-Ibarnegaray, 2019). Lastly, more granularity of the data regarding socio-demographic information of the clients (rural vs. urban, age, gender, income, occupation, etc.), should also be useful to measure the potential effect of this measure on the wellbeing of the agents. Future research should therefore be orientated towards collating more data and integrating the different dimensions and effects of credit access interventions.

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## Annex 1

**Table A1.** *Detail of bank indicators*

Name	Name	Formula
<i>Name</i>	<b>Bank specific variables</b>	
	<b>A. Size</b>	
Size	1. Bank size	$Ln(asset)$
	<b>B. Liquidity</b>	
Liquidity	1. Coefficient of short-term liquidity coverage with cash	$Cash / (Short-term\ obligations) * 100$
	<b>C. Capital</b>	
Capital 1	1. Coefficient of leverage	$(Capital + Reserves) / total\ asset * 100$

**Note:** The liquid assets of a bank is equal to the sum of cash, temporary investments without taking into account the reserve requirements of liquid assets and legal reserve account. Short-term obligations = demand deposits + savings + 30-day fixed-term deposits.

**Table A2.** *Pre-Treatment Differences for different time windows*

Sample: 2012M8 - 2016M8				
	Mean control	Mean treated	t	P. Value
<i>Outcome variables in changes: Log-differences</i>				
Balance of loan portfolio	0.01	0.02	-1.52	0.130
Mean size of credits	-0.01	0.03	-0.84	0.399
<i>Outcome variables in levels: Logs</i>				
Balance of loan portfolio	20.69	19.31	12.83	0.000 ***
Mean size of credits	15.13	11.46	39.08	0.000 ***
<i>Bank-specific variables</i>				
Size	9.24	8.20	15.65	0.000 ***
Liquidity	31.15	46.37	-8.50	0.000 ***
Capital	6.63	5.94	6.68	0.000 ***
Sample: 2013M8 - 2015M8				
	Mean control	Mean treated	t	P. Value
<i>Outcome variables in changes: Log-differences</i>				
Balance of loan portfolio	0.01	0.01	0.61	0.544
Mean size of credits	0.00	0.03	-0.49	0.624
<i>Outcome variables in levels: Logs</i>				
Balance of loan portfolio	20.71	19.40	8.56	0.000 ***
Mean size of credits	15.16	11.59	27.02	0.000 ***
<i>Bank-specific variables</i>				
Size	9.32	8.30	11.00	0.000 ***
Liquidity	28.60	37.34	-4.28	0.000 ***
Capital	6.71	5.98	4.90	0.000 ***

**Note:** \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denotes statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level respectively. The control group corresponds to companies' productive portfolio of banks while the treatment group corresponds to microcredit and SMEs productive portfolio of MFIs.

**Table A3. Placebo test**

	Balance of loan portfolio	Mean size of credits	Balance of loan portfolio	Mean size of credits
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	0.0345 (0.158)	0.595*** (0.181)	0.00899 (0.136)	0.189 (0.139)
Size	1.617*** (0.167)	0.536** (0.190)	1.238*** (0.230)	1.336*** (0.396)
Liquidity	-0.000143 (0.00288)	-0.000929 (0.00208)	-0.000108 (0.00110)	-0.00329** (0.00143)
Capital	-0.147*** (0.0450)	0.0472 (0.0470)	-0.0409** (0.0164)	0.116** (0.0424)
Constant	7.158*** (1.219)	7.476*** (1.472)	8.759*** (0.580)	2.804** (1.148)
Observations	2,016	1,970	2,016	1,970
R-squared	0.648	0.462	0.705	0.528
Bank-portfolio fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Month fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bank-specific linear trend	No	No	Yes	Yes

**Note:** \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denotes statistical significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent level respectively. Standard errors adjusted by clusters at bank level in parentheses. Dependent variables are expressed in logarithms.