

ADB Institute Discussion Paper No. 25

**Road Development and Poverty Reduction:
The Case of Lao PDR**

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February 2005

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1. Introduction

Most poor people of the world reside in rural areas, which are frequently characterized by low levels of public infrastructure, especially roads. Inadequate roads raise transport costs, limiting the use poor people can make of local markets for the sale of their produce, the purchase of consumer goods and opportunities for off-farm employment. Access to educational and health facilities, where they exist, is also constrained when it is difficult to reach them. In tropical areas, unsealed roads may actually be impassable during the extended rainy periods of the year. These problems are particularly acute in Lao PDR, where inadequate roads are a severe problem for rural people. But significant road improvement is generally not a form of investment that rural people can make by themselves. Public sector involvement is required. Action to improve rural roads therefore seems a clear means by which large numbers of people might acquire the opportunity to participate in the market economy and thereby raise themselves out of poverty. But does it actually work?

At an aggregate level, the Lao economy is performing moderately well, with growth of real GDP consistently lying between 5 and 6 per cent since 2000, slightly above the average rate over the preceding decade. Measured poverty incidence has declined over this period. The official measure of national poverty incidence has declined from 46 per cent of the population at a national level in 1992-93 to 39 per cent in 1997-98. Preliminary estimates of the level in 2002-03 place it at 31 per cent. As in most developing countries, poverty in Lao PDR is concentrated in rural areas. The percentage of the rural population with consumption expenditures below the official poverty line has been estimated at 52, 43 and 33 per cent, respectively, over the same years. The corresponding estimates for poverty incidence in urban areas were 27, 22 and 23 per cent, respectively.

Economic reforms, beginning around 1987, have seemingly contributed to these favorable outcomes by permitting greater participation in both local markets and markets in neighboring countries. However, it is recognized that removal of obstacles to the functioning of markets may be of little or no assistance to rural people if very poor roads prevent them from participating in these markets. Over the past decade, efforts by the Lao PDR government with assistance from international institutions have resulted in significant improvements in the state of Lao rural roads. But there is still much progress to be made. This paper is an attempt to study the contribution that improved rural roads have made to poverty reduction in Lao PDR in the recent past, and - by extension - the scope for continued poverty reduction through this means.

A number of studies have suggested that improvement of infrastructure in rural areas can contribute to agricultural productivity and economic welfare in those areas. Examples include Binswanger et al. (1993), van de Walle and Nead (1995), van de Walle (1996 and 2002), Jacoby (2000) and Gibson and Rozelle (2003). Lanjouw (1999) demonstrates, for the case of Ecuador, the importance of access to off-farm employment in these outcomes. A study of rural People's Republic of China (PRC) (Jalan and Ravallion 1998) suggested that higher density of roads in a particular area lowered the probability that households in that area would be poor. Srinivasan (1986) points to the special importance of these issues in landlocked countries such as Lao PDR.

Suppose it is found that areas with better access to main roads had higher levels of consumption expenditures per person and lower levels of poverty incidence. This does not in itself prove that improved roads *cause* lower levels of poverty, for two kinds of reasons. First, because the regions with better roads (and lower poverty incidence) differ from those with inferior roads (and higher poverty incidence) in many respects, not just the quality of roads.

Multivariate regression is a statistical device for dealing with this problem, by allowing for the levels of other variables such as education, health facilities and regional effects. If an association is still found between better access to roads and higher per capita consumption, then this point has been allowed for.

A second problem with a simple cross-sectional comparison of road (or other infrastructure) availability with economic indicators at a particular time is more problematic. If better-off areas are favored by the government for the construction of these infrastructure facilities, then the existence of a correlation between their provision and the economic indicator concerned may not indicate that the provision of the infrastructure causes better economic performance, but rather the reverse. Studies noting this potential problem, now known as the 'endogenous placement' problem include Binswanger et al. (1993), and van der Walle and Nead (1995). For this reason, wherever possible it is desirable to supplement such cross-sectional analyses with studies over time which focus on the effect that *changes* in road provision over time have on *changes* in economic indicators, like poverty incidence, income, expenditure and so forth.

Studies of poverty incidence in Lao PDR are constrained by the availability of household survey data sets which can support this form of analysis. The only such data sets available are assembled by the government's National Statistical Center and are known as the Lao Expenditure and Consumption Survey (LECS). Three such surveys have been conducted to date:

- LECS 1, covering 1992-93;
- LECS 2 covering 1997-98; and
- LECS 3, covering 2002-03.

Statistical changes in LECS 2 limited the scope for comparison with LECS 1, but LECS 2 and 3 are closely comparable. The data from LECS 3 were released in late 2004 and can now be analyzed. This paper makes extensive use of the data now available in LECS 2 and LECS 3.

Earlier poverty assessment studies for Lao PDR, using the LECS 2 data set, confirm that in 1997-98 areas with better access to main roads had higher levels of consumption expenditures per person, allowing for the levels of other variables such as education, health facilities and regional effects. Two important examples are Datt and Wang (2001) and Kakwani, Datt, Sisouphanthong, Souksavath and Wang (2002). For the purposes of the present discussion, the two use similar statistical methods and reach similar conclusions. In each of these studies, the relationship between infrastructure and real expenditures is only one of many issues which are examined and this effect of road infrastructure occupies a minor part in the analysis and discussion. Neither of these studies estimates the implications of the results for poverty incidence and neither recognizes the possible relevance of the 'endogenous placement' effect. Consequently, it is not clear from the results presented whether the correlation between good roads and economic welfare means that better roads reduce poverty or merely that richer areas receive improved roads ahead of poorer areas.

However, the release of LECS 3 data means that a richer analysis of the relationship between infrastructure provision and poverty incidence is now possible, by comparing LECS 2 and LECS 3, which span an interval (1997-98 to 2002-03) during which there was significant progress in infrastructure provision, including roads. That is, the LECS 3 data make it possible to focus to focus on the determinants of *changes* in poverty incidence over time, rather than simply the *level* of poverty incidence at a particular time.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 reviews economic change in Lao PDR since the late 1980s. This is important because this paper is concerned with analyzing changes in rural poverty incidence between 1997-98 (the date of the LECS 2 survey) and 2002-03 (the date of LECS 3). This requires an understanding of the economic background within which these changes occurred. Due to structural changes within the Lao economy,

rural areas have been subjected to considerable economic pressure, which is relevant for an understanding of the changes in poverty incidence that have occurred. Section 3 reviews the conceptual background and meaning of poverty measurement and then summarizes data on poverty incidence and inequality within Lao PDR and places these data within the context of other Southeast Asian countries. Section 4 then presents the results of the empirical analysis of the relationship between road development and poverty incidence in rural areas of Laos. Section 5 concludes.

2. Economic Background

2.1 Real Sector

Lao PDR is a poor country, with GDP per person in 2002 at US\$ 310, and total GDP of US\$ 1.7 billion. From 1991 to 2002 annual growth of GDP averaged 6.2 per cent per annum (annual data are in Figure 1), or around 3.8 per cent per person. The agricultural sector dominates employment, with 80 per cent of the workforce and it contributes about 50 per cent of GDP. Lao PDR remains dependent on external support. In 2002/3 external donors contributed 61 per cent of the government's capital budget, representing 39 per cent of total public expenditure, and 7.6 per cent of GDP.

Structural change within the Lao economy has been significant. The agricultural sector contracted from 61 per cent of GDP in 1990 to 50 per cent in 2002 (Figure 2). Most of this contraction occurred in the crops sector (Figure 3), but the contraction of the crops sector was concentrated in the first half of the 1990s, when its share of GDP fell from 37 to 25 per cent. From then until the present, the share of the crops sector recovered to around 30 per cent of GDP. Heavy public investment in irrigation in the second half of the 1990s accounted for this change.

One feature of the changes in the crop sector is important. The area planted to the total rice sector remained virtually unchanged from 1990 to 2000, but within this the irrigated rice sector expanded very markedly, responding to the irrigation investments mentioned above, and the upland rice area (non-irrigated) contracted by 70 per cent. Rice became a less attractive activity for upland people. To some extent this was due to the availability of alternative crops with market outlets both within Lao PDR and in neighboring countries, partly to the relaxed insistence from the government that all regions of the country strive for rice self-sufficiency, but it was also due to the declining profitability of rice itself, reflecting relative price movements within the country.

2.2 Monetary Sector

Inflation was moderate through the first half of the 1990s, at single digit levels for most of this period, but accelerated from 1998 to 2000, peaking at 142 per cent in 1999 (Figure 1). This inflationary surge was related to agricultural policy. The government of Lao PDR is committed to a goal of rice self-sufficiency. However, it was apparent through the first half of the 1990s that rice output was not growing as fast as population. A massive public investment in irrigation facilities followed, beginning in 1996-97, producing large public sector deficits, especially in 1998-99, as shown in Figure 5. But the deficits were financed to a considerable extent by monetary creation, producing the inflation of the late 1990s. Since 2001 consumer price inflation has been contained, with an average annual rate just under 10 per cent.

Figure 4 shows that the inflation in consumer prices in the late 1990s coincided with a collapse of the exchange rate. The kip / dollar rate collapsed from roughly 2,000 at the end of 1997 to 8,200 at the end of 2001. Since Thailand is the major trading partner of Lao PDR it is relevant to look at kip / baht exchange rates as well. These rates are shown in Figure 6. Although the baht was also depreciating in the late 1990s, as a result of Thailand's financial crisis, the kip's depreciation far exceed this. The kip / baht rate declined from 47 at the end of 1997 to about 200 at the end of 2000. This depreciation of the nominal exchange rate had

implications for real exchange rates, and these were relevant for the central theme of this report. These issues are discussed below.

2.3 External Sector

The volume of imports has exceeded exports in every year since the early 1990s. The current account deficit has averaged 12 per cent of GDP since 1991 (Figure 7). The deficit is financed by inflows on capital account. Foreign aid contributes about 7.5 per cent of Lao GDP. In 2002/3 actual incoming foreign direct investment was 150 million US\$, or 9.3 per cent of GDP, an increase from 100 million US\$ (7.7 per cent of GDP) in 2001-02.

2.4 Real exchange rate movements since 1988

The macroeconomic events described above have produced significant relative price changes within Lao PDR. They are summarized in Figure 8. Because producer prices are unavailable, this figure draws on consumer price data to show a decline in food prices relative to services prices. Because of changes in the way consumer price data are calculated, the figure contains three segments, spliced together.

- (i) *Food / Services I – 1988 to 1997.* This series shows the ratio of food to services prices, intended as proxies for traded and non-traded goods prices, respectively.
- (ii) *Food / Energy and Construction – 1997 to 2000.* In 1997 the consumer price category 'services' was discontinued and for this purpose the category 'Energy and Construction' has been used as a proxy for non-traded goods prices.
- (iii) *Food / Services II.* The format of consumer prices was changed again in 2000 and the third series constructs a 'services' price series as a weighted average from components of the new classification corresponding to services, using the CPI weights to aggregate these series.

These data tell a clear story. They indicate that agricultural commodity prices declined markedly relative to non-agricultural prices, especially those of services and construction. An economic boom followed the more open economic environment created by the reforms, but this boom was concentrated in the services and construction sectors of the economy, which drew resources from elsewhere, especially from agriculture.

The inflow of foreign capital that accompanied the NEM had indirect macroeconomic effects on agricultural output, which were in some cases negative. The increased domestic expenditure made possible by foreign aid and foreign investment produces demand-side effects that imply contraction of agriculture. Increased demand produces increases in the domestic prices of those goods and services that cannot readily be imported. These include most services and construction and the expansion of these sectors attracts resources, including labour, away from agriculture. This phenomenon has been observed in many countries experiencing large increases in capital or export revenue inflows from abroad and it is known as the 'Dutch Disease' or 'booming sector' effect. It causes the prices of agricultural and other traded commodities to decline relative to other prices, with negative effects on agricultural production.

To the extent that the NEM increased the exposure of agricultural commodities to international markets, this policy change indirectly increased the impact that these market phenomena had on agricultural production.

From 1997 to 1999 this real appreciation was reversed by the massive nominal depreciation described above. The mechanism is that a nominal depreciation increases the nominal prices of traded goods. Some stickiness in non-traded goods prices caused them to respond slowly to the monetary expansion that was occurring at the same time, with the result that the

ratio of traded goods prices to non-traded goods increased. This effect ceased after 2000 and real appreciation resumed.

The relevance of these events is that since around 1990 agricultural producers in Laos have been subject to a considerable cost-price squeeze. This phenomenon has accelerated the rate of rural to urban migration that would otherwise have occurred. The deterioration in the profitability of agricultural production for the market has also impeded the entry into the market economy of subsistence agricultural producers. In short, these events have resulted in higher levels of rural poverty incidence than might otherwise have occurred. This background is important for understanding rural poverty in Laos.

3. Poverty Reduction in Lao PDR

3.1 Issues in poverty measurement

Six kinds of issues are involved in quantitative measurement of poverty incidence over time.

1. Are we discussing *absolute or relative poverty*? Measures of 'absolute poverty' relate to that part of the population whose incomes (or expenditures) fall below a given level (the poverty line) whose value is held fixed in real purchasing power over time and across social groups. 'Relative poverty' means *inequality*, and to avoid confusion it is probably better to use that term. It compares the incomes (or expenditures) of the poor with those of the rich, or some other reference group. The two concepts are different because the overall size of the economic pie may change at the same time as its distribution is changing. Not surprisingly, when the overall size of the economic pie is changing significantly, measures of absolute poverty and inequality do not necessarily move together and may not even change in the same direction. In this paper, 'poverty' will mean absolute poverty incidence.

2. What *variable* is used for the calculations of poverty incidence? In Lao PDR, *real expenditures* per person are used, and this practice is followed in this paper. Use of expenditures is more consistent with economic theory than the common alternative, real incomes per person, in that expenditures are more directly related to household welfare than incomes. Other countries using expenditures include Indonesia, Viet Nam, Cambodia, India and PRC, while Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines use *real incomes* per household member, adjusted for the gender and age distribution of the household. The distinction between income-based and expenditure-based measures of poverty is especially important when we are considering the impact on poverty of a short term reduction (or increase) in incomes. The recent Asian financial crisis provides a good example.

3. What is the *poverty measure*? Most studies of poverty focus on the *headcount measure of absolute poverty incidence*, which means the proportion of the population whose incomes fall below a given threshold, held constant in real terms over time and across regions. At a conceptual level, this measure has the disadvantage that changes in it are due mainly to changes in the living conditions of members of the population with incomes or expenditures close to the poverty line. Other measures of absolute poverty incidence lacking this disadvantage have been calculated from time to time, such as the poverty gap and poverty gap squared measures, but are normally highly correlated with the headcount measure. Concentration on the headcount measure therefore seems warranted and it will be used in this paper.

4. What *data source* is used for the calculations? Household level survey data are essential, but the statistical design and frequency of these surveys varies between countries. For example, in Lao PDR the Lao Expenditure and Consumption Survey (LECS) conducted by the government's National Statistical Centre (NSC) provides virtually the sole source of

reliable information at the household level that can be compared over time. This survey was conducted in 1992-93 (LECS 1), then in 1997-98 (LECS 2) and again in 2002-03 (LECS 3).

5. How is the *base level of the poverty line* determined? Some concept of the minimum level of income or expenditure per person must be established for a household to be classified as non-poor. Although studies of poverty measurement often give great attention to this matter, drawing upon studies of minimum nutritional requirements and so forth, the level of this poverty line is essentially arbitrary.

6. What is the *poverty line deflator*? This involves the way the poverty line is adjusted over time to keep its real purchasing power constant. Although this may seem a minor technical matter, it is a central issue for poverty measurement over time and across regions where consumer prices vary. Empirical studies of poverty incidence differ in their handling of this issue. The ideal deflator uses the actual expenditure pattern of the poor to weight price changes at the commodity level. This deflator may, at times, behave differently from the overall consumer price index, which reflects 'average' expenditure patterns. But many studies use arbitrary baskets of goods and services in constructing the poverty line deflator. A common mistake is to confuse the determination of the base level of the poverty line with the determination of the appropriate cost of living deflator.

- The base level of the poverty line means the level of the poverty line in, say, 1997-98 prices, that distinguishes between poor and non-poor households in that year. Its determination usually involves judgments on the amount of food and non-food expenditures people 'need' to be non-poor. Inevitably, this involves arbitrariness. It entails constructing a bundle of goods and services that are 'needed' and then costing that bundle to give a minimum level of expenditure required to be non-poor. The composition of this bundle may differ considerably from the bundles actually consumed by households with that level of actual expenditure. This paper takes the poverty lines from the World Bank (Richter 2004).

- The poverty line deflator involves the way this amount of expenditure in 1997-98 prices (the 1997-98 poverty line) is adjusted to give the poverty line in, say 2002-03 prices. The composition of the appropriate deflator is the actual consumption shares of the poor, rather than the (arbitrarily chosen) composition of the poverty line. This paper uses provincial consumer price index data to deflate real expenditures, with the level of these indices in December 1999 normalized at 100 (Figure 9).

3.2 Data on poverty and inequality

Available data on poverty incidence and inequality in Lao PDR are shown in Figure 10. For comparison, data for three neighboring Southeast Asian countries – Cambodia, Viet Nam and Thailand – are summarized in Figures 11 to 13. The data for Lao PDR are repeated in Table 1. In each case, the data are based on national household surveys conducted by the national statistical agencies of the countries concerned, converted to a constant real value of the poverty line. In the case of Lao PDR, Cambodia and Viet Nam the calculations shown are those reported by the World Bank.

It should be noted that the poverty incidence data for Lao PDR, Cambodia and Viet Nam are based on comparisons of household *expenditures* with an official poverty line adjusted over time to hold real purchasing power constant. The data for Thailand (as with Malaysia and the Philippines) are based on comparisons of household *incomes* with such a poverty line. This difference could introduce some inconsistencies and may partly explain the much higher level of measured inequality in Thailand. In addition, the real purchasing powers of the poverty lines used in each of the four countries are different. Even if the distributions of real incomes (expenditures) in the four countries were the same, which they are not, this would mean that the poverty lines would relate to different points on these distributions.

According to these data, over a 10 year period poverty incidence in Lao PDR declined from 46 per cent to 31 per cent of the population, that is, by 1.5 per cent of the population per year. This compares favorably with Cambodia (0.5 per cent decline per year) and is similar to Thailand (1.6 per cent per year over the 30 years for which data are available), but is less than Viet Nam's reported rate of decline (roughly 3 per cent of the population per year over the 6 years for which data are available). The Lao rate of poverty reduction is clearly encouraging. Sustaining it over an extended period will reduce poverty incidence to very low levels.

4. Roads and Poverty

We now turn to the estimation of the effects of road development on poverty in rural Laos. Travelers in rural Laos cannot fail to be impressed by the low quality of the road system. It seems obvious that improving these roads could contribute to poverty reduction by improving poor peoples' capacity to take advantage of the market economy. But by how much can poverty be reduced in this way?

4.1 The LECS data

The LECS surveys have been undertaken every 5 years since 1992-93:

- LECS 1 1992-93
- LECS 2 1997-98
- LECS 3 2002-03

The LECS 1 survey is different from the latter two, making comparison of its results with the later surveys hazardous. LECS 2 and 3 are quite similar and can be compared. The present study focuses on these two surveys.

The 1997-98 survey (LECS 2) covered 8,882 households containing 57,624 individuals. The data collection ran from March 1997 to February 1998 with about the same number of households (about 740) interviewed each month. The timing of the survey is important because as the discussion above indicates, LECS 2 was conducted at a time of high inflation, which reached annual rates well over 100 per cent. The data on consumption expenditures were collected in current prices, making the deflation of these expenditures into constant price terms particularly important. Of the 8,882 households covered, 6,874 were rural and the remaining 2,008 urban. In this study, only the data relating to rural households are used.

The 2002-03 survey (LECS 3) covered 8,092 households containing 49,790 individuals with the data collection extending from March 2002 to February 2003. Of these households 6,488 were rural and the remaining 1,604 were urban. In addition to data on expenditures, the LECS data include the following relevant variables (section codes of LECS in parentheses):

Province
District
Village

Characteristics of household

Number of adults
Number of members
Household consumption expenditure per person
Household income per person

Household ownership of assets

Irrigated land (B)
Dry land (B)
Rice husking machine (B)

Number of cows or buffaloes

Characteristics of household head

Age

Male (B)

Years of schooling

Unemployed (B)

Paid employee (B)

Employer (B)

Self-employed (B)

Farmer (B)

Unpaid family worker (B)

Outside labor force (B)

Educational characteristics of children in primary age group

Whether enrolled in school during past 12 months – C 5 (B)

If not, why not – C 6

Household expenditure on that child's education – C 11

Distance from home to school attended – C 14

Time taken to travel to school – C 15

Health of household members

Whether treatment sought during last 4 weeks – D 7 (B)

Type of facility – D 9

Transport cost incurred in accessing the facility during the last 4 weeks – D 13

Village characteristics

Electricity network (B)

Permanent market (B)

Scheduled passenger transport (B)

Distance to main road

Primary school (B)

Piped water or protected well (B)

Pharmacy (B)

Medical practitioner (B)

Trained nurse (B)

Community health worker (B)

Immunization program (B)

Urban (B)

Rural with access to road (B)

Rural without access to road (B)

It is important to note that these are sample surveys, not censuses. The number of households sampled is about 1.2 per cent of the total number of households within Lao PDR, and the individual households sampled in each survey are seldom the same. In any case, households are not identified individually and it is therefore not possible to compare the same households across LECS 2 and LECS 3.

It should be noted that "Distance to main road" is one of the variables listed, but this variable is known to be of unreliable quality, a point that is emphasized by data enumerators themselves. The variables "Rural with access to road" and "Rural without access to road" are considered more reliable and these are the data used in the present study. These variables reflect yes/no answers from households and are treated as dummy (0,1) variables in the regression analysis.

4.2 Analysis

It is convenient to move directly to the regressions that were estimated. Nominal consumption expenditures per household member were deflated to December 1999 prices using monthly provincial consumer price index data as summarized in Figure 9. The deflation was conducted at a monthly level. This is especially important in the case of LECS 2, as noted above. The dependent variable was then the natural logarithm of real per capita expenditure.

The treatment of the dummy variables for dry season access to roads and wet season access needs explanation. We used dummy variables D and W , where D takes the value 0 if the household reports no dry season access and 1 if it reports road access. Then, W is defined similarly for wet season access. There was no household for which D was zero and W was 1. With respect to road access there were therefore three categories of households:

- (i) no road access at all: $D = 0, W = 0,$
- (ii) access in dry season but not wet season: $D = 1, W = 0,$
- (iii) access in both seasons: $D = 1, W = 1.$

The numbers of households belonging to each of these categories are summarized in Table 2. In LECS 2, 31 per cent of households belonged to category (i) and this barely changed in LECS 3. These are the most isolated households of the country and according to these data little progress was made in providing them with road access over this period. In category (ii) – dry season access but not wet season access the proportion declined from 28 per cent in LECS 2 to 16 per cent in LECS 3. Thus the number of households which had wet season access as well as dry season access increased between these two surveys by 12 per cent of all households. In LECS 3, 52 per cent of all household had year-round road access.

The estimated regression equation handled this combination of outcomes through an interaction term. The right hand side variables thus included the terms

$$\alpha D + \beta D.W$$

where α and β are estimated coefficients. In case (i) above D and $D.W$ are both 0. In case (ii) $D = 1$ and $D.W = 0$. In case (iii) D and $D.W$ are both 1. The effect of dry season access alone is given by α and (noting that whenever $W = 1, D = 1$ also) the combined effect of dry and wet season access is given by $\alpha + \beta$.

4.3 Regression results: LECS 2 and LECS 3

The regression results for LECS 2 and 3 are reported in Tables 3 and 4.

In the case of the LECS 2 results the estimated coefficients had the expected signs, including the education variables and asset ownership variables, with the exception of “Not female head”, which had a negative but not significant sign. The variable “Reach dry” had the expected positive sign, but was not significant. The variable “Reach rain” had a positive and highly significant coefficient. According to these results, there was a high return to having wet season access in the LECS 2 data set.

The significance of this result for poverty incidence is explored in Figures 14 and 15 and in Table 5. Figure 14 shows the actual cumulative distribution of the logarithm of real consumption expenditures per person obtained from the LECS 2 data set. These data were assembled by calculating real consumption expenditures per person for all rural households, taking the natural logarithm and then sorting them from the lowest to the highest. The diagram also shows three estimated distributions, which use the regression results reported in Table 3, above.

P1. The predicted level of real expenditures using the actual values of the dummy variables D and W as observed in the data as well as actual values of all other independent variables. The difference between this prediction and the actual data is the error of the regression.

P2. The predicted level of real expenditure when all households have the value of $D = 1$ and W takes its values in the actual data, along with the actual values of all other independent variables.

P3. The predicted level of real expenditure when $D = 1$ and $W = 1$ for all households, along with the actual values of all other independent variables.

The difference between P1 and P2 is an estimate of the degree to which real consumption expenditures could be increased if all households had access to roads in the dry season, but wet season access remained as observed in the data. The difference between this and P3 is then the degree to which real expenditures could be increased if all households had access to roads in the dry season and the wet season as well. Clearly, the difference between P1 and P3 indicates the potential for increasing real expenditures through road improvement.

The figure then uses these calculations to project levels of poverty incidence. In this exercise the poverty line is selected so that the predicted level of rural poverty incidence (P1 above) replicates the level of rural poverty incidence officially estimated for the LECS 2 data – 42.5 %. Because the estimated coefficient α is so small, the difference between the estimated level of poverty incidence in P1 and P2 is merely 0.06 per cent of the rural population (poverty incidence under P2 is 42.44%) and this small difference is not discernable in the diagram. But the difference between P3 and P2 is a further 7.58 per cent of the rural population (poverty incidence under P3 is 34.86%). This is the lower horizontal line in Figures 14 and 15. This number of rural people is equivalent to about 6 per cent of the total population of Lao PDR. According to these estimates, poverty incidence in Lao PDR could be reduced permanently by 6 per cent by providing all weather roads to all rural people.

It is notable that between the dates of LECS 2 and LECS 3, improved access to wet weather roads was indeed provided, as shown in Table 2, above. Fully 12 per cent of the rural population gained this form of access, compared with the 60 per cent of the same population that lacked it in 1997-98. This improvement was therefore about one fifth of the potential increase in wet season access. Interpolating linearly, the reduction in poverty incidence may therefore be estimated at about 1.2 per cent of the rural population. Rural poverty incidence actually declined by 9.5 per cent over this same period (Table 1). Therefore these results imply that about 13 per cent (one sixth) of the reduction in rural poverty incidence that occurred between LECS 2 and LECS 3 can be attributed to improved wet season road access.

Turning to the LECS 3 results, Table 4 summarizes the regression results. The coefficient for dry season access is larger than for LECS 2 and more significant. The coefficient for wet season access, while still highly significant is now about two thirds of its value in LECS 2. The combined effect of providing dry and wet season access, the sum of these two coefficients, increased from 0.134 to 0.19.

These results may be interpreted as follows. The improvement in wet season access that occurred between LECS 2 and LECS 3 reduced somewhat the marginal return to providing wet season access, but it still remained large. Although there was no significant improvement in provision of dry season access between these two surveys, the increased market access available to households which had dry season access raised the real expenditure differential between those which did and those which did not have dry season access. This increase in market activity raised the real return to provision of road access.

Figures 16 and 17 now show the implications of these results for predicted real expenditures, as previously, and Table 6 summarizes estimates of their implications for poverty incidence. Again, the poverty line is chosen such that the predicted level of poverty incidence replicates the preliminary World Bank estimate of rural poverty incidence based on LECS 3 of 33 % (See Table 1). Official estimates have not yet been released. The three horizontal lines

shown in each of Figures 16 and 17 correspond to the levels of poverty incidence under P1 (33.00%, the top line), P2 (29.72%, the middle line) and P3 (25.90%, the lower line).

It should be noted that the World Bank estimates of rural poverty incidence for LECS 2 and LECS 3 (42.5% and 33%, respectively), when combined with the LECS 2 and LECS 3 survey data, imply poverty lines of 114,281 and 99,138 kip per person per month, respectively, when deflated by the consumer price index and expressed in December 1999 prices.¹ That is, the World Bank's rural poverty lines increased in nominal terms somewhat less than the CPI. This outcome seems broadly consistent with the fact that the expenditures of the poor include larger shares of food than the non-poor, and (from Figure 8) the prices of food declined relative to those of non-food over this period.

According to our estimates, rural poverty could be reduced by 3.32 % (one tenth of the present number of the rural poor) if all rural households had dry season road access without any improvement in wet season access (the difference between P1 and P2). A further 3.77 per cent of the rural population could be raised from poverty if in addition all rural households had access to usable roads in the wet season as well. Together, if all rural households were provided with all-weather road access, poverty incidence in rural areas could be reduced by 7 per cent, equivalent to about 5.6 per cent of the total population of Lao PDR. This estimate is very close to that obtained from LECS 2.

4.4 Regression results: The change from LECS 2 and LECS 3

A possible objection to the analysis performed above is that it ignores the possible implications of the 'endogenous placement' problem. If improved roads were provided to better off areas, rather than independently of household real consumption, the relationship between better roads and real expenditures might not have the causal interpretation attributed to it in the above discussion.

This possibility was tested by assembling data on road improvement that occurred between LECS 2 and LECS 3. These data were assembled at the district level of which there are 140 in Lao PDR. These district level data are provided in Appendix A at the end of this paper. The data are not derived from LECS but from independent compilation of data from regional government offices and from the Ministry of Roads in Vientiane. Some judgment is involved in assessing whether roads were or were not 'all weather' and whether they were maintained. These judgments reflect the assessments of regional level officers of the Ministry of Roads.

The change in average real expenditures per capita between LECS 2 and LECS 3 was then related to the improvement or non-improvement of roads as captured in this data set. In the presentation of the results in Table 7, insignificant coefficients not related to road development have been dropped. The base level of real per capita expenditures in LECS 2 (1997-98) was significant and with a negative coefficient, meaning that better off households did less well in proportional terms (the dependent variable is the change in the log of real expenditures) than poorer households. The base level of road access in 1997-98 was less important in explaining the improvement in average real consumption expenditures at the district level than the change in road access, where the coefficient was highly significant and numerically of similar magnitude to the value obtained from the cross sectional results.

A further, more direct, test of the endogenous placement problem was conducted by regressing the change in road access that occurred between LECS 2 and 3 on the level of initial real per capita expenditure in LECS 2. The regression was done using regional level observations by taking the means of the district level dummy variables for improved road access for each district within the region and regressing this on the regional means of the district level real per capita expenditure as recorded in LECS 2. If better off areas received preferential treatment in road improvement a significant and positive coefficient would be expected. The estimated coefficient was negative but insignificant.

¹ The poverty lines shown on the horizontal axes of Figures 14 to 17 are the natural logarithms of these values.

These results are supportive of the findings of the cross-sectional analysis reported above, confirming that improved road access raises real consumption expenditures and thereby reduces poverty.

5. Conclusions

Between 1997-98 and 2002-03, rural poverty incidence in Lao PDR declined by 9.5 per cent of the rural population. This occurred even though some of the macroeconomic conditions in Laos mitigated, to some extent, against the interests of rural people. The analysis of the relationship between poverty incidence and road development provided in this paper suggests that about 13 per cent of this decline in rural poverty can be attributed to improved road access alone. Other factors included a massive public investment in irrigation facilities.

Between 1997-98 and 2002-03 the improvement in road access took the form of providing wet weather access to areas which already had dry season access. The analysis provided in this paper suggests that this strategy had a high pay-off in terms of reduced poverty incidence and further investments in this form of road provision are highly desirable.

Nevertheless, there is now a high return to providing dry weather access to the most isolated households of Lao PDR – those who have no road access at all. They constitute 31.6 per cent of all rural households in Lao PDR and are being left behind by the development of the market economy. By providing them with dry season road access, rural poverty incidence could be reduced permanently from the present 33 per cent to 29.7 per cent. A further reduction to 26 per cent could be obtained by providing all rural households with all-weather road access.

Rural road provision is not easy and it is not cheap. Its benefits, measured in terms of poverty reduction or any other dimension of economic welfare, must of course be compared with its costs. Nevertheless, the results of this study confirm that in a country like Laos, where roads are primitive, improving road access is an effective way of reducing rural poverty.

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Table 1 Poverty incidence and inequality in Lao PDR, 1992 to 2002

(Units: per cent, except Gini coefficient)

	National Poverty	Rural Poverty	Urban Poverty	Gini Coefficient
1992-93	46.0	51.8	26.5	0.31
1997-98	39.1	42.5	22.1	0.35
2002-03	30.7	33.0	23.0	0.33

Source: Kaspar Richter, 'Some Poverty Statistics of Lao PDR', World Bank, Vientiane, March 2004.

Note: 2002-03 estimates are preliminary.

Note: National poverty is the percentage of the total population of the country whose real expenditures fall below a poverty line held constant over time in real terms; rural poverty is the percentage of the rural population whose real expenditures fall below a poverty line held constant over time in real terms, and so forth.

Table 2 Numbers of households by road access, LECS 2 and LECS 3 surveys

	Number of households		Per cent of households	
	LECS II 1997-98	LECS III 2002-03	LECS II 1997-98	LECS III 2002-03
No access any season	2,146	2,052	31.2	31.6
Dry season access only	1,934	1,050	28.1	16.2
Dry and wet season access	2,794	3,386	40.7	52.2
All households	6,874	6,488	100	100

Source: Author's calculations from LECS survey data.

Table 3 LECS 2 (1997-98): Regression results**Dependent variable: Log of real per capita expenditure**

Independent variables:	Coefficient	t-statistic	p-value
Constant	11.646	110.094	0.000
Age at last birthday (household head)	0.024	5.755	0.000
Age at last birthday squared (household head)	0.000	-5.015	0.000
Primary (1-5 years)	0.217	9.609	0.000
Lower secondary (6-8 years)	0.306	10.420	0.000
Upper secondary (9-11 years)	0.382	8.844	0.000
Higher (12+ years)	0.476	8.257	0.000
Working_Head1	0.219	5.239	0.000
Farming_Head1	-0.155	-4.718	0.000
NotLF_Head	-0.050	-1.490	0.136
Adult (18<= AgeAdult < 65)	0.041	4.612	0.000
Total number of members in the household	-0.192	-13.484	0.000
Total number of members in the household squared	0.007	7.319	0.000
Cows or buffalo, owned and free access, no. of animals	0.015	8.233	0.000
Market_n	0.096	2.194	0.028
Transport_n	0.050	2.051	0.040
PipedWater_n	0.107	5.151	0.000
CommunityHealth_n	0.056	2.712	0.007
ReachDry_n	0.003	0.112	0.911
ReachRain_n	0.123	4.835	0.000
prov1	0.786	10.145	0.000
prov2	-0.115	-2.239	0.025
prov3	-0.087	-1.621	0.105
prov4	-0.262	-4.866	0.000
prov5	0.027	0.528	0.597
prov6	0.181	3.423	0.001
prov7	-0.262	-5.063	0.000
prov8	0.563	10.497	0.000
prov9	0.136	2.596	0.009
prov10	0.460	8.211	0.000
prov11	0.001	0.019	0.985
prov12	-0.146	-2.700	0.007
prov13	0.070	1.296	0.195
prov14	0.141	2.704	0.007
prov15	-0.102	-1.885	0.060
prov16	0.184	3.271	0.001
prov17	0.039	0.761	0.446

Summary diagnostics:

$R = 0.534$; $R^2 = 0.285$; adj. $R^2 = 0.281$; s.e. of estimate = 0.723; $F = 75.73$; sig. = 0.000.

Table 4 LECS 3 (2002-03): Regression results**Dependent variable: Log of real per capita expenditure**

Independent variables:	Coefficient	t-statistic	p-value
(Constant)	10.911	87.710	0.000
Age at last birthday	0.032	7.073	0.000
Age at last birthday squared (household head)	0.000	-6.138	0.000
Primary (1-5 years)	0.140	6.159	0.000
Lower secondary (6-8 years)	0.330	10.439	0.000
Upper secondary (9-11 years)	0.380	6.900	0.000
Higher (vocational training or university/institute)	0.541	9.679	0.000
Paid employment	0.257	4.623	0.000
Farm employment	0.055	1.021	0.307
Not in labour force	0.135	2.098	0.036
Number of adults in household (18 <= AgeAdult < 65)	0.060	6.070	0.000
Total number of members in household	-0.115	-23.015	0.000
Total number of cows and buffaloes	0.021	11.543	0.000
Electricity_n	0.194	8.408	0.000
DailyMarket_n	0.084	1.381	0.167
BusStop_n	0.029	0.988	0.323
CleanWater_n	0.061	2.883	0.004
HospitalInVillage	0.350	5.619	0.000
AccessDrySeason_n	0.102	3.403	0.001
AccessWetSeason_n	0.086	2.638	0.008
prov1	0.206	2.473	0.013
prov2	-0.354	-4.705	0.000
prov3	0.020	0.277	0.782
prov4	-0.076	-1.010	0.312
prov5	-0.060	-0.813	0.416
prov6	0.245	3.499	0.000
prov7	0.006	0.089	0.929
prov8	0.533	7.775	0.000
prov9	0.063	0.832	0.405
prov10	0.315	4.534	0.000
prov11	0.126	1.724	0.085
prov12	0.040	0.567	0.571
prov13	-0.028	-0.413	0.680
prov14	-0.269	-3.925	0.000
prov15	-0.380	-4.776	0.000
prov16	0.145	2.115	0.034
prov17	-0.380	-5.007	0.000

Summary diagnostics:

$R = 0.564$; $R^2 = 0.318$; adj. $R^2 = 0.314$; s.e. of estimate = 0.729; $F = 85.55$; sig. = 0.000.

**Table 5 Estimated poverty incidence (%) under alternative road conditions –
LECS 2 – 1997-98**

Dry season road access	Wet season road access	Code	Estimated poverty incidence (%)
Observed levels in data	Observed levels in data	P1	42.50
All households with access	Observed levels in data	P2	42.44
All households with access	All households with access	P3	34.86

**Table 6 Estimated poverty incidence (%) under alternative road conditions –
LECS 3 – 2002-03**

Dry season road access	Wet season road access	Code	Estimated poverty incidence (%)
Observed levels in data	Observed levels in data	P1	33.00
All households with access	Observed levels in data	P2	29.68
All households with access	All households with access	P3	25.91

Table 7 Change from LECS 2 to LECS 3: Regression results at district level

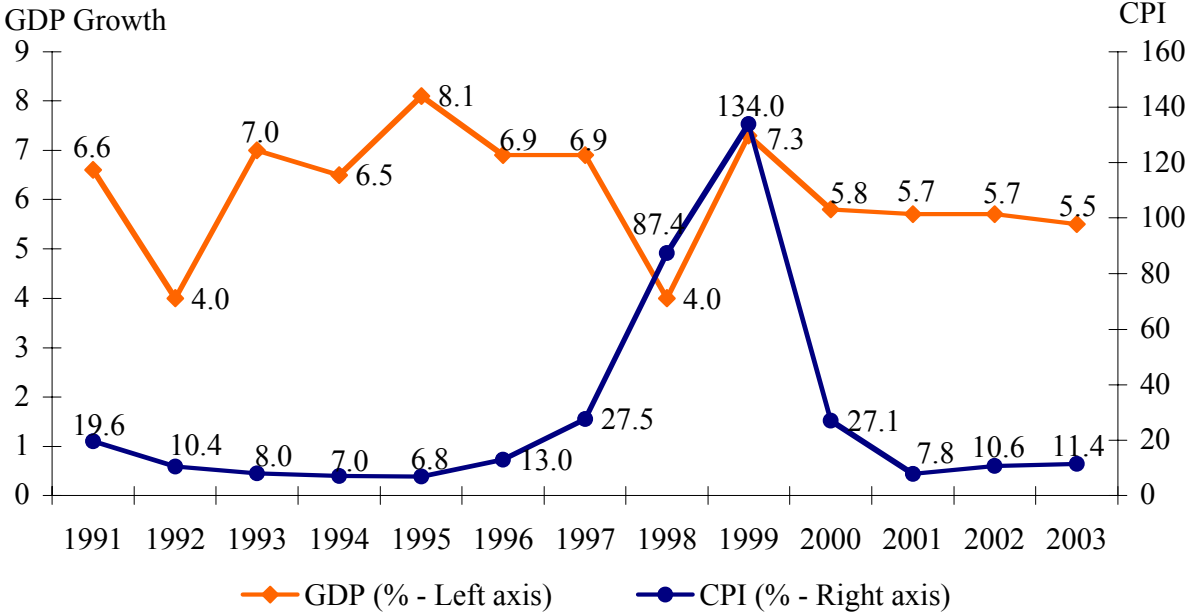
Dependent variable: Real per capita expenditure

	Coefficient	t-statistic	p-value
Constant	3.934	4.131	0.000
Real per capita expenditure LECS2	-0.334	-4.210	0.000
Age at last birthday (household head)	0.078	0.390	0.697
Age at last birthday squared (household head)	-0.001	-0.342	0.733
Primary (1-5 years)	0.441	1.535	0.128
Lower secondary (6-8 years)	0.537	1.006	0.317
Upper secondary (9-11 years)	-0.442	-0.478	0.634
Higher (12+ years)	2.536	2.847	0.005
Working_Head1	0.330	0.855	0.395
Farming_Head1	0.389	1.136	0.259
NotLF_Head	0.162	0.471	0.638
Adult (18<= AgeAdult < 65)	0.080	0.425	0.672
Total number of members in the household	-1.241	-2.225	0.028
Total number of members in the household squared	0.075	1.780	0.078
Cows or buffalo, owned and free access, no. of animals	-0.001	-0.030	0.976
Market_n	0.128	0.421	0.675
Transport_n	0.068	0.525	0.600
PipedWater_n	0.095	0.635	0.527
CommunityHealth_n	0.075	0.537	0.593
District has all weather road in 1997	0.021	0.199	0.842
District built road during 1997 and 2002	0.188	1.821	0.071

Summary diagnostics:

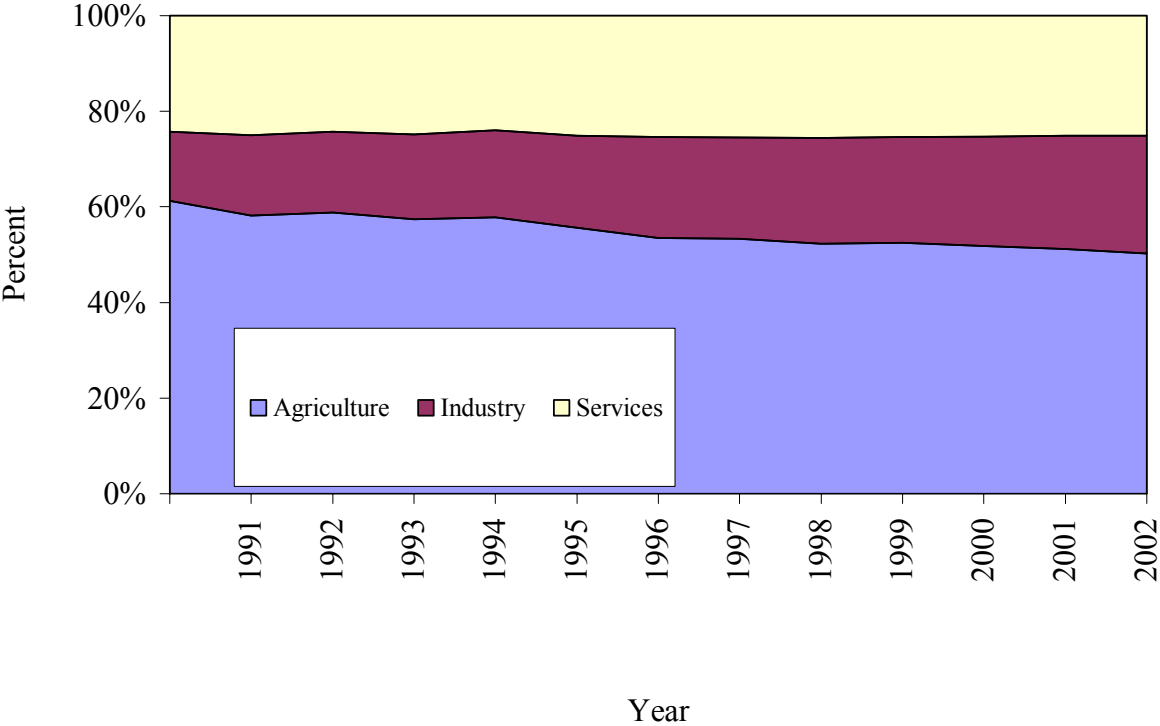
$R = 0.564$; $R^2 = 0.393$; adj. $R^2 = 0.155$; s.e. of estimate = 0.1322; $F = 6.944$; sig. = 0.000.

Figure 1 Lao PDR: GDP growth (%) and CPI inflation (%)



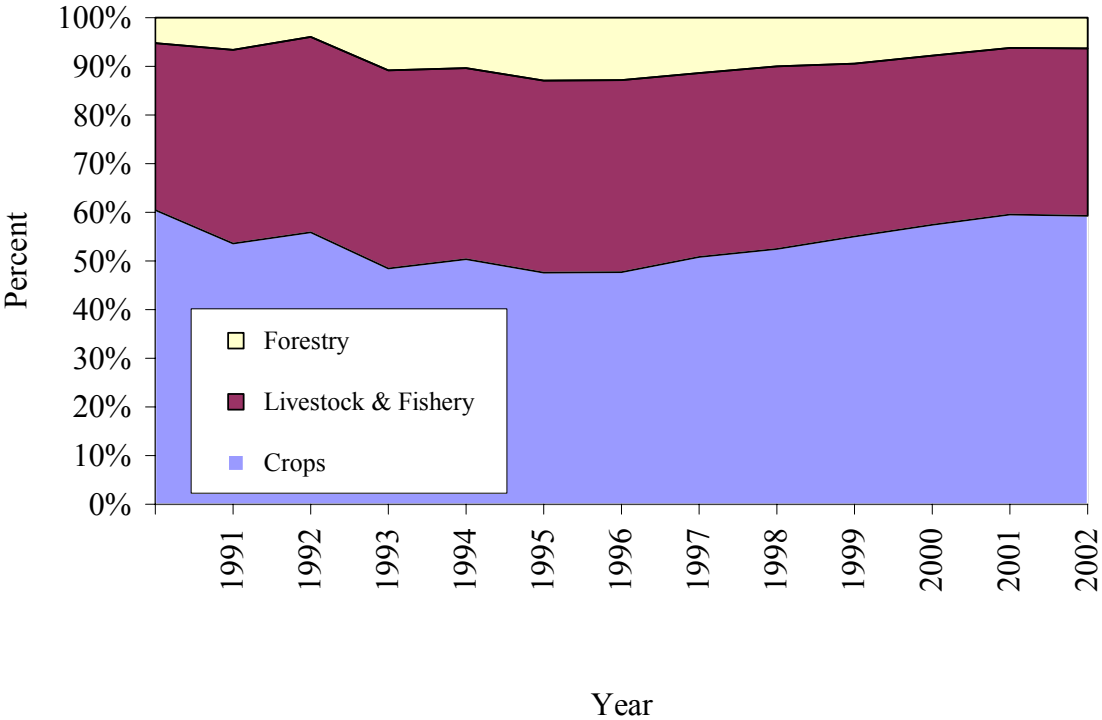
Source: Author's calculations using data from National Statistical Centre, Vientiane.

Figure 2 Lao PDR: Share of GDP



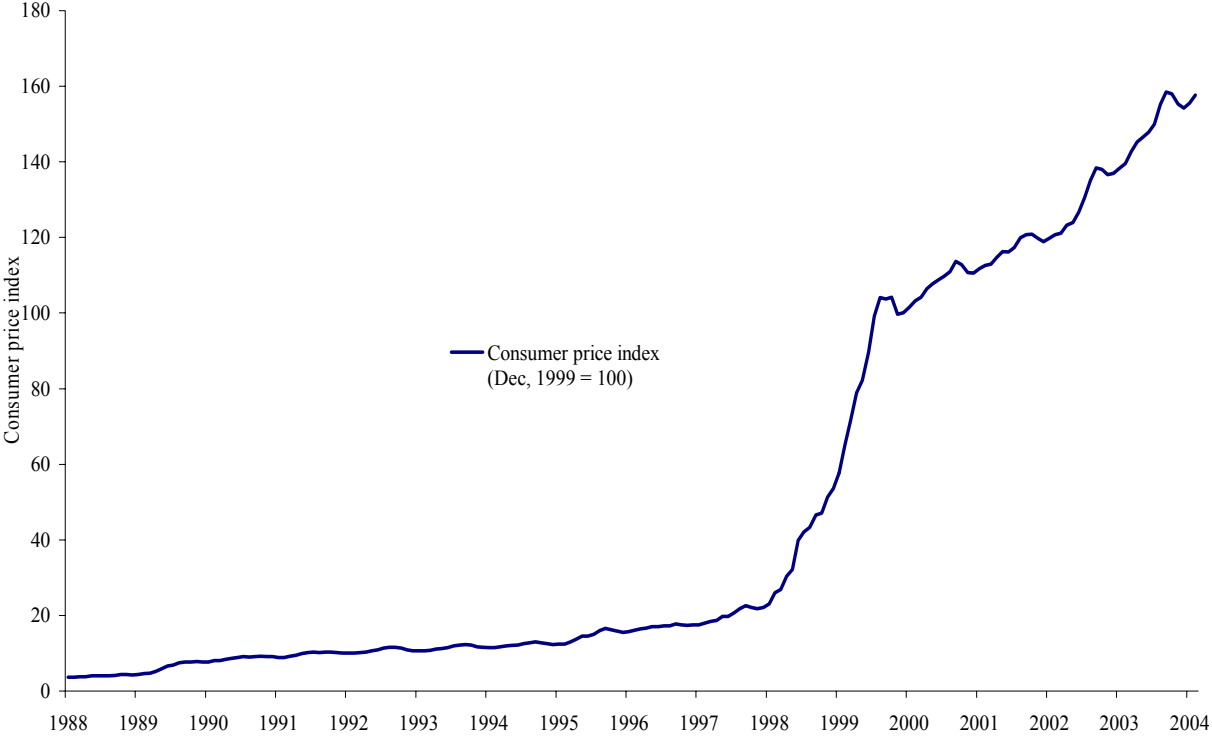
Source: Author's calculations using data from National Statistical Centre, Vientiane.

Figure 3 Lao PDR: Share of agricultural components with agricultural GDP



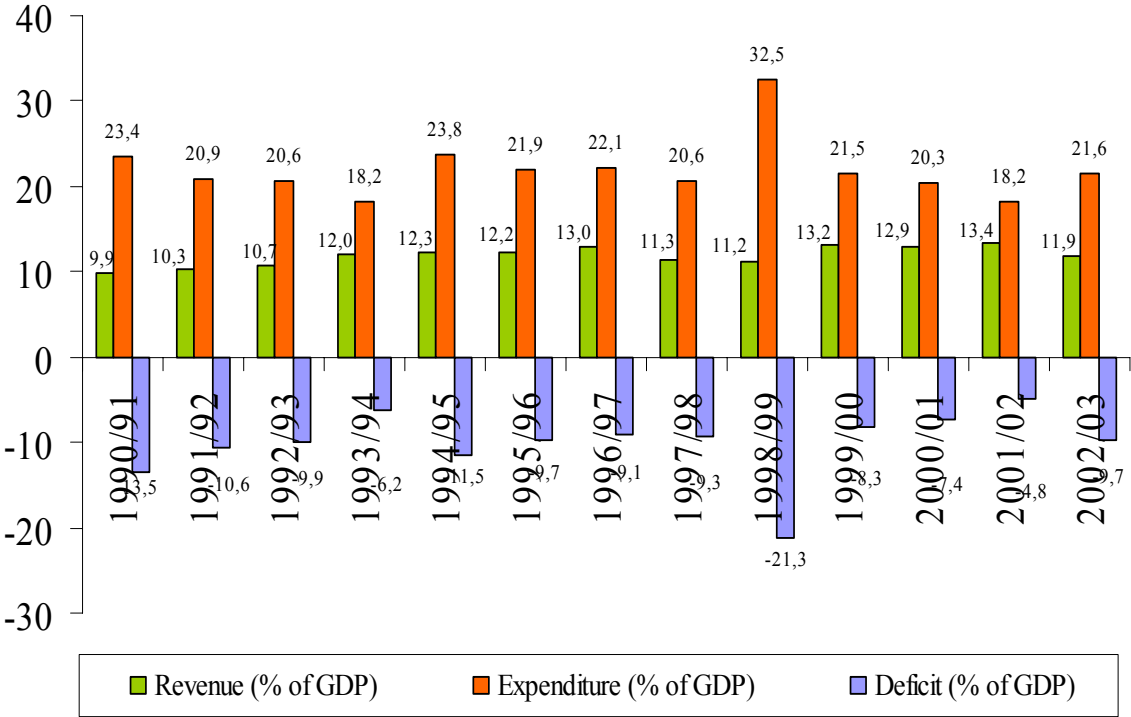
Source: Author's calculations using data from National Statistical Centre, Vientiane.

Figure 4 Lao PDR: Inflation of consumer prices, 1988 to 2004



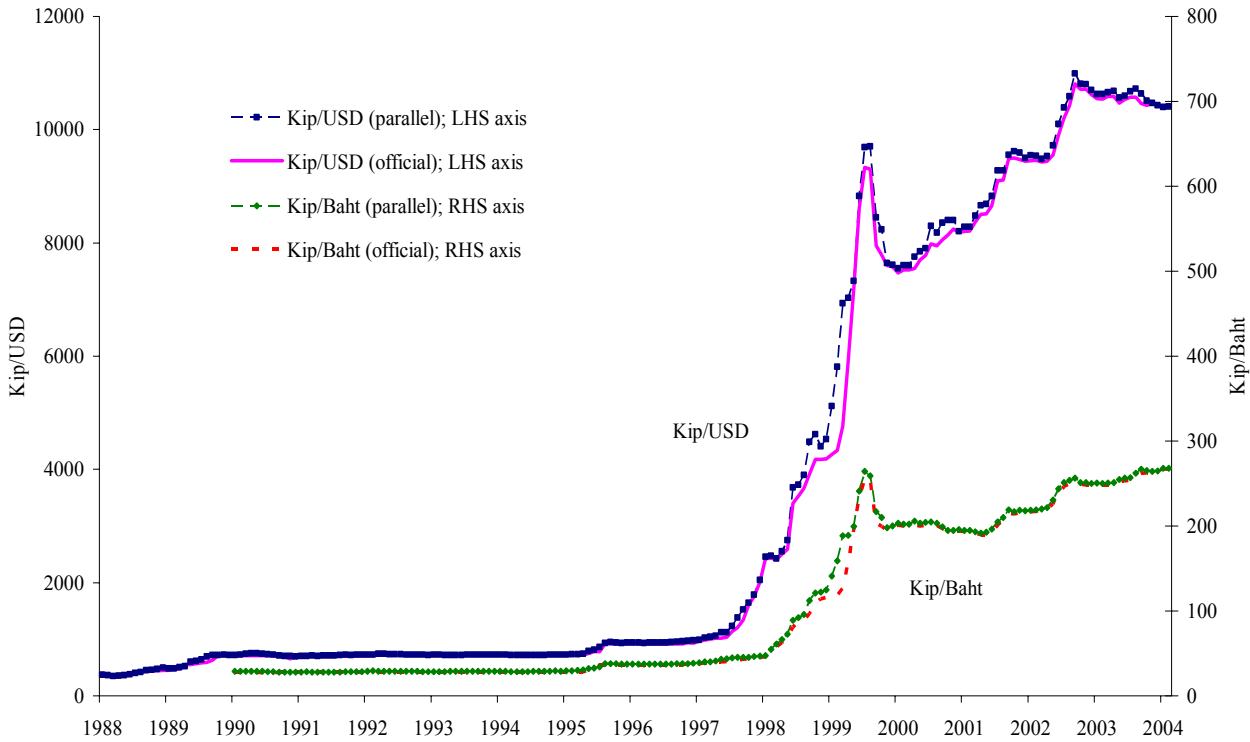
Source: Author's calculations using data from National Statistical Centre, Vientiane.

Figure 5 Lao PDR: Revenue and Expenditure (% of GDP)



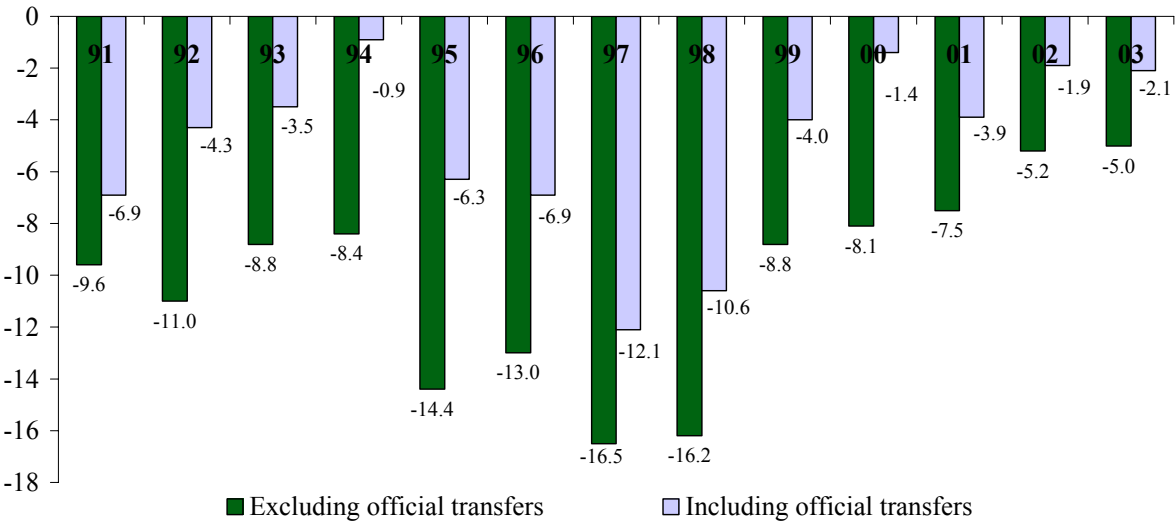
Source: Author’s calculations using data from National Statistical Centre, Vientiane.

Figure 6 Lao PDR: Exchange Rates, 1988 to 2004



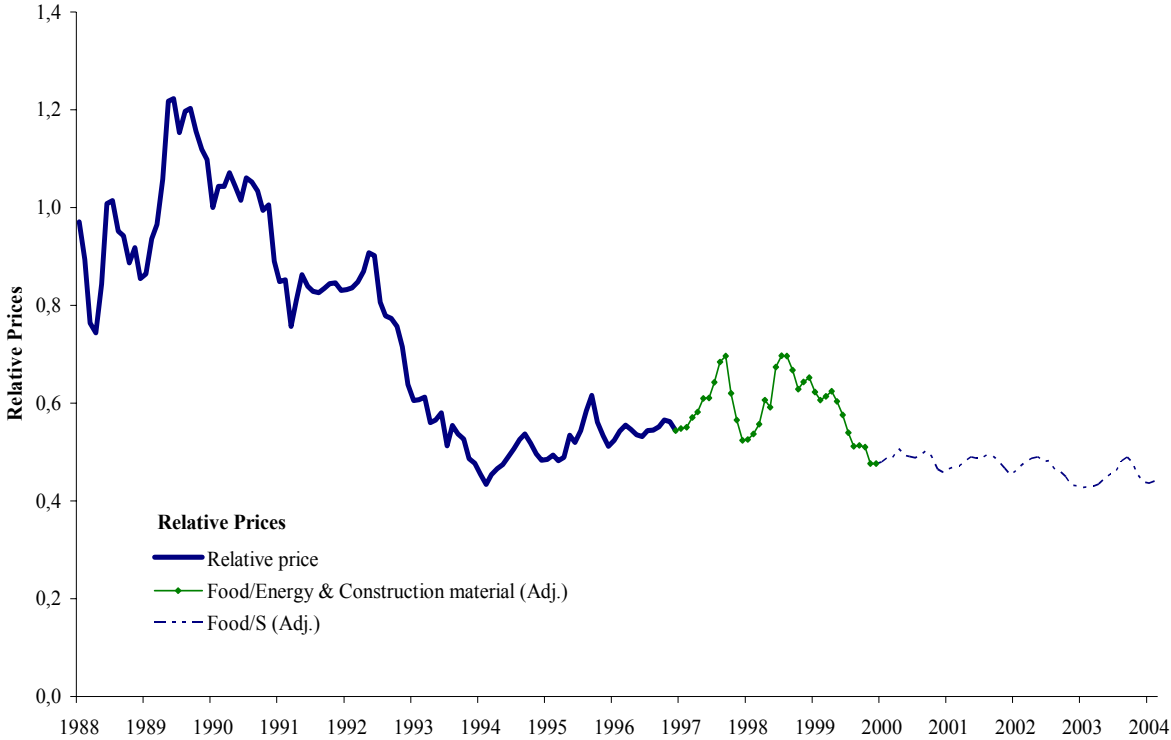
Source: Author's calculations using data from International Monetary Fund, *International Financial Statistics*, various issues.

Figure 7 Lao PDR: Current account balance (% of GDP)



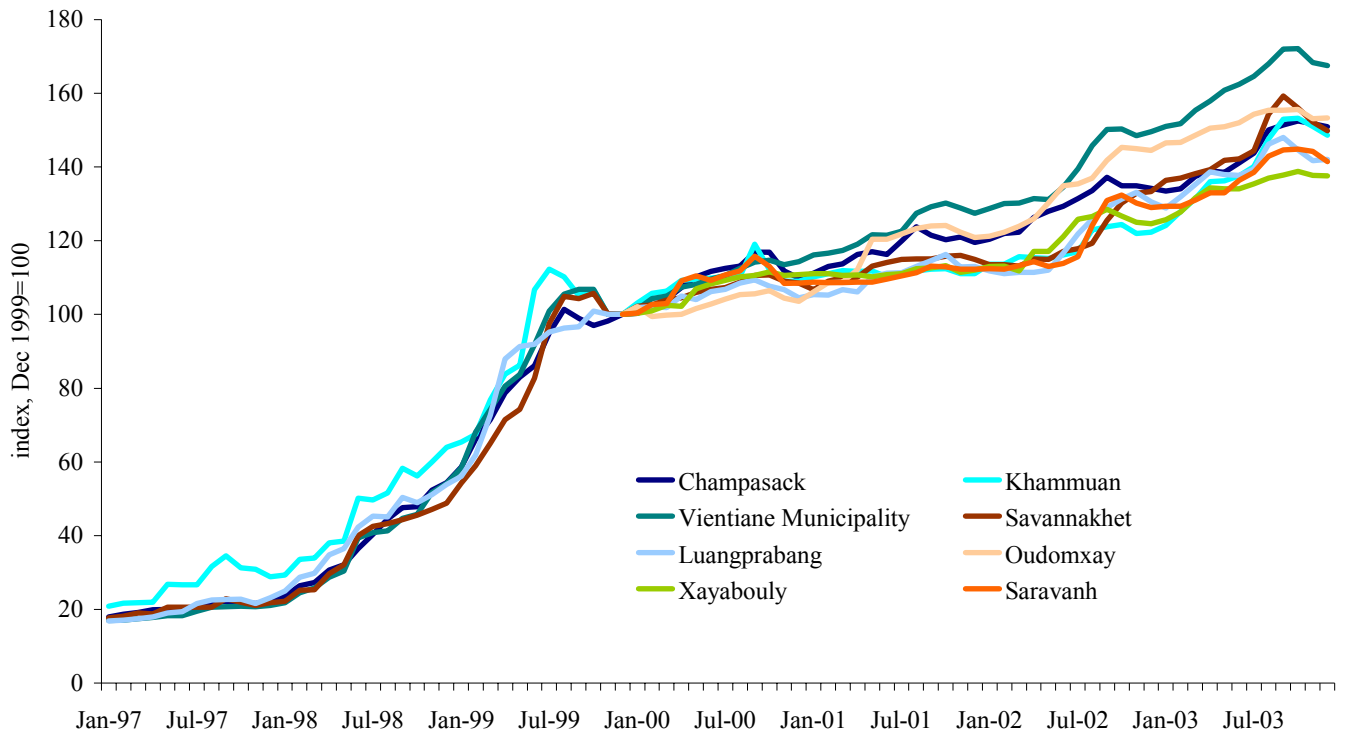
Source: Author's calculations using data from National Statistical Centre, Vientiane.

Figure 8 Lao PDR: Relative prices, food to non-food, 1988 to 2004



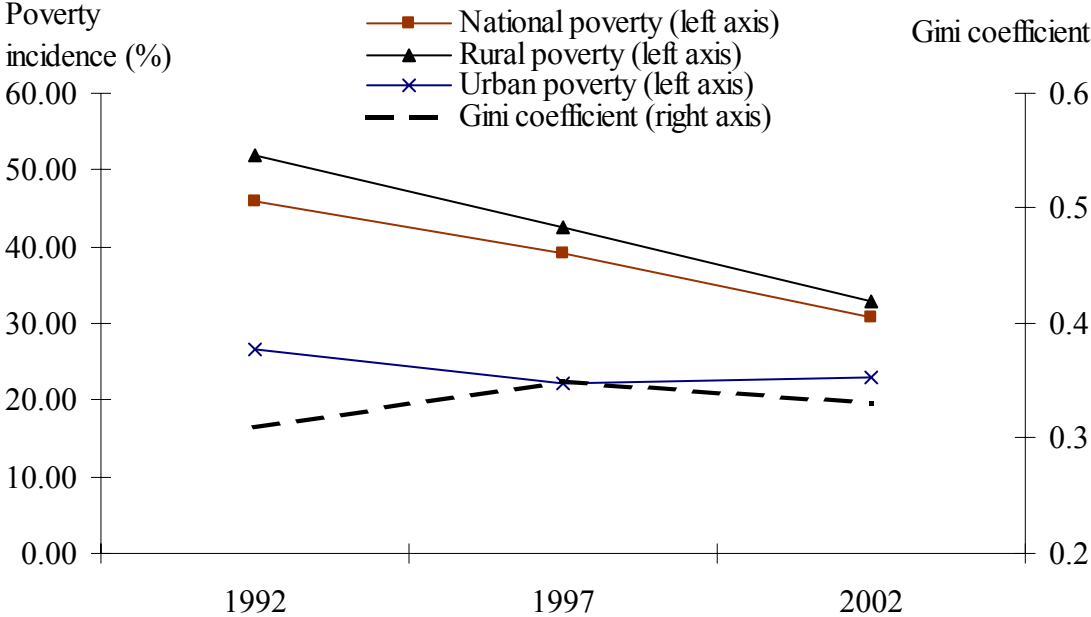
Source: Author's calculations using data from National Statistical Centre, Vientiane.

Figure 9 Lao Consumer Price Indices by Province, monthly, 1997 to 2003



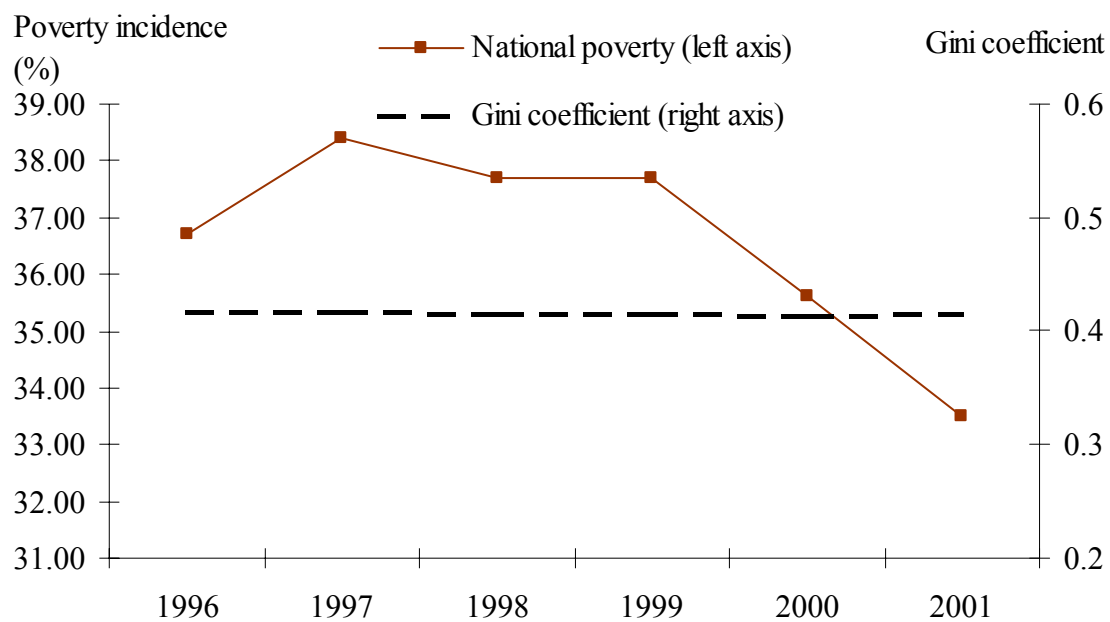
Source: Data from National Statistical Centre, Vientiane.

Figure 10 Lao PDR: Poverty incidence and inequality, 1992 to 2002



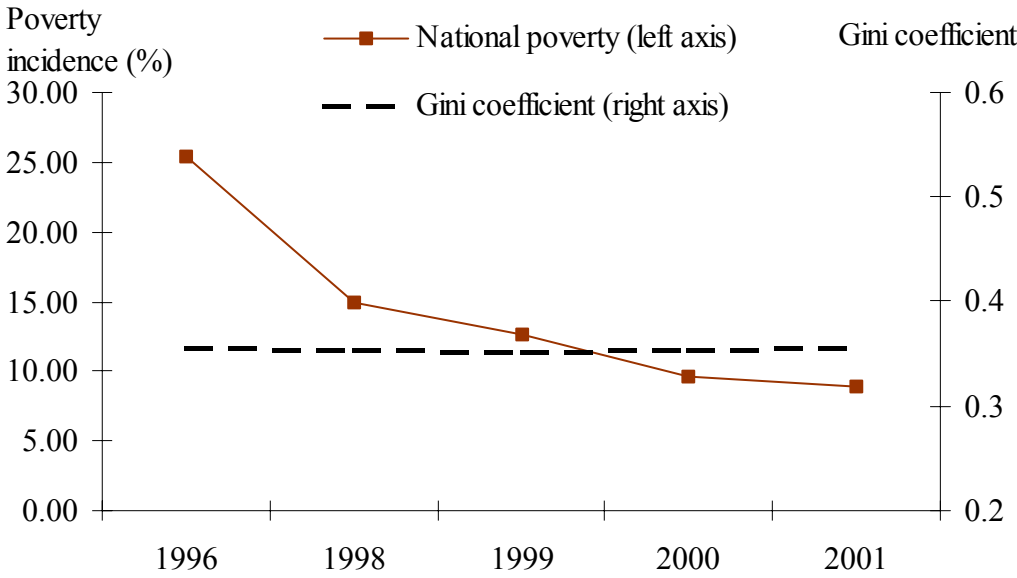
Source: Kaspar Richter, 'Some Poverty Statistics of Lao PDR', World Bank, Vientiane, March 2004.
 Note: 2002-03 estimates are preliminary.

Figure 11 Cambodia: Poverty incidence and inequality, 1996 to 2001



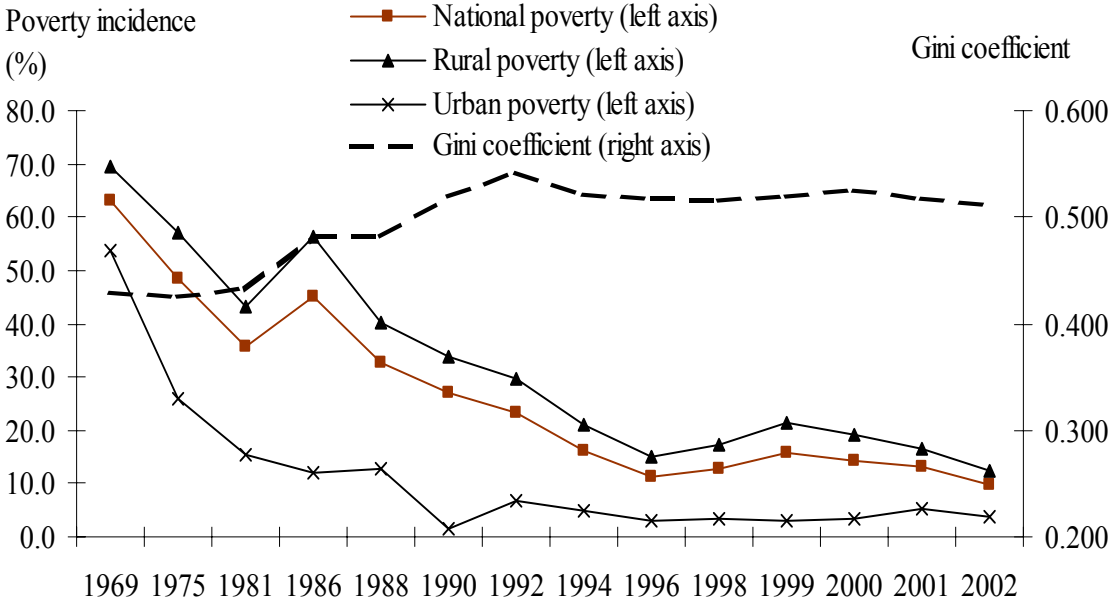
Source: World Bank, 2002. East Asia Rebounds, But How Far? Washington, April (Appendix Table 8).

Figure 12 Viet Nam: Poverty incidence and inequality, 1996 to 2001



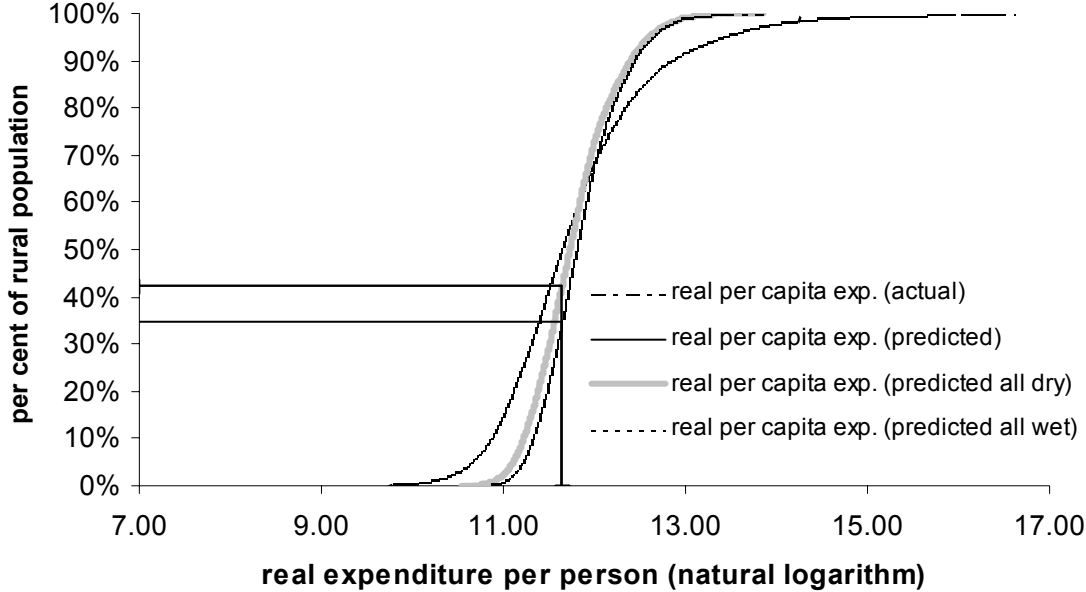
Source: World Bank, 2002. *East Asia Rebounds, But How Far?* Washington, April (Appendix Table 8).

Figure 13 Thailand: Poverty incidence and inequality, 1969 to 2002



Source: National Economic and Social Development Board, Bangkok, based on household income data.

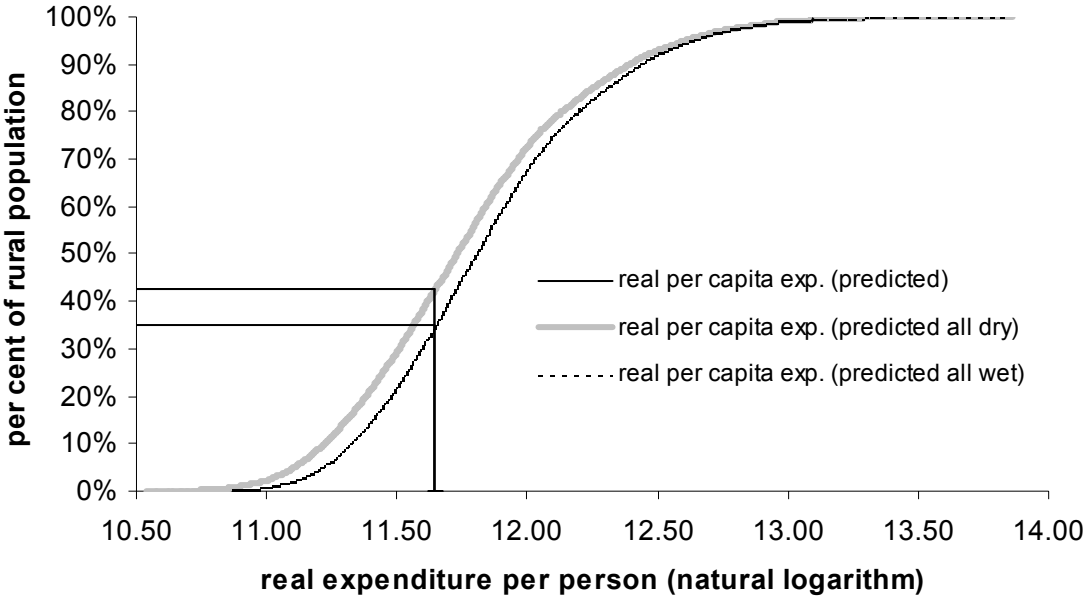
Figure 14 Actual and predicted distribution of real expenditures per person under alternative road conditions: LECS 2 – 1997-98



Source: Author’s calculations based on LECS 2 household survey data from National Statistical Center, Vientiane, and regression results shown in Table 3, above.

Note: Units on the horizontal axis are the natural logarithm of real household consumption expenditures per person expressed in December 1999 prices.

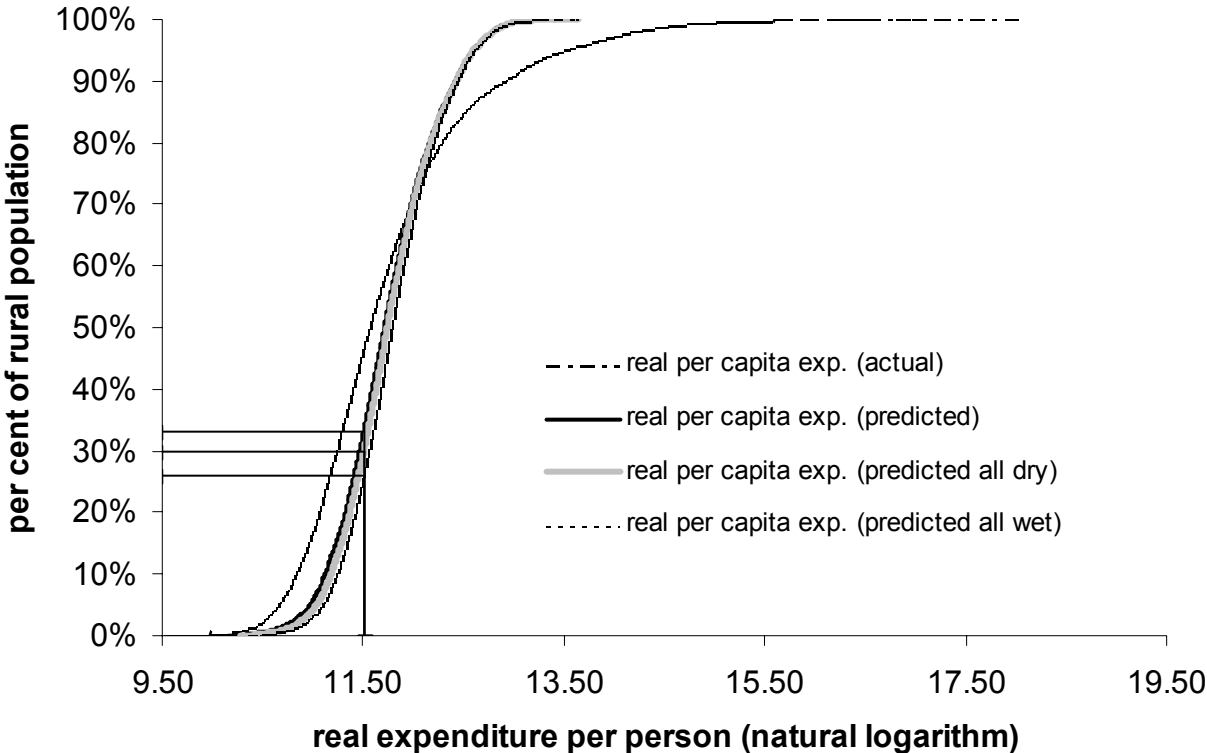
Figure 15 Predicted distribution of real expenditures per person under alternative road conditions: LECS 2 – 1997-98



Source: Author's calculations based on LECS 2 household survey data from National Statistical Center, Vientiane, and regression results shown in Table 3, above.

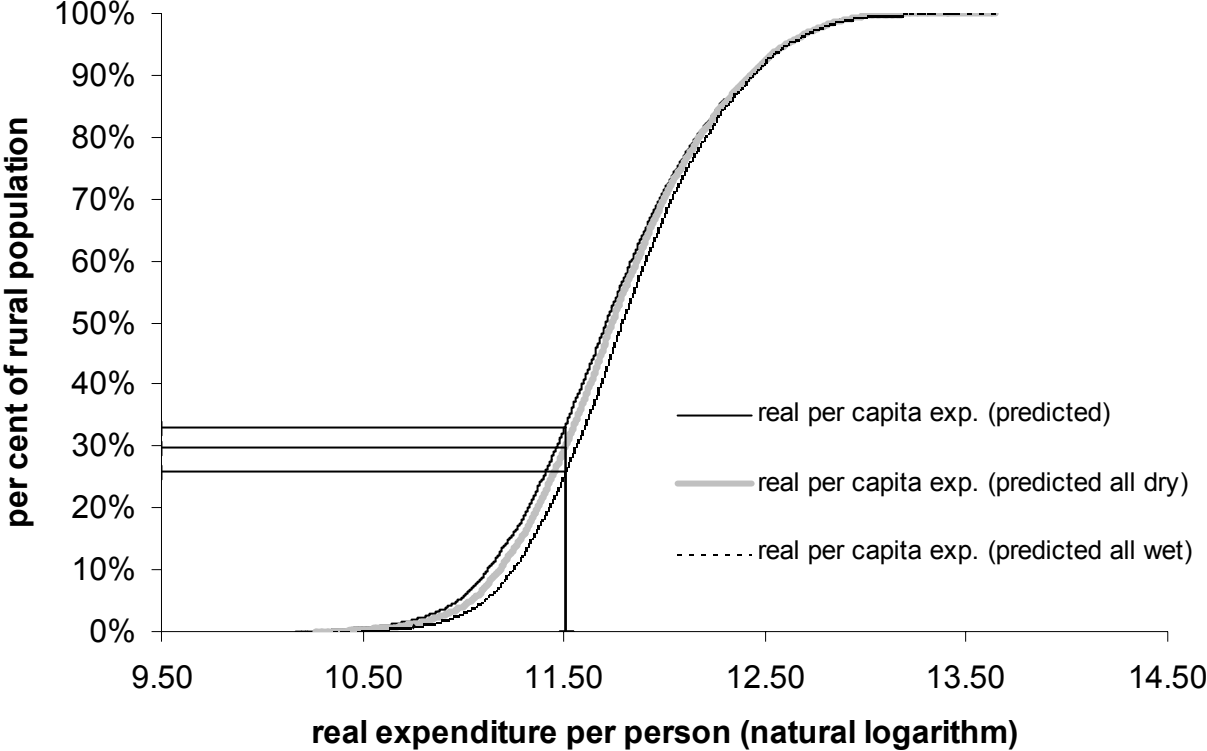
Note: Units on the horizontal axis are the natural logarithm of real household consumption expenditures per person expressed in December 1999 prices.

Figure 16 Actual and predicted distribution of real expenditures per person under alternative road conditions: LECS 3 – 2002-03



Source: Author's calculations based on LECS 3 household survey data from National Statistical Center, Vientiane, and regression results shown in Table 4, above.
Note: Units on the horizontal axis are the natural logarithm of real household consumption expenditures per person expressed in December 1999 prices.

Figure 17 Predicted distribution of real expenditures per person under alternative road conditions: LECS 3 – 2002-03



Source: Author's calculations based on LECS 3 household survey data from National Statistical Center, Vientiane, and regression results shown in Table 4, above.

Note: Units on the horizontal axis are the natural logarithm of real household consumption expenditures per person expressed in December 1999 prices.

Appendix A: District-level road development in Lao PDR

Province Code	District Code	District Name	All-weather road in place in 1997	The road maintained during 1997 to 2003	All-weather road constructed between 1997 to 2003	Year of construction from 1997 to 2002
			1 = yes; 0 = no	1 = yes; 0 = no	1 = yes; 0 = no	
1	101	Chanthabuly	1	1	1	1996-1998
1	102	Sikhottabong	1	1	1	2000-2002
1	103	Xaysetha	1	1	1	1996-1998
1	104	Sisattanak	1	1	1	1996-1998
1	105	Naxaithong	1	1	0	0
1	106	Xaythany	1	1	0	0
1	107	Hadxaifong	1	1	0	0
1	108	Sangthong	1	1	0	0
1	109	Mayparkngum	1	1	0	0
2	201	Phongsaly	1	1	0	0
2	202	May	0	1	1	1998-2000
2	203	Khua	1	1	1	1998-2000
2	204	Samphanh	0	1	0	0
2	205	Boon neua	1	1	1	1998-2000
2	206	Nhot ou	1	1	0	0
2	207	Boontai	0	1	0	0
3	301	Namtha	1	1	0	0
3	302	Sing	0	1	0	0
3	303	Long	0	1	0	0
3	304	Viengphoukha	0	1	0	0

3	305	Nalae	0	1	0	0
4	401	Xay	1	1	0	0
4	402	La	1	1	0	0
4	403	Namor	1	1	0	0
4	404	Nga	1	1	0	0
4	405	Beng	1	1	0	0
4	406	Hoon	1	1	0	0
4	407	Pakbeng	1	1	0	0
5	501	Huoixai	1	1	0	0
5	502	Tonpheung	0	1	0	0
5	503	Meung	0	1	0	0
5	504	Pha oudom	0	1	0	0
5	505	Paktha	0	1	0	0
5	506	Special Region Nam Ngu	0	1	0	0
6	601	Luangprabang	1	1	0	0
6	602	Xieng ngeun	1	1	0	0
6	603	Nan	1	1	0	0
6	604	Park ou	1	1	0	0
6	605	Nambak	1	1	0	0
6	606	Ngoi	0	1	0	0
6	607	Pak xeng	1	1	0	0
6	608	Phonxay	1	1	0	0
6	609	Chomphet	0	1	0	0
6	610	Viengkham	1	1	0	0
6	611	Phoukhoun	1	1	1	1998-2003
7	701	Xamneua	1	1	1	2003
7	702	Xiengkhor	0	1	0	0

7	703	Viengthong	0	1	0	0
7	704	Viengxay	1	1	1	1997-2000
7	705	Huameuang	1	1	1	1997-2000
7	706	Xamtay	0	0	0	0
7	707	Sopbao	0	1	0	0
7	708	Add	0	1	0	0
8	801	Xayabury	1	1	1	2000-2002
8	802	Khop	0	0	1	2002
8	803	Hongsa	0	1	1	1998-99
8	804	Ngeun	0	1	0	0
8	805	Xienghone	0	1	1	2000-2002
8	806	Phiang	1	1	0	0
8	807	Parklai	1	1	1	1997-1998
8	808	Kenethao	1	1	1	1999-2001
8	809	Botene	0	0	1	2000-2003
8	810	Thongmyxay	0	0	1	1998-1999
9	901	Pek	1	1	1	2003
9	902	Kham	1	1	1	2003
9	903	Nonghed	1	1	1	1999-2000
9	904	Khoun	1	1	1	2000
9	905	Morkmay	1	1	1	2001
9	906	Phookood	1	1	1	2002-2003
9	907	Phaxay	1	1	1	2002-2003
10	1001	Phonhong	1	1	0	0
10	1002	Thoulakhom	1	1	0	0
10	1003	Keo oudom	1	1	0	0
10	1004	Kasy	1	1	0	0

10	1005	Vangvieng	1	1	0	0
10	1006	Feuang	1	1	0	0
10	1007	Xanakharm	1	1	1	2002-2005
10	1008	Mad	0	0	0	0
10	1009	Viengkham	1	1	0	0
10	1010	Hinhurp	1	1	0	0
10	1011	Hom	0	0	0	0
10	1012	Longsane	1	1	0	0
11	1101	Pakxanh	1	1	0	0
11	1102	Thaphabath	1	1	0	0
11	1103	Pakkading	1	1	0	0
11	1104	Bolikhanh	1	1	0	0
11	1105	Khamkheuth	1	1	0	0
11	1106	Viengthong	1	1	0	0
12	1201	Thakhek	1	1	0	0
12	1202	Mahaxay	1	1	1	1997
12	1203	Nongbok	1	1	1	1998
12	1204	Hinboon	1	1	1	1998
12	1205	Nhommalath	1	1	1	1997
12	1206	Bualapha	1	1	1	1997
12	1207	Nakai	1	1	1	2000
12	1208	Xebangfay	1	1	1	1999
12	1209	Xaybuathong	1	1	1	1999
13	1301	Khanthabouly	1	1	1	2000-2003
13	1302	Outhoomphone	0	1	1	2000-2003
13	1303	Atsaphangthong	0	1	1	2000-2003
13	1304	Phine	0	1	1	2000-2003

13	1305	Sepone	0	1	1	2000-2003
13	1306	Nong	0	1	0	0
13	1307	Thapangthong	0	1	1	2000-2003
13	1308	Songkhone	0	1	0	0
13	1309	Champhone	0	1	0	0
13	1310	Xonbuly	0	1	0	0
13	1311	Xaybuly	0	1	0	0
13	1312	Vilabuly	0	1	1	2002-2003
13	1313	Atsaphone	0	1	0	0
13	1314	Xayphoothong	0	1	0	0
13	1315	Thaphalanxay	0	1	1	2002-2003
14	1401	Saravane	1	1	1	2002
14	1402	Ta oi	1	1	1	1997
14	1403	Toomlarn	1	1	0	0
14	1404	Lakhonepheng	1	1	1	1998-2000
14	1405	Vapy	0	0	0	0
14	1406	Khongxedone	1	1	1	1998-2000
14	1407	Lao ngarm	1	1	0	0
14	1408	Samuoi	0	0	0	0
15	1501	Lamarm	0	1	0	0
15	1502	Kaleum	0	1	0	0
15	1503	Dakcheung	0	1	0	0
15	1504	Thateng	0	1	1	1996-2000
16	1601	Pakse	1	1	1	1997-2000
16	1602	Sanasomboon	0	1	1	1998-2000
16	1603	Bachiangchaleunsook	0	1	1	2001
16	1604	Paksxong	1	1	1	1996-2000

16	1605	Pathoomphone	0	1	1	1997-2000
16	1606	Phonthong	0	1	1	1997-2000
16	1607	Champasack	0	1	1	2002
16	1608	Sukhuma	0	1	1	1997-2002
16	1609	Moonlapamok	0	1	0	0
16	1610	Khong	1	1	1	1997-2000
17	1701	Xaysetha	1	1	1	1996-2000
17	1702	Samakkhixay	1	1	0	0
17	1703	Sanamxay	1	1	0	0
17	1704	Sanxay	1	1	0	0
17	1705	Phouvong	1	1	0	0
18	1801	Saysomboun	0	1	0	0
18	1802	Thathom	0	1	1	2002
18	1803	Phoun	0	1	0	0