

# Economics of Payment Cards

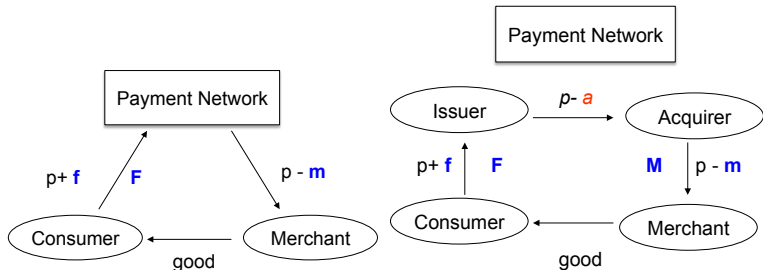
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# The payment card industry



(a) 3-party (closed) card network (E.g., AMEX)      (b) 4-party (open) card network (E.g., Visa)

- $p$  : price of good,  $F$  : Card membership fee,  $f$  : card transaction fee,  $M$  : merchant membership fee,  $m$  : merchant fee per transaction,  $a$  : interchange fee (IF).
- IF determines the price structure; how the total transaction price is allocated between the two sides.

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- An IF is either set bilaterally by the issuer and acquirer, or multilaterally by the network. The latter is known as multilateral IF or MIF.
- Profitability of issuing is higher than acquiring in EU and in US.

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  - AMEX refused the DOJ's rule and fights with a US law suit.
  - In Australia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, UK NSR is banned, but in Australia and UK merchants' surcharges are subject to cap regulation based on merchants' costs of card acceptance.

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- There are usage externalities from cardholders to merchants:
  - When cardholders pay by card, merchants have to pay a commission to their bank and might enjoy convenience benefits of being paid by card.

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- Different from the standard theory of taxation where it does not matter whether the tax is on sellers or on buyers.
- A 4-party network can set a MIF and a 3-party network set directly end user fees to balance the demand between the two sides.

# Questions

1. **The role of MIF:** Does a 4-party network need a MIF to be efficient?
2. Do the pricing policies of payment networks promote the efficient card usage volume?
  - Should merchant fees (or MIF) be capped?
  - If so, what should be the optimal cap level?
3. The extent to which merchants should be allowed to price discriminate according to payment method.
  - How does NSR impact the consumer surplus, merchant profit and overall welfare?

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  - $f = c_I - a^* = c_I - (b_S - c_A)$ ,  $m = c_A + a^* = b_S$ , and so induce efficient volume: Cards are used whenever  $b_B + b_S \geq c_I + c_A$ .

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- Platform competition will correct the first distortion, but it is unclear how it affects the price structure distortion.

## 2.1. Merchant internalisation

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- The greater merchant internalisation, the more likely it is that the card network exploits the lower merchant resistance by setting an inefficiently high merchant fee (so MIF).

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- With two-part tariff card fees, the platform could internalise the average consumer surplus from card transactions
- A social planner accounts for the average card usage surpluses of consumers and merchants.
- Hence, the platform sets a higher IF than the planner, over-taxing merchants and over-subsidising consumers.

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- In general whether network competition leads to a higher or lower MIF is an empirical question.



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- **Tourist-test:** A merchant discount passes the tourist test if and only if accepting the card does not increase the merchant's operating cost:  $m \leq b_S$  (Rochet and Tirole, 2011).

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- If there is issuer market power and issuers use two-part tariff fees, the first best optimal IF and privately optimal IF are both equal to  $a^*$ . (Bedre-Defolie and Calvano, 2013)

## Socially optimal IF

- When both consumers and merchants are heterogeneous, there is issuer market power and issuers use two-part tariff fees, the socially optimal price structure (IF) depends on the average user surpluses and the elasticity of demands (Bedre-Defolie and Calvano, 2013):

$$f + m = c$$
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- The first best optimal card fees and merchant fees cannot be implemented by one IF (Bedre-Defolie and Calvano, 2013).
- When both consumers and merchants are heterogenous, issuer and acquirer markets are perfectly competitive, and merchant internalisation holds, the optimal interchange fee is the "average Baxter's IF" (or "tourist test"):  $\bar{a}^* = \bar{b}_S - c_S$  (Wright, 2003). So efficiency requires tourist test to be met by only the average merchant (Rochet and Tirole, 2011) .



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- We know very little about how we should address vertical restraints in two-sided markets:
  - What should be the relevant market? Total volume of transactions or market for consumers or market for merchants?
  - If a payment network has no dominant position for the total volume of transactions, it could still have strong market power vis-a-vis one side of the market: If cardholders are single-homing and merchants are multi-homing, even if a network has very low market share on the consumer side, it has monopoly power on the merchant side. (competitive bottleneck, Armstrong, 2006)

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- A payment network is the supplier of infrastructure to merchants and via NSR it could condition merchant's price for the payment method on the prices of rival payment methods.
- Under NSR, the costs of card acceptance are passed on to the retail price which is paid both by card users and cash users, so lead to redistribution from ("less wealthy") cash users to ("more wealthy") card users (Schuh, Shy, and Stavins, 2010).

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- A monopoly intermediary always prefers to impose price coherence (uniform price regardless of purchasing channel) on its sellers and this reduces the consumer surplus and sometimes the total welfare due to over-consumption of the intermediary's service and also due to over-investment of intermediary in buyer-side benefits (Edelman and Wright, 2014).

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  - Competition among intermediaries intensifies these distortions.

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- Assuming exogenous amount of card users and cash users, NSR increases card transactions and reduces cash transactions. NSR increases the total welfare if and only if there is sufficiently big amount of cash users (Schwartz and Vincent, 2006)

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- Optimal policy towards NSR is related to public policy towards merchant fees or MIFs.



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