

Evaluating Hard Paternalism: Evidence From Tightening Credit Card Minimum Payments

Jason Allen^a, Michael Boutros^a, & Benedict Guttman-Kenney^b

^aBank of Canada, ^bChicago Booth

IPA GRPL, 13 October 2023.

The views presented are the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Bank of Canada.

DISCLAIMER: WORK-IN-PROGRESS. RESULTS MAY CHANGE.

One Slide Summary

Research Questions:

- **Narrow:** What are the effects of policies tightening credit card minimum payments?

One Slide Summary

Research Questions:

- **Narrow:** What are the effects of policies tightening credit card minimum payments?
- **Broad:** Is hard paternalistic financial regulation effective?
 - What are the trade-offs (lower debt vs. higher delinquencies)?
 - (Ideally) What is optimal credit card minimum payment policy?

One Slide Summary

Research Questions:

- **Narrow:** What are the effects of policies tightening credit card minimum payments?
- **Broad:** Is hard paternalistic financial regulation effective?
 - What are the trade-offs (lower debt vs. higher delinquencies)?
 - (Ideally) What is optimal credit card minimum payment policy?

Reduced-Form:

- **Data** Bank of Canada consumer credit reporting data.
- **Policy Variation:** Quebec policy changes vs. Rest of Canada unaffected.
- **Difference-in-Differences** matching cards in Quebec to those in Ontario (same bank's credit card and closest-matched credit score, limit, balance, income)

One Slide Summary

Research Questions:

- **Narrow:** What are the effects of policies tightening credit card minimum payments?
- **Broad:** Is hard paternalistic financial regulation effective?
 - What are the trade-offs (lower debt vs. higher delinquencies)?
 - (Ideally) What is optimal credit card minimum payment policy?

Reduced-Form:

- **Data** Bank of Canada consumer credit reporting data.
- **Policy Variation:** Quebec policy changes vs. Rest of Canada unaffected.
- **Difference-in-Differences** matching cards in Quebec to those in Ontario (same bank's credit card and closest-matched credit score, limit, balance, income)

Preliminary Results:

- **Existing Cards:** \uparrow minimum payments \rightarrow debt \downarrow with zero/small \uparrow delinquency
- **New Cards:** \uparrow minimum payments \rightarrow debt \uparrow due to lender response

1. Motivation
2. Quebec Policies
3. Existing Cards Analysis
4. New Cards Analysis

1. Motivation

Stylized Motivating Example: Why Reduce Credit Card Debt?

Imagine two types of agents using credit cards: (Heidheus & Köszegi, 10, 15; Campbell, 16)

- “Sophisticated”
- “Naïves” overborrow (e.g. financially illiterate, naïve present focus, anchoring)

Binding **liquidity constraints** for % of sophisticates & naïves agents.

Stylized Motivating Example: Why Reduce Credit Card Debt?

Imagine two types of agents using credit cards: (Heidheus & Köszegi, 10, 15; Campbell, 16)

- “Sophisticated”
- “Naïves” overborrow (e.g. financially illiterate, naïve present focus, anchoring)

Binding **liquidity constraints** for % of sophisticates & naïves agents.

Ideal policy:

1. ↓ Credit card debt for unconstrained naïves agents.

Stylized Motivating Example: Why Reduce Credit Card Debt?

Imagine two types of agents using credit cards: (Heidheus & Köszegi, 10, 15; Campbell, 16)

- “Sophisticated”
- “Naïves” overborrow (e.g. financially illiterate, naïve present focus, anchoring)

Binding **liquidity constraints** for % of sophisticates & naïves agents.

Ideal policy:

1. ↓ Credit card debt for unconstrained naïves agents.
2. Leave other agents choices unaffected

Stylized Motivating Example: Why Reduce Credit Card Debt?

Imagine two types of agents using credit cards: (Heidheus & Köszegi, 10, 15; Campbell, 16)

- “Sophisticated”
- “Naïves” overborrow (e.g. financially illiterate, naïve present focus, anchoring)

Binding **liquidity constraints** for % of sophisticates & naïves agents.

Ideal policy:

1. ↓ Credit card debt for unconstrained naïves agents.
2. Leave other agents choices unaffected
 - a) Avoid forcing constrained into delinquency.
 - b) Avoid constraining sophisticates' choices.

Stylized Motivating Example: Why Reduce Credit Card Debt?

Imagine two types of agents using credit cards: (Heidheus & Köszegi, 10, 15; Campbell, 16)

- “Sophisticated”
- “Naïves” overborrow (e.g. financially illiterate, naïve present focus, anchoring)

Binding **liquidity constraints** for % of sophisticates & naïves agents.

Ideal policy:

1. ↓ Credit card debt for unconstrained naïves agents.
2. Leave other agents choices unaffected
 - a) Avoid forcing constrained into delinquency.
 - b) Avoid constraining sophisticates' choices.

Unfortunately ‘ideal policies’ of information disclosures & nudges ineffective.

“nudges are not enough” (Laibson, 2020)

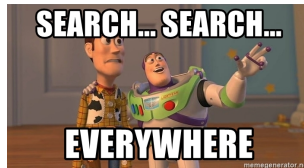
Need to evaluate hard paternalistic policies trade-off benefits of 1. vs. costs of 2.

(Campbell, 16; Chater & Loewenstein, 17, 22)

Hard Paternalistic Policy To ↓ Credit Card Debt?

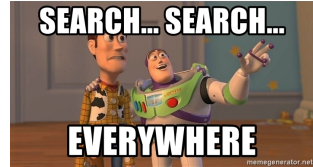
Mandating tighter (higher) credit card minimum payments

- Want policy forcing credit card lenders involuntarily ↑ minimum payment



Where to Study Tighter Minimum Payments Policy

- Want policy forcing credit card lenders involuntarily \uparrow minimum payment
- Policy variation does not exist in US.
 - small, idiosyncratic changes by a few lenders.
- Takes us to Quebec, Canada!



2. Quebec Policies

Quebec: A Laboratory for Hard Paternalism Aiming to Reducing Credit Card Debt

Quebec Office de la protection du consommateur:

“These changes are part of the measures adopted by the government to prevent indebtedness.”

“It is advantageous to pay the balance of your credit card each month, because no credit charges are then applicable.”

Quebec rolls out new credit card rules aimed at lowering high household debt

By Reuters Staff

2 MIN READ



OTTAWA, Aug 2 (Reuters) - The Canadian province of Quebec has become the first in the country to require minimum credit card payments as legislators try to tackle rising household debt levels.

Quebec introduces credit card regulations aimed at curbing consumer debt

CTVNews.ca Staff



[Ben Cousins](#) CTVNews.ca Writer
[@cousins_ben](#) | [Contact](#)

Published Thursday, August 1, 2019 4:38PM EDT

No credit card minimum payment requirements:

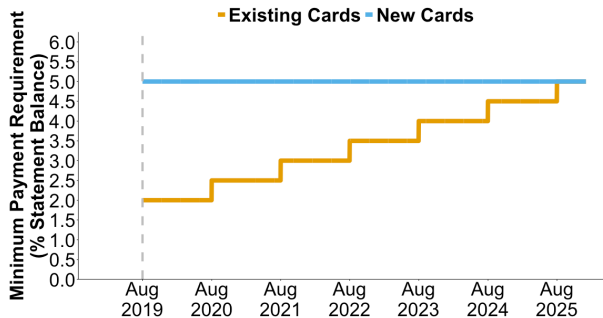
- Pre-August 2019: Anywhere in Canada.
- Post-August 2019: Outside Quebec.

Quebec Policy Experiments

No credit card minimum payment requirements:

- Pre-August 2019: Anywhere in Canada.
- Post-August 2019: Outside Quebec.

Quebec introduced credit card minimum payment policies from August 2019:



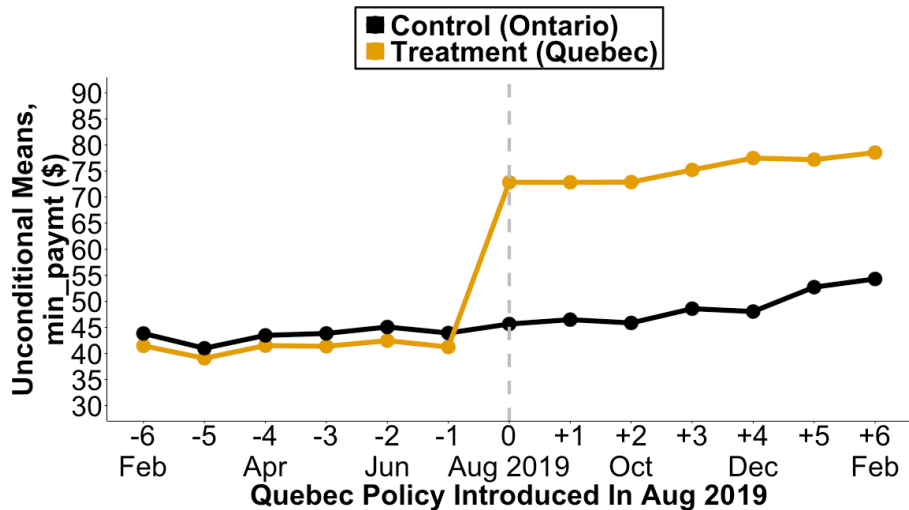
3. Existing Cards Analysis

How Lenders Implemented? **Non-binding**, **Bind**, Bind and go beyond

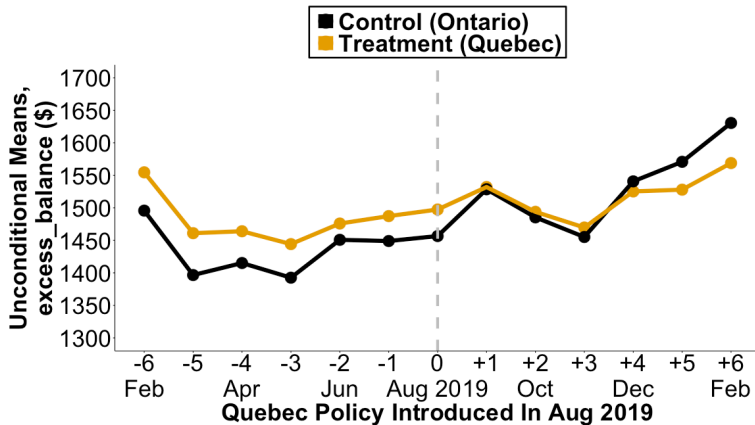
Lender	July 2019		August 2019	
	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec
A		\$10 + interest + fees		max {2.0% statement balance, \$10}
B,C,D		\$10 + interest + fees		max {2.5% statement balance, \$10}
E		\$10 + interest + fees		max {3.0% statement balance, \$10}
F		max {1.0% statement balance, \$10}		max {2.0% statement balance, \$10}
G		max {1.0% statement balance, \$10}		max {3.0% statement balance, \$10}
H		max {2.0% statement balance, \$10}		max {2.0% statement balance, \$10}
I		max {2.5% statement balance, \$10}		max {2.5% statement balance, \$10}
J		max {3.0% statement balance, \$10}		max {3.0% statement balance, \$10}

After 2019, lenders typically are increasing 0.5 p.p. p.a. until reaches 5%.

'First Stage': Quebec Unconditional Means Show \uparrow Minimum Payments



Effects On Credit Card Debt (Statement Balance - Payments)



‘Delinquency:’ Zero-to-small average increase (+0.1 p.p.)

4. New Cards Analysis

5% Minimum Payment on New Cards in Quebec since Aug 2019 is Binding

Lender	Pre-Aug 2019 Formulae in Quebec & Ontario
A,B,C,D,E	\$10 + interest + fees
F,G	$\max \{1.0\% \text{ statement balance}, \$10\}$
H	$\max \{2.0\% \text{ statement balance}, \$10\}$
I	$\max \{2.5\% \text{ statement balance}, \$10\}$
J	$\max \{3.0\% \text{ statement balance}, \$10\}$

Post-Aug 2019 All new cards in Quebec: $\{\max \{5.0\% \text{ statement balance}, \$10\}$

↑ Minimum Payments by \$20 per month (60%)

- Differences between cohorts of newly-issued credit cards.

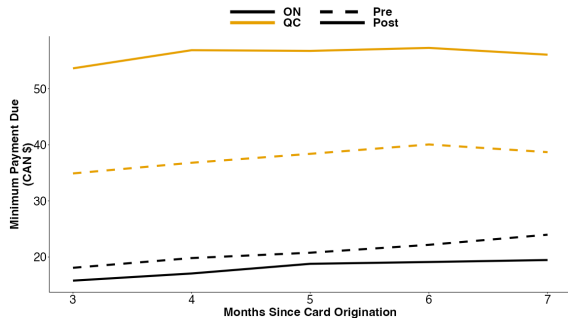
$$\delta_t = \left((\bar{Y}_{POST,t}^{Quebec}) - (\bar{Y}_{PRE,t}^{Quebec}) \right) - \left((\bar{Y}_{POST,t}^{Ontario}) - (\bar{Y}_{PRE,t}^{Ontario}) \right)$$

↑ Minimum Payments by \$20 per month (60%)

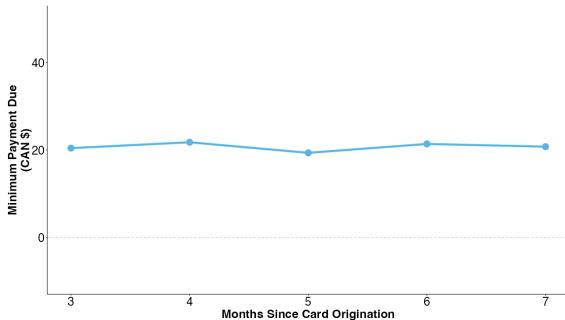
- Differences between cohorts of newly-issued credit cards.

$$\delta_t = \left((\bar{Y}_{POST,t}^{Quebec}) - (\bar{Y}_{PRE,t}^{Quebec}) \right) - \left((\bar{Y}_{POST,t}^{Ontario}) - (\bar{Y}_{PRE,t}^{Ontario}) \right)$$

Unconditional Means

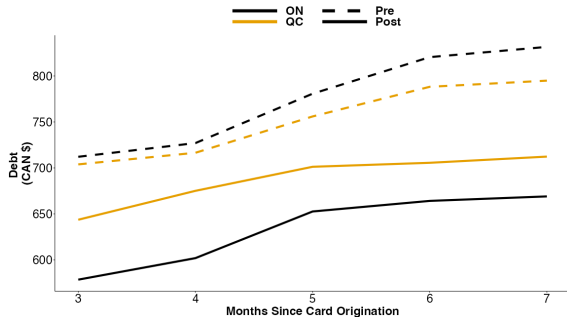


Regression Estimates

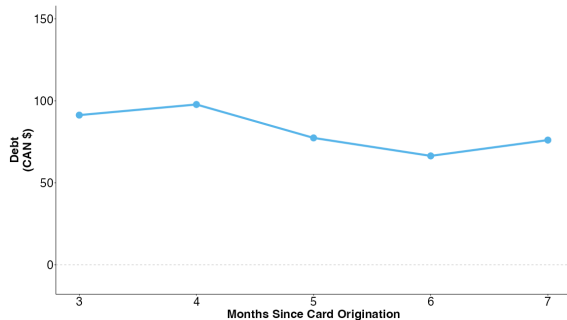


↑ Debt in Quebec vs. Ontario

Unconditional Means



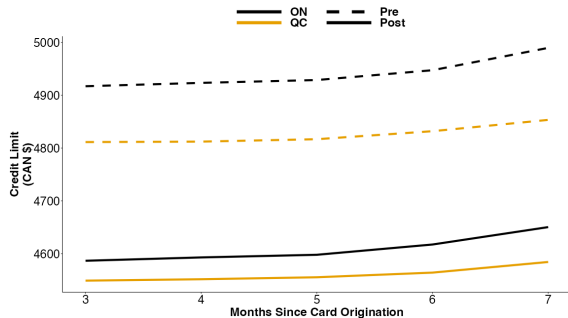
Regression Estimates



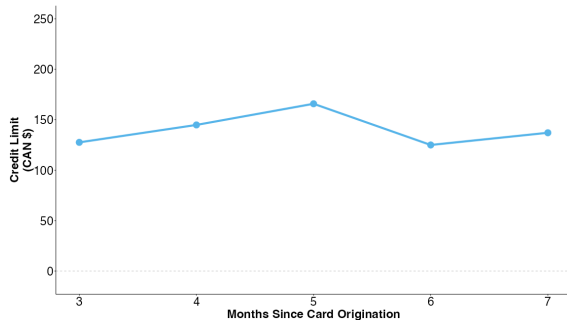
No signs policy led to debt reduction.

↑ Credit Limit in Quebec vs. Ontario

Unconditional Means



Regression Estimates



5. Conclusions

Conclusions

Preliminary Results

- **Existing Cards:** ↑ minimum payments → debt ↓ with zero/small ↑ delinquency
- **New Cards:** ↑ minimum payments → debt ↑ due to lender response

Conclusions

Preliminary Results

- **Existing Cards:** \uparrow minimum payments \rightarrow debt \downarrow with zero/small \uparrow delinquency
- **New Cards:** \uparrow minimum payments \rightarrow debt \uparrow due to lender response

Next Steps for Reduced Form Analysis

- Move from account-level to consumer-level and study heterogeneity:
 - By exposure to \uparrow minimum payment.
 - By financial sophistication proxies.
 - By liquidity constraints proxies.

Conclusions

Preliminary Results

- **Existing Cards:** \uparrow minimum payments \rightarrow debt \downarrow with zero/small \uparrow delinquency
- **New Cards:** \uparrow minimum payments \rightarrow debt \uparrow due to lender response

Next Steps for Reduced Form Analysis

- Move from account-level to consumer-level and study heterogeneity:
 - By exposure to \uparrow minimum payment.
 - By financial sophistication proxies.
 - By liquidity constraints proxies.
- Study portfolio effects and later changes for existing cards.

Conclusions

Preliminary Results

- **Existing Cards:** \uparrow minimum payments \rightarrow debt \downarrow with zero/small \uparrow delinquency
- **New Cards:** \uparrow minimum payments \rightarrow debt \uparrow due to lender response

Next Steps for Reduced Form Analysis

- Move from account-level to consumer-level and study heterogeneity:
 - By exposure to \uparrow minimum payment.
 - By financial sophistication proxies.
 - By liquidity constraints proxies.
- Study portfolio effects and later changes for existing cards.

Potential Longer Term Aims

- Reduced form estimates \rightarrow welfare analysis for optimal minimum payment policy.

Thank you!

 www.benedictgk.com

 benedict@chicagobooth.edu

 [@gk_ben](https://twitter.com/gk_ben)

Appendix

Theory & Empirics on Credit Card Borrowing

- Standard models cannot explain observed levels of credit card indebtedness.
(e.g. Ausubel, 91; Angeletos et al., 01; Laibson et al, 03)
- Naïve present focus theoretically best explains.
(e.g. Heidheus & Köszegi, 10, 15; Laibson et al.,22)
- Empirically lack of financial illiteracy re: credit cards.
(e.g. Soll et al., 13; Lusardi & Tufano, 15; Seira et al., 17; Adams et al.,22)
- Empirically find concoction of mistakes & behavioural biases.
(e.g. Stewart, 09; Meier & Sprenger, 10; Gathergood et al., 19; Kuchler & Pagel, 21)
- But not all 'behavioural' - liquidity constraints more binding than previously thought.
(e.g. Guttman-Kenney et al., 23)

What Policies Reduce Credit Card Debt?

Today's paper is latest in my research agenda testing **how to reduce credit card debt?**

Policymakers have variety of options starting with 'non-price interventions (NPIs)':

1. **Information disclosures** tackling biased beliefs / financial illiteracy.

What Policies Reduce Credit Card Debt?

Today's paper is latest in my research agenda testing **how to reduce credit card debt?**

Policymakers have variety of options starting with 'non-price interventions (NPIs)':

1. **Information disclosures** tackling biased beliefs / financial illiteracy.
 - **Doesn't work** in US (Agarwal et al., 15 *QJE*; Keys & Wang 15 *JFE*), Mexico (Seria et al., 17 *AEJ: EP*), UK (Adams et al., 22 *Economica*).
2. **Nudges** targeted at biases / steering actions / reducing frictions.

What Policies Reduce Credit Card Debt?

Today's paper is latest in my research agenda testing **how to reduce credit card debt?**

Policymakers have variety of options starting with 'non-price interventions (NPIs)':

1. **Information disclosures** tackling biased beliefs / financial illiteracy.
 - **Doesn't work** in US (Agarwal et al., 15 *QJE*; Keys & Wang 15 *JFE*), Mexico (Seria et al., 17 *AEJ: EP*), UK (Adams et al., 22 *Economica*).
2. **Nudges** targeted at biases / steering actions / reducing frictions.
 - **Doesn't work!** E.g. Adams et al. (22 *Economica*), Guttman-Kenney et al. (23 WP).

Need to evaluate **hard paternalism** (e.g. Chater & Loewenstein, 17, 22)

"Nudges are not enough" (Laibson, 20)

"If nudges are unavailable or inadequate, consumer financial regulation must confront the tradeoff between the benefits of intervention to behavioral agents, and the costs to rational agents." - John Campbell (16 AEA)

Hard Paternalistic Policy To Reduce Credit Card Debt

Mandate tighter (higher) credit card minimum payments.

How to evaluate?

- Is it effective at reducing indebtedness?
 - Credit card debt.
 - Other debt.

Hard Paternalistic Policy To Reduce Credit Card Debt

Mandate tighter (higher) credit card minimum payments.

How to evaluate?

- Is it effective at reducing indebtedness?
 - Credit card debt.
 - Other debt.
- If so, which consumers reduce debt?

Hard Paternalistic Policy To Reduce Credit Card Debt

Mandate tighter (higher) credit card minimum payments.

How to evaluate?

- Is it effective at reducing indebtedness?
 - Credit card debt.
 - Other debt.
- If so, which consumers reduce debt?
- What are the costs of this debt reduction? (e.g. \uparrow delinquencies, \downarrow credit access)

Trade-off debt reduction benefits for naïves VS. costs of delinquencies for constrained.

Why \uparrow minimum payments may not mechanically \downarrow debt?

- Δ non-payments $>$ Δ payments at higher minimum.
- Offsetting cardholder responses (e.g. \uparrow spending).
- Offsetting credit card lender responses (e.g. \uparrow APRs, limits).

Nudging

- DellaVigna & Linos (21 ECTA) meta-analysis of BIT nudges: 8 % increase.
- Milkman et al. (Nature, 22) megastudy 8% of nudges tested had significant effects.
- Null results common: e.g. Linos et al. (AEJ: EP 22) testing nudges on EITC.
- John Campbell (AEA 2016): *“Beyond the easy cases where behaviorally biased households can be “nudged” to avoid mistakes with minimal effects on rational households, financial regulators face a difficult trade-off between the benefits of regulation to households that make mistakes, and the costs of regulation to other financial market participants.”*
- George Loewenstein & Nick Chater (BPP 2017, 2022) *“Nudges are the most prominent but not necessarily the most powerful.”* & *“Focusing on the individual-level solutions has led behavioral public policy astray.”*
- David Laibson (AEA 2020) *“Nudges are not enough”*.
- See Bernheim & Taubinsky (Handbook 2018) discussion.

Prior Minimum Payment Papers

- D'Astous & Shore (17, *JFQA*): Finds delinquencies \uparrow in response to minimum payment \uparrow .
- Keys & Wang (19, *JFE*): Show anchoring of consumers to minimum payments. Exploit small, idiosyncratic increases & decreases in minimum payments.
- Castellanos, Jimenez-Hernandez, Mahajan & Seira (20, *WP*): Studies credit access in developing countries. Mexico RCT finds delinquencies unresponsive to minimum payment \uparrow .
- Medina & Negrin (21, *MS*): Reference effect of Mexican minimum payment changes.
- Agarwal, Hadzic, Song, & Yildirim (23 *RFS*): Effects of minimum payments in Turkey.

*“Developing more theory and evidence on optimal policy under consumer heterogeneity is an important area for future work.” - Keys & Wang (19, *JFE*).*

Quebec Policy Experiments

*“The amounts requested by credit card issuers as a minimum payment have decreased significantly since the late 1980s. Indeed, the percentage requested as a minimum payment has decreased from 5% to 2%. This practice has the effect of **considerably extending the period during which the consumer who pays only the minimum amount will have to repay the amount owed and of increasing the amount of credit charges that will have to be paid to pay the balance in full.**”*

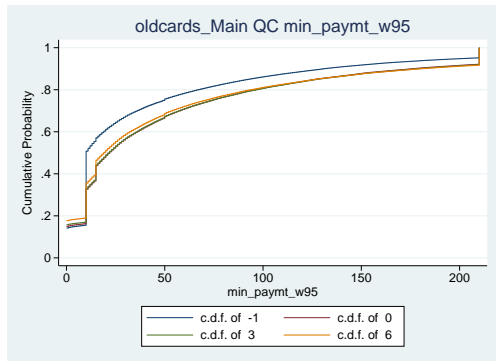
- Lise Thériault, Quebec Liberal Party

*“We find it good that we are increasing, there, gradually to 5%, but **we were afraid of the price shock that it could have on the most vulnerable consumers.**”*

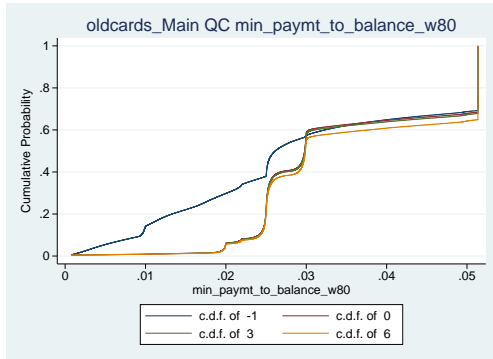
- Catherine Fournier, Parti Québécois

'First Stage': Quebec CDFs Show \uparrow Minimum Payments

Minimum Payments (\$)



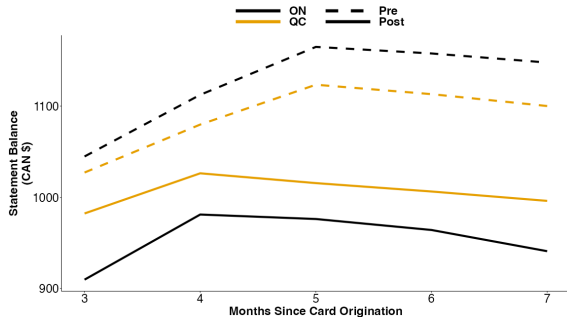
Minimum Payments (% statement balance)



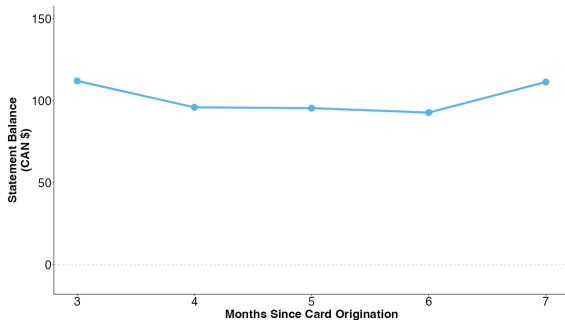
Lots of heterogeneity: E.g. statement balances \$500+ experience mean minimum payments \approx \$50 to \$100 per month.

↑ Statement Balances in Quebec vs. Ontario

Unconditional Means



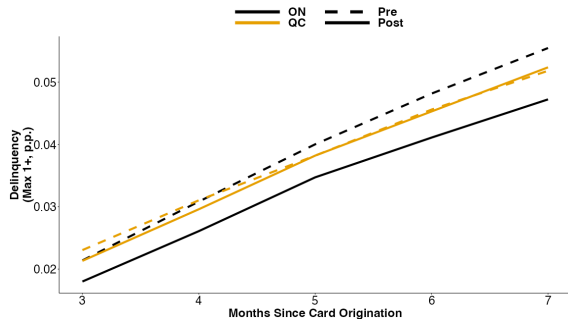
Regression Estimates



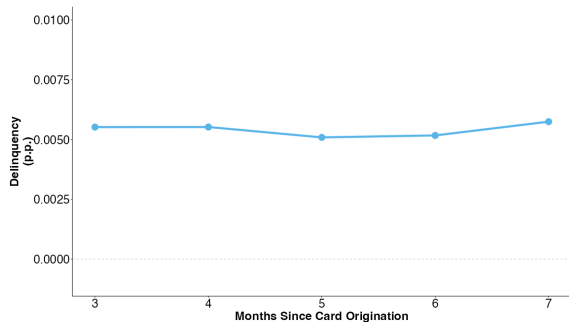
Calculating how much ↑ spending required to offset lost interest revenue.

↑ Delinquencies in Quebec vs. Ontario

Unconditional Means

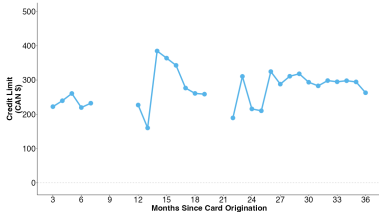


Regression Estimates

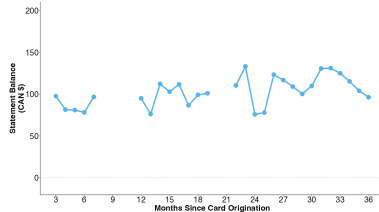


Results Hold for Long-Run: 3 Years in Unbalanced Panel

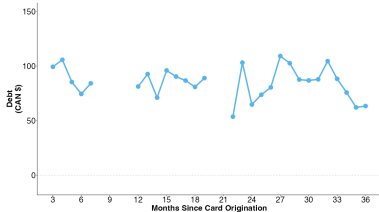
Credit Limit



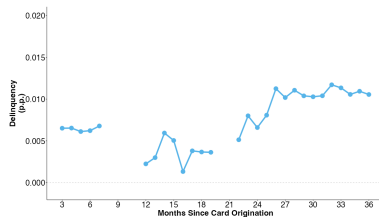
Statement Balances



Debt



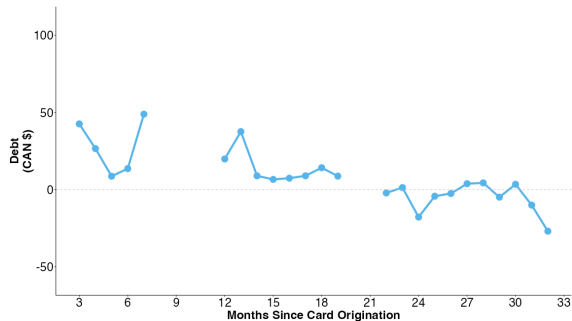
Delinquency



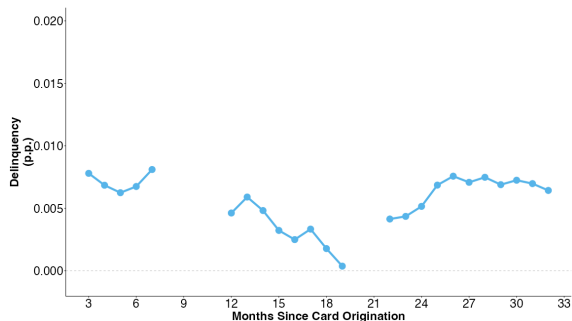
Adding Additional Cohorts (May - Nov 2019) in Unbalanced Panel

Still no (economically meaningful) average \downarrow debt.

Debt

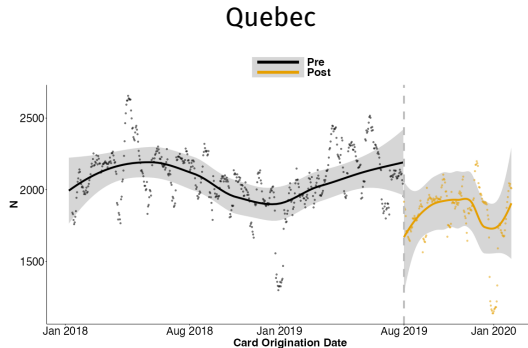
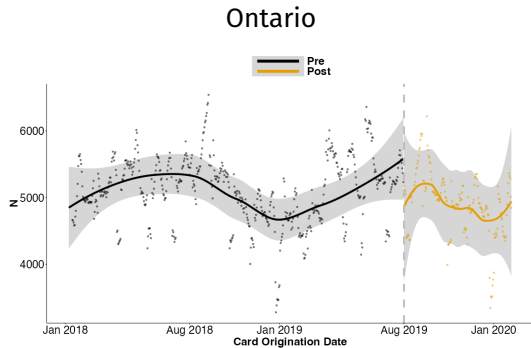


Delinquency



Potentially some interesting short-run to long-run dynamics to explore.

Extensive Margin: ↓ New Card Originations



Loess on daily data. Dots are 7 day moving average.