

# Unraveling Information Sharing in Consumer Credit Markets

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<sup>1</sup>Chicago Booth <sup>2</sup>Northeastern University

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May 2023, CFPB



Thanks to NBER and Chicago Booth's Fama-Miller, Kilts, & Stigler Centers for supporting this research.

**Work-in-Progress!**


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# 3 Motivating Examples of Firms Stopping Sharing Information


## 1. Amazon Stops Sharing Order Details




Your **Amazon.com** order #113-5092691-7946605  


**Order from Amazon.com**  
Expected by: Fri, Apr 21

 Ordered from Amazon.com

 Items  
See order for more details

 Expected by Apr 21

 **Amazon.com**  <auto-confirm@amazon.com>  
to me 

**amazon**  Order Confirmation

Hello Ben,

Thank you for shopping with us. We'll send a confirmation when your item ships.

**Details**

Order [#113-5092691-7946605](#)

Arriving:  
**Wednesday, April 19 -  
Friday, April 21**

Ship to:  
**Benedict  
CHICAGO, IL**  
**Order Total: \$26.01**

[View or manage order](#)

## 3 Motivating Examples of Firms Stopping Sharing Information

1. Amazon Stops Sharing Order Details
2. Apple Stops Sharing Location Data



TECH

### **Apple's ad privacy change impact shows the power it wields over other industries**

PUBLISHED SAT, NOV 13 2021•11:28 AM EST | UPDATED SAT, NOV 13 2021•11:30 AM EST

### 3 Motivating Examples of Firms Stopping Sharing Information

1. Amazon Stops Sharing Order Details
2. Apple Stops Sharing Location Data
3. Twitter Stops Sharing API for Free

**What connects these?**

# Harnessing Market Power from Information Rents, to Limit Potential of Disruptive Innovation

**Selection markets with heterogeneous consumers where ability to target drives profits.**

- $t = 0$ : Incumbent firms with market power from informational rents share data.
- $t = 1$ : New technological innovation potentially threatened incumbents.
- $t = 2$ : Incumbents respond by  $\downarrow$  information sharing to foreclose on (potential) entrants.

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## **3 Examples**

### **1. Amazon Stops Sharing Order Details**

- Response to scraping technology

### **2. Apple Stops Sharing Location Data**

- Response to tracker technology

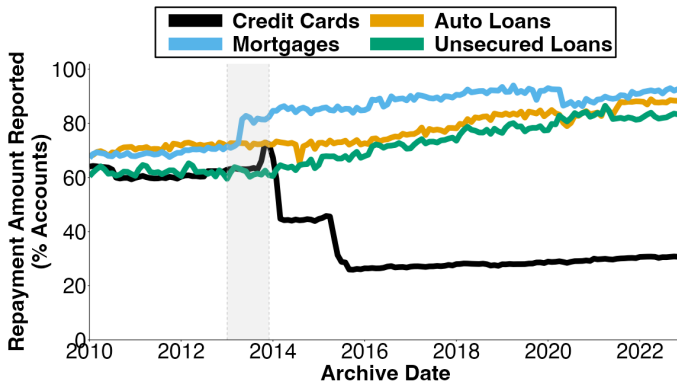
### **3. Twitter Stops Sharing API for Free**

- Response to ChatGPT technology

# US consumer credit markets regarded as the most developed in the world

## Why did repayments information reporting to US credit bureaus unravel?

- Credit cards:  $\Delta < 0$
- Autos, Mortgages, Loans:  $\Delta \geq 0$



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## Key Findings:

1. **Technological progress can unravel information sharing in developed markets**
  - Credit card lenders stopped reporting repayments data to US credit bureau.



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  - High spenders are often longer tenure & profitable.
  - Repayments data high marginal value for predicting spending & lifetime profits.

## Data: University of Chicago Booth's TransUnion Consumer Credit Panel (BTCCP)

- BTCCP is TransUnion anonymized sample of US credit reporting data.
- 1 in 10 sample of consumers with US credit reports.
- Monthly, individual credit tradelines + consumer-level data (e.g. credit scores).
- Anonymized consumer, trade, and furnisher identifiers.
- Apply standard data cleaning steps (Gibbs et al., *AEA 2023 Panel*)

**No individual firms are identified in BTCCP data.**

1. Credit Card Market
2. Unraveling Information Reporting
3. Innovation
4. Heterogeneity
5. Predicting Profitable Credit Cards
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# Credit Card Market

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## Credit card profitability depends on ex-post consumer behaviors: multiple dimensions of information asymmetry & revenue streams

**t = 1:**

- \$1,000 new spending (→ generates \$5 interchange revenue net of rewards)
- \$1,000 statement balance & \$10 minimum payment due

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- \$12 interest + \$30 fee = \$42 financing charges

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- \$2,792 statement balance & \$70 minimum payment due

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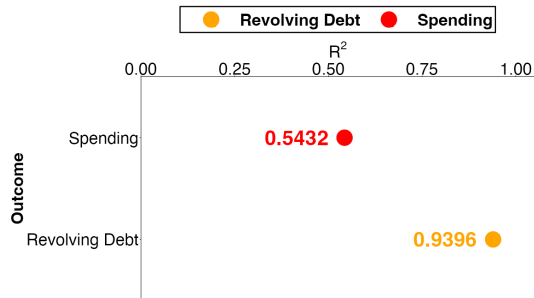
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$$\text{spending}_t = \text{statement balance}_t - \text{statement balance}_{t-1} + \text{repayment}_t - \text{fincharge}_t$$

$$\text{revolving debt}_t = \text{statement balance}_{t-1} - \text{repayment}_t$$

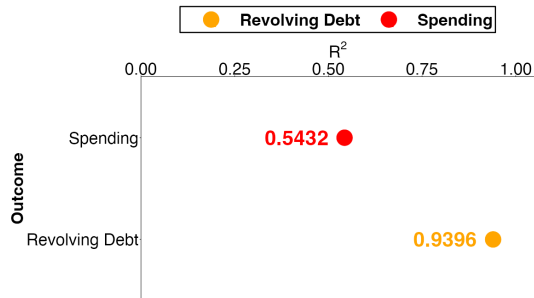
If  $repayment_t$  unobserved,  $\uparrow$  noise to measurement of spending & revolving debt



$$Y_{i,t} = \alpha + \beta f(\text{statement balance}_{i,t}, \text{statement balance}_{i,t-1}) + \varepsilon_{i,t}$$

Noise impedes targeting of pre-solicited credit card offers (which consumers & products).

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**Bad news for academics & policymakers** measuring consumption (e.g. Ganong & Noel, 20 AER; Gross, Notowidigdo, & Wang, 20 AEJ: Macro) and revolving debt (e.g. Indarte, 22 WP).



## Noise heterogeneously affects credit card lenders' business models

**Firms vary in reliance on interchange revenue:**

	<b>American Express</b>	<b>Capital One</b>
Interchange Revenues (% Revenues)	55%	27%
Net Interchange Revenues (% Net Revenues)	68%	18%
Marketing Costs	\$5.5 bn	\$4.0 bn

*Sources: American Express & Capital One Annual Accounts*

**Marketing large expense for all firms.**

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## **Market Structure**

- **Concentrated in 6 large firms:**
  - JPMorgan Chase, Citibank, American Express,
  - Bank of America, Capital One, Discover. (*Nilson Report*)
- **High returns:**  $\approx 4\%$  p.a. ROA (*Federal Reserve*)
- Market power from informational rents.

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# Unraveling Information Reporting

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# Credit reporting data

## Core credit data required (FACT Act, FCRA, METRO2)

- statement balance
- minimum payment due
- delinquency status
- credit limit (for revolving products e.g. credit cards, retail cards, HELOC)\*
- opening date
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\*FTC mandated in 2009.

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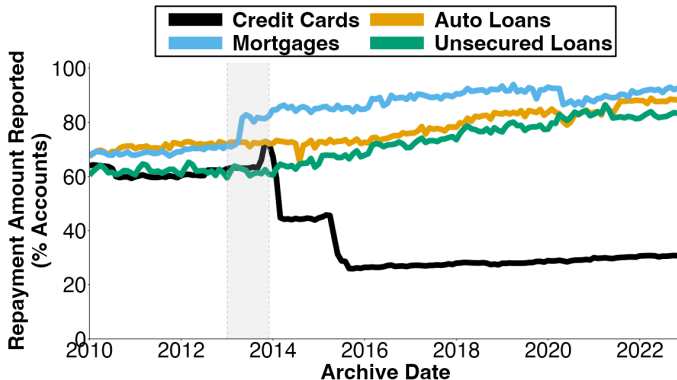
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US credit reporting data used by lenders for:

- Marketing (pre-solicited credit offers)
- Credit risk (underwriting, portfolio management).

# Unraveling in credit card reporting of repayments amounts to US credit bureau



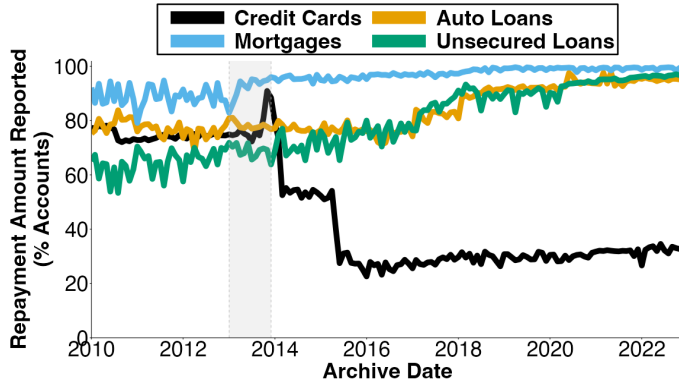
Source: BTCCP

Also occurs in other US credit bureaus: Equifax & Experian.

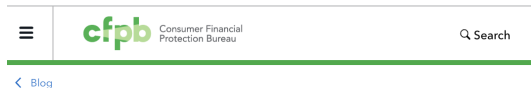
No lenders plan to voluntarily restart reporting repayments amounts (CFPB).



## Replicating CFPB: Restricting to months updated with payment in last month



N.b. Not all lenders appear to regularly update date of last payment.



## CFPB tells credit card CEOs: Practice of suppressing payment data has potential for consumer harm

By John McNamara - MAY 25, 2022

### CFPB documents:

- **Non-Reporters:** American Express, JPMorgan Chase, Citibank, Bank of America, Capital One, Discover.
- **Of these:**
  - 2 never report
  - 1 stopped in 2014
  - 3 later stopped (1x 2014, 2x 2015)

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# Innovation

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**Trended Data** creates a bundle of variables using credit reports over time (trends!)  
– especially combining repayments data with balances.

- Reveals **credit cards** behaviors  
driving profitability beyond delinquency.

- Revolving debt.
- New spending.
- Interest rates.

## Premium Algorithms

Understand key consumer behavior patterns such as revolving credit, balance build, loyalty and product preference to enhance strategies



**Reveals not just credit risk but who profitable consumers are.**

## “Trended Data” is technological advance ↑ information from data

- **New information revealed** from data
- **Cost reduction:** Technically firms could construct from raw data themselves.  
In practice they did not. Why?
  - **Technological constraints:**  
“It took us time just to build the infrastructure to house the data.”  
(Equifax Earnings Call 2013)
  - **Legal constraints:** FCRA compliance concerns prevented firms previously constructing trended data.
  - **Cost constraints:** constructing trended data would mean purchasing 24 archives.



## How is “Trended Data” used by firms?

- **Targeted marketing:**

*“Helps Clients...calculate profit by providing an estimate of consumer spend...prioritize marketing investments and target higher spending consumers...optimize enhanced value propositions to the right spending segments.” - Experian.*

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- Fannie Mae (consistent with Equifax, Experian, TransUnion, FICO, & VantageScore).

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### Why launched then?

- CARD Act limited credit card fees (Agarwal et al., 15) & interest (Nelson, 22).
- Interchange revenues become increasingly important source of credit card revenue.

# Theoretical trade-offs of reporting data non-reciprocally

## Benefits of Reporting

1. Technology
2. Reduce Information Asymmetries

## Costs of Reporting

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### Post-Trended Data:

Adverse selection ↓, consumer switching costs ↓  $\Rightarrow$  information reporting ↓

Am adapting Brouckaert & Degryse (06 EJ) to market structure to explain reporting decisions.

Moral hazard versions (Padilla & Pagano, 97 RFS; Gehrig & Stenbacka, 06 EER)

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Repayments data remain reported in UK and Canada post trended data introductions.



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### Why?

- **UK's** Principles of Reciprocity by industry body Steering Committee on Reciprocity:
  - (i) bans use of credit files for pre-solicited marketing to individuals
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  - (i) bans use of credit files for pre-solicited marketing to individuals
  - (ii) reciprocity in sharing data
- **Canada** has limited use of credit files for marketing e.g. can use for geographic variables but not for individual targeting.

Much less trade-off of sharing repayments data in UK or Canada: less risk of poaching.

## Recap of key findings so far

- Credit card profitability depends on ex-post consumer behaviors with multiple dimensions of information asymmetry & revenue streams.
- Observing repayments data crucial to measuring consumer behaviors.
- Unraveling of reporting repayments data by credit card lenders (2013 - 2015).
- Timing due to credit bureau data innovation revealing private consumer behaviors:
  - spending (driving interchange revenue)
  - revolving (driving interest revenue).

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# Heterogeneity

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## Unraveling Driven By Some Credit Card Lenders **Stopping** Reporting

Aggregate furnishers in BTCCP based on reporting behaviors:

Group	% 2012 Cards	% 2012 Balances
<b>Always:</b> Share repayments data in 2012 & 2015.	17%	16%
<b>Stoppers:</b> Share repayments data in 2012 but not 2015	43%	44%
<b>Nevers:</b> Never share repayments data in 2012 & 2015	30%	33%
<b>Others:</b> Everyone else.	10%	7%

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## Lenders' Responses to CFPB:

### Stoppers:

- Firm 4: "Doesn't believe benefits outweigh proprietary interests."
- Firm 6: "Other major issuers were no longer providing...left at competitive disadvantage".

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### Nevers:

- Firm 1: "Not required to do so. Not consistently furnished nor adequately studied."
- Firm 5: "Not required, furnishing is voluntary. Doesn't believe cost...is worth it."



## Selection in Reporting Repayments Data

	Always	Stoppers	Nevers
Credit Score	720.53	719.62	743.32
(S.D.)	(87.54)	(89.96)	(77.03)
Tenure	69.85	96.49	145.96
(S.D.)	(81.21)	(83.40)	(120.84)
Credit Limit	8,615.89	9,508.78	10,397.93
(S.D.)	(7,659.00)	(9,528.84)	(9,520.58)
Statement Balance	2,204.53	2,426.43	2,580.47
(S.D.)	(3,811.80)	(4,279.58)	(4,852.06)
Utilization	0.36	0.39	0.30
(S.D.)	(0.39)	(0.41)	(0.35)
Proxy Spending	266.29	294.64	364.36
(S.D.)	958.96	1,171.50	1,524.48

## Adverse Selection in Reporting Repayments Data Residual of Credit Risk:

**Always** < **Stoppers** < **Nevers**

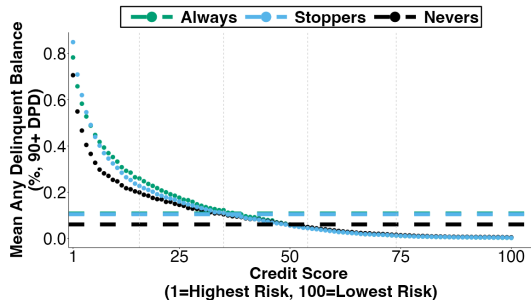
	<b>Always</b>	<b>Stoppers</b>	<b>Nevers</b>
Residual Tenure (S.D.)	-35.87 (78.27)	-9.34 (79.72)	32.90 (116.83)
Residual Credit Limit (S.D.)	-710.27 (6,720.39)	185.62 (8,536.33)	134.99 (9,317.46)
Residual Statement Balance (S.D.)	-313.73 (3,651.87)	-74.73 (4,145.36)	278.08 (4,633.57)
Residual Utilization (S.D.)	-0.01 (0.26)	0.01 (0.28)	-0.01 (0.27)
Residual Proxy Spending (S.D.)	-44.63 956.12	-13.68 1,167.17	43.81 1,521.42

Residual of 100 credit score quantiles.

# Credit risk not main reason for differential reporting

Lenders Have Similar Delinquency Rates Conditional on Credit Score.

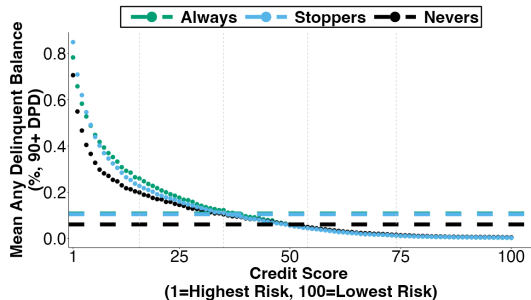
## 90+ Days Delinquent



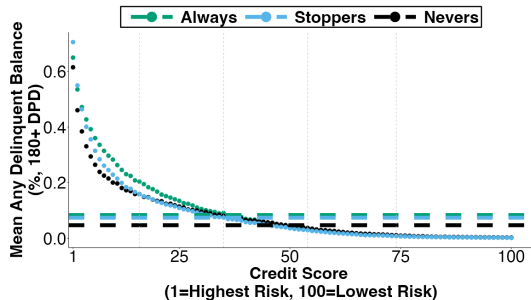
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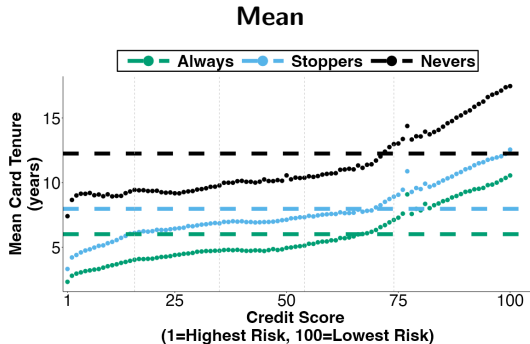


**180+ Days Delinquent**

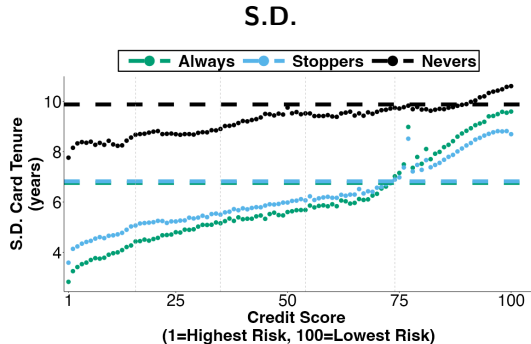
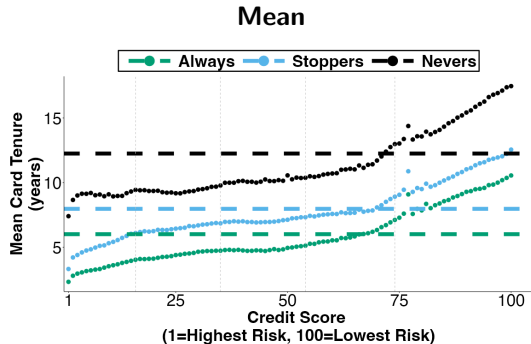


N.b. Fixed thresholds for credit score quantiles across all groups and charts.

# Lenders Have Different Card Tenure for Given Risk: Informational Rents!



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## Develop New Methodology for Measuring Financing Charges

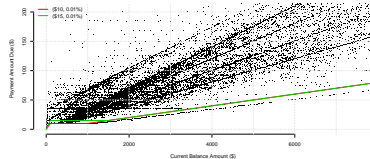
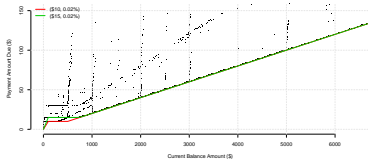
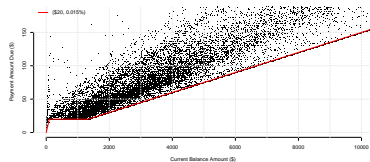
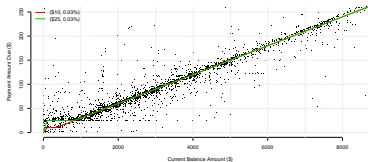
Minimum payment ( $M_t$ ) determined by:  $M_t = \max\{\$D, I\% \text{ balance}_t + \text{interest}_t + \text{fees}_t\}$

- Infer potential  $\$D$  and  $I\%$  for each furnisher from transacting months.
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- *Observed* minimum payment - *predicted* minimum payment = financing charges.

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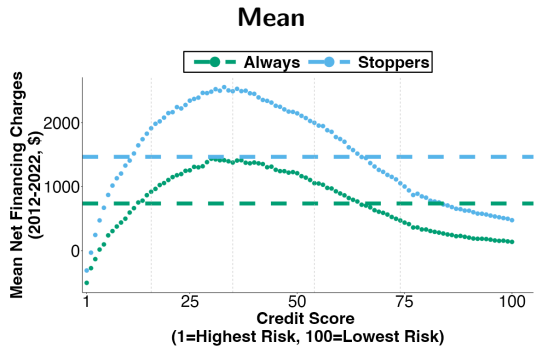
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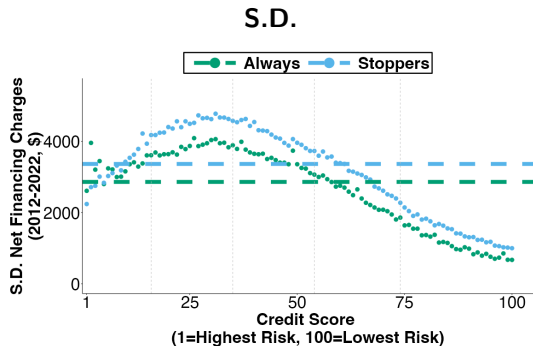
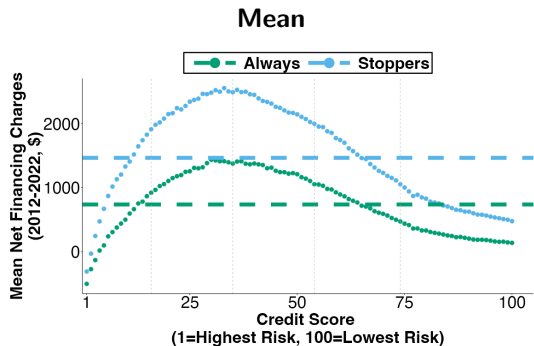




# Always & Stoppers : Financing Charges - Charge-Offs (2012 to 2022)

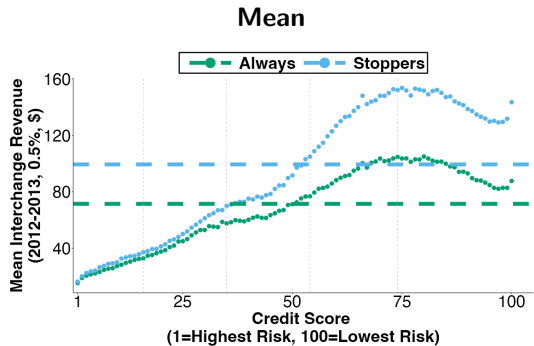


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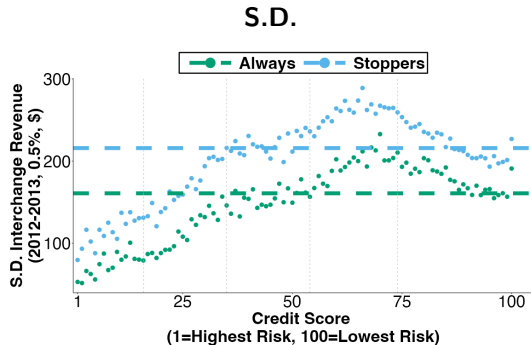
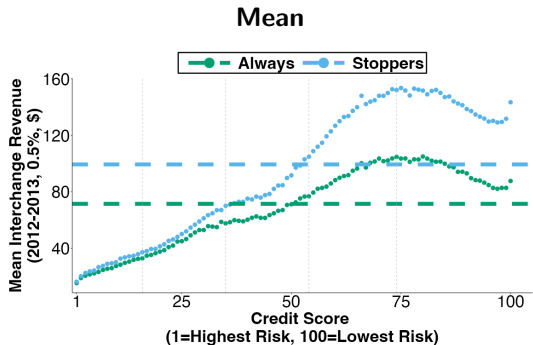


Mean estimated financing charges consistent with Agarwal et al. (15 QJE, 22 WP).

# Always & Stoppers: 0.5% Spending Interchange Net of Rewards (2012 to 2013)



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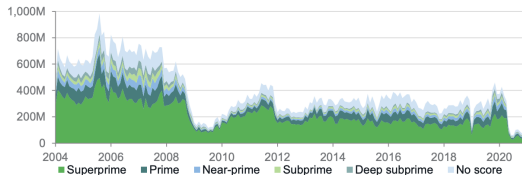


- Gap will widen when adjust for card tenure.
- Variation within (zipcode) income and within-consumer's card wallet.  
High returns from being 'top-of-wallet'.

# Are transactors profitable?

- Hard to reconcile with large, costly marketing to superprime transactors.

## Credit Card Offers Mainly Superprime

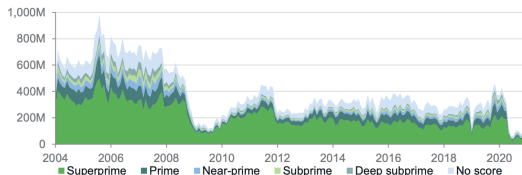


Source: CFPB, 2021

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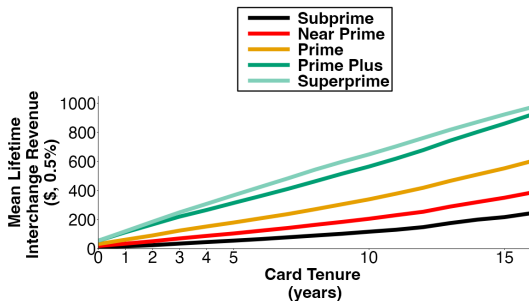
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## Credit Card Offers Mainly Superprime



Source: CFPB, 2021

## Lifetime Interchange Revenue By Card Tenure & Credit Score



Average transactor may have 'low' p.a. net revenues...but longer tenure means  $NPV > 0$ .

For *Always*, interchange increases mean lifetime profits of 2012 transactors: \$230 to \$450.

## Recap of key findings so far

- Credit card profitability depends on ex-post consumer behaviors with multiple dimensions of information asymmetry & revenue streams.
- Observing repayments data crucial to measuring consumer behaviors.
- Unraveling of reporting repayments data by credit card lenders (2013 - 2015).
- Timing due to credit bureau data innovation revealing private consumer behaviors:
  - spending (driving interchange revenue)
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1. Credit Card Behaviors
2. Unraveling Information Reporting
3. Innovation
4. Heterogeneity
5. Predicting Profitable Credit Cards
6. Why Didn't Other Credit Markets Unravel?



# Predicting Profitable Credit Cards

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# Predicting Credit Card Profitability is Hard!



how predictable is credit card profitability



Credit card profitability is a complex and multi-dimensional concept that depends on a variety of factors, including customer behavior, credit risk, interest rates, fees, and operating costs, among others. Therefore, it can be challenging to predict credit card profitability with high accuracy.



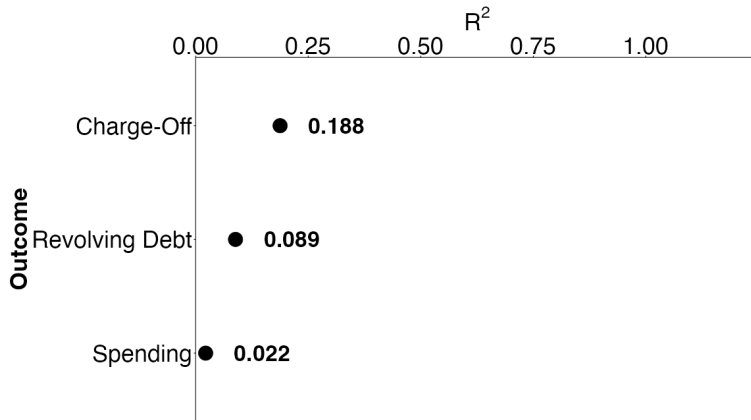
# How Predictable are Consumer Behavior & Profitability?

**Lender's problem is predicting profitable types to target marketing to.**

Use data to December 2012 to predict 2013+ card-level outcomes for **Always** + **Stoppers**.

Show out-of-sample  $R^2$ .

## Credit Scores Alone Do Not Predict of Spending & Revolving Debt



OLS regressions on 100 credit score quantiles.

**Lender's problem is predicting profitable types to target marketing to.**

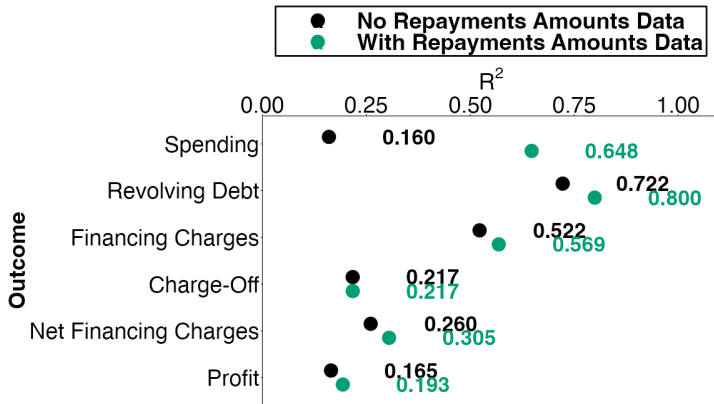
1. Credit Score + Core (e.g. credit limit, statement balances, utilization, delinquency)
2. Credit Score + Core + Repayments (e.g. spending, revolving debt)

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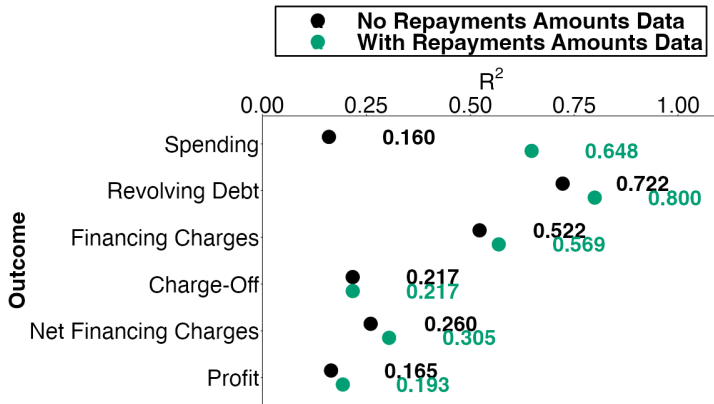
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# Repayments Data Predicts Profitability: Especially Spending Driving Interchange Revenue

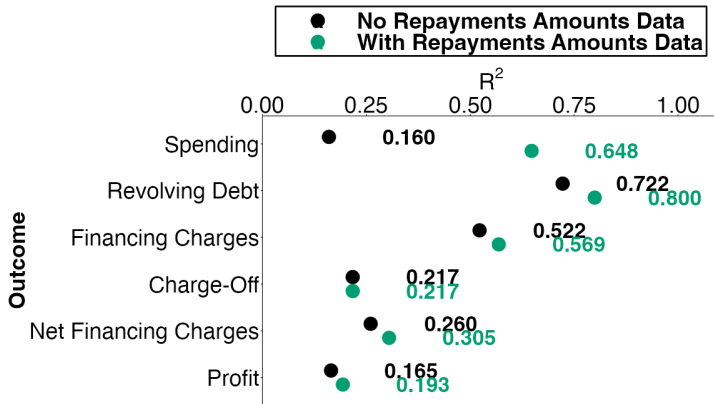


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- Uplift in profit prediction an under-estimate as do not observe lifetime interchange revenue.
- If train models on **Always** (feasible in 2023), poor out-of-sample fit on **Stoppers**.



## Recap of key findings so far

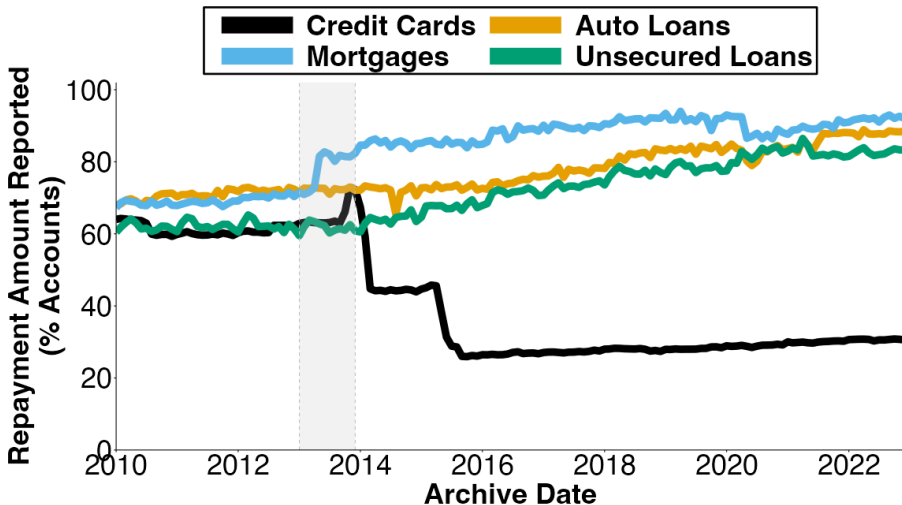
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## **Why Other Markets Unravel?**

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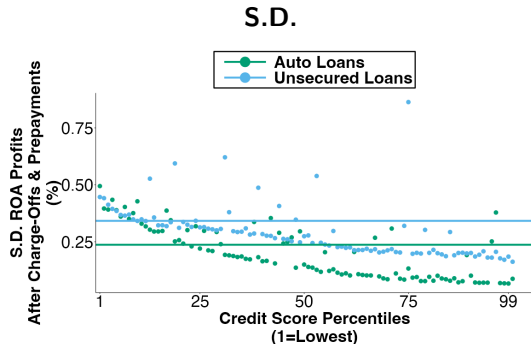
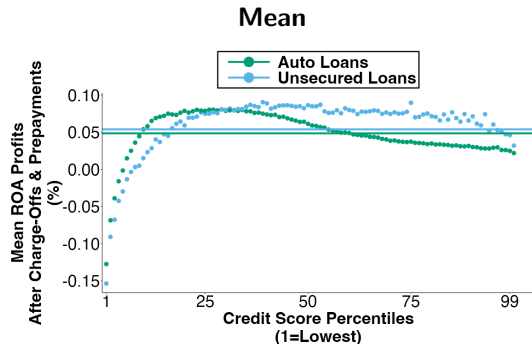
## Reminder: Auto Loans, Mortgages, Unsecured Loans, Did Not Unravel



## Ex-Post Profitability in Auto Loans and Unsecured Personal Loans Depends on (i) Charge-Offs (ii) Prepayments

	<b>Auto Loans</b>	<b>Unsecured Loans</b>	<b>Credit Cards</b>
<b>Collateral</b>	Secured	Unsecured	
<b>Life</b>	Fixed-Term		Open-Ended
<b>Revenue Streams</b>	Financing Charges (Interest, Fees)		Financing Charges (Interest, Fees), Interchange
<b>Risks</b>	Delinquency, Prepayment		Delinquency, Revolving Amount & Duration, Spending

# Installment Loan Ex-Post Profits



$$ROA = \frac{\Pi}{A} = \frac{(P \times \frac{T}{N}) - C}{A}$$

where  $ROA$  is Return on Assets,  $A$  is loan principal,  $\Pi$  is ex-post realized profits,  $P$  is scheduled monthly payments,  $C$  is charge-offs,  $T$  is actual loan months (restrict to  $T \leq N$ ),  $N$  is scheduled loan months.

## 'Repayment amount' does little to improve profitability prediction in Auto Loans & Unsecured Loans

Model	$R^2$ Predicting Profit	
	Auto Loans	Unsecured Loans
1. Credit Score + Core	0.376	0.952
2. Credit Score + Core + Repayment	0.382	0.954

Profit (\$) are ex-post after charge-offs & prepayments.

## Conclusions

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# Conclusions

1. **Technological progress can unravel information sharing in developed markets.**
  - Lenders holding market power from informational rents strategically not reporting data to limit competitors' ability to poach profitable consumers.
2. **Importance of spending to credit card business**
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> source of information asymmetry.
  - High spenders are often longer tenure & profitable.
  - Repayments data high marginal value for predicting spending & lifetime profits.

## Not shown today:

- Theory model adapting Brouckaert & Degryse (06 EJ)
- Effects of FTC mandating reporting of credit card limits on firm and consumer behaviors.

## More work-in-progress:

- Refining profitability measures (charge-offs, charges, lifetime interchange, discount, risk)
- More work on prediction models (specifications and firm heterogeneity).

Thank you!

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