Open Payment Infrastructure and Market Participation: The Role of Interoperability in Financial Inclusion

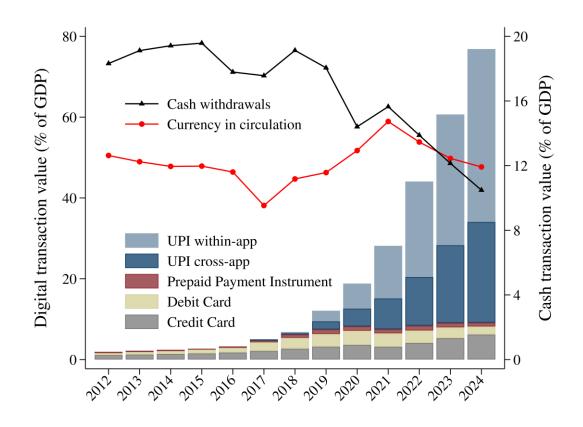
by Meghana Ayyagari, Yuxi (Lance) Cheng, Pulak Ghosh, Nirupama Kulkarni

ABFER Virtual Seminar August 2025

Discussant: Divya Kirti International Monetary Fund

The views expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of the IMF, its Executive Board, or IMF management.

Context: payments revolution in EMs Different approaches across countries



Source: Copestake Kirti Martinez Peria Zeng (2025)

- Recent payment innovation largely in EMs:
 - Mobile money in Africa
 - Private closed-loop fintech in China
 - Open payment systems launched with public support in India, Brazil
- Interoperability and UPI's growth (Copestake Kirti Martinez Peria Zeng 2025)
 - Most transactions across two different apps
 - Estimate large impact of interoperability on demand for digital payments
- What are the broader implications of this payments revolution?

This paper: payments and financial inclusion

- Broad question: how do digital payment systems shape retail stock market participation?
- Basic intuition: to buy stocks, individual investors need to move funds to investment platforms; better payment rails could help
- Draw on great data on stock market participation
 - Data at trade level (National Stock Exchange of India, 2015-2020 Q1)
 - Can group trades at investor level
- Main specification:
 - More trades/active investors (Agarwal Ayyagari Cheng Ghosh forthcoming) in pincodes with more exposure to UPI post launch (2016 Q3)?
 - Measure UPI exposure using pincode-level deposit share at early adopter banks (Dubey Purnanandam 2023, Alok Ghosh Kulkarni Puri 2024)
 - Granular specification: pincode x month data, pincode and district x month FE

Main results

- Post launch, in pincodes with 1 SD larger exposure to UPI (Table 3):
 - 68 more transactions (6.1% of mean)
 - 7 more investors (8.6% of mean)
- Results appear specific to UPI:
 - Within-investor evidence
 - Horse race with other digital options
- Many heterogeneity exercises:
 - Internet/physical trading channels
 - Geographical variation: digital connectivity, cash reliance
 - Investor size
 - Trading around crashes

Three main comments

- 1. Literature
- 2. Interpretation
- 3. Mechanisms

Framing relative to prior work

First piece: digital payments adoption and downstream impact

Underlying drivers

- Demographics
- Network effects
- Interoperability

- Crouzet Gupta Ghosh Mezzanotti (2024)
- Crouzet Gupta Mezzanotti (2023)
- Alvarez Argente Lippi Mendez Patten (2023)
- Copestake Kirti
 Martinez Peria Zeng
 (2025)

Digital payments adoption

Ghosh Vallee Zeng

(2022)

- Alok Ghosh Kulkarni Puri (2024)
- Ouyang (2021)
- Babina Bahaj Buchak
 De Marco Foulis
 Gornall Mazzola Yu
 (2025)
- Agarwal Ghosh Li Ruan (2024)
- Dubey Purnanandam (2023)
- Di Maggio Ghosh Ghosh Wu (2024)
- This paper

Downstream benefits

- Lending
- Consumption
- Growth
- Deposits
- Retail stock market participation

Comment 1/3: Literature

Framing relative to prior work

Second piece: retail stock market participation

- Drivers of retail stock market participation in emerging markets
 - Literature largely focuses on advanced economies
 - Agarwal Ayyagari Cheng Ghosh (forthcoming): bank presence supports stock market participation, contribution relative to this work not discussed

Can interoperability and quality be separated?

- Goal of the paper per introduction: separate interoperability from digitalization
- Results do seem to be specific to UPI
 - Investors with multiple brokerage accounts use accounts where bank joined UPI earlier more (after investor x month FEs, Table 5)
 - Horse race with closed platform offered by large public bank (Table 4)
- Does this point to interoperability or just high-quality digitalization?
 - Public banks do not use new technology with same quality (Mishra Prabhala Rajan 2022, RBI 2024, Copestake Kirti Martinez Peria 2025)
 - Within investor results could also driven by public vs. private banks?
 - More broadly, would users make the same choices with an option with the same quality that was not interoperable?
- Two options:
 - More direct evidence to separate between interoperability and quality? May be hard
 - Could consider broader framing as in conclusion: effective payment system design can improve payment rails needed for stock market participation

Group into two main intuitive mechanisms?

- High quality digitalization enables shift to digital pipelines:
 - Growth in internet trading, not at physical locations (Table 8)
 - Better digital connectivity more useful with higher UPI exposure (Table 9)
 - Higher growth in areas more reliant on cash pre-UPI (Table 13)
- This reduces frictions for retail stock market participation:
 - More growth for small investors (Table 11)
 - Faster trading at hourly frequency around crashes (Table 10)
- Could help streamline writing in abstract/introduction

Other comments

- Many results (15 tables!), could streamline paper. Some suggestions:
 - Bank holiday results (Table 6): shouldn't hypothesis be that UPI is more useful in high exposure areas? Why should the sign flip with bank holidays?
 - Does rural/urban split (Table 12) add much to Jio triple interactions (Table 9)?
 - Drop results on return and risk (Tables 14 and 15)? Counterfactual should be return on outside options like cash rather than market return (Gennaioli Shleifer Vishny 2015)
- September 2017 shift (Figure 4) only affected which banks app providers used to connect to UPI, not users' ability to use apps across many banks to make cross-app payments
- Given evidence in Agarwal Ayyagari Cheng Ghosh (forthcoming), Table 2 should show balance on presence
 of bank branches
- Does continued growth in UPI post-2020 show up as large impact on aggregate retail stock market participation post-sample period?
- Presentation of magnitudes
 - Main text is clear that 6.1% growth in transactions, 8.6% growth in investors per SD of exposure is scaled by mean
 - Intro less clear, could be read as % growth relative to previous levels
- Should refer to digitalization, broader than digitization

Summary

- This paper: better digital payment rails can support stock market participation
- Suggestions:
 - Highlight two main contributions:
 - New downstream benefits of digital payments adoption
 - Digital financial infrastructure and retail stock market participation
 - More direct tests of interoperability or broader framing
 - Consider streamlining discussion of mechanisms
- Promising paper on important topic, look forward to next version

Open Payment Infrastructure and Market Participation: The Role of Interoperability in Financial Inclusion

by Meghana Ayyagari, Yuxi (Lance) Cheng, Pulak Ghosh, Nirupama Kulkarni

ABFER Virtual Seminar August 2025

Discussant: Divya Kirti International Monetary Fund

The views expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of the IMF, its Executive Board, or IMF management.