## **Pass-Through of Airline Cost Changes**

What Does Economic Research Say?



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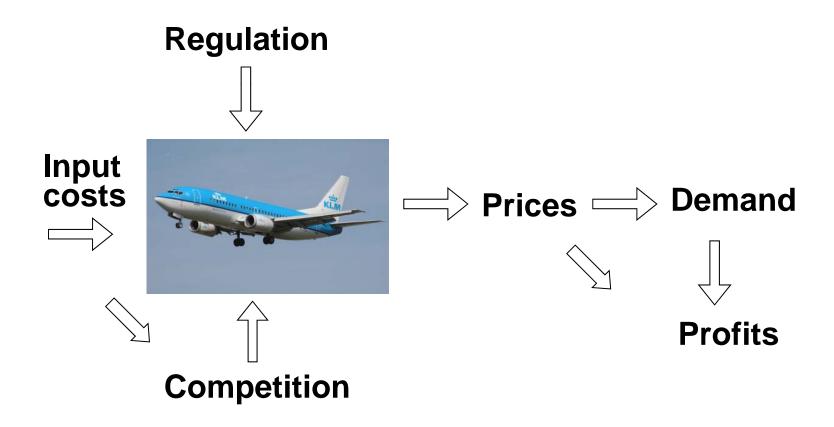
## Part 1: Introduction



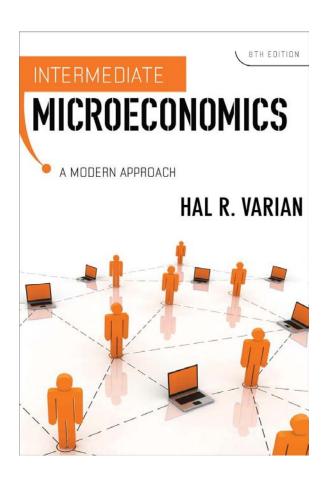
## **Research questions**

- Airline costs change over time:
  - Focus on cost savings
  - Fuel prices
  - Labour costs
  - Government regulation
- Who bears higher costs, or benefits from lower costs?
  - Which part of cost changes is passed through to aviation users?
  - On which conditions does the rate of pass-through depend?
  - How are demand and market shares affected?

## A simple framework



# **Part 2: Economic Theory**



## Market types

- Perfect competition
  - many identical suppliers, homogenous product
  - no economies of scale, free access for new competitors
- Monopoly / Oligopoly
  - homogenous product
  - one supplier / limited number of suppliers
- Monopolistic competition
  - slightly different products (substitutes)
  - many suppliers



## Pass-through in different market types

Type of competition	Assumption	Pass-through
Perfect competition	One-firm cost change	0%
	Sector-wide cost change	100%
Oligopoly	One-firm cost change	<50%
	Sector-wide cost change	>50%
Monopoly and monopolistic competition	Linear demand	50%
	Constant elasticity demand	>100%
	Power demand curve	0-100%
	Log demand curve	100%

Source: survey of academic literature

#### **Aviation markets**

- Number of suppliers: oligopoly
  - Limited number of suppliers per origin/destination trip
  - Sometimes only one supplier (monopoly)
  - Supply changes are 'lumpy' (aircraft sizes, frequencies)
- Demand side: airlines offer different products:
  - Different routes per origin/destination (direct versus indirect flights, different hubs for indirect flights)
  - Frequencies, waiting times, on-board service, ...
- Market type 'Differentiated oligopoly' fits best
- One-firm cost changes passed through by (much) less than 50%
- Sector-wide cost changes usually passed through by 50% or more

## **Special situations**

- Cross subsidisation
  - Airlines using profits from low-competition links to reduce prices in high-competition links
  - May be used to 'cushion' cost increases in high-competition links
  - → Lower pass-through rate
- Limited slot capacity
  - Prices determined by demand vis-a-vis capacity
  - Rent (profit) = Price minus Production costs per unit
  - Airport and governments may claim part of the rent
  - Pass-through rate is zero (except when costs exceed prices)

#### **Cost reductions**

- Reducing the costs which have risen is a viable response, e.g.:
  - Higher fuel costs stimulate fuel savings
  - Emissions costs (ETS) stimulate CO2 reduction
- Reducing other costs (e.g. labour costs) raises questions:
  - Why were these costs not reduced without (or before) the cost increase?
  - Irrational behaviour? Not in the interest of shareholders?

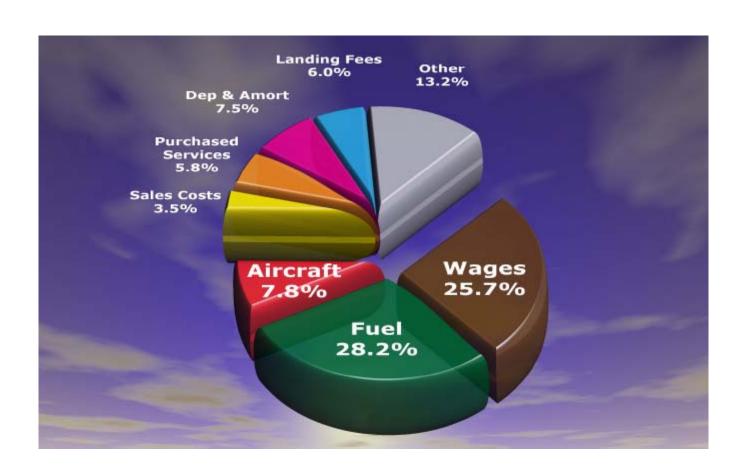
## Lagged pass-through

- Pass-through may be delayed:
  - Menu costs
    - Changing prices itself incurs costs for suppliers
  - Costs of changing supply
    - Price changes will induce demand changes, to which supply will have to be adapted
  - Switching costs
    - Switching between suppliers will incur costs for customers, inducing them to accept rising prices
- Short term effect of increasing costs
  - Lower profits
- Long term effect of increasing costs
  - Unprofitable routes are dropped, profitability restored

## **Asymmetric pass-through**

- Focus on market share
  - Price reductions are followed by competitors
  - Price increases are not followed by competitors
- Co-ordination between suppliers
  - If co-ordination fails while costs fall, prices will drop strongly
- Search costs
  - Consumers may search harder for alternative suppliers when prices go up
- Consumer response
  - Consumers may buy early when prices rise, accelerating the price increase
- Perishable goods
  - Sellers do not raise prices (fear of spoiled goods)

## **Part 3: Aviation Practice**



#### **Fuel costs**

- PwC (1995)
  - 90-105% pass-through of kerosene costs
- Duplantis (2010), Toru (2011)
  - Pass-through close to 100%, but only in times of capacity changes. Otherwise pass-through zero.
- Borenstein and Rose (2007)
  - Rapid capacity changes impossible for logistical reasons

## **Emission costs (ETS)**

- No empirical evidence, only model studies
- Many studies use full pass-through, assuming:
  - Aviation industry is highly competitive
- Other studies use partial pass-through, assuming:
  - Monopolistic competition, oligopoly
  - Capacity restrictions
  - Focus on market share
  - High price sensitivity
  - Unlevel playing field (EU-based / Non-EU-based airlines)

## **Part 4: Conclusions**



#### **Conclusions**

- Market-wide cost changes pass-through higher than one-firm cost changes
  - Sector-wide cost changes: 100% pass-through in competitive markets, mostly lower (but >50%) in other market types
  - One-firm cost changes: 0% pass-through in competitive markets, mostly higher (but <50%) in other market types</li>
- Pass-through may be slow and asymmetric
- Pass-through zero for congested airports
- Fuel costs pass-through close to 100%, although delayed and limited by capacity restrictions
- ETS pass-through: only models available, no empirical information
- Unlevel playing field on specific routes will limit pass-through

## THANKS FOR YOUR ATTENTION