## Hearing #3 on Competition and Consumer Protection in the 21st Century

George Mason University
Antonin Scalia Law School
October 15, 2018



### Welcome

**Henry Butler** 

George Mason University
Antonin Scalia Law School



## **Introductory Remarks**

### **Commissioner Rohit Chopra**

**Federal Trade Commission** 



# The Economics and Network Effects of Multi-Sided Platforms

### **Derek Moore**

Federal Trade Commission
Office of Policy Planning



## The Economics of Multi-Sided Platforms

**David Evans** 

Global Economics Group



## BlaBlaCar Increases Efficiency by Matching Drivers and Passengers and Filling Empty Seats

Density of drivers and passengers between cities for liquidity.

Matching of riders and passengers including making pleasant trip.



BlaBlaCar connects drivers and passengers for long road trips, such as Paris to Barcelona.

Price to passengers capped to cover driver's gas and deprecation.

Increases driver and passenger welfare.

## Lots of These Kinds of "Matchmakers" That Connect Different Types of Users



Rank	Company	Key Platform		
1	Apple	iOS		
2	Amazon	Marketplace		
3	Alphabet	Search		
4	Microsoft	Windows		
5	Berkshire			
6	Facebook	Facebook		
7	Alibaba	Taobao		
8	Tencent	WeChat		
9	JPMorgan			
10	Johnson & Johnson			

7/10 largest publicly traded companies in the world operate substantial multisided platforms, as of 9/18.

## Very Old Business Model, But New Economic Learning That Began Around 2000 Provides Insights

### **Key foundational theory papers**

- □ Rochet and Tirole (JEEA, 2003; Rand Journal 2006);
- ☐ Armstrong (Rand Journal, 2006);
- ☐ Weyl (American Economic Review, 2010).

#### Hundreds of articles, dozens of books. For surveys:

- □ Rysman, Journal of Economic Perspectives, 2009;
- Evans-Schmalensee, Matchmakers: New Economics of Multisided Platforms, 2016.

### PLATFORM COMPETITION IN TWO-SIDED MARKETS

Jean-Charles Rochet Université de Toulouse.

Institut D'Economie Industrielle

#### Jean Tirole

Institut D'Economie Industrielle, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches en Analyse Socio-Economique

#### Abstract

Many if not most markets with network externalities are two-sided. To succeed, platforms in industries such as software, portals and media, payment systems and the Internet, must "get both sides of the market on board." Accordingly, platforms devote much attention to their business model, that is, to how they court each side while making money overall. This paper builds a model of platform competition with two-sided markets. It unveils the determinants of price allocation and end-user surplus for different governance structures (profit-maximizing platforms and not-for-profit joint undertakings), and compares the outcomes with those under an integrated monopolist and a Ramsey planner. (JEL: LS, L86, L96)

#### 1. Introduction

Buyers of video game consoles want games to play on; game developers pick platforms that are or will be popular among gamers. Cardholders value credit or debit cards only to the extent that these are accepted by the merchants they patronize; affiliated merchants benefit from a widespread diffusion of cards among consumers. More generally, many if not most markets with network externalities are characterized by the presence of two distinct sides whose ultimate benefit stems from interacting through a common platform. Platform owners or sponsors in these industries must address the celebrated "chicken-and-egg problem" and be careful to "get both sides on board." Despite much theoretical progress made in the last two decades on the economics of network externalities and widespread strategy discussions of the chicken-and-egg problem, two-sided markets have received scant attention. The purpose of this paper is to start filling this gap.

The recognition that many markets are multisided leads to new and interesting positive and normative questions. Under multisidedness, platforms must choose a price structure and not only a price level for their service. For example, video game platforms such as Sony, Sega and Nintendo make money on game

E-mail addresses: Rochet: rochet@cict.fr; Tirole: tirole@cict.fr

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# Two-Sided Platforms, Transactions Costs, and Externalities



## Platforms Emerge to Reduce Frictions Between Possible Partners

- Drivers have spare capacity, passengers would like a ride.
- ◆ Marketers willing to pay more to deliver an ad than viewers willing to pay to receive it.
- Single men and single women would like romantic partners.
- Buyers and sellers need common method of payment.



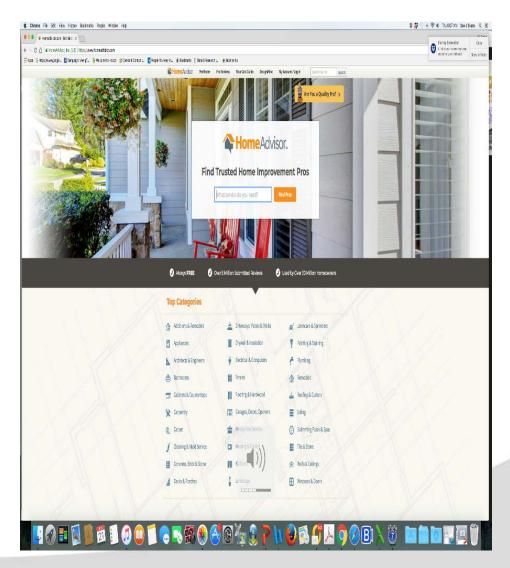
"When Fred was trying to get home to his family in the French countryside for Christmas 2003, he struggled as he had no car and all the trains were full. After begging his sister to pick him up, it was on the road when Fred noticed the sheer number of people driving alone. It hit him that all those empty seats in existing cars could be the beginning of a new travel network."



Existence of a "transaction-cost problem" is a necessary condition for two-sided platform. (Rochet-Tirole (2003)).

## Platforms Reduce Transactions Costs and Internalize Externalities

- By bringing parties together on a common platform:
  - thereby solving collective action problem.
- By providing methods for search, matching, exchange, etc.:
  - thereby reducing transactions costs between trading partners and increasing trading efficiency.



## **Externalities Create Welfare Interdependencies Among Platform Participants**

- ◆ Positive indirect network externalities:
  - more of the "right" counterparties increases likelihood of good exchange;
  - scale + density = liquidity.
- ◆ Negative externalities:
  - congestion can create friction on same or different side;
  - higher ad loads reduce viewer value;
  - people don't like strange people in their cars.
- Behavioral externalities that typically affect communities and interactions:
  - fraud and deception involving trade;
  - gross stuff like porn;
  - bad stuff like verbal or physical violence.



Platform Addresses Externalities Through ... Pricing and Terms of Trade

- ◆ Pricing structures to increase density of good trading partners and other externalities
  - Der Spiegel reader price determines density of readers for advertisers, advertiser price determines ad load, which may affect readership, which affects ad prices.
- ◆ Non-pecuniary payments such as content, rewards
  - Der Spiegel ~140 pages of content attracts "male, educated with high income" readers, which is what it markets to advertisers.



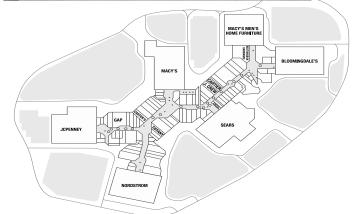
Platforms can charge membership fees (e.g. annual fee for cardholders) and transaction fees (e.g. merchant fees for card transactions).

## Platform Address Externalities Through ... Platform Design

 Design features that facilitate matching like how content is bundled.

- ◆ Technology features like matching algorithms, search technologies.
- Business design like liquidity maker institution for exchanges.





Physical and virtual platforms designed to facilitate interactions among members of the two groups to help them make good exchanges.

## Platform Addresses Externalities Through ... Rules, Governance

- Behavioral rules for interactions—do's and don'ts of platform behavior.
- ◆ Detection mechanisms for violations—people and software for finding violations.
- ◆ Penalties for violating rules—including permanent and temporary exclusion.



Apple App Developer Guidelines: "If you attempt to cheat the system (for example, by trying to trick the review process, steal user data, copy another developer's work, or manipulate ratings) your apps will be removed from the store and you will be expelled from the Developer Program."

Governance systems common feature of multisided platform businesses.



### Putting It All Together With ... BlaBlaCar

- ➤ Passengers want access to more drivers, and drivers want access to more passengers.
- > But only if they are paid for having strangers in their cars.
- ➤ Pricing structure caps fees as driver cost which tends to eliminate professional drivers but also reduces incentives to drive.
- Platform reduces negative externalities and facilitates matching by among other things asking participants how chatty they like to be ("bla, bla bla, or bla bla").
- ➤ Relative value proposition ultimately sufficient to get density of drivers and passengers on enough city pairs.

Now in 22 countries, 60 million driver passenger users, 18 million travelers per quarter.



"...Ladies Only... It's a great way for women to feel even safer."

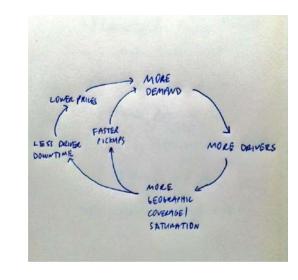


# **Basic Economics of Two-Sided Platforms**



### Platform Connects Two Groups with Indirect Network Effects to Reduce Transactions Costs and Facilitate Exchange

- Platform is intermediary:
  - ☐ that connects two types of users ("sides");
  - □ to help them make good exchanges (or have good interactions);
  - ☐ by reducing transactions costs between them.
- Platform has "indirect network externalities":
  - ☐ demand by at least one type of user depends on demand for other type because possible gains depend on presence of other type;
  - users on one side benefit from having access to more users on the other side.
- Platform internalizes these externalities and thereby increases surplus through more and better interactions.





### **Profit-Maximization Accounts for Interdependent Demand between Types**

- ◆ Standard models makes demand for each type depend on depend for other types:
  - □ vary in how they do that (Rochet-Tirole (2003, 2006), Armstrong (2006), Weyl (2010).)

$$\Pi = (P_1 - C_1)D_1(P_1, Q_2) + (P_2 - C_2)D_2(P_2, Q_1)$$
 Armstrong Model (2006)

- ☐ this interdependent demand is key feature of two-sided platforms with significant implications for economics and business; lots of other nuances.
- ◆ Profit-maximization requires determining "pricing structure" in addition to "pricing level":
  - ☐ "pricing structure" refers to *relative* prices charged to different sides;
  - □ "pricing level" refers to total prices realized from users;
  - ☐ general models have access prices and transaction prices for each side.
- ◆ This interdependent demand is key feature of two-sided platforms with significant implications for economics, business, antitrust:
  - ☐ feedback loops between two-sides involving prices, demand;
  - □ lots of nuances to theory; lots of differences across businesses.

### Robust Economic Theory Leads to Novel Pricing Result Confirmed by Empirical Evidence

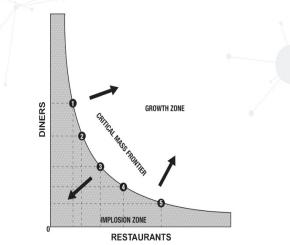
- ◆ Profit-maximizing price could be less than marginal cost on one side as a matter of theory:
  - ☐ including zero price ("free") and negative price ("rewards") on one side;
  - □ loses on "subsidy" side made up with profits on "money" side;
  - □ result fundamentally different than traditional economic models where p>MC.
- ◆ Below-cost pricing common empirically:
  - □ common for platforms to charge less than marginal cost (e.g. print magazines);
  - ☐ free to one side frequent business model (e.g., online media);
  - ☐ reward to one side sometimes (e.g., credit cards).



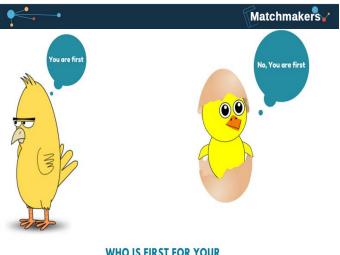
Platforms sometimes have more than two sides; results extend to these cases as well. At least one side needs to make money.

### **Economic Theory Shows Importance of "Critical Mass"**

- ◆ Platform provides value to members of group only if it can provide access to enough members of the other group:
  - □ platforms need to have enough participants on both sides, and t right proportion of participants to provide value;
  - □ participant on side will incur cost of joining and participating only they expect to make enough good exchanges to make it worth their while;
  - □ need for critical mass well-known issue in older literature on indirect network effects but key to platform businesses.
- ◆ Leads to "chicken-and-egg" problem for new platforms:
  - □ how can platform get members of one group to participate if the don't have the other?
  - empirically this turns out to be an important aspect of platform startups.



The Matchmaker Desert: Getting to Critical Mass



### **Economic Theory Shows Relevance of Use of Multihoming**

Whe	ther participants on one side use just one or several platforms to access participants on the other
side	affects pricing and competition:
	"single-homing" on one platform by one side means that the only way the other side can reach participant is to also use that platform; (e.g. people use only one mobile operating system usually).
	"multihoming" on platforms by one side means that the other side could use several platforms to reach that user (e.g. people use several ad-supported media).
	Implies that competition can be intense for single-homing customers.
♦ Som	e implications:
	competition can be intense for single-homing customers;
	platform can be bottleneck for access single-homing customers;
	lots of nuances to theory and empirics though, and really depends on facts of business.



### **Key Features of Platforms That Can Be Used for Definitional Purposes**

### Key features require a transaction cost problem for which a two-sided platform is a feasible solution:

- ☐ two distinct types of customers for whom valuable interaction is possible;
- ☐ frictions that make efficient interactions difficult to arrange;
- □ platform facilitates connections between those customers;
- □ participation of members of at least one group depends on the participation of the other group so it makes sense to aggregate on a platform.

For economists it usually comes down to whether a businesses connects two different types of customers for which there is sufficiently strong interdependent demand that it matters.



### Some Pointers on the Scope of Two-Sided Platforms

- □ Ad-supported media are two-sided platforms; modern theory analyzes as two-sided (Anderson & Gabszewicz (2006)) and lots of great empirical papers in this area.
- Members of two groups could different for purpose of transaction but could be same economic agents.
  Often the case for send-receive platforms, sharing, and marketplaces.
- □ Rochet-Tirole (2006) suggested that for a platform to be two-sided platform output needed to depend on price structure; price structure affects output when there are indirect network effects assuming arbitrage between parties can't prevent platform from using price structure--so price/output effect is implication of being a two-sided platform rather than a defining characteristic.



### Not Just Complements, Not Just Everything

- ◆ Two-sides aren't mere complements for which we can rely on existing theory:
  - □ complements usually sold to same customer (gas and tires) while platform is serving different customers (drivers, passengers) at least for purpose of that interaction;
  - □ complements often sold by different firms (gas stations, tire stores) while platform usually has provide services to both types of customers to provide a service to either.
- Doesn't say every business or even every intermediary is a multisided platform:
  - ☐ many "traditional" businesses don't connect two sides, lack material indirect network effects between customers;
  - □ two-sided theory has predictions on business behavior that apply to two-sided firms but not to traditional firms.



Sells gas



**Sells tires** 



**Sells connections** 

### **But Increasingly Common**

### Multisided platforms are increasingly "commonplace" as a result of

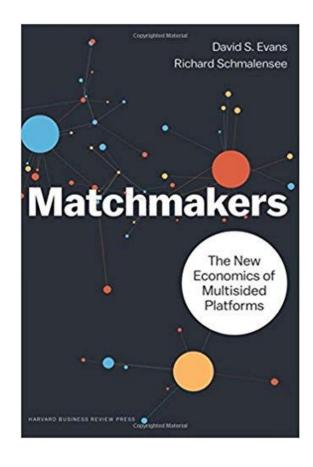
- technological change particularly in computer processing, Internet, software platforms, mobile, cloud;
- Which has resulted in the creation of many multisided platforms and enabled some to quickly scale globally;
- many new platforms are replacing fragmented platforms based on old technology.

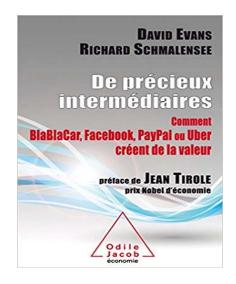


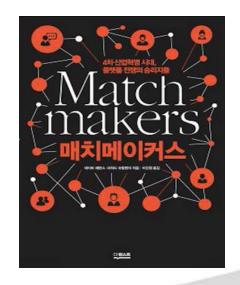














# Network Effects in Multi-Sided Platforms: Platform Competition

### **Catherine Tucker**

Massachusetts Institute of Technology Sloan School of Management

## Agenda

- 1. What are Network Effects?
- 2. Breaking into Platform Markets



### **Network Effects**

 Describes the value that users obtain from other users on the platform



### **Different Network Effects**

Same-Side (Direct) Network Effects





### **Different Network Effects**

Cross-Side (Indirect) Network Effects



Cross-Side Network
Effects: Technology



Freedom. Choices. Beautiful.



Cross-Side Network Effects: Marketplace

01	02	03	04	05 TOP GROWING	06	07	08 тор проміна
É	Google	Microsoft	Coca Cola	amazon	SAMSUNG	TOYOTA	f
+3% 184,154 \$m	+6% 141,703 \$m	veryo	-5% 6,743 m	+29% 64,796 \$m	+9% 56,249 \$m	-6% 50,291 \$m	+48% 48,188 \$m
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+10% 47,829 \$m	-11% 46,829 \$m	ake d	+5% ofiniti	ome t	+5%	+ <b>7</b> % 39,459 \$m	+3% 31,930 \$m
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+3% 27,466 \$m	+8% 27,021 \$m	-4% 22,919 \$m	+3% 22,696 \$m	+6% 22,635 \$m	+ <b>1</b> % 20,491 \$m	-10% 20,488 \$m	+ <b>11</b> % 18,573 \$m



### First Challenge: 'Tipping'

Usefulness depends on participation



### Second Challenge: 'Coring'

 Usefulness depends on platform ensuring participants behave well



### Agenda

- 1. What are Network Effects?
- 2. Entry into Platform Markets



### **Customer Decision**

NetworkBenefits + StandAloneBenefits - Price ≥ 0



### Agenda

- 2. Breaking into Platform Markets
- 2.1 3 Drivers of Strength of Network Effects
- 2.2 Alternative Strategies For Entry



### **Driver 1: Scope of Network Effects**

- Do consumers want to interact with everyone?
   Personalization?
- Can people anticipate who they will want to interact with?







City, zip, address or school



PARENTING \*

SIGN

FEATURED

Parent Power

Podcasts

Parenting Cue Cards

Massachusetts > Belmont > Schools > School Profile

#### Mary Lee Burbank School Unclaimed ?

266 School Street, Belmont, MA 02478

### Limited Regional Scope CHOOLS

REVIEWS

7 \*\*\*\*



### Driver (1): Scope of Network Effects

- Do consumers want to interact with everyone?
   Personalization?
- Can people anticipate who they will want to interact with?



# Social Coordination Remember when?

# Driver (2): Switching costs preventing multihoming

- How easy it is for users to use multiple platforms at the same time?
- Shift towards cloud and digital tools reduces switching costs and increases multihoming





### Driver (3): Negative Network Effects

- Too many users can lead to congestion
- Some users can make the platform look uncool





### Agenda

- 2. Breaking into Platform Markets
- 2.1 3 Drivers of Strength of Network Effects
- 2.2 Alternative Strategies For Entry



### **Alternative Strategies**

- Can the product offer independent benefits?
- Some firms enter with zero prices and then can't raise prices because customers are anchored.





### **Alternative Strategies**

- Can the product offer independent benefits?
- Some firms enter with zero prices and then can't raise prices because customers are anchored.





### **Punchline**

- Platforms: Network effects but also 'coring'
- Network Effects ≠ number of users
  - The combination of size and network effects may not always be an anti-trust problem
- Digitization facilitates multi-homing and intensifies competition
  - The right question is still one of switching costs



### Break

10:10-10:20 am

Session moderated by:

John M. Yun
George Mason University
Antonin Scalia Law School



**Marc Rysman** 

Boston University

Department of Economics



Katja Seim

University of Pennsylvania
Wharton School



#### Joseph Farrell

University of California, Berkeley Department of Economics



### **Features or Definitions?**

- Network effects
- The ghost of departed quantities
- Discretion in pricing pattern—market power??



### So What?

- Network effects, like other economies of scale, set the stage for possible competition problems but not the end of that story
- Can one focus on total price versus pattern?
  - Neutralization results?
  - Balancing effects on two sides?



Michael Salinger

Boston University

Questrom School of Business



#### **Howard Shelanski**

Georgetown University Law Center



#### **Panel Discussion**

David Evans, Joseph Farrell, Marc Rysman, Michael Salinger, Katja Seim, Howard Shelanski, Catherine Tucker

Moderator: John Yun



### Lunch Break 12:20-1:30 pm

### **Multi-Sided Platforms in Action**

Session moderated by:

Jan Rybnicek

George Mason University
Antonin Scalia Law School
Freshfields Bruckhaus Deringer LLP



### Multi-Sided Platforms in Action: Aggregators, Platforms, and Regulation

**Ben Thompson** 

Stratechery, LLC





#### Subscriber's Daily Update

Thursday, October 4, 2018 China's Alleged Hardware Hack, How the Attack (Allegedly) Happened, Believability and Implications

Wednesday, October 3, 2018 Data Factories Follow-Up, Amazon's Pay Raise, Amazon Makes Hay

Monday, October 1, 2018 Microsoft Ignite, Weaknesses To Strengths, Amazon's Device Announcements

Thursday, September 27, 2018 WhatsApp Founder Speaks, EU Deception?, Facebook Ideology

#### **Data Factories**

Tuesday, October 2, 2018

I'm generally annoyed by the cliché "If you're not paying you're the product"; Derek Powazek has explained why the implications of this statement are usually misleading and often wrong, something that is particularly problematic in the context of Aggregators. After all, if a company's market power

Search ...

**Explore Stratechery** 

Concepts

Companie:

Topics

Who am I, and why am I here?





#### **Aggregation Theory**

Tuesday, July 21, 2015

The last several articles on Stratechery have formed an unintentional series:

- Airbnb and the Internet Revolution described how Airbnb and the sharing economy have commoditized trust, enabling a new business model based on aggregating resources and managing the customer relationship
- Netflix and the Conservation of Attractive Profits placed this commodification/aggregation concept into Clay Christensen's Conservation of Attractive Profits framework, which states that profits are earned by the integrated provider in a value chain, and that profits shift when another company successfully modularizes the incumbent and integrates another part of the value chain
- Why Web Pages Suck was primarily about the effect of programmatic advertising on web page

Search ...

#### **Explore Stratechery**

Concepts
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#### By Ben Thompson

Exponent Podcast
Member Forum

Weekly Articles

RSS Fee

### Who am I, and why am I here?



# Stigler Center

for the Study of the Economy and the State

The Stigler Center » Events » 2018 Antitrust and Competition conference - Digital Platforms and Concentration

# 2018 ANTITRUST AND COMPETITION CONFERENCE - DIGITAL PLATFORMS AND CONCENTRATION

APRIL 19-20, 2018 GLEACHER CENTER, 450 N CITYFRONT PLAZA DRIVE

#### **About the Conference**

The economic and societal role of the handful of large companies known as "digital platforms" has grown dramatically in the last decade. Google, Amazon, and Facebook are not only transforming communication, media, and retail but have the potential to transform many other industries. While they invest billions in research and development and propel important innovation, they also raise many policy questions with regard to their dominance in many markets, the vast consumer data they collect and own, and their influence on the markets for news, information, and ideas. On April 19 and 20, 2018, the Stigler Center at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business will dedicate its annual Antitrust and Competition conference to the topic of "Digital Platforms and Concentration."



## Stigler Center

for the Study of the Economy and the State

The Stigler Center » Events » 2018 Antitrust and Competition conference - Digital Platforms and Concentration

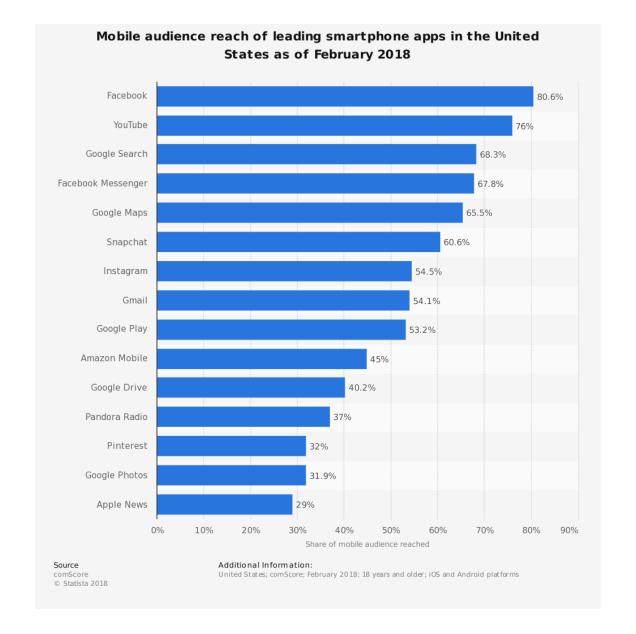
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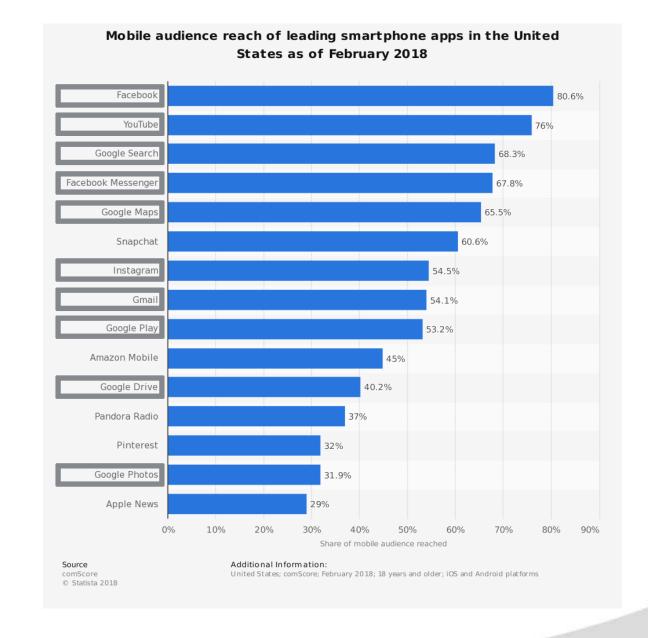


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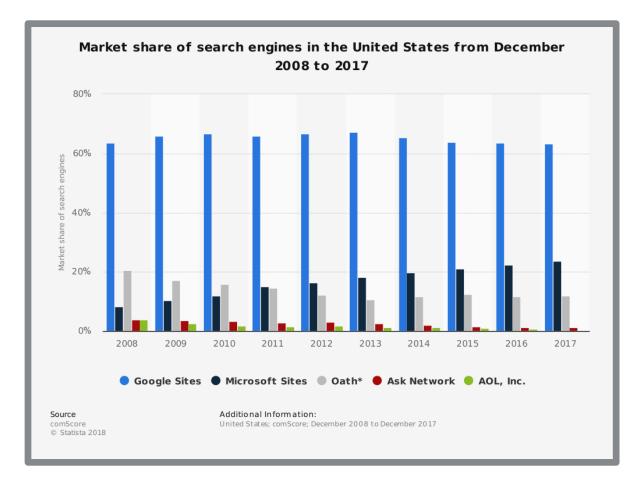
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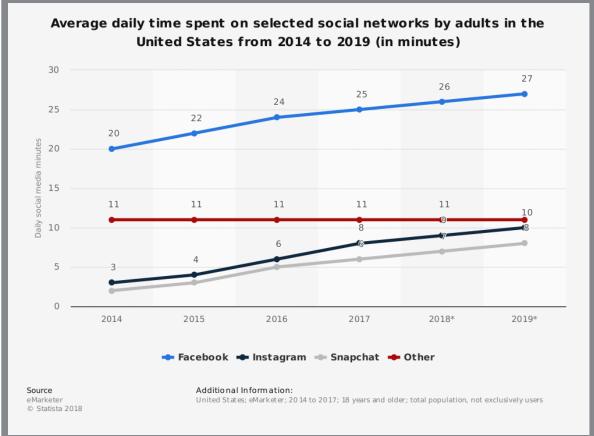
All of the top 5

8 of the top 10









## What is an Aggregator...

...and how is it different than a platform?



## Yahoo and Google

How an Aggregator is formed



#### The Internet, circa 1994





# 1994



#### Yahoo

[ What's New? | What's Cool? | What's Popular? | A Random Link ]

#### | Yahoo | Up | Search | Suggest | Add | Help |

- · Art (619) [new]
- Business (8546) [new]
- · Computers (3266) [new]
- Economy (898) [new]
- . Education (1839) [new]
- . Entertainment (8814) [new]
- · Environment and Nature (268) [new]
- Events (64) [new]
- Government (1226) [new]
- Health (548) [new]
- · Humanities (226) [new]
- Law (221) [new]
- News (301) [new]
- Politics (184) [new]
- · Reference (495) [new]
- Regional Information (4597) [new]
- Science (3289) [new]
- · Social Science (115) [new]
- · Society and Culture (933) [new]

There are currently 31897 entries in the Yahoo database



# 1996







Search Options

Yellow Pages - People Search - City Maps -- News Headlines - Stock Quotes - Sports Scores

- Arts - Humanities, Photography, Architecture, ...
- Business and Economy [Xtra!] - Directory, Investments, Classifieds, ...
- Computers and Internet [Xtra!] - Internet, WWW, Software, Multimedia, ...
- Education - Universities, K-12, Courses, ...
- Entertainment [Xtra!] - TV, Movies, Music, Magazines, ...
- Government - Politics [Xtra!], Agencies, Law, Military, ...
- Health [Xtra!] - Medicine, Drugs, Diseases, Fitness, ...
- News [Xtra!] - World [Xtra!], Daily, Current Events, ...
- Recreation and Sports [Xtra!] - Sports, Games, Travel, Autos, Outdoors, ...
- Reference - Libraries, Dictionaries, Phone Numbers, ...
- Regional - Countries, Regions, U.S. States, ...
- Science - CS, Biology, Astronomy, Engineering, ...
- Social Science - Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, ...
- Society and Culture - People, Environment, Religion, ...

<u>Yahoo! New York - Yahoo! Shop - Yahooligans!</u>

# 1998









onalize Help

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Search options

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Yellow Pages - White Pages / People Search - Maps - Classifieds - Personals - Chat - Email Shopping - My Yahoo! - News - Sports - Weather - Stock Quotes - more...

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- <u>Regional</u>
   <u>Countries</u>, <u>Regions</u>, <u>U.S. States</u>...
- Science
   CS, Biology, Astronomy, Engineering...
- Social Science
   Anthropology, Sociology, Economics...
- Society and Culture
   People, Environment, Religion...

What's New - Weekly Picks - Today's Web Events - Yahoo! Internet Life - Message Boards
Yahoo!igans! for kids - Seniors' Guide - Games - Yahoo! Pager - Yahoo! Gear

World Yahoos Asia - Australia & NZ - Canada - Chinese - Denmark - France
Germany - Italy - Japan - Korea - Norway - Sweden - UK & Ireland

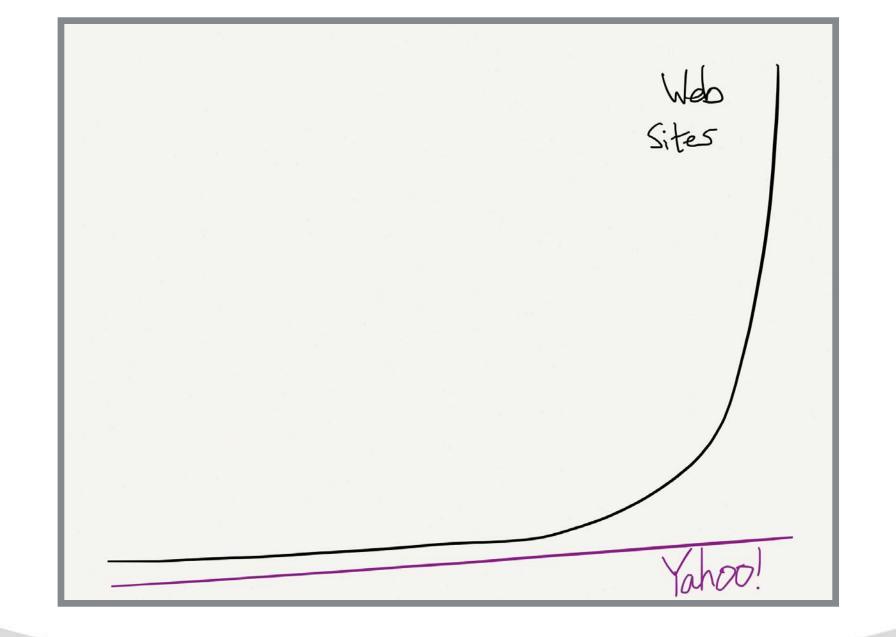
Yahoo! Metros Atlanta - Austin - Boston - Chicago - Dallas / Fort Worth - Los Angeles
Get Local Miami - Minneapolis / St. Paul - New York - S.F. Bay - Seattle - Wash D.C.

Smart Shopping with VISA

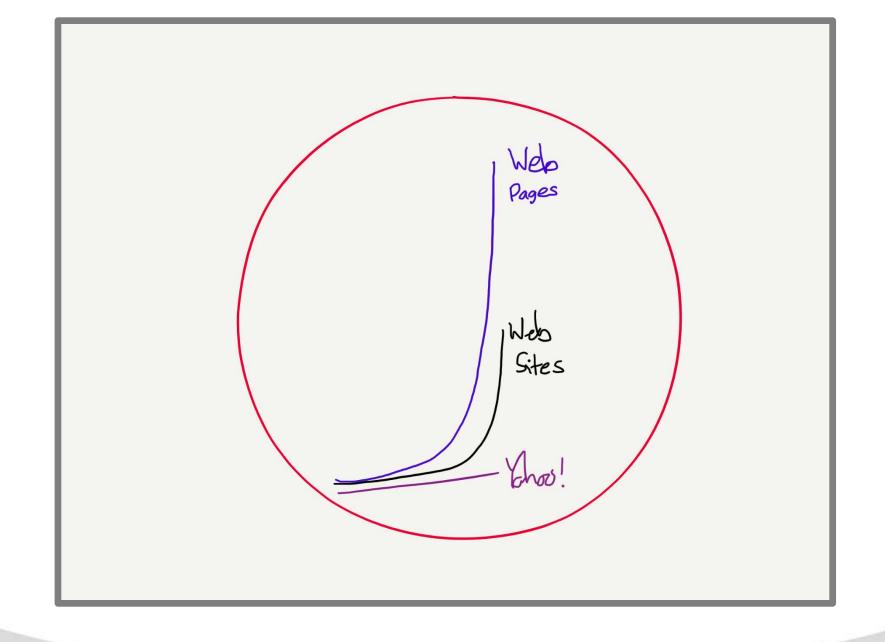
How to Suggest a Site - Company Info - Privacy Policy - Contributors - Yahoo! How-To

An FTC-Global Antitrust Institute Event | October 15-17, 2018 | ftc.gov/ftc-hearings | #ftchearings

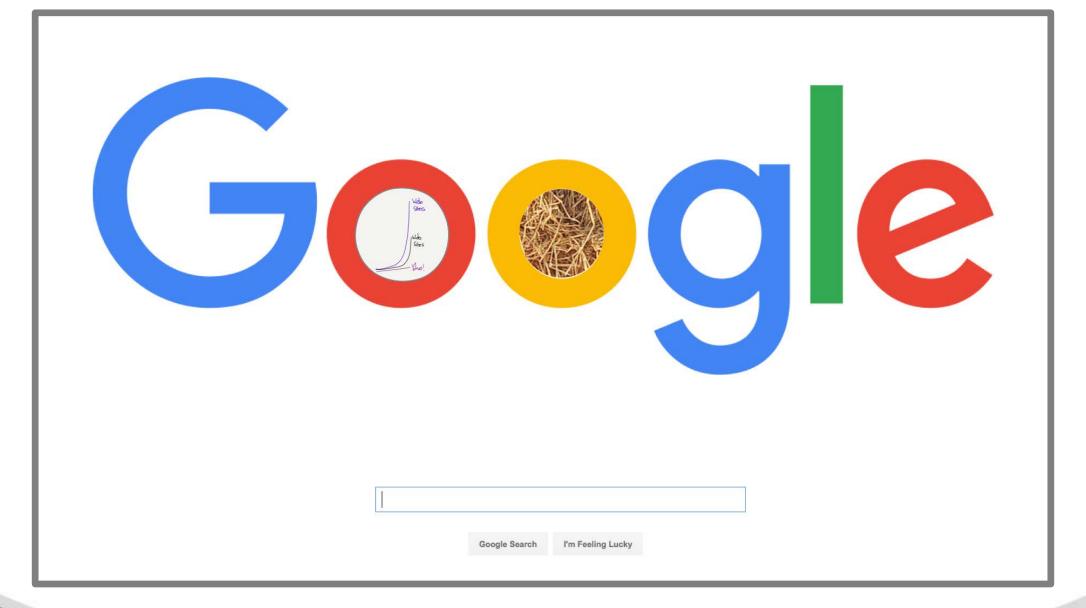






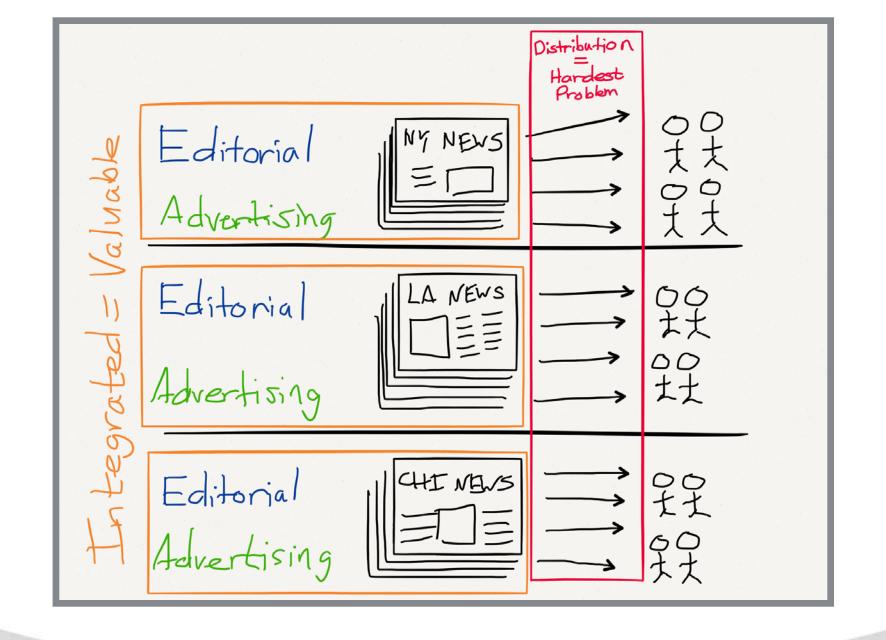




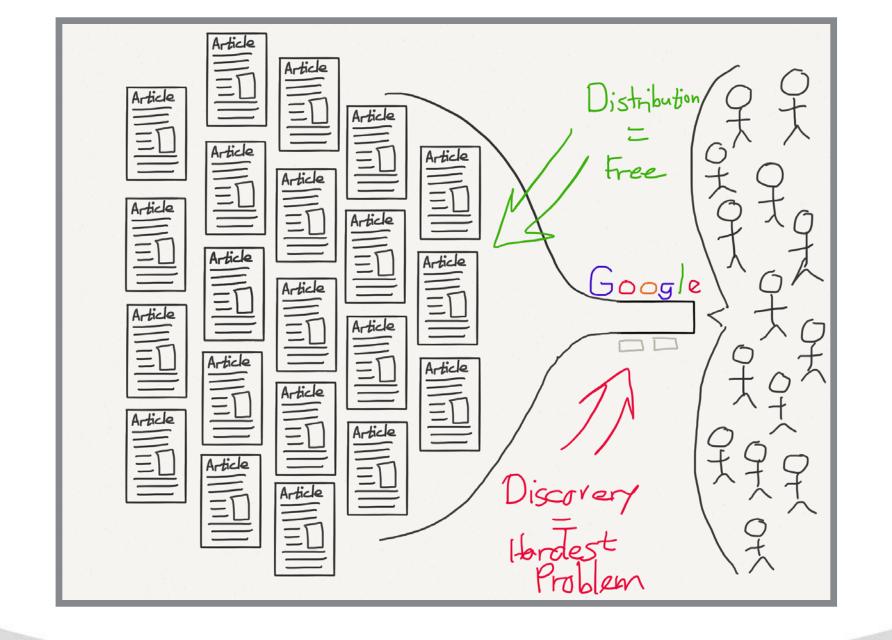




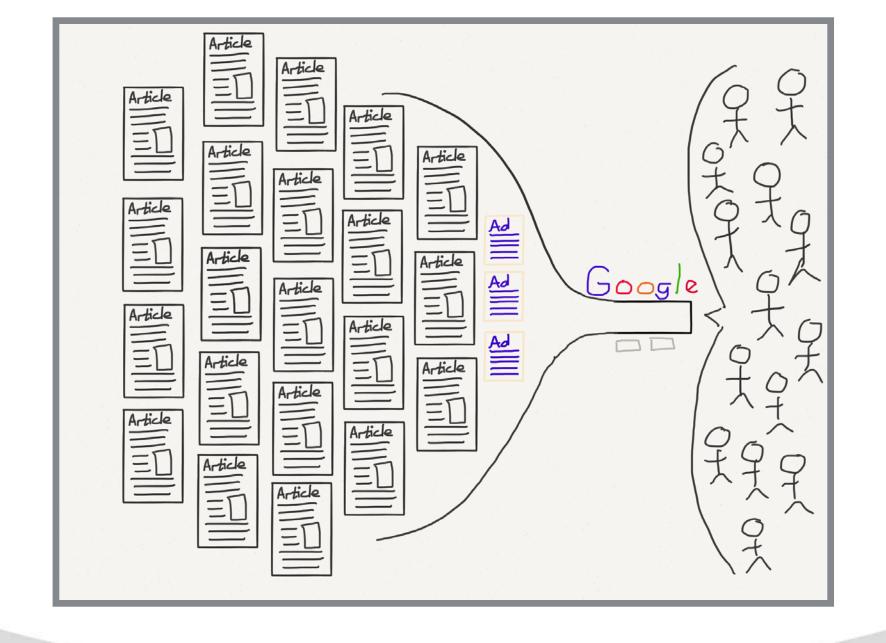








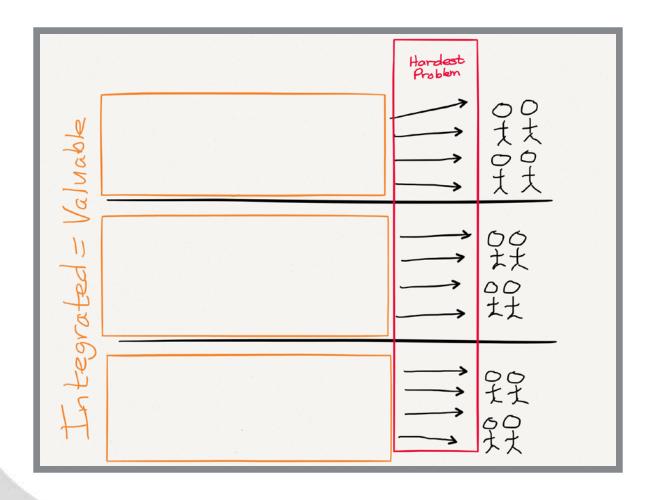


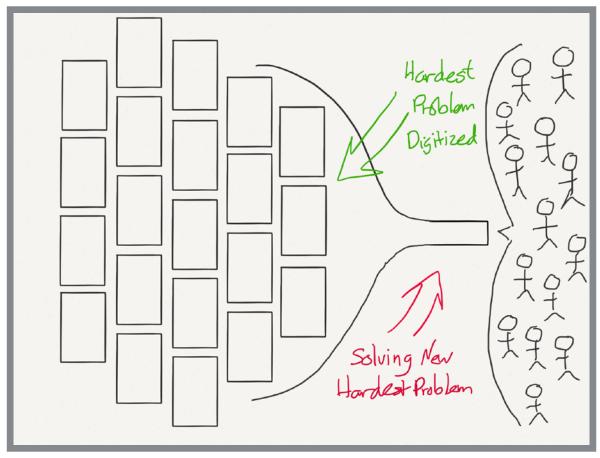




#### Pre-Internet

#### Aggregated

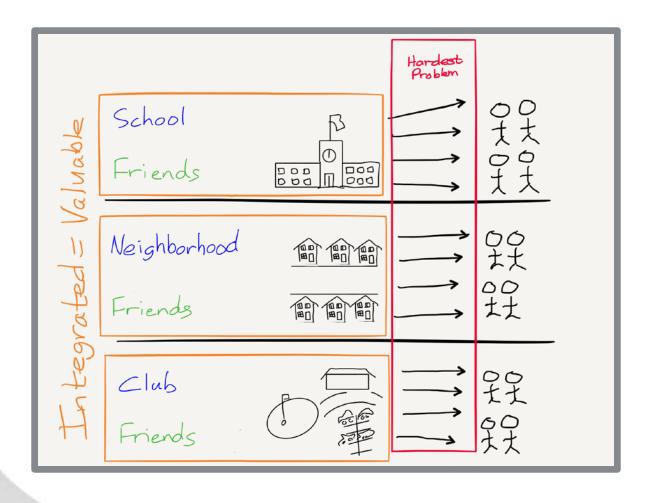


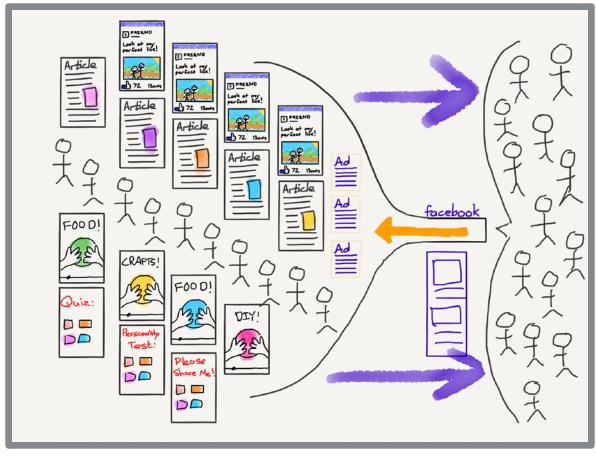




#### Pre-Internet

#### Aggregated







"Our competition is only a click away."

—Larry Page



## Digital Platforms are Aggregators

- Control demand
- Deliver a superior user experience
- Pull suppliers onto their platforms on their terms
- Benefit from scale
- Tend towards winner-take-all



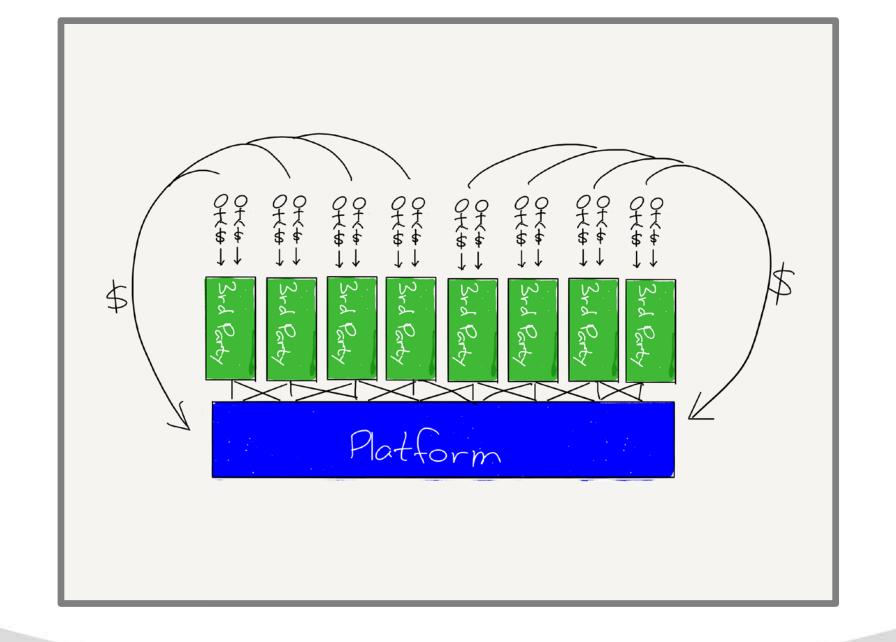
## Digital Platforms are Aggregators

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#### Aggregators vs Platforms

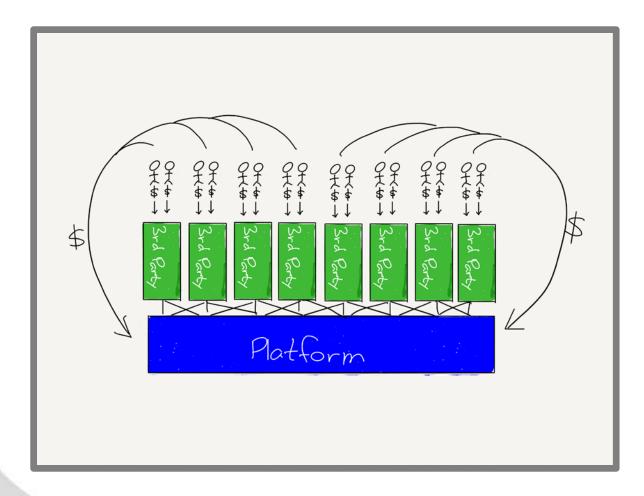


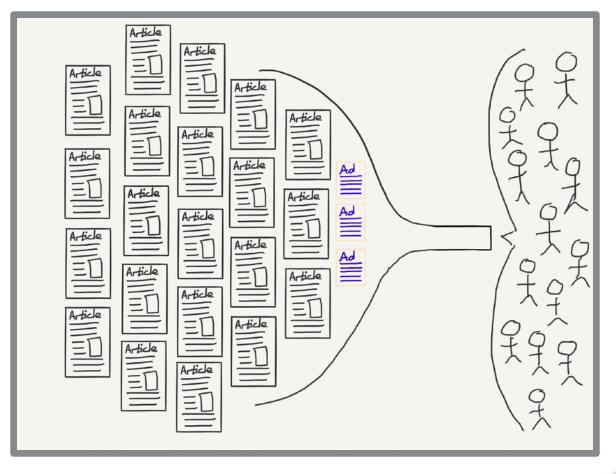




#### **Platform**

#### Aggregator

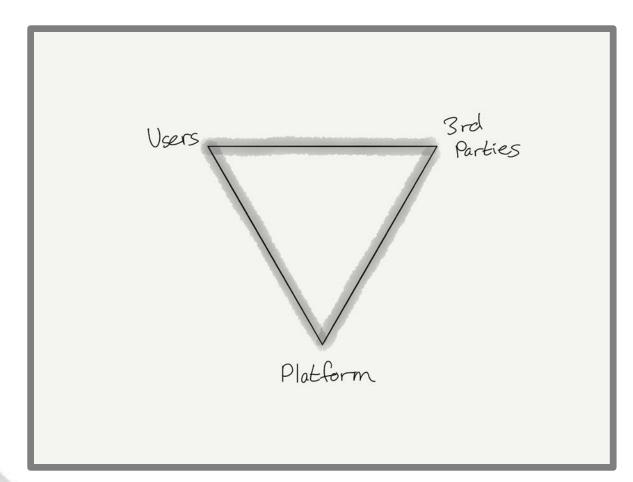


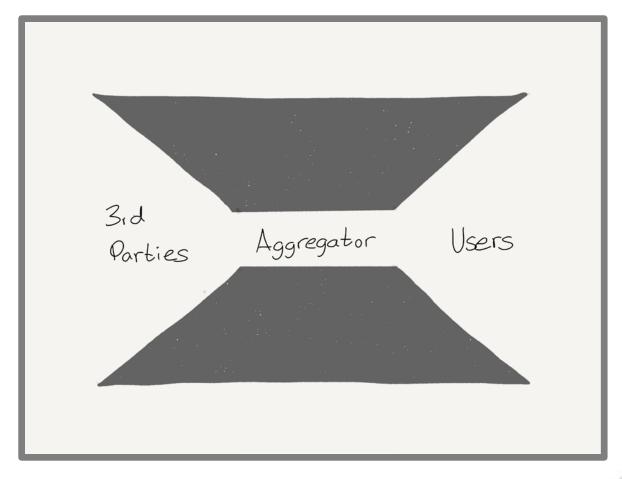




#### **Facilitates**

#### Intermediates



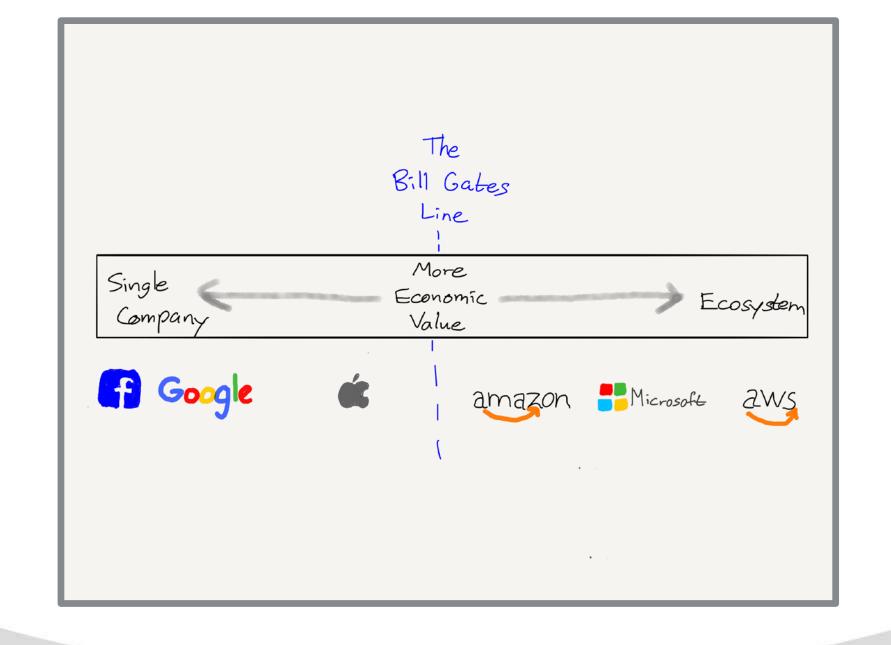




I was in charge of Facebook Platform. We trumpeted it out like it was some hot s\*\*\* big deal. And I remember when we raised money from Bill Gates, 3 or 4 months after — like our funding history was \$5M, \$83 M, \$500M, and then \$15B. When that 15B happened a few months after Facebook Platform and Gates said something along the lines of, "That's a crock of s\*\*\*. This isn't a platform. A platform is when the economic value of everybody that uses it, exceeds the value of the company that creates it. Then it's a platform."

Chamath Palihapitiya





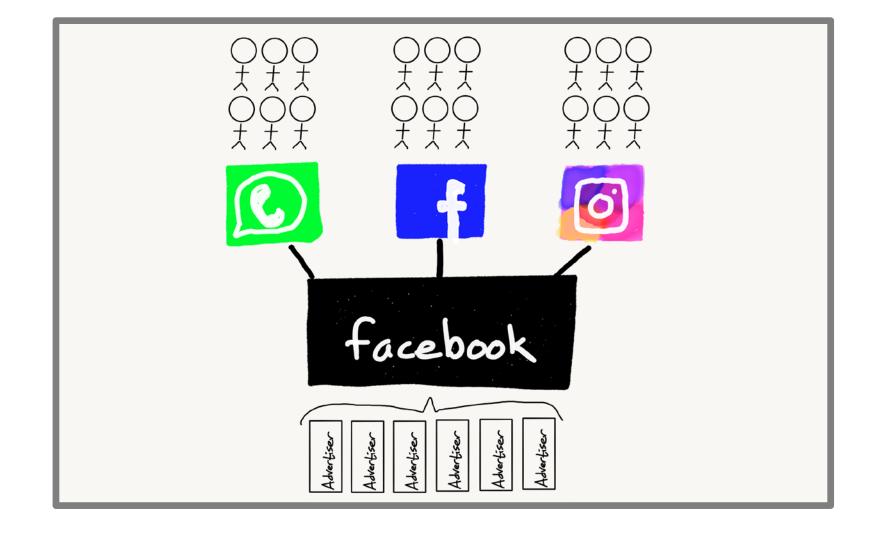
	Strategy:	Platform/ Aggregator	3rd Party	Regulator
	Platforms	Open Access on Proprietary Tech	Partner with Platform	Limit Vertical Disclosure
R	Aggregators	Closed Access on Open Tech	Go Around Aggregator	Limit Horizontal Expansion

Start with Internet Assumptions



1. Constrain Horizontal Expansion e.g. Facebook, Instagram and Advertising Markets







- 1. Constrain Horizontal Expansion
- 2. Focus on Transparency

The regulatory corollary of Aggregation Theory is that the ultimate form of regulation is user-generated



- 1. Constrain Horizontal Expansion
- 2. Focus on Transparency
- 3. Don't Burden Challengers
  Simple and Predictable > Complex and Prescriptive



### **Thank You**

stratechery.com/ftc



#### Elizabeth J. Altman

University of Massachusetts Lowell Manning School of Business



## Multi-Sided Platforms in Action: Marketplace Platforms Over Time

#### **Steven Tadelis**

University of California, Berkeley
Haas School of Business



## **Online Marketplaces**

- Craigslist and eBay, 1995
- What was the business model?
  - Connect buyers and sellers
  - Create gains from trade
  - Collect fee (eBay a lot more than Craigslist)



## **Marketplace Incentives**

- Marketplaces connect many buyers with many sellers
- Economics of Reputation on Platforms:
  - What goes around comes around
  - Each seller has weak incentives and imposes an externality
  - The marketplace internalizes this externality (Nosko-Tadelis)
  - Using search and feedback systems to control quality and act for the benefit of consumers

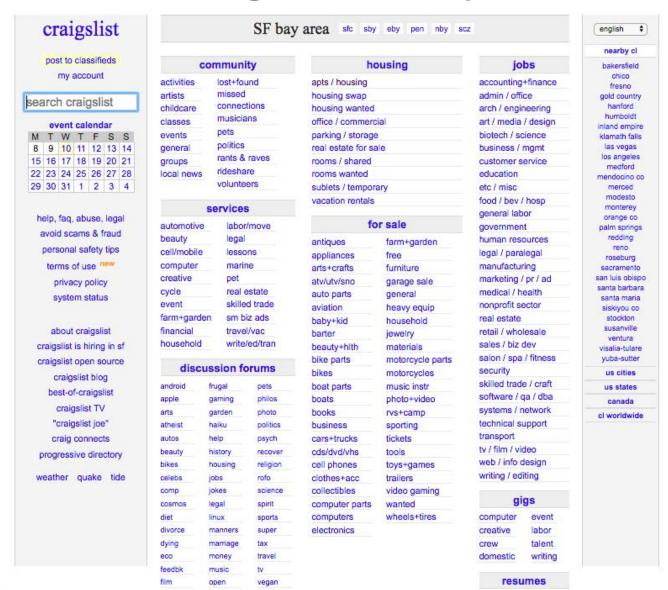


## Is entry into a platform marketplace easy?

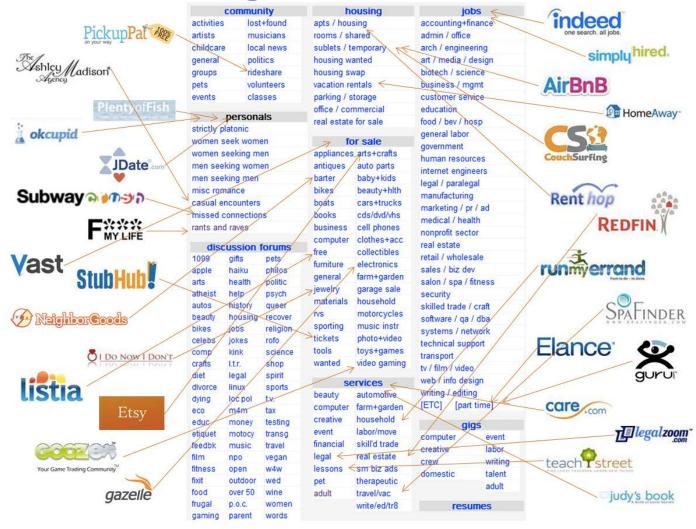
- Common argument: strong network effects
  - Goes back to "chicken & egg" problem of two-sided networks
- But, this ignores the ease of multihoming
  - especially with APIs and digital technology
- What's the evidence on entry?



### **Craigslist Today**



### Craigslist in 2010



http://thegongshow.tumblr.com/post/345941486/the-spawn-of-craigslist-like-most-vcs-that-focus

Jan 1, 2010



### The Business Model

- There's nothing new under the sun...
- Uber, Lyft, Airbnb, Upwork, Taskrabbit...
  - All are reincarnations of eBay's model
- Why didn't eBay do it all?
  - Ease of entry; multihoming; innovation; etc...
  - Outside social networks and maybe search, barriers to entry are negligible, mostly because of multihoming



Roger McNamee

**Elevation Partners** 



**Scott Kupor** 

Andreessen Horowitz



#### **Panel Discussion**

Elizabeth Altman, Scott Kupor, Roger McNamee, Steven Tadelis, Ben Thompson

Moderator: Jan Rybnicek



# Break 3:00-3:15 pm

Session moderated by:

**Daniel Francis** 

Federal Trade Commission
Bureau of Competition



Michael Salinger

Boston University

Questrom School of Business



**Tasneem Chipty** 

Matrix Economics, LLP



Joseph Farrell

University of California, Berkeley Department of Economics



**Eric Citron** 

Goldstein & Russell, P.C.



**Darren Tucker** 

Vinson & Elkins LLP



Joanna Tsai

Charles River Associates



#### **Panel Discussion**

Tasneem Chipty, Eric Citron, Joseph Farrell, Michael Salinger, Joanna Tsai, Darren Tucker

**Moderator:** Daniel Francis



# Thank You, Join Us Tomorrow