Antitrust Enforcement R&D: Mergers and Vertical Restraints

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The views expressed herein are not purported to reflect those of the Federal Trade Commission, nor any of its Commissioners

Acknowledgements

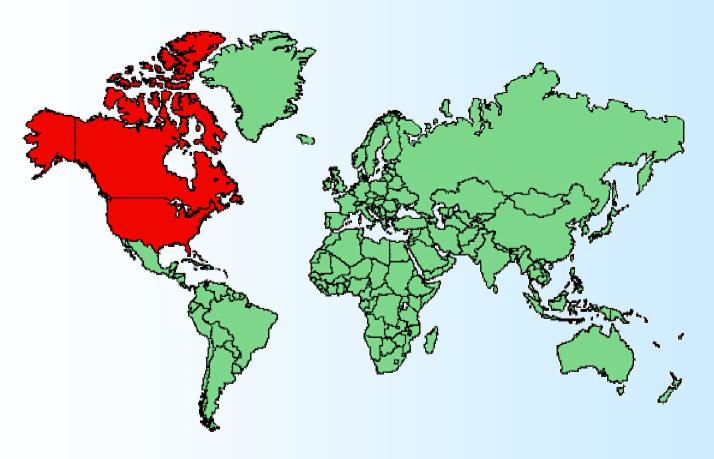
- James Cooper, Dan O'Brien, Mike Vita,
 FTC
- Tim Brennan, RFF and UMBC
- Greg Werden, Tom Barnett, DOJ
- Dan Hosken, Chris Taylor, Lou Silvia, FTC.

Outline

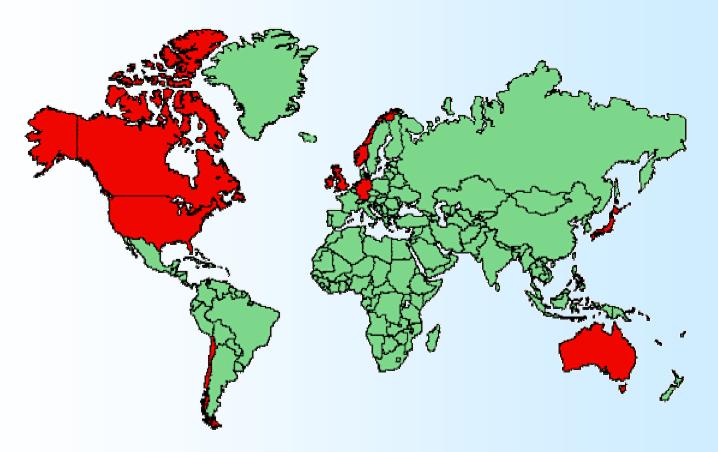
- I. Policy motivation
- II. Mergers
- III. Vertical Restraints

Global Proliferation of Competition Laws



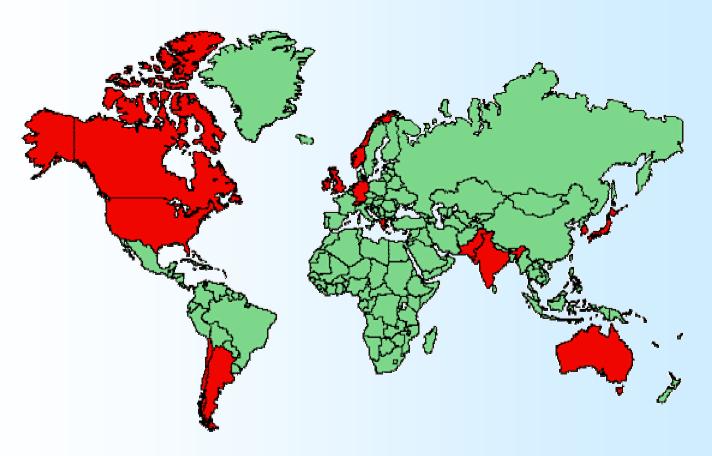


Laws enacted in 1900 or before

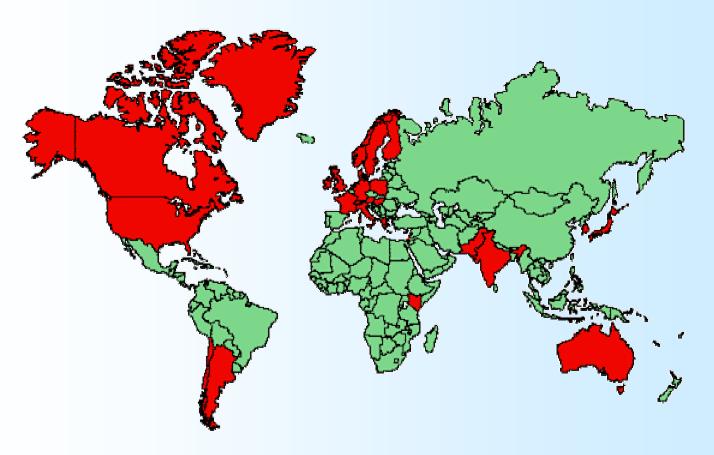


Laws enacted in 1960 or before

Note: EU introduced antitrust law in 1957

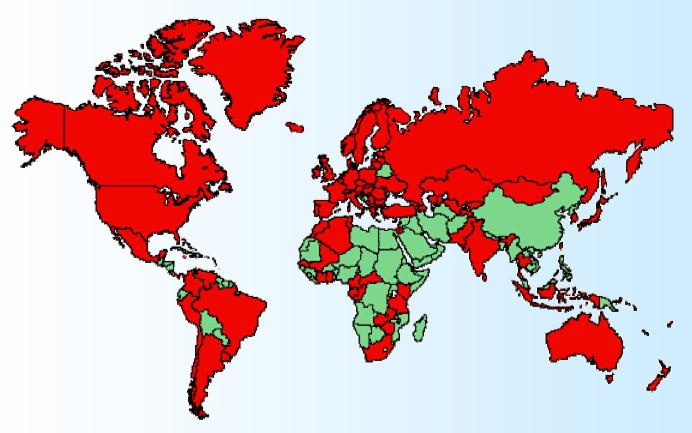


Laws enacted in 1980 or before



Laws enacted in 1990 or before

Today



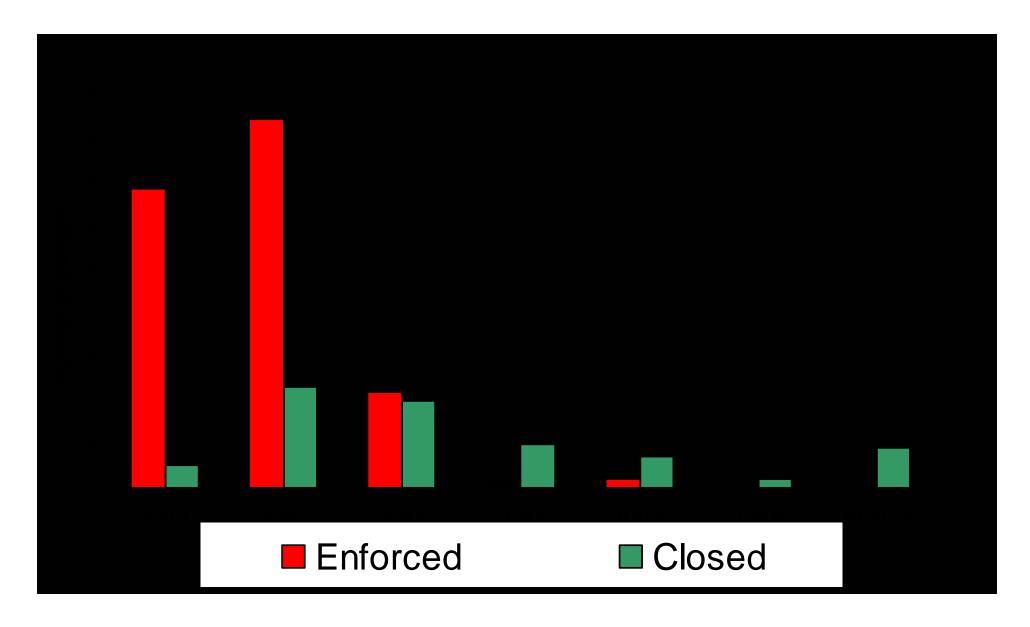
Laws enacted in 2004 or before

What do these laws do?

- Aimed at
 - Cartels
 - Mergers
 - Abuse of dominance or vertical restraints
- Which is most efficient use of scarce enforcement resources?
 - ANSWER: Enforcement R&D

FTC Merger Data, 1996-2003:

→ Structure just a starting point



What's Wrong w/Structural Presumptions?

- Market delineation draws bright lines even when there may be none
 - No bright line between "in" vs. "out"
- Market Shares may be poor proxies for competitive positions of firms
- → Market shares and concentration may be poor predictors of merger effects

What is Effect of Merger?

- "Effect" question compares two states of the world ("with" vs. "without" merger)
 - but only one is observed
- Two ways of drawing inference about unobserved state of world
 - Natural experiments
 - Theory-based inference

Natural Experiments

- Control group (without merger)
- Experimental group (with merger)
- → Difference between groups is estimate of merger effect.
- BIG questions
 - How well does experiment mimic merger effect?
 - Did you hold everything else constant?

Example: Consummated Merger

- Control Group: Pre-merger period
- Experimental Group: Post-merger period
- → Did price increase?
- BIG question: "Compared to what?"
 - Compared to "control" cities hit by the same demand and cost shocks
 - Economic Jargon: "Differences in Differences Estimation"
 - First difference: pre- vs. post-merger
 - Second difference: target vs. control cities

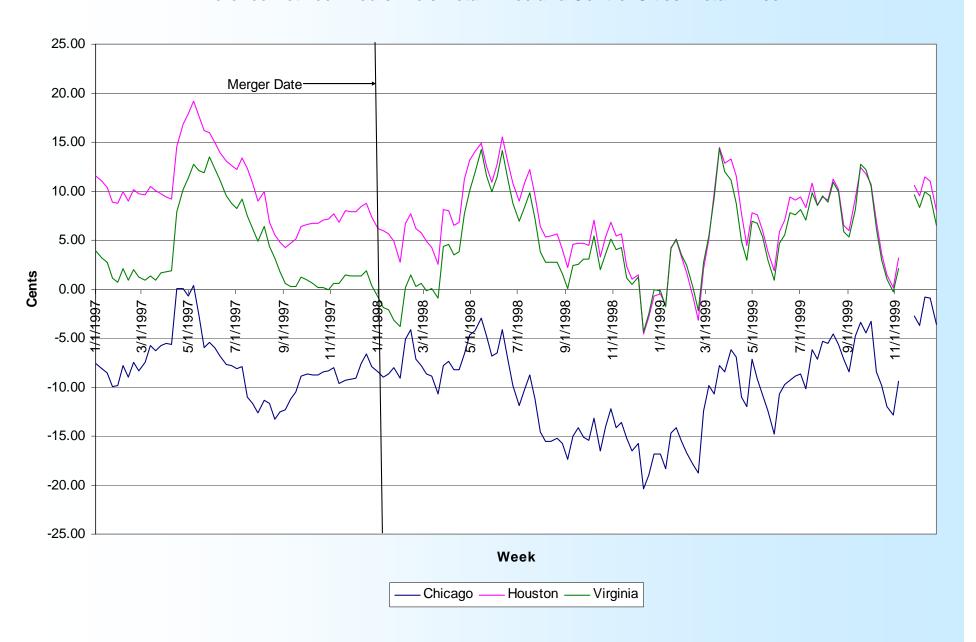
(Marathon/Ashland Joint Venture)

- Combination of marketing and refining assets of two major refiners in Midwest
- First of recent wave of petroleum mergers
 January 1998
- Not Challenged by Antitrust Agencies
- Change in concentration from combination of assets *less* than subsequent mergers that were modified by FTC

Merger Retrospective (cont.): Marathon/Ashland Joint Venture

- Examine pricing in a region with a large change in concentration
 - Change in HHI of about 800, to 2260
- Isolated region
 - uses Reformulated Gas
 - Difficulty of arbitrage makes price effect possible
- Prices did *NOT* increase relative to other regions using similar type of gasoline

Difference Between Louisville's Retail Price and Control Cities' Retail Price



Theory Based Inference

- Posit pro- and anti-competitive merger theories
- Which one better explains the evidence?
- Example: Merger in bargaining markets

Bargaining Theory

From Oracle-Peoplesoft trial:

"the area [that] is the most indeterminate in all of antitrust economics where you have negotiations between two parties. There is no determinate theory that predicts the outcome."

Question: can economics predict effects of mergers in bargaining markets?

John Nash's "Split the Difference" Theory

- Same indeterminancy confounded John Nash
- Proved any "reasonable" solution would "split the difference"
- The gains from bargaining relative to the alternatives to bargaining, determine the terms of any bargain
- What happens if a manager offers a \$50 sales incentive to salespeople?
 - Makes salespeople more eager to reach agreement, so they reduce price by \$25.

What Does Nash's Bargaining Theory Imply for Mergers?

- If merger changes alternatives to agreement, it also changes the terms of agreement.
- Example: Drugs bargaining with an insurance company to get onto a formulary.
 - If two substitutes bargain jointly, and no other substitute, merged company gets better price
- Evidence: how good are the alternatives to the merging products?

Bargaining Natural Experiment

- "Any-willing-provider" (AWP) laws compel managed care plans to include any health care provider willing to accept plan's terms and conditions.
- Threat of exclusion from network induces competition between providers to be included in "network."
- Prediction: Getting rid of this threat changes price

Bargaining Experiment (cont.)

- When a state adopts a allows any willing provider in the network, health expenditures increase by about 2%.
 - Mike Vita, "Regulatory restrictions on selective contracting: an empirical analysis of `any-willing-provider' regulations," Journal of Health Economics 20 (2001) 955–966

Vertical Restraints: Natural Experiments

- Growing body of evidence on vertical
 - Control Group (with restraint)
 - Experimental group (without restraint)
- Find that vertical contracts and integration
 - Reduce price
 - Induce demand-increasing services

Representative Experiments

- *Gasoline*: prices 2.7¢/gallon higher in states with vertical divorcement laws
 - Vita and Sacher (2000)
- Beer: UK divorcement of "tied" pubs raised price
 - Slade (1998); OFT (2000)

Vertical Theory

- Anticompetitive theories
 - Softening horizontal competition.
 - Multilateral opportunism.
 - Dynamic entry/exit/investment effects.
- Pro competitive theories
 - Elimination of double mark-ups
 - Cost savings.
 - Dealer services efficiencies.

What Vertical Theory Tells us

- There is possibility that vertical restraints harm competition
- Harm occurs in same instances where restraints likely to have efficiencies.
 - Search for screens is probably futile.
- The "possibility theorems" do not give us practical ways for distinguishing pro-competitive from anti-competitive restraints.

Lessons

- Theory-based inference about effects of vertical restraints is not likely to tell you very much.
- Take lesson from economists who use natural experiments to determine effects of vertical
- →Bring cases when good natural experiments indicate restraints are anticompetitive.
 - Before and after restraint
 - Compare markets with and without restraint

UK "Beer Orders" Slade (1998; OFT 2000)

- Efficiency rationale: When retail sales a function of price and (possibly unobservable) retailer effort, some vertical control necessary to induce optimal retailer behavior
 - Choice of contract depends on multiple factors:
 - retailer market power (double markup problems);
 - importance of retailer sales efforts;
 - opportunities for retailer "shirking"

- Retail sales of beer determined by retail price and "quality", where quality includes:
 - cleanliness of pub, proper maintenance of cask beer, quality of food, etc.
- Choice of particular contract with retailer will depend upon particular retailer characteristics:
 - Shepard (Rand, 1993, U.S. petrol stations)
 - found choice between full integration, lessee-dealer, or open dealer determined by particular characteristics (e.g., full or self-serve; repair work; convenience store).
 - Brewery-pub contracts have analogous contractual forms:
 - > Managed houses, tenanted houses, free houses

- Anticompetitive theory:
 - > exclusive dealing "softens" interbrand competition (Dobson & Waterson, 59; Slade, 578-581)
 - > vertical integration forecloses entry by new breweries
- > Empirical implications:
 - ➤ If vertical control efficient, pub divestitures should result in higher prices, lower output
 - ➤ If vertical control anticompetitive, opposite should occur: lower prices, greater output

Econometric Evidence:

- Slade estimated reduced form retail price equations using panel data on beer types (e.g., bitter, mild, lager, stout). Prices computed for tied houses and free houses. Data span pre- and postdivestiture period.
- Basic result: retail prices rose post-divestiture

Non-econometric evidence

- Foreclosure theory: Regional & local brewers lost share between 1989 & 1993 (Slade, 573). Their share should have increased if beer orders procompetitive
- Note that small independent brewers opposed Beer Orders (Slade, 577). If foreclosure explained vertical integration, independents should have supported orders.

- OFT (2000, p. 48) claim that retail prices and margins have increased since imposition of beer orders. This is consistent with Slade's econometric analysis.
- OFT did not attempt econometric analysis of the impact of pub divestitures