Screening for Cartels

Joe Harrington

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at

Concluding

Screening for Cartels at Public Procurement Auctions

Joe Harrington (Johns Hopkins University)

3rd Annual Competition Commission, Competition Tribunal and Mandela Institute Conference on Competition Law, Economics and Policy Pretoria, South Africa

September 3-4, 2009

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringtor

Introduction

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening fo Cartels at Auctions

Concluding Remarks • *Screening* is when a competition authority actively searches markets for cartels.

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringtor

Introduction

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Screening is when a competition authority actively searches markets for cartels.
- Purpose of screening

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringto

Introduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Screening is when a competition authority actively searches markets for cartels.
- Purpose of screening
 - identify markets worthy of investigation

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringto

Introduction

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Screening is when a competition authority actively searches markets for cartels.
- Purpose of screening
 - identify markets worthy of investigation
 - induce cartel members to come forward under a leniency program

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringto

Introduction

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Screening is when a competition authority actively searches markets for cartels.
- Purpose of screening
 - identify markets worthy of investigation
 - induce cartel members to come forward under a leniency program
 - deter cartels from forming.

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringto

Introduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Screening is when a competition authority actively searches markets for cartels.
- Purpose of screening
 - identify markets worthy of investigation
 - induce cartel members to come forward under a leniency program
 - deter cartels from forming.
- Proposal: Screening public procurement auctions for cartels.

Screening for Cartels

> Joe Harringto

Introduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a

Screening fo Cartels at

Concluding

 Public procurement auctions encompass 45-65% of government expenditure and 13-17% of GDP (International Institute of Sustainable Development, 2008)

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringto

Introduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at

- Public procurement auctions encompass 45-65% of government expenditure and 13-17% of GDP (International Institute of Sustainable Development, 2008)
- Bidding rings are common at procurement auctions.

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringto

Introduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Public procurement auctions encompass 45-65% of government expenditure and 13-17% of GDP (International Institute of Sustainable Development, 2008)
- 2 Bidding rings are common at procurement auctions.
- Tacit collusion is unlikely in procurement auctions.

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harrington

Introduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Public procurement auctions encompass 45-65% of government expenditure and 13-17% of GDP (International Institute of Sustainable Development, 2008)
- Bidding rings are common at procurement auctions.
- Tacit collusion is unlikely in procurement auctions.
- Oata is available.

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringto

Introduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Public procurement auctions encompass 45-65% of government expenditure and 13-17% of GDP (International Institute of Sustainable Development, 2008)
- Bidding rings are common at procurement auctions.
- Tacit collusion is unlikely in procurement auctions.
- Data is available.
- Foundation of solid empirical analysis on collusion in procurement auctions

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringto

Introduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Public procurement auctions encompass 45-65% of government expenditure and 13-17% of GDP (International Institute of Sustainable Development, 2008)
- Bidding rings are common at procurement auctions.
- Tacit collusion is unlikely in procurement auctions.
- Data is available.
- 5 Foundation of solid empirical analysis on collusion in procurement auctions
- Open Potentially large reputation effect.

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Requirements for Successful Collusion

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harrington

ntroduction

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Efficiency the value of the cartel is maximized when the cartel member which most values the contract wins it.
- Stability it is in the best interests of each cartel member to abide by the collusive agreement.
- Oetection avoidance cartel members do not want to create suspicions that there is a cartel.

Collusion at a Procurement Auction Implementation

Screening for Cartels

Harringtor

Introduction

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Selection of a cartel member as the one "designated" to win the contract (or compete against non-cartel members)
 - knockout auction prior to the auction
 - bid rotation cartel members take turns being the designated cartel member
 - market allocation customers/regions are distributed among cartel members
- Supportive behavior by non-designated cartel members
 - cover bidding cartel members submit bids in excess of the designated cartel member's bid
 - bid suppression cartel members do not participate so as not to compete with the designated cartel member

Collusion at a Procurement Auction Implementation

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harrington

Introduction

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Allocation of contracts or transfers to ensure compliance by all cartel members
 - bid rotation
 - market allocation
 - transfers designated cartel member which wins a contract transfers part of it (sub-contracting) or makes monetary payments to other cartel members.

Screening for Cartels at Auctions Issues

Screening for Cartels

> Joe Harringtor

ntroduction

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Identify collusive markers:
 - bids
 - participation
 - patterns in the identity of the winning bidder
- Determine the ease with which a cartel can avoid leaving collusive markers.

Screening for Cartels

> Joe Harringtor

troductio

Why Focus of Public Procurement

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

Concluding

Collusive Marker: After controlling for common factors, bidders' bids are positively correlated.

- After controlling for common factors, the competitive model predicts bids are independent.
- Cover bids are positively correlated with the designated cartel member's bid to give the appearance of competition.
- Challenges
 - Need to fully control for common cost and demand factors which would positively correlate bids.
 - A smart cartel can avoid this correlation by scaling upward all cartel members' competitive bids.

Screening for Cartels

arringto

ntroduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

Concluding Remarks Bajari and Ye (2003)

- Data: 138 auctions conducted for highway maintenance contracts over 1994-98.
- Estimate reduced form bidding equation

$$\frac{\textit{BID}_{i,t}}{\textit{ENG}_t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \textit{DISTANCE}_{i,t} + \beta_2 \textit{CAPACITY}_{i,t} + \dots + \varepsilon_{i,t}$$

- BID_{i,t} is the bid of firm i on project t.
- ENG_t is engineering cost estimate for project t.
- Cost factors: DISTANCE between contractor and project, CAPACITY of contractor, etc.
- Independence Hypothesis: Coefficient of correlation for $\varepsilon_{i,t}$ and $\varepsilon_{i,t}$ is zero.

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harrington

ntraduction

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Considered the 23 pairs of 11 largest firms that have at least four bids in the same auction.
- Independence was rejected for four pairs of firms.
- Only one of those four pairs (firms 2 and 4) bid against each other regularly.
- Candidate cartel: firms 2 and 4.

Screening for Cartels

> Joe Harrington

Why Focus of

Auctions?

Collusion at a

Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

Concluding Remarks Collusive Marker: The lowest bid behaves differently than the non-lowest bids.

- The designated cartel winner's bid is designed to maximize expected profit.
- The other cartel members' bids are designed to avoid winning and creating suspicions.

Screening for Cartels

Harrington

Introduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Porter and Zona (1993)
- Data: 116 auctions conducted for highway construction contracts over 1979-1985.
- Empirical model measures the likelihood of the observed ranking of bids at an auction given exogenous variables.
- Estimated three models using: 1) all bids; 2) lowest bid; and 3) non-lowest bids.
- Result: Lowest bid behaved differently than non-lowest bids.

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harrington

Why Focus or

Collusion at a Procurement

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

Concluding Remarks Collusive Marker: Bidders' bids respond to cost and demand factors in a manner contrary to the competitive model.

- This could be due to
 - some bids being cover bids
 - how the designated cartel member responds to competition from non-cartel members
- If a bid encompasses prices on multiple components, are some of the unit prices highly variable across auctions?
 - A non-designated cartel member may increase the unit price of a few component prices to deliver a cover bid.
- Example: School milk (Porter and Zona, 1999)

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harringto

ntroduction

Why Focus on Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

Concluding Remarks Collusive Marker: Bids are better explained by a model with fewer bidders than actually participated.

- If there is a bidding ring with cover bidding, some bidders are, effectively, inactive.
- Banerji and Meenakshi (2004)
- Data is for 421 oral ascending bid wheat auctions in India from 1999.
- Participants
 - Three large buyers (total market share of about 45%)
 - Many small buyers.
- Collusion Hypothesis: Observed bids are more consistent with a model with one large buyer than a model with three large buyers.
- Result: Observed bids are "as if" there is only one large buyer at the auction at any time.

Screening for Cartels at Auctions Bids - South Africa: Preferential Bidder Programs

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harrington

Why Focus on Public Procurement

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- P. Bolton, "Government Procurement as a Policy Tool in South Africa," *Journal of Public Procurement* (2006).
- Since 1994, various programs have promoted social objectives at public procurement auctions.
 - Preferential Procurement Policy (2000)
 - Black Economic Empowerment (2003)
- 10-20 points (out of 100) are given to preferred bidders in determining to whom is awarded a contract.

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Determination of a bidder's score (20 point preference)
 - A non-preferential bidder with the lowest bid gets 80 points.
 - A preferential bidder receives points equal to

$$20 + 80 \times \left[1 - \left(\frac{\text{bid} - \text{minimum bid}}{\text{bid}}\right)\right].$$

- Implications
 - Empirical analysis can be done with these preferenceadjusted scores.
 - Screen for cartels among eligible contractors and among non-eligible contractors.

Screening for Cartels at Auctions Participation

Screening for Cartels

> Joe Harrington

ntroduction

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

Concluding

Collusive Marker: After controlling for common factors, bidders' participation decisions are not independent.

- Positive correlation tells a story of cover bidding.
- Negative correlation tells a story of bid suppression.

Screening for Cartels at Auctions Participation

Screening for Cartels

Harrington

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Porter and Zona (1999)
- A contract is for the annual supply of milk in a school district.
- Data for 509 school districts in Ohio over 1980-90.
- Explaining bid submission
 - Estimated the decision of a firm to bid on a contract.
 - Under competition, the decision to submit a bid should be independent across firms.
- Result
 - Independence was rejected: If one suspected firm submitted a bid, it was more likely the others did as well.

Screening for Cartels at Auctions Participation

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harrington

Introduction Why Focus o

Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

Concluding

Explaining bid levels

- Estimated the relationship between a firm's bid and cost and demand factors (distance between district and plant, district enrollment, etc.)
- Test: Do some bidders' bids respond to cost and demand factors in a manner contrary to the competitive model?

Results

- Unsuspected firms' bids were found to be increasing in the distance between the processing plant and the school district.
- Bids of the three suspected colluding firms were
 - less sensitive to distance compared to competitive firms
 - decreasing in distance for two of the firms.

Screening for Cartels at Auctions Patterns in the Identity of the Winning Bidder

Screening for Cartels

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Compliance requires that all cartel members adequately share in the gains from colluding
 - bid rotation firms take turns being the designated cartel member
 - market allocation customers or regions are allocated across cartel members
 - transfers monetary or sub-contracts

Patterns in the Identity of the Winning Bidder

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harrington

ntroduction Why Focus or

Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

Concluding

Collusive Marker: The probability of a bidder winning the current contract is lower if it won the preceding contract.

- Challenge: Distinguishing bid rotation from competition among bidders with capacity constraints.
- Implications for market shares
 - With bid rotation or market allocation, market shares are stable. (Look for stable market shares.) Ex: Texas school milk cartel.
 - With transfers, market shares need not be stable. (Look for evidence of side payments.) Ex: Florida school milk cartel.

Concluding Remarks

Screening for Cartels

Joe Harrington

ntroductio

Why Focus or Public Procurement Auctions?

Collusion at a Procurement Auction

Screening for Cartels at Auctions

- Public procurement auctions make up 13-17% of GDP.
- Experience shows that cartels are common at procurement auctions.
- The data and empirical methods are available to screen procurement auctions for cartels.
- Screening for cartels is a potentially important tool to shut down cartels and deter cartel formation.