Platform Economy and Competition Policy

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Platform Economy and Regulation





- ◆ For a brief friendly introduction to the antitrust issues of platform economy, please look at my recent writing(link).
 - Chapter 3 of "2045 미래사회@인터넷플러스-신뢰를 세우다(인터넷진흥원, 2017)"

Does Platform Economics Help?

◆ [Question] Does economics (such as two-sided market theory) help competition policy of platform economy?

The answer is yes and no.

- It helps in that it makes us understand better how platforms work and make profits.
- But, it tortures competition authorities by showing how different platform business models are from the conventional ones for which the current competition policy framework is designed.

Does Platform Economics Help?

- In fact, it will take long to see economics really help competition policy of platform economy
 - Platform economics is not prepared enough yet to answer the specific policy questions.
 - Policy framework and legal standards tend to be too sticky
- Until then, we will observe disagreement of economics and policy, which will lead to <u>either of two failures</u>.
 - Competition authority fails to do much to address the issues raised.
 - Or it does something absurd, ignoring the insights from economics and industry experts.

Challenges for Competition Policy

Two Questions

- 1. Can the current policy framework address the competition issues of platform economy appropriately?
- 2. If not, what should we do?
- ◆ <u>Van Gorp and Batura (2015)</u> provides some reasonable answers to these questions. I will summarize them first and add my comments and thoughts.
 - "Challenges for Competition Policy in a Digitalized Economy" (Van Gorp and Batura, 2015) published by European Parliament

- ◆ Problems with **market definition**: (1) multiple related markets served by a platform, (2) absence of nominal prices, (3) fluid market boundaries
- → Need to focus on actual business models
 - Analyze how platforms generate profits and what/who may steal them.
 - Identify the potential forces of innovation, entry and contestability.

- ◆ Problem with **assessing dominance**: use of static indicators (e.g., market share, price level, profit margin) is often misleading.
- → Need to find indicators that inform about contestability and entry barrier
 - Analyze the strength of competitive constraints, including whether the incumbent firm is facing <u>disruptive innovations</u>
 - Analyze vertical power relations throughout the value web, including the identification of <u>current and future bottlenecks</u>

- Problem with benchmark tests: equally-efficient-competitor test fails when multi-sided platforms charge multiple prices (or when digital rivals are not comparable in cost structures)
- → Need to avoid using such tests in platform economy cases
- ◆ Pre-emptive merger: It is a big concern in digital markets, but it is still hard to identify potentially anti-competitive mergers.
- → Need to stick to a prudent enforcement of merger control
 - But, guard against the chances of <u>tipping effects</u> given the importance of scale economies and network effects

- ◆ Leveraging of market power into adjacent markets
- → Need to be careful to avoid an automatic conclusion
 - Applying digital technologies in other industries expands the innovation frontier, which means <u>offensive leveraging can have positive effects</u> when it is based on merits
 - But, <u>defensive leveraging</u> (as in Microsoft cases) needs to be regulated

- ◆ Market definition and assessing dominance
 - I agree that analyzing business models and dynamic indicators would be important. (Forget about SSNIP and HHI or anything similar to them, please)
 - It is better to see market definition and assessing dominance as <u>an integrated</u> <u>analysis</u>, not separate steps, in platform economy.
- Identification of bottlenecks
 - It is not even clear whether <u>competition between platforms</u> actually increases welfare (Monopolkommission, 2015)
 - Still, it is clear that we can identify **bottlenecks** in platform economy, which should be regulated. (And bottlenecks can arise without dominance!!)
 - In fact, we already have some <u>experiences of regulating bottleneck</u> fees of platform, e.g., termination access in telecom, payment card merchant fee.

- Pre-emptive merger and tipping effect
 - Pre-emptive mergers should be regulated to keep the market open to innovation as well as competition.
 - But, <u>I doubt that tipping effect is a major concern</u>. As tipping and network effects are natural consequences of given demand structure and come along with efficiency, it is not clearly justified (or even impossible) to reject them.

Offensive leveraging

- It is worth emphasizing that <u>offensive leveraging on basis other than merits</u> should be regulated.
- Question: If a platform exploits data obtained through serving a firm to outperform it, can it be a competition on merits?

- ◆ Current policy is the mixture of 2 approaches structure and effect.
 - But, either of them does not work right in platform economy. (\rightarrow next slide)
- ◆ In **structural approach**, keywords are <u>market share</u>, <u>concentration</u>, <u>dominance</u>.
 - It is the original foundation of antitrust and still preferred by many for its transparency in practice.
 - But, economists tend not to like it since it is often wrong (especially in differentiated markets).
- In effects-based approach, keywords are price, consumer/social welfare.
 - Preferred by economists, it has increasing influence in the policy.

- ◆ **Dynamic efficiency** is much more important in platform economy.
 - → It is much harder to evaluate welfare effects.
 - → Some (e.g., Kahn (2017)) argue that we need to turn back to the original structural approach. But, traditional structural approach can't do better because it considers only 'static' structure.
- Ultimately, we will have to aim at finding a totally new approach focusing on dynamic structure
 - The keyword of this new approach should be 'market openness' to innovation and discovery rather than market dominance or (static) efficiency.
 - "I wish now to consider competition systematically as a procedure for discovering facts which would remain unknown or at least would not be used." (Hayek, 1968: translated from German in 2002)