Diagnosing Monopoly Power in Markets with Rapid Technological Change (RTC Markets)



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Basic Features of RTC Markets

- (Expected) SR market power is necessary ex ante for innovation; thus expect SR market power, perhaps dominance, in RTC markets
- But to find monopoly power need durability of SR power, usually assessed via analysis of barriers to me-too entry
- In RTC markets innovative/Schumpeterian entry may quickly eliminate
 SR power even if me-too entry is difficult
- Vigor of dynamic competition to innovate, not price competition, is key to future performance when rapid technological change is possible
- Testimony focus is problems, not solutions:
 - Ignoring the special features of RTC markets ⇒ false positives,
 - But exaggerating those features ⇒ false negatives



Three Main Topics:

- The difficulty of predicting whether RTC market features will endure
- The fragility of market power based on network effects
- Some special problems posed by twosided/platform/catalyst businesses



Predicting the Pace of Innovation

- If vigorous Schumpeterian competition endures disruptive, market-stealing innovation – SR power not a great concern
 - Still worry about using SR power to limit LR competition
- Innovation often comes in bursts of uncertain length, timing
 - Autos: RTC until mid-1920; another burst coming?
- Direction and sources of innovation also hard to predict
 - Music: Walkman wiped out after years by MP3/iPod
 - Innovation markets miss the radical; sometimes useful
- Need to be thoughtfully skeptical to avoid two errors:
 - Ignoring disruptive innovations under serious development
 - Assuming all sexy new technologies will actually disrupt



Dominance from Network Effects

- In some RTC markets, network effects can lead to high shares, substantial SR market power
- Snapshot is consistent with vigorous Schumpeterian competition,
 no expected excess profits also consistent with its absence
- SR power from network effects is especially vulnerable to innovation: large share because everyone expects a large share
 - PCs wiped out Wang word processors quickly
- Esp. important & hard to predict the pace of disruptive change
 - After years of talk about software as (web-based) service,
 Google recently launched potential threat to MS Office



Basic Economics of Multi-Sided Platform Businesses

- Platforms make money by igniting reactions between disparate customer groups; indirect network effects, Coase theorem fails
 - Description of business models, not market fundamentals
 - Rochet-Tirole saw common features; live research area
- A wide variety of old & new businesses are two-sided: marriage brokers, media, shopping malls, exchanges, payment cards,...
- Newly important because of software platforms + internet
- Maintaining balance among groups is key to platform strategies
 - Often involves asymmetric pricing; all profit on one side
 - But must think of all groups (e.g., apps writers) as customers
 - Can have overlapping, single-sided, intersecting competition



Assessing Monopoly Power in Multi- Sided Platform Businesses

- Need to recognize that the business is not just sales to the profitable side: game consoles worry about games, consumers
- Need to worry about competition from different models: FM v. satellite radio, Google v. magazines, CraigsList v. newspapers
- Price-cost margin useless because of asymmetric pricing
- Using the Guidelines approach is at least tricky
 - Competitors may have very different models: games v. PCs
 - Raising price to A reduces demand from A, thus B, which feeds back on A; tough to get elasticities right
- Because both groups are necessary, intense competition for either one can eliminate profits even if "dominate" the other



Concluding Remarks

- Monopoly power can certainly exist in markets with rapid technological change; Section 2 should apply there
- But be careful: slowing rapid technological change is very costly
- Dangerous to assume that today's conditions -- SR power or vigor of dynamic competition – will persist; hard to predict change
- Market power based on network effects/expectations is particularly fragile if innovation is vigorous
- Platforms in RTC markets pose tough analytic problems; ignoring their special features can lead to a variety of serous errors
- Wish I could be more upbeat, but sometimes life is just hard...



Suggested Readings

- D.S. Evans and R. Schmalensee, "Some Economic Aspects of Antitrust Analysis in Dynamically Competitive Industries," in J. Lerner and S. Stern, eds., *Innovation Policy and the Economy*, vol. 2, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002, pp. 1-49.
 - ______, "The Industrial Organization of Markets with Two-Sided Platforms," in W.D. Collins, ed., *Issues in Competition Law and Economics*, forthcoming.
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- D.S. Evans, A. Hagiu, and R. Schmalensee, *Invisible Engines*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006.
- J.-C. Rochet and J. Tirole, "Two-Sided Markets: A Progress Report," *Rand Journal of Economics*, 37 (2007), forthcoming.
- R. Schmalensee, "Antitrust Issues in Schumpeterian Industries," *American Economic Review*, 90 (May 2000), pp. 192-196.

