

For The Record, Inc.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

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MR. ADAMS: Okay. I think we're going to get going here this morning, if -- if people like my -- my bosses sit down.

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My name is Chris Adams. I'm a staff economist here at the FTC. And I wanted just before we get going just to thank a couple of people. The success of this

1 So, I'm going to introduce Susan Athey, who is
2 one of the leaders in the field and is moving on to
3 become one of the leaders in the field of online auction
4 advertising.

5 MS. ATHEY: Thanks so much for having me here
6 and giving me the opportunity to help organize this
7 terrific conference. And I had a great time with the
8 privacy panel yesterday, and I'm looking forward to the
9 other sessions today as well.

10 So, today I want to talk to you about online
11 advertising auctions. And I'm going to spend maybe half
12 the time or a little more talking about sort of just
13 general issues in the industry. I want to highlight some
14 regulatory issues. And then for the last half of the
15 talk, I'm going to give a little sort of sneak
16 preview/synopsis of some work I've been doing with Glenn
17 Ellison. And there's a paper on my website called
18 Position Auctions with Consumer Search.

19 And I've actually -- I've been working on this
20 problem really kind of full-time for at least a year now,
21 and just in the interest of full disclosure, I've been
22 collaborating a lot with Microsoft on this. Right now,
23 I'm a visiting researcher at Microsoft research, which
24 just opened up a new -- they have an academic style
25 research organization like Bell Labs, and they've opened

1 up a new branch on Memorial Drive next door to MIT. So,
2 that's where I've been sitting for the last six months or
3 so. And I've also been working with Microsoft to design
4 their online advertising auctions. And then in the midst
5 of that, I got thrown into some of the interesting
6 regulatory issues which fortunately competition in search
7 engines has lived to see another day as of this week.
8 So, we're very excited about that.

9 So, that's just my full disclosure there. So,
10 I've been spending -- as a result, I've been spending a
11 lot of time talking to the regulatory community about
12 this topic in the last couple of months. And I think,
13 you know, it is a really important topic. And because of
14 sort of the structure of the industry and all the various
15 issues, this isn't going to be the last time that big
16 teams of people at either the FTC or the DOJ invest a lot
17 of time in these issues and other parts of government.
18 And so, I think it's -- it is really important that we
19 all sort of invest in this and learn about it so we can
20 make rational policy.

21 So, online advertising is a really big
22 business. Just, you know, Google as a company, that's
23 one of their main sources of revenue, and they make more
24 than \$10 billion a year from auctioning sponsored link
25 advertisements and search. And people say, well, does

1 anybody even click on these ads? Well, I mean, if you
2 look at, you know, Google's market value, you kind of
3 have to believe that they do.

4 You know, Yahoo and Microsoft have similar
5 businesses, and then content sites auction space via
6 AdSense and related programs. So, the top three players
7 are Google, Yahoo and Microsoft, and Google is the
8 biggest by a substantial margin.

9 And another sort of interesting fact is that
10 search earns, you know, depending on which display space,
11 you're talking about four to 100 times more per
12 impression than kind of the banner ads that you -- that
13 you see. And that has a lot to do with the nature of
14 what's going on with search. Just like, you know, you
15 don't think about Yellow Pages, you don't spend a lot of
16 time on Yellow Pages, but Yellow Pages are a big -- have
17 a big market share of advertising dollars because people
18 go to the Yellow Pages when they're ready to buy. And
19 that's sort of a must buy for any kind of direct
20 marketers.

21 Just some of the competition policy issues.
22 So, in the last -- you know, in the last two years, this
23 has become a topic that's absorbed a lot of time. So,

1 blocked by the DOJ, and I think, you know, like I said,
2 we're going to be back. Google's dominant position and
3 then the relationship between search and other markets
4 suggests there's many regulatory issues to come.

5 It's not just that we have a big important
6 business that has a small number of players, but there is
7 important relationships between those -- there are things
8 that happen in that market and other markets like -- you
9 can think about, you know, the information that is then
10 input to ad platforms, which came up in Google/Double-
11 Click. You know, Google has a check-out program, which,
12 you know, gets -- which operates in the search market,
13 which gets information which can then be used in other
14 ways. And, of course, there's all the privacy issues as
15 well.

16 So, one reason that we sort of expect that, you
17 know, we will continue to have regulatory questions is
18 just that we generally expect that there's going to be a
19 small number of firms in these markets. So, you know, we
20 have -- generally multi-sided platform markets, so if you
21 have advertising networks, you've got indirect network
22 effects. The more consumers you have or the more
23 publishers you have, the more advertisers you get. And,
24 you know, you can't get a publisher to sign on to an ad
25 network unless you can promise them a certain -- a

1 certain number of advertising dollars per page. And you
2 can only get the advertising dollars per page if you have
3 a lot of advertisers in your network.

4 So, we're expecting that there's going to be,
5 you know, a relatively small number of players, although
6 interestingly the display market is still fairly
7 fragmented.

8 I -- the other thing that's really important in
9 search is just the huge, huge, huge investments and the
10 huge amount of time it takes to kind of build an
11 algorithmic search engine or a search advertising
12 platform. So, just when you think about algorithmic
13 search, you have server farms, a statistic I haven't
14 verified, but what I've heard is that, you know, Google,
15 Yahoo and Microsoft are using 3 percent of U.S. energy
16 consumption on their server farms.

17 You know, you're thinking about all over the
18 world, you know, trying to place these football fields
19 worth of computers near cheap energy. You have -- you
20 have algorithms for parsing language and processing text.
21 All the algorithms for page ranking, which basically
22 means that you're running a big, applied R&D
23 organization. And we know that it's not easy to run an
24 R&D organization to attract star researchers, to get them
25 functioning and doing productive work on a large scale.

1 That's something that takes, you know -- something Google
2 has been very good at and that just it takes a lot of
3 investment and long-term -- long-term planning.

4 You know, there's been -- you know, as you move
5 between the algorithmic search and the advertising
6 platform, there's algorithms for quick prediction,
7 there's a whole experimentation platform, which needs,
8 you know, to be built. It needs to have metrics. It
9 needs to have scientists designing how you do your
10 experiments, how do you evaluate experiments. When you
11 do an experiment, how do you know that it works? You
12 know, we've got all these measurers of what happened to
13 consumers. You know, which metric is most predictive of
14 short and long-term consumer engagement? Which one is
15 most reliable statistically?

16 You know, so just think about any kind of
17 research project that you've been a part of and then
18 think about sort of starting it from scratch, you know,
19 building up all of the intelligence and all of the
20 approaches, the empirical approaches and so on.

21 The huge database architecture and storage
22 issues. This is something I didn't really appreciate.
23 The Department of Justice actually helped me appreciate
24 that more when I -- when I sort of saw Microsoft trying
25 to comply with civil investigative demands, and I really

1 had to get inside of the databases of Microsoft. And you
2 just -- just the project that they had to design to come
3 up with a system that's going to be able to take tens of
4 thousands of advertisers, each of them placing orders on
5 thousands and thousands of keywords, the orders
6 themselves are complex, there's broad match, there's
7 exact match, there's targeting, and then you have to have
8 a system that will allow you to query that database in
9 real time and basically run, you know, thousands of
10 auctions a minute, maybe, and then provide all the data
11 back to the advertisers whenever they choose to log into
12 the system. This is a system with terabytes and
13 terabytes of data that has to serve many purposes.

14 And so, then there's -- and then finally you
15 have to have an auction mechanism which has to be
16 designed conceptually. It has to be tested. It has to
17 work really fast and potentially be flexible to hold real
18 time auctions. This is just a huge -- I mean, it's just
19 amazing, really, that these things got built and deployed
20 so quickly, but it's also very -- a very complicated
21 problem. And there's tons of things that you say, oh,
22 well, why can't we do this? And, you know, it's like,
23 well, you know, we haven't been able to build it yet
24 because there's so many things to be built. And, also,
25 it's just highly innovative. You know, new innovation

1 happening all the time in sort of econometrics and
2 statistics and in just how the auctions work and are
3 designed. And so, it's just changing constantly.

4 So, that's a -- so, it's a very -- so, it's
5 just an important industry. We're going to be involved
6 with it from a regulatory perspective, and it is
7 important to get it right and to think about how what you
8 do affects the future of innovation.

9 Let me talk a little bit now about targeted
10 advertising. It came up somewhat on the privacy panel
11 yesterday. Targeted advertising has wide-reaching
12 implications as well. So, if you think about the fact
13 that right now TV programs are designed to deliver
14 demographics of consumers, which are easy to sell to
15 advertisers, the whole industry structure of content
16 provision in television and in video is sort of set up
17 around a certain way that you sell that content.

18 And if we go to -- if we imagine sort of a
19 world where in contrast, like, say on Youtube, if Google
20 knows something about what you've been viewing in your
21 searching and can show you Youtube videos with ads
22 targeted to your search behavior, suddenly there's a
23 whole bunch of content out there that can be monetized in
24 ways that was never monetized before.

25 And so, you know, that changes the incentives

1 do a certain merger, you know, I don't know what the
2 regulators are going to say about it, and if you lose six
3 months or a year in this business, you know, you can
4 really end up behind.

5 If I'm going to think about certain kinds of
6 alliances or investing in certain technologies, if
7 regulation goes one way, that whole business model may
8 not work.

9 And so, I think the investments that, you know,
10 economists at the various regulatory agencies make in
11 learning and understanding the industries, putting out
12 white papers and just eliminating some of the uncertainty
13 is really -- is really valuable for helping the industry
14 move forward.

15 Let me throw out some interesting questions
16 that I think are open in display advertising that could
17 be interesting for research. And I'm going to spend the
18 remainder of my talk talking about search advertising. I
19 just want to -- not that -- there's not that much
20 research. The guys at Yahoo research have been active in
21 display advertising, but there hasn't really been a lot
22 of research in the rest of the community on display
23 advertising markets. And I think there's some really
24 interesting questions there.

25 So, just as some background, you know, what is

1 the current status of things, in a lot of -- a lot of
2 content producers like MSN, a lot of those banner ads are
3 hand sold. So, the salesperson who has advertising
4 accounts and they just call up and negotiate prices, and
5 there's various degrees of targeting that can be sold.
6 So, you can be sort of sold a bundle -- you know, here
7 are soccer moms, you know, how much do you want to pay
8 for a certain number of impressions for these soccer moms
9 and so on.

10 But it's really because -- when it's hand sold,
11 there's limits to how refined that can be. And part of
12 the reason it's done that way still is that -- is that,
13 you know, you -- that's where you make the most money.
14 There's a lot of automated networks for pricing display,
15 but at the moment, you know, they don't tend to get full
16 value, at least not for all -- for all publishers.

17 So, what's called remnant, those are things
18 that sort of aren't sold directly, sells for much less.
19 Even, like, you know, a New York Times page can end up
20 selling for much less if it's an automated type of ad
21 network. So, ad networks create spot markets and ad
22 impressions. There's over 100 ad networks and there's
23 many different business models for those ad networks.
24 And so, there's some -- so, this is sort of an -- there
25 are indirect network effects. You sort of think that

1 eventually this might consolidate to a certain extent,
2 but we don't -- it hasn't yet. And so, we don't -- we
3 don't really know exactly how it's going to play out.

4 So, there's questions about what's the best
5 market design and how the markets compete. You know, is
6 it possible to have, say, some -- a lot of MEESH
7 (phonetic) networks that serve certain industries. You
8 get all the advertisers in that industry and that has
9 enough scale to sort of -- to succeed as sort of a MEESH
10 player. Are we eventually going to see consolidation?

11 Why is monetization still so low? Why haven't
12 these ad networks been able to sort of close more of the
13 gap between hand sold and what they get? And then
14 another -- again, coming back to the regulatory theme, a
15 crucial input for making, you know, an ad network,
16 certainly like in five or 10 years out, work very
17 effectively is the information for targeting. And so,
18 there's just a lot of questions about how the -- how the
19 -- how that information is going to be shared. So, how
20 can you have kind of a -- is it possible to have a
21 decentralized platform where people are sort of coming
22 and going, but yet very -- very fine grained information
23 is needed to figure out what the best match is between
24 the advertiser and the publisher and to create the value.

25 So, there's lots of -- there's lots of things

1 So, one thing that, you know, might be a little
2 counterintuitive at first is if you think about, say,
3 Google offering eight positions and then realizing that
4 typically they only have, you know, one, two, or three
5 ads, you know, how is it that they're making any money at
6 all because it seems like the supply of spaces is sort of
7 less than the demand for the spaces. But there are sort
8 of two reasons why they can end up making a whole lot of
9 money even though there's empty spots on those screens.

10 The first reason is that there's more clicks at
11 the top of the screen. And so, even number two competes
12 to be number one to get more clicks. The second reason
13 is that these -- these things are sold at auction,
14 they're sold at second price auctions, but there's a very
15 active role for reserved prices.

16 And so, you generally have to meet a minimum
17 reserve, and a fairly large fraction of advertisements
18 out there are actually paying a reserved price rather
19 than an auction price. And so, you know, it can be sort
20 of intuitively, do you think about, say, the third ad
21 doesn't get a lot of clicks, then, you know, you can set
22 a higher reserve price and the second ad pays a higher
23 price, you lose the revenue from the third ad. But if
24 the third ad isn't getting that many clicks anyways, then
25 you'll bank more revenue by raising the reserve price.

1 So -- so, you know, there's -- so, it's
2 possible -- so, as it turns out that, you know, you can -
3 - you can make a fair bit of money with trying to control
4 access in the sense where people bidding for access to
5 the highest number of clicks.

6 So, then another thing about -- and as I said
7 before, you know, people are looking for what you're
8 selling on search. It's similar to Yellow Pages. And
9 that's part of the reason that this is just such valuable
10 advertising.

11 I also want to mention contextual ads because,
12 you know, contextual ads are -- are also fairly important
13 in terms of revenue. And I think they play a really
14 special role in terms of providing incentives for content
15 provision on the Internet. So, if you think about, you
16 know, especially small -- small published sites, even,
17 you know, your blog, your fishing aficionado blog, how
18 can you profit from that?

19 And, of course, you know, lots of people like
20 to put up free information on the Internet, but it takes
21 a little bit of time to make a nice site that's easier
22 for people to navigate, to take the time to continually
23 update it. And there are a lot -- there is a lot of
24 really great content out there on the Internet. And the
25 main way that people can make money from smaller sites is

1 dynamic.

2 So, the way that these incentives are provided,
3 I mean, it's kind of interesting. You know, if -- there
4 are sort of two types of -- two types of relationships at
5 a broad level. You know, there's -- you're -- you can
6 sign up your blog for AdSense and just show ads and you
7 don't have any negotiation. For that, historically
8 Google would just send you a check in the mail every
9 month. But they wouldn't really tell you how it computed
10 that check, or even sort of what revenue share you were
11 getting. They just sent you a check, which is nice
12 because you'd rather get a check than no check. But it
13 also -- that lack of transparency is a little complicated
14 for thinking about, you know, if your check falls, like
15 why did it fall, is it just that people didn't like your
16 site any more, or did they cut your revenue share?

17 Then for larger sites like the New York Times,
18 you know, you'll have a search bar where you can search
19 the web. And this, in the end, the aggregate of all
20 these things drives a fair bit of search traffic. And
21 so, for those types of negotiations, it's really -- it's
22 money. You know, Google is going to pay you money.
23 Yahoo will pay you money. Microsoft will pay you money.
24 It's really a substitutable good. And so, you're going
25 to end up getting sort of a second price auction. So,

1 you know, say Yahoo and Google will compete against each
2 other. At some point Yahoo drops out and Google pays the
3 price that -- where Yahoo dropped out. And so, again,
4 this competition sort of determines the payments.

5 So, that's -- so, that's an area where, again,
6 the industry structure has an effect on the incentives
7 for content provision.

8 Finally -- so, okay. So, let me now talk a
9 little bit about the auction itself in search
10 advertising. So, it's a really interesting market design
11 thing. And the auctions have evolved over time. Just in
12 the course of 10 years, we've seen a migration from
13 auction systems that didn't work very well to some that
14 work very effectively. So, there's a real time pay per
15 click -- click and/or quality weighted, generalized
16 second price auction. That's easy, right?

17 So, let me tell you a little about the
18 different parts and why they're there. First of all,
19 it's a real time pay per click auction. So, advertisers
20 maintain lists of pay per click bids attached to key
21 words. When a search engine -- search query is entered,
22 the applicable per click bids are applied, and then bids
23 are assigned an advertisement search query specific
24 quality score.

25 So, you know, the way this was first rolled out

1 is these were just click through rates. So, these were
2 the -- the probability that an ad gets clicked, and over
3 time the different search engines have evolved subjective
4 scores that are assigned -- that are part of this quality
5 score as well. And so -- and so, the bids are ranked
6 according to the product of their per click bid and the
7 quality score, and what they pay is the general -- you
8 know, the rules aren't actually completely disclosed and
9 aren't completely committed to, but at a sort of first
10 approximation, what we think that Google is doing is that
11 they are -- they have the bidder pay the minimum price
12 that would keep them in the same position.

13 And so, your price that you pay per click
14 depends on your score and the score of the person below
15 you. And so, a change in your score would be just a
16 proportional change in the amount you pay per click.

17 So, why this format? Well, a real time auction
18 could be a rate card, it could be negotiated sales, it
19 could be periodic auctions. But I think that this was
20 partly -- I think that you could actually use periodic
21 auctions in this market for auto insurance. You know
22 about how many search for auto insurance. You know who
23 the bidders are. You could hold an auction for the next
24 six months impression of auto insurance. People would
25 come and you would make some money.

1 But overall, it's that you've got your millions
2 and millions of products. They're highly variable
3 prices. The demands can change over time. You've got a
4 lot of small advertisers who want to kind of experiment
5 and learn about how their campaigns perform. And so,
6 this real time auction tends to work pretty well.

7 You've got a lot of direct marketers who are
8 interested basically in -- you know, they're -- it's not

1 really got this market jump started.

2 However, because bids are weighted by their
3 click through rates, there is a sense in which the
4 pricing is on a per impression basis. You're ranked in
5 part on the revenue that you will provide, the expected
6 revenue, which is your per click bid times the click
7 through rate.

8 The generalized second price, the early designs
9 had pay your bid auctions, which led to cycles, and now
10 the fact that you pay the minimum price that keeps you in
11 your position allows for a more stable outcome. It means
12 that small changes in your bid don't affect your outcome
13 very much, and it allows -- and it removes the incentives
14 of firms to kind of continually outbid each other by a
15 penny.

16 Finally, the click through rating, again, it
17 ranks firms by expected revenue for impression. The --
18 but it does require the estimation of click through
19 rates. And that's actually a difficult problem on small
20 -- on infrequently searched phrases.

21 It's also the case that an unweighted pay per
22 click auctions and lead to much lower revenue. So, let
23 you take an example. You search for Paris, you can have
24 an ad for Paris, France, travel that gets 50 cents a
25 click and a click through rate of 5 percent. Ads for

1 Paris Hilton sex videos could make a profit of \$5 per
2 click, and a click through rate of only a quarter of a
3 percent. If you rank only by bids, Paris Hilton sex
4 videos wins, but it generates less revenue. Okay?

5 So, clearly weighting by click through rates is
6 important. On the other hand, there is a -- there is a
7 counter bailing effect which is that an advertiser
8 doesn't necessarily care about writing accurate text when
9 you weight by click through rates. And the basic thing
10 is that if Paris Hilton sex videos disguises its topic
11 and just says Paris Hilton on it, then more people click
12 on that. That raises their estimated click through rate,
13 which lowers the bid they have to make to stay in their
14 position.

15 And so, in fact, getting unnecessary clicks
16 doesn't cost you an expectation as an advertiser, because
17 every extra click you get lowers the price per click you
18 have to pay. And so, you get this unintended consequence
19 of the click-through rating, which is that you can get
20 imprecise ad text. And I would argue that, you know, you
21 do see some of that on the web.

22 So, let me just -- I wasn't planning to go
23 through all that anyway. Don't worry. So, that was what
24 I would have done if I was going to advertise my paper
25 with Glenn.

1 Let me just in closing kind of tell you a
2 little bit about that research agenda, which kind of
3 helps think about these search costs and it tries to
4 build a model where consumer search costs are taken into
5 account, which would help you do welfare analysis in
6 terms of thinking about reserved price policy or thinking

1 inefficient outcome, and, in fact, eliminate efficient
2 equilibria altogether from the auction.

3 So, there's lots of interesting problems left
4 to explore in this area. And, you know, I hope that --
5 one side benefit of all the regulatory intervention is
6 that now over the last two years, between Google/
7 DoubleClick and Google/Yahoo, lots of economists have had
8 a chance to learn about this industry and really get into
9 the problem and even get access to data. And so, I'm
10 really looking forward to the next year or two in the
11 academic community of seeing the research move forward,
12 and also the -- some of these regulatory issues get
13 resolved. Thank you.

14 Questions?

15 MR. DANIEL: Beat you to it, Paul. Good
16 morning. I'm Tim Daniel. I used to be at the FTC. I'm
17 now with NERA. Your welfare considerations, talking
18 about whether the reserved price is set at the right
19 level, whether there's enough -- whether there's a
20 problem with inappropriate or inaccurate ads, that sort
21 of thing.

22 My competition background, you know, sort of
23 leads me to think, well, those are the kinds of things
24 that regulation isn't really good at. And so, perhaps we
25 should let competitive markets play out. And you started

for Google to be in a sort of competitive market where we

1 Then for us, the question is, okay, I
2 understand you want certainty, but does that mean it's
3 better to get the wrong result than the right result?
4 And that's sort of what you were just answering.

5 MS. ATHEY: Yeah. I mean -- and I guess I
6 would just add to that that -- again, I -- I see the
7 process of having engaged with all of the different
8 regulators and having so many people become informed,
9 makes it much easier to then have a conversation about,
10 you know, other things that might happen and have
11 informed people that can respond to that. So, I think
12 that just the general process of education is a
13 beneficial one.

14 MR. SHAPIRO: Inasmuch as Google and Yahoo and
15 Microsoft basically have different sets of users at any
16 point in time who are searching, I know at least Google
17 has mounted the argument that they're not directly
18 competing for advertisers just the way radio stations in
19 two separate cities aren't competing for advertisers
20 because they're reaching different users. How do you see
21 defining the relevant markets and what do you make of
22 that argument?

23 MS. ATHEY: That's a good question. I think
24 it's a -- you know, it's partly an empirical question in
25 the sense that, you know -- I mean, of course, you know,

1 any time you make a change as a search engine, some
2 people are going to respond to that. Microsoft, you
3 know, we're very sensitive to the fact that, you know,
4 people often will choose between -- you know, some
5 advertisers will actually just quit the platform and just
6 choose to only be on Yahoo. So, you're very -- you're
7 very cognizant and you see empirically the fact that, you
8 know, changes in policy can lead to that kind of a shift.

9 I think that overall that's a -- it's an
10 empirical question as to how much -- how much that
11 happens. So, you know, and it's important to understand
12 that -- but I think generally, you know, you're going to
13 see in a competitive environment that, you know, when you
14 -- when you have competitors there and people have
15 another place to take their campaigns, that's going to be
16 a disciplining device.

17 MR. SHAPIRO: Great.

18 MR. ADAMS: Thank you very much, Susan. Let's
19 give her a round of applause.

20 (us)

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2 MR. ADAMS: Next we're going to have Pat Bajari
3 with a paper session.

4 MR. BAJARI: This will be a session on demand
5 estimation. Our first speaker is Matt Weinberg.

6 MR. WEINBERG: Okay. Thanks for giving me the
7 opportunity to speak here. This is joint work. I've got
8 a co-author named Daniel Hosken, who's typically here at
9 the FTC, but unfortunately couldn't be here today. So,
10 because we're both working here, the usual disclaimer
11 applies. These are our own views and don't necessarily
12 reflect those of the FTC.

13 So, first, just a few big general big picture
14 things about horizontal merger enforcement in the United
15 States. So, over the past decade, there was decrease
16 since the late '90s. On average, the FTC and the DOJ
17 conduct about 75 investigations of mergers per year. And
18 antitrust policy towards mergers in the United States, as
19 we talked about briefly yesterday, is largely
20 prospective. So -- because it's very expensive to break
21 up firms that have already merged. The regulators have
22 to make a forecast as to whether or not a merger would
23 reduce competition, and then they have to sue to attempt
24 to block such mergers.

25 So, for my purposes, I want to talk about two

1 classes of empirical merger studies. So, the first I'm
2 going to classify as retrospective. And by this I mean
3 papers that have data before and after a merger or
4 several mergers within an industry occurred. And the
5 goal of these papers is to estimate what actually
6 happened to prices in the past. That's not an easy thing
7 to do.

8 And, typically, what people do is they compare
9 the change in prices and markets that are affected by the
10 merger to hopefully a change in prices in markets that
11 are otherwise similar but were not affected by the
12 merger. So, the change in the prices is the baseline as
13 would have happened in the absence of the merger. It's
14 not often easy, but the information inside of these
15 papers is useful. In particular, it's useful for looking
16 back at past anti-trust decisions and getting a sense of
17 whether or not anti-trust policy was too loose. So, you
18 can answer that question with those papers.

19 But, unfortunately, it's pretty difficult to
20 figure out how to generalize from such studies and answer
21 the question that the guys at the agencies have to try
22 and answer. And that is, will this new merger cause
23 prices to increase.

24 And that's where the second class of studies
25 comes in, simulation studies. So, here, by simulation

1 study, I mean the narrow definition that was briefly
2 talked about in the introductory panel yesterday. I mean
3 three things. I mean an assumption that firms compete in
4 prices, in the static or tran game (phonetic). Second,
5 that you know the functional form of demand and can't
6 estimate that. And, finally, there's an assumption on
7 the shape of the firm's marginal cost functions,
8 typically if they're constant.

9 And so, if you knew all those primitives and
10 it's relatively straightforward to simulate how a change
11 in market structure, a change in the ownership structure
12 of the firms, would affect prices, that's great. That's
13 exactly the question that needs to be answered.

14 However, the results in this exercise depend
15 upon a lot of strong assumptions. So, those three main
16 assumptions that I talked about. And to the extent that
17 any of those three things don't hold, the simulations may
18 produce inaccurate results.

19 So, in this paper, what Dan and I have done is
20 we were trying to use the former study to evaluate the
21 latter type of study. So, here's what we do. So, we've
22 got data before and after two different consumer product
23 markets occurred. And -- and these mergers were -- the
24 first one was a merger of motor oil companies that
25 combined Pennzoil and Quaker State brand motor oils. The

1 second was a breakfast syrup merger. So, they combined
2 Ms. Butterworth's and Log Cabin brand breakfast syrups.
3 And so, we're not just interested in breakfast foods.

1 cases in our opinion.

2 So, a preview of what we find, first the
3 simulations. So, the syrup merger had relatively large
4 simulated price changes. So, typically larger than 5
5 percent. On the other hand, the oil merger tended to
6 have fairly small price changes; in many specifications
7 less than 5 percent.

8 So, after we calculate that, we add the post-
9 merger data in a couple different ways. We go back and
10 directly estimate what happened to prices. We do this in
11 a few different ways. And the main -- the main result in
12 the paper is that the simulations reverse the rank order
13 of price effects.

14 So, here's what I mean by that. So, we got
15 large simulated price changes from the syrup merger, but
16 our direct estimates of price effects using the before
17 and after comparisons are -- are pretty small.
18 Basically, we find that that merger didn't have much
19 effect on prices at all.

20 On the other hand, the oil merger had a -- had
21 a pretty small simulated price change, but moderate
22 actual or directly estimated price effects. So, the next
23 step is to figure out why -- or attempt to figure out why
24 the simulations don't match up with the actual price
25 changes. And so, remember the three assumptions that you

1 need are the aesthetic for training competition, the
 2 particular functional form of demand, and the constant
 3 marginal cost assumption.

4 So, the extent that any of these things change
 5 before and after the merger occurred, that would be on
 6 reason why the simulations are off.

7 So, first, we explored changes in demand. We
 8 looked to see if demand shifted before and after the
 9 merger occurred. That could be because of some sort of
 10 product repositioning, or alternatively another
 11 explanation would be that it's difficult to identify
 12 demand in different product markets, and if -- think
 13 about like the very simple case of, like (inaudible) you
 14 don't get back demand, you get back the shared demand and
 15 supply. We know that supply changes as a result of the
 16 merger. There's got to be another reason why you might
 17 find that demand changed before and afterwards.

18 Second, we explored changes in marginal costs.
 19 Particularly, we calculate the necessary changes inside
 20 of the marginal costs that would be required to equate
 21 the simulated and the actual price changes. And,

22 ~~the actual we explored a few different assumptions on our~~
 demand system; specifically, how consumersy, we tnges4idcte the nece

1 lot of people in the audience. I'm going to describe how
2 the simulations work. So, using the pre-merger data, we
3 estimate three different demand systems. These are all
4 demand systems that can be -- we estimated, like, fairly
5 quickly. So, that's pretty good. That's -- that's the
benefit of these things.

1 know in that equation are the marginal cost curves and --
2 or, sorry, the points on the marginal cost curves, and you
3 can -- you can back those out easily. It's a linear
4 problem.

5 So, you do that and you calibrate the mileage
6 of the pre-merger data. And then you just change the
7 profit functions to account for the change in ownership,
8 and you re-write the first order conditions like this.
9 It's straightforward. It's the same thing as the first
10 one, just different ownership structure. And the -- the
11 post-merger equilibria will be the vector of prices that
12 satisfies this first order conditions. But it's one for
13 each agreement in the market. And we calculate the price
14 effects as the percentage difference between the post and
15 the pre-merger prices.

16 So, data. So, we've got data from IRI. It's
17 scanner data. And for the motor oil merger, we got data
18 from their mass retailer channel. So, this is data
19 that's aggregated up to the region level. So, it covers
20 10 different regions of the United States. We don't have
21 store-specific data. It's at the weekly frequency, and
22 it covers a period from January '97 until December of
23 2000. The merger was consummated in December of '98.

24 The syrup merger is from the IRI's grocery
25 channel, and it covers more regions. We got 49, but a

1 little bit less of pre-merger data in terms of the time
2 dimension. So, we observed -- you know, it's like a
3 three-way panel. We've got observations that vary by
4 brand, region and time.

5 So, here's how we calculate the direct pricing.
6 There's a slight typo in the first equation here. So, we
7 add to the sample the post-merger data, and the first
8 thing we do is very simple. We just compare a change in
9 the average prices, before and after. It's a simple time
10 difference.

11 So, here we've got region specific fixed
12 effects. That's the alpha. These are months, seasonal
13 dummies. This should really be a subscript. I do this
14 separately for each brand in the market. And then
15 there's the post comparison -- or the post study
16 variables. And what we do is we make the data symmetric
17 around the merger date. We drop an interval of three
18 months, centered at the merger because some strange
19 things might be happening around then. We don't want to
20 pick that up. And -- and, you know, 100 times the beta
21 is the percentage change in the average price.

22 The second thing that we do is we follow a
23 paper by Ashenfelter and Haskin (phonetic) that computes
24 the -- that does this for three more different consumer
25 product markets. They look at the actual price effects

1 for just the merging brands in that paper, whereas we're
2 going to do that for the merging brands and also for the
3 non-merging brands as well. And our point is not just to
4 compute the directness, but to use that as a benchmark to
5 compare with the simulated price changes, just to
6 differentiate the product briefly.

7 So, we've got -- here what we do is we compare
8 the change in prices to the change in prices of private
9 label products. So, we've got regions branded. So,
10 alpha here is an interaction between branded and the
11 region dummies. The multi-seasonal effects, again, the
12 post-dummy, and then the interaction between the post and
13 the branded dummy, the coefficient on that, you'll see
14 the change in the prices of the brand name product
15 relative to the change in the prices of the private label
16 product.

17 So, if you believe that the change in the
18 private label products is going to be as it was in the
19 absence of the merger, then the difference estimator
20 would have estimated the effect of the merger on prices.
21 If you think that the private label products increase the
22 prices, you're getting a lower amount.

23 So, here's our direct estimated price effects.
24 I've got the merged firms brands in bold. Those are
25 Pennzoil and Quaker State, just to refresh your memories.

1 And we've got almost an 8 percent price increase for
2 Quaker State, and the difference in difference
3 specification, and nearly a 4 percent price increase for
4 Pennzoil. Private label products, actually -- their
5 price actually dropped a little bit here in the simple
6 before and after comparison. So, the difference
7 estimates are going to be a little bit less. You know,
8 almost 2 percent less.

9 And the -- the rival brands for the most part
10 increased their prices as well, sometimes substantially.
11 We get about an 8 percent price increase for Castrol GTX.
12 The only exception to that is Havoline, which their price
13 dropped by about 4 percent. And I've got some stories
14 based on marketing documents for why that was the case,
15 if you're curious, later on.

16 So, just to walk through a simple -- a simple

1 that Quaker State is going to simulate its -- or going to
2 increase its price by more than Pennzoil.

3 On the other hand, the price effects, the
4 simulated price effects aren't as close for the non-
5 merging brands. They tend to be smaller. That's
6 important because, you know, obviously consumer welfare
7 depends on what everybody is doing, not just the merging
8 brands. And so, the next thing that we do is that we --
9 instead of estimating by OLS, we try an IV strategy. And
10 so, remember how I said the data was structured. It's
11 this three-way panel. This is like a pretty typical
12 thing to do. A lot of people do this. And you've got --
13 so you've got prices of other regions. If you think that
14 there's going to be a common marginal cost component,
15 then those prices in other regions are going to be
16 correlated. And if you think the demand stats are
17 independent, then those would be good instruments.

18 In our data, we didn't get very plausible
19 demand parameter estimates out of that exercise.
20 Sometimes we get cross price elasticities that make the
21 products look like compliments instead of substitutes. I
22 think that motor oils and breakfast syrups are
23 substitutes, that this happens. And while the model is
24 predicated upon all those things being right, for
25 completeness I went ahead and simulated what would happen

1 if you used those things. And the results are a little
2 wild.

3 So, next -- again, usually if somebody was
4 doing this, they would look at the (inaudible) and
5 probably wouldn't go forward with that part of the
6 exercise. But for completeness, I put it there. Thanks.
7 So, here are the other specifications. And the
8 conclusions are roughly the same. So, linear demand
9 gives a slightly smaller simulated price effects. And
10 the logit model, we get really small cross price
11 elasticities. If you look at that, that -- and that's
12 going to give you very small price effects. The non-
13 merging firms, their price effects are second order
14 things, and so, when the merging firms are barely
15 increasing their prices, you're just not going to get any
16 movement in the non-merging firms.

17 Here are the results for the breakfast syrup
18 merger. So, first, start on the left, the first column.
19 We don't find much evidence that this merger caused
20 prices to increase. And that doesn't really depend upon
21 our -- our method for estimating the direct price
22 changes, although you get slightly bigger price effects
23 in the straight difference estimator.

24 On the other hand, the simulated price changes
25 can be pretty big. So, the AIDS model, we're getting

1 simulated price effects of about 20 to 24 percent. Now,
2 this is pretty remarkable to me. This is a three to two
3 merger. Again, you -- the products are likely pretty
4 close substitutes. And it didn't affect prices. The
5 simulations say that they would for most specifications.
6 And -- and that gives me some pause.

7 So, if you move across specifications, we get
8 smaller price effects for the linear demand system, and
9 the logit demand system (inaudible) because of the linear
10 one, and the specification.

11 So, the next thing that we do is we try and
12 figure out what could explain the discrepancy between the
13 simulated and the actual price changes. So, the first
14 thing that we do is say, well, we need to assume again
15 that demand is constant before and after the merger
16 occurred. So, what I did is I took the post-merger data
17 and I estimated demand on that. So, if it had shift, and
18 we are identified, then using that should -- we should be
19 right on, if everything else is okay.

20 So, here's what I find when I do that exercise.
21 It does slightly better in some specifications, but
22 overall the conclusions don't really change that much,
23 particularly for the syrup merger.

24 So, the next thing I do is I calculate the
25 percentage changes in marginal cost that would be

1 necessary to equate these two things. So, focus on, for
2 example, the AIDS system for the syrup merger. Those are
3 pretty big. The first column. Don't pay much attention
4 to the IV. We found that they need to be, like, between
5 22 and 24 percent. But that's pretty big given the
6 technology of breakfast syrup. I mean, that stuff is
7 like sugar water. It's like corn syrup and, like,
8 something that smells like maple. That's the marginal
9 cost of breakfast syrup. So, it's unlikely that that
10 fell by that much.

11 I'm out of time. Okay. So, let me just get to
12 the conclusions. So, again, the big finding here is that
13 the simulations reverse the rank order of price changes.
14 We had one merger, the direct estimates, they -- they
15 seemed to imply -- they implied modest price increases,
16 but the simulations gave small price increases. On the
17 other hand, we got another one with no price effects.
18 So, even though it was a three to two, that didn't go
19 through with the right thing. It didn't reduce consumer
20 surplus. But the simulations gave large price effects.

21 Just to -- just to compare this to the only
22 other work that we know that's directly comparable to
23 ours, Craig Peters has a paper that was mentioned briefly
24 in the panel yesterday in which he does a similar
25 exercise for five airline mergers. And our results are

1 similar to his. So, he also finds that the simulations
2 reverse the rank order of the price changes. So, I'm
3 sure that you guys don't remember the slides from Mike's
4 talk yesterday at the panel, but he found -- he found the
5 same effects.

6 Some of the airline mergers had big price
7 effects and they seemed to have the lower simulated price
8 changes. So, thanks again for giving me the opportunity
9 to talk here, and I look forward to your comments.

10 MR. BAJARI: Our discussant will be Matt
11 Osborne from the Department of Justice.

12 MR. OSBORNE: Okay. So, as Matt discussed,
13 what this paper does is it looks at how well merger
14 simulation does in predicting the price effects of
15 mergers. Now, the agencies would care about this because
16 we have to predict what a merger is going to do before
17 the merger actually happens. There's a lot of different
18 tools that we use to do that. But one of the tools that
19 we use is merger simulation.

20 So, as Matt discussed, the basic exercise here
21 is you estimate demand and then you come up with a model
22 of industry structure, which is often Bertrand, and then
23 you feed the demand estimates into this model and then
24 simulate it to try and figure out what the effect of the
25 merger is going to be on prices.

1

So, they do this merger simulation on two

1 to get the wrong results. So, they use a parametric
2 bootstrap to do it.

3 I think there are some areas in which the paper
4 could be improved even more, though. And so, let me talk
5 about some of those. So, my main worry with the paper is
6 that people may end up seeing this to be too -- as being
7 too similar to some work that Craig Peters did, which
8 Matt has cited. And what Craig does is a very similar
9 exercise for a number of airline mergers.

10 So, let me suggest some ways that maybe the
11 authors could broaden their conclusions a bit and build
12 on what Craig has done and will differentiate a little
13 bit more from what Craig has done.

14 So, one thing that would be interesting to see
15 would be maybe a different demand specification used.
16 So, it's like I felt that some of the demand
17 specifications were a little bit too -- perhaps too

1 (inaudible) they could include those as product
2 characteristics. So, one suggestion might be to use --
3 to see what a random coefficients logit specification
4 would do, because that's a baseline for a lot of work.

5 I think, though, an even more important point
6 is that there doesn't seem to be much discussion on what
7 sort of alternative competitive models would -- might
8 explain these results. So, if you look at Craig Peters
9 work, you know, his -- he finds that marginal cost
10 changes don't do a very good job -- okay, I'm almost done
11 -- don't do a very good job of explaining the results.
12 And his conclusion is that, well, Bertrand is not a very
13 good assumption.

14 So, I think it would be interesting to see some
15 sort of other simple competitive models used, like maybe
16 -- we know that there's retailers and manufacturers in
17 these industries. Perhaps there's a Stockelberg
18 (phonetic) game being played, or there's some sort of
19 tacit collusion going on. And I had some other sort of
20 smaller comments, but I'll give them to you after the --
21 I'll discuss them with you later, Matt. So, thanks.

22 MR. BAJARI: One or two quick questions for
23 (inaudible).

24 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) (Inaudible)
25 three months right around the merger, but I'm wondering

1 MR. WEINBERG: Right.

2 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) So,
3 scientifically the only way right to do this is to
4 actually get the (inaudible) before anyone knows
5 (inaudible) you know, put those in a (inaudible).

6 MR. WEINBERG: Right.

7 AUDIENCE MEMBER: Okay? And then see what
8 happens.

9 MR. WEINBERG: Yeah, that would be -- that
10 would be excellent.

11 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) (Inaudible).
12 And the other sort of part of this is also, so you didn't
13 (inaudible) talk about the mergers, but just in the one
14 you showed us, I mean, I think that in some (inaudible)
15 to express (inaudible) six players or five players.

16 MR. WEINBERG: Right.

17 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) (Inaudible).
18 So, again, without knowing any of the (inaudible) very,
19 very important. And without knowing any of them, we
20 probably would (inaudible) larger in the syrup? Right.
21 I think (inaudible). So, you know, the (inaudible)
22 before going to the mergers, whatever (inaudible) it's
23 really not about, you know -- I mean, one thing specific
24 about the (inaudible).

25 MR. WEINBERG: Okay.

1 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) So, I think
2 that's (inaudible). That's comment number one.

3 The other question -- the other comment on the
4 -- you guys presented this, and I (inaudible) discussion
5 went along (inaudible).

6 MR. WEINBERG: I agree. Some of the -- in
7 particular the --

8 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) (Inaudible).
9 One is, you know, hey, we got one of these (inaudible)
10 I'll take those off any time. But the other thing is,
11 you know, basically you showed us garbage in, garbage
12 out, right? We (inaudible). So, I think it's still
13 worthwhile to figure out what happened to the syrup case.
14 But overall, you know, this is (inaudible). (Inaudible)
15 and now we have to explain to (inaudible) figure out what
16 it is that we're missing. (Inaudible).

17 MR. WEINBERG: All right. Yeah, thanks. So,
18 first briefly, the -- the goal in the study was to do
19 what I thought as a non-FTC employee at the time would --
20 what you guys in agencies would do on the pre-merger
21 data. So, that's exactly it.

22 The actual things that the FTC and the DOJ are
23 -- sorry, the FTC in this case, that would have handled
24 these, the retail consumer product mergers, what they
25 were thinking exactly, that's private information. That

1 can't be discussed. It's all proprietary. The -- and
2 personally, I don't even know it. So, the -- I mean, I
3 can guess, but, like, nobody has told me anything.

4 So, the other thing is, if you look at the
5 demand elasticities for some of the specifications that
6 do lead to wild -- or not wild, but, like, inaccurate
7 price effects, they look plausible. Like, if somebody
8 handed you those demand elasticities for the syrup
9 merger, estimated by the AIDS model, and you just saw the
10 elasticities, that's it, you looked at those things, you
11 would think, no, okay, they look reasonable to me. But
12 they still give simulated price effects that are 23
13 percent bigger than what the direct estimates are.

14 On the other hand, yeah, the oil results are
15 something that look pretty good. And so, I also view
16 that as encouraging. And I think that this is -- the
17 policy question here is just so huge that, like, it's --
18 this is a benchmark to guide future progress. And that's
19 how we'd like the paper to be viewed. So, I look forward
20 to things like the rest of the sessions. I should let
21 the -- let it get on with. So, thanks.

22 MR. BAJARI: Our next speaker is Jeremy Fox
23 from the University of Chicago.

24 MR. FOX: Okay. This is joint work with Che
25 Lin Su, who's here at the conference, and Jean Pierre

1 Dube'. Their affiliations are now at the University of
2 Chicago Booth School of Business, and I guess that's an
3 example of display advertising.

4 So, if you learned about econometrics from Art
5 Goldberger or somebody, you probably heard about
6 something called the Best Linear Predictor. Well,
7 fortunately, that acronym has been stolen by some self-
8 promoting (inaudible) economist, and it's now known as
9 Berry, Levinson and Pakes, which is this very commonly
10 used demand estimation method. And it's a pretty helpful
11 technique because it allows us to talk about demand and
12 differentiate our products industries where we have all
13 these product characteristics. It's a fairly flexible
14 specification. It doesn't impose as many restrictions on
15 elasticities from functional form. We can use with
16 commonly available aggregate data sets, and we can
17 control for price endogeneity using instruments as we saw
18 in Matt's favor.

What did BLP do? The specification. It can be used with

1 extensively by Aviv (phonetic) and others in
2 applications.

3 So, I think I'm going to start from this point
4 of view that demand estimation is a very useful technique
5 for both the research and policy work. You know, I've
6 gotten some attention from this from some European anti-
7 trust agencies as well, and it seems like at least in
8 some anti-trust agencies are entrusted in this type of
9 technique.

10 And the down side is that, you know, this
11 method is not easy to use for someone who has not been
12 trained to use it. So, if I just gave a grad student a
13 copy of BLP's econometrics article, told them to go code
14 this up and produce estimates, you know, who knows what
15 would come back? You know, probably not the correct
16 estimates. And Aviv has been a leader in trying to give
17 some advice to (inaudible) uses here.

18 So -- but the concern, I think, is potentially
19 from, you know, people within the literature. And
20 outside of the literature are these estimates coming back
21 from this somewhat complicated method, the correct ones.
22 And there's really no point in doing a complicated method
23 if you're not going to do it correctly and produce the
24 right estimates. And, you know, there's actually another
25 paper out there in the literature by Chris Knittel and

1 Metoxaglou (phonetics) saying that, you know, this is --
2 you know, basically giving warnings that this might be
3 not always producing the correct estimates.

4 And, furthermore, you know, Robin and others
5 are doing work on BLP and models of (inaudible)
6 consumers. So, the consumers are also solving a dynamic
7 programming problem. And so, the research frontier in
8 this demand estimation work is to go into more and more
9 complicated papers. And then, you know, that's great in
10 terms of research, but it also, you know, is a good time
11 to kind of take a step back and make sure everything is
12 going exactly right.

13 So, what we're going to do is document some
14 potential computational concerns about BLP and maybe
15 offer some solutions. So, for those of you who don't
16 know what's going on with BLP, there is this computer
17 program that's kind of embedded inside of BLP. So,
18 you're both searching over parameters like you would in
19 any non-linear econometric model. But there's also this
20 kind of inner loop, which is a step where you're trying
21 to solve a system of equations. And I'll go over that --
22 in detail what that is.

23 BLP developed a computer method called a
24 contraction mapping to solve those systems of equations.
25 And our basic point is that this computer loop -- inner

1 loop is not always going to produce numerically the
2 correct answers. And the researcher might have an
3 incentive to make that computer loop a little -- inner
4 loop a little inaccurate in order to speed up the
5 results. So, if you have to go to a conference at the
6 FTC in five days and, oh, no, my routine isn't working so
7 well, so, let me just -- and it's taking too much time,
8 let me just cheat a bit on this inner loop. Then that's
9 going to produce numerical error and that might lead to
10 wrong parameter estimates.

11 And this has nothing to do with the statistical
12 properties of BLP. If it's coded correctly, it's purely
13 a computational idea. Do you have a question or --

14 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Inaudible).

15 MR. FOX: Excuse me?

16 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Inaudible).

17 MR. FOX: So you'll have a computer program
18 called this inner loop that's both -- and I'll explain
19 what that is in detail. But the idea is that it's going
20 to stop at some point, and it can stop when it's really,
21 really accurate or just stop before then. And it's
22 stopping before then, which saves time, but might
23 introduce error.

24 Okay? And so, we're going to produce an
25 alternative method to solve some of these issues called

1 MPEC, which stands for mathematical program with
2 equilibrium constraints, and some other work. Che Lin
3 has been investigating the properties of this and some
4 other types of economic models.

5 Just to get up front, just to clarify what's
6 going on, MPEC is not going to be a new statistical
7 estimator. It will be a new computational approach to
8 computing the same estimator that we've all been doing.

9 So, our contributions are going to be we're
10 going to talk about BLP's approach, show that this can --
11 if you don't do it right, can lead to the wrong
12 estimates; introduce MPEC as an alternative, and it's not
13 going to have these numerical problems with this inner
14 loop. It could work faster in some cases, which we'll be
15 explicit about, and it could -- I won't talk about this
16 at today's talk -- apply to models more generally, models
17 where we don't have a contraction mapping property where
18 they could be in some cases multiple solutions. And this
19 might be important for some of these new dynamic demand
20 applications.

21 And it's particularly -- and we're not going to
22 talk about that today, but we're trying to push this in
23 terms of these dynamic demand applications. That's like
24 a new frontier where MPEC could be especially useful.

25 So, I'm going to go over the model pretty

1 quickly in the interest of time because a lot of
2 practitioners are already familiar with this. It's going
3 to be micro-founded by a demand specification. We have a
4 bunch of product characteristics for each product.

5 BLP studied cars. Think about cars having
6 miles per gallon, fuel economy, speed, different measured
7 characteristics. They'll have a price. They'll have a
8 demand shock, which as you see this Greek squiggle letter
9 here, that's allowed to be -- you know, that's going to
10 be product in market specifics or product J and market T.
11 And there's going to be some individual specific errors,
12 which are logit. You pick the product at the individual
13 level and it maximizes utility. We have aggregate data,
14 individual data.

15 So, we're going to just aggregate up this
16 demand specification to the market level by integrating
17 out these error terms. There's two different types of
18 error terms. Your different preferences for these
19 different car characteristics, like some people care
20 about speed, some people care about fuel economy, and
21 that's -- there's going to be some distribution of that,
22 Epha Beta (phonetic), and Epha Beta is indexed by some
23 parameters data. And that's our goal of estimation, is
24 to estimate these distribution of preferences.

25 The main point of this thing here is we have an

1 aggregate data expression here. Inside of this aggregate
2 data expression are these demand shocks. These squiggle
3 marks exceed J and T, the demand shock for product J and
4 market T. Because these things enter this equation non-
5 linearly, it's going to be hard to back them out of the
6 equation, which is kind of like an additive specification
7 where the error term is just sort of sticking -- floating
8 around there, and it's easy to back out once you guess at
9 the parameters data. Here the error terms enter the
10 model very non-linearly.

11 So, because of this complicated functional
12 form, for every guess of data, we want to evaluate what
13 are these error terms. We're going to
14 have to compute the error terms numerically. And what
15 BLP will do is, you know, they have a computer program
16 called a contraction mapping that's going to solve this
17 problem.

18 For each guess of these parameters, we're going
19 to iterate on this inner loop and we're going to keep
20 doing this. We're going to compare our guess of market
21 shares due to actual data in market shares, and if we're
22 within some error tolerance, which is, I guess, an answer
23 to your question back there, we'll stop the inner loop at
24 some pre-specified level when our changes and our guess
25 of these demand shocks stop.

1 And then this is a nice approach because it's
2 guaranteed to find a solution from any starting values.
3 Once we do that, we're going to evaluate a condition that
4 says our demand shocks are uncorrelated or they're
5 instruments, sort of a standard IV approach, and we're
6 going to plug in our demand shocks to this equation. And
7 there's going to be two approaches to then doing this.

8 So, what BLP will do is they minimize this
9 objective function, which is just sort of a weighted
10 product, or these demand moment conditions that says our
11 demand shocks are not related to our instruments. But it
12 requires sometimes they guess at new value parameters to
13 back out these demand shocks using their model. We're
14 going to say another approach to doing this, which might
15 be more common in a numerical methods literature, which
16 is to do a constrained optimization problem where we're
17 going to maximize the objective function subject to the
18 constraints that these -- at the solution that these
19 market shares predicted by BLPs demand model (inaudible)
20 data on market shares.

21 So, our alternative approach, we're going to be
22 minimizing over both structural parameters data and these
23 preferences and these demand shocks.

24 So, I'm going to skip to -- I'm going to go
25 through these slides relatively quickly for these

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1 nitro. We're going to code it up in MATLAB.

2 So, here's the first example of some errors and
3 mistakes one can make. So, there's going to be three
4 algorithms here. These are all BLPs nested fixed point
5 approach. There's going to be one approach where this is
6 sort of the first column. It's sort of the impatient
7 researcher who has to go to that conference in a couple
8 days and sets the inner loop tolerance to be too loose.
9 So, here tenant (phonetic) minus four, but keeps his
10 outer loop setting, the tolerance for choosing our
11 structural parameters, to be the default setting of
12 tenant minus six.

13 Then the second -- what's going to happen for
14 this researcher is his routine is never going to
15 converge. I'm going to report solution found. We can
16 see it on the first column, first row, where it says zero
17 percent of runs, the routines had report conversions.

18 The second column refers to a -- reflects a
19 reader who -- researcher who says, well, a solution to
20 that problem not finding conversions is to set my outer
21 loop tolerance to be low. So, now -- to be loose. So,
22 no I'll just accept anything that looks like a -- vaguely
23 like a solution and call that a solution. Well, that
24 will solve the problem of what your routine is reporting,
25 but that won't produce correct parameter estimates,

1 either.

2 And the third column is kind of the correct
3 researcher who's set the inner loop tolerance to be
4 really tight. What we'll see in the first two columns
5 that we're getting really different, so we have this one
6 data set here, many starting values. The first two
7 people who have the wrong settings are getting kind of
8 crazy estimates that have nothing to do with the truth.
9 We see that if BLP is done correctly, it does produce an
10 estimate very close to the truth. But the first two
11 columns people are just getting all sorts of crazy
12 answers depending on your starting value reflecting
13 these.

14 And then I didn't go into very much detail, but
15 how these new -- these are the results that we predicted
16 by the numerical theory that answers are crazy.

17 Now, because your answers are so crazy, a
18 careful researcher in this example would have said these
19 results don't make any sense, I must be doing something
20 wrong. If the person really did try multiple starting
21 values and got these crazy elasticity estimates that
22 don't have -- that vary a lot by starting value.

23 Now, another example, we took -- and, by the
24 way, the previous slide relied on using numerical
25 derivatives in your solver. Here is an example using --

1 we've actually coded up BLPs derivatives analytically,
2 doing some additional programming work, and we used these
3 serial data. And here the two kind of wrong methods
4 produced the wrong estimates. So, the true -- the
5 correct estimate from this data set is for own price
6 elasticities, negative 7.4. This is serial. But in

1 So, the problems with BLP really aren't about
2 multiple local optima, which is the message you would
3 take away from that other paper. Okay. So, I think
4 these are important issues. We need to code up on stuff
5 correctly.

6 Just briefly, an alternative suggestion is to
7 minimize the objective function over both demand shocks
8 and structural parameters subject to the constraints that
9 these hold, that there's going to be no inner loop here.
10 So, there's going to be no error from one part of the
11 computer program ending up in the other part of the

1 where there's not a unique solution.

2 We introduced earlier this thing called
3 Lipschitz constant, which is a measure of kind of the
4 speed of the nested fixed point inner loop. We can -- in
5 here, this is varying the data generating process and
6 seeing how close this thing gets to one, which is a
7 measure when it's going to be slow. And we're just doing
8 some speed benchmarks here. And we see that when the
9 Lipschitz constant gets closer to one, the speed of the
10 nested fixed point approach gets really slow.

11 And that's kind of the concern we might have
12 about this frustrated researcher who in some data sets is
13 going to have a really slow inner loop. Well, that's
14 when the approach is getting really slow, is when the
15 researcher might try to cheat. And MPEC is going to
16 solve that problem.

17 So, there's some speed comparisons here. And
18 we saw that in this speed comparison, and sort of the CPU
19 times at the main column, MPEC was relatively invariant
20 to these changes and the data generating process that
21 made nested fixed points slow. Statistically, these are
22 the same estimators as seen by having the same bias and
23 root-mean-squared error across the two specifications.

24 And one concern you might have about MPEC is
25 that, well, you know, it's not going to work if you have

1 a lot of different products because you're optimizing
2 over these demand shocks, and that's equal to the number
3 of products you have. Here we're increasing the number
4 of markets. This is a very high dimensional problem when
5 we're seeing that MPEC is not slowing down
6 disproportionate to NFP. In fact, here it's kind of -- I

1 market shares that we are computing from the data, and
2 the second moment is going to be the restriction on the
3 unobserved characteristic.

4 So, the standard approach that we're going to
5 follow is, first of all, we're going to put a lot more
6 parametric structure on the system of moments. First of
7 all, we're going to parametrize the shocks in the
8 utility, and we're going to parametrize the distribution
9 of random coefficients and the preferences of consumers.

10 The standard approach later on in the analysis,
11 in the empirical analysis of differentiated product
12 markets is that we're assuming that the first moment in
13 the system isn't exactly quality. We're going to invert
14 that and substitute the solution for the random
15 coefficients into the second equation. And this is the
16 way that's been used to solve that type of problems.

17 In the paper that I'm discussing, Jeremy and
18 his co-authors are pointing -- pointing us to the fact
19 that if we are using some of the iterations in order to
20 do the inversion of this first equation in the system
21 that will lead to -- that might lead to numerical errors
22 in the -- in the estimation procedure and they provide a

1 derivative, and that's going -- that might even lead to
2 the loss of the first order approximation. So, that's
3 why it actually is very important to control the quality
4 of approximation of the function that we're trying to
5 minimize or differentiate.

6 So, in general, I think the numerical
7 properties here is very important. And we actually need
8 to control very carefully the intermediate computational
9 step, structural step, in the estimation exercise. And
10 in general, the same arguments will apply to a lot of
11 other quasi-likelihood and quasi-Bayesian type
12 procedures.

13 And the authors give constructive advice for implementing
14 these procedures in practice.

15 My comments are the following. First of all, I
16 think that the way the paper focuses on numerical
17 problems actually undermines the statistical aspect. And
18 in a lot of cases, actually just the statistical noise in
19 the objective function can lead to the similar results
20 for the numerical -- for the numerical derivative and for
21 the optimum.

22 Secondly, it seems that the constraint
23 optimization procedure has obvious statistical problems.
24 And, first of all, if we're looking at that as a GMM
25 problem with the constraint, then the test statistic is

1 not going to be squared as in a standard Houseman type of
2 test. And what this means is that it will be very hard
3 to use something like that for model selection or model
4 testing, or specification testing. And so, I guess I'm
5 just going to move directly to the end of my discussion.

6 So, first of all, I was -- I was going to say
7 that the paper gives very important results about the
8 relevance of numerical approximation. We can use it to
9 improve computational performance of the differentiated
10 demand estimator. And although this method is more
11 interpretable, explicit inversion of fixed effects is not
12 necessary for inferential purposes.

13 The real advantages of the method, when we're
14 using the precise computations, is, first of all, we are
15 producing more -- something which is more (inaudible) to
16 the errors in large deviations, and that's going to be
17 very important for counterfactuals. And, secondly, we
18 can provide much higher precision for computing the
19 welfare or the revenue measures in the models defined by
20 differentiated demand. Thanks.

21 MR. BAJARI: In the interest of staying on
22 time, I think we're going to postpone questions for
23 speakers until the very end. So, let's hear from Katja
24 Seim from Wharton.

25 MS. SEIM: All right. Well, thank you very

1 much for having me. This is joint work with Michaela
2 Draganska at the Stanford GSB and Mike Mazzeo at Kellogg.
3 And as the title suggests, what this paper is trying to
4 do is look at how firms make product assortment
5 decisions. And by that, what we're going to mean is how
6 firms choose which subset of an existing portfolio of
7 products to offer.

8 So, we're not going to be looking at how firms
9 decided to position products and characteristics per se
10 more generally, or how the decision to introduce a new
11 product is made in terms of characteristics. Instead,
12 what we'll be looking at is purely assortment choices.
13 And the way the paper proceeds is to develop and estimate
14 an empirical model of a firm's pricing and assortment
15 decision.

16 We then look at a number of counterfactuals to
17 try to look at how important consumer demand is in
18 driving firms' choices, to what extent product assortment
19 choices reflect back on the prices that we see in the
20 market, and then lastly, which I'll spend time on at the
21 end, to look at how market structure and changes in
22 market structure affect the assortments that we see.

23 So, you know, why might you think that is
24 interesting? I think, on the one hand, it complements
25 existing work that looks at how market structure affects

1 prices. So, if you thought about the effect of a merger,
2 there oftentimes people look at what the likely price
3 effect might be of that. We're going to also look at
4 assortment choices. On the one hand, because the types
5 of consumers that are affected by that are likely to be
6 different, price effects in general tend to affect the
7 marginal consumer who might choose not to buy any more as
8 prices increase.

9 In our case, if you choose to fully recondition
10 your assortment, you're actually going to affect the
11 infer-marginal consumers as well.

12 On the other hand, we also think that these
13 types of decisions are an important practice. And I've
14 just put up a bunch of examples of settings where you
15 think assortment choices are here, you know, product
16 choices for a multi-product firm are relatively easy to
17 adjust as a result of a merger in the short term and in
18 the long run obviously as well.

19 So, store locations, closings, openings,
20 adjustments to flight schedules, adjustments to the
21 network, and then the last example that I have here is
22 adjustments to radio formats. And there's actually some
23 work there on what the affect of mergers might be on the
24 variety of radio stations that we see by Barry and
25 Goldberger (phonetic), and what they find for example is

1 benefitting from being the last in the session, so you've
2 sort of seen how these approaches work. We'll use a very
3 standard, discrete choice demand model that is very much
4 like what Jeremy talked about. Sadly enough, even more
5 simple, and I'll talk a little bit about that at the end.

6 And we're going to then take this model and as
7 an application look at what kinds of estimates we get for
8 the ice cream market. But I think it could be easily any
9 kind of setting that you might be interested in.

10 So, I'm going to give you a quick overview of
11 how the model works. It's going to be a two-stage game
12 here that firms play. They're first going to choose
13 which set of flavors, in our case here, or product more
14 generally, to offer out of an existing portfolio of
15 products that they have available. And then they're
16 going to give them the assortment choices that they and
17 their competitors may choose how to set prices.

18 As I said, our demand side is going to be a
19 discrete choice model of demand at the flavor level, so
20 the product level. We're going to use a random
21 coefficient specification and have a logit demand shock.
22 So, we'll get the usual logit demand estimates back from
23 that.

24 In contrast to a lot of the other literature
25 here has done, we're going to control for unobservable

1 attributes of flavors, another demand shocks, primarily
2 by including a host of market characteristics and time
3 and flavor dummies rather than explicitly controlling --
4 (inaudible). And I talk a little bit at the end why we
5 do that.

6 On the front side, we're going to look at the
7 two-stage decision process. We'll have two types of
8 costs. On the one hand, there will be a marginal cost to
9 producing a product. In our empirical setting, the ice
10 cream market, these are going to be primarily cost
11 shifters of inputs, capital labor, et cetera. We'll
12 assume -- which I think probably makes sense in our
13 setting, that these are common knowledge. In contrast to
14 what Carl talked about yesterday, our data on these
15 marginal costs is actually very basic. And so, we will
16 assume that there is unobserved component to marginal
17 cost. And you'll see later how if you had better data, I
18 think you could do much better on this front.

19 We'll also assume that firms pay fixed costs to
20 offering a particular flavor. And so, what we have in
21 mind here would be things like distributional costs of
22 getting flavors to stores, the slotting fees that the
23 brands contract over with the stores and having them on
24 the shelves. We'll assume that these are flavor
25 specific, that they're information to the firm only, but

1 not observed by its competitors. And then in our
2 empirical estimation about further distribution to them
3 and assume that they're like normal.

So, the effect of these assumptions on the

1 choices. And the expected payoff of any given choice
2 here is going to reflect what they are going to make in
3 profit under each of the alternative assortments that
4 firm two could offer, rated by the probability that firm
5 one thinks firm two is going to offer that assortment.

6 And so, as this flow chart, I think, tells you,
7 like the main difficulty in this literature is really the
8 dimensionality of the problem. As you keep adding
9 flavors here, computationally it's going to be
10 increasingly difficult. And so, in our empirical
11 application, we're also going to focus on a pretty small
12 -- small scale example. This is more relevant for
13 estimation because you keep solving the model over and
14 over than it might be for the actual counterfactuals.

15 So, what we'll do is we'll do an estimation,
16 start a demand side, calculated predicted market shares;
17 use those together with the observed prices to figure out
18 what the firm's marginal cost would have been, and

1 data that Matt talked about in the beginning. So, it's
2 IRI data at the market level. We have data from 2003 to
3 2005 for 64 markets. This is where they are. The data
4 contained prices, quantities, information on sort of the
5 flavors that are offered. And we're going to look at
6 decisions at a monthly level, which is where we see some
7 variation in -- in flavor offerings.

8 We'll focus on the vanilla subcategory here,
9 which is about 25 percent of the ice cream market, and
10 look at regular ice cream sold in three and a half to
11 four pint packages. So, this sort of shows you a
12 breakdown, we'll roughly capture 80 percent of the market
13 that way.

14 The firms that operate in this market are
15 really two types. We have Breyer's and Dryer's. They
16 are national brands present in all of our markets. Then
17 we also have a pretty large set of sizable regional firms
18 that are listed here. They provide quite a lot of
19 variation in the competitive environment in local
20 markets. So, as you can see, they're not available in
21 all of the markets over time.

22 The right-hand side here of the table just
23 shows you differences in the number of flavors. Vanilla
24 flavors that we see offered across markets. We're going
25 to, in estimation, focus on the choices of the national

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1 host of demographic attributes of the markets.

2 On the cost side here, our marginal cost
3 estimates, these are mostly, like I said, input price
4 shifters. And if you look at the precision with which
5 we're able to estimate these, in general not very pinned
6 down. So, this would be an area that better data would
7 really help.

8 We have one brand-specific cost shifter, which
9 is the distance to the distribution center or
10 transportation cost. Most everything else does not vary
11 over brands, and just in general doesn't have that much
12 variation.

13 And then lastly, the fixed cost estimates that
14 we cover based on an assumed like normal distribution of
15 the shop to offering a particular assortment, imply
16 average and median flavor offering costs for a given
17 month of, you know, on the magnitude of several thousand
18 dollars, which is in line with the variable profits that
19 we estimate for these flavors over time.

20 So, let me just turn to what we want to do with
21 these results now that we're done. We're going to look
22 at a bunch of counterfactuals. I'll only talk about the
23 merger analyses that we conduct where we're going to
24 contrast what happens if Breyer's and Dreyer's were to
25 merger into a single firm, and offer the same assortment,

1 which we'll call fixed product, to what happens if
2 they're a duopoly and what happens if they adjust their
3 assortments after the fact.

4 Now, as you can imagine in this kind of
5 situation, the actual configuration and competitive
6 environment in a market is going to matter a lot. This
7 first example is one where we just basically took our
8 empirical setting at face value and looked at what kinds
9 of effects we get. And here the effects are very small,
10 both of the merger in general and of androgenizing the
11 assortment choices.

12 This is due to, first of all, vanilla being
13 only a small share of the ice cream market; optional
14 flavors being even smaller than that. And so, we're sort
15 of looking at a merger here of products that are quite
16 small relative to the big picture. In addition, the
17 flavor offering costs are also relatively low.

18 And so, as an alternative, we looked at what
19 would happen if we focused on the optional flavors only,
20 so had Bryer's and Dryer's only, offer those, and assume
21 that the market was smaller so that their overall share
22 of the demand was significantly larger.

23 And then we're going to contrast our estimated
24 fixed costs with a scenario where we jump up fixed costs
25 of offering a flavor by a factor of one and a half. And

1 so the main things to take away from this are the
2 following: Both of these results, the settings give you
3 pretty similar implications. And, first of all, you
4 know, as we go from duopoly to any kind of a monopoly
5 situation, prices increase. They tend to increase more
6 with the settings that we've looked at so far for the
7 case where we hold products fixed as opposed to the case
8 where we allow firms to adjust their assortment.

9 In both of these situations, firms tend to
10 decrease the number of flavors that they offer. And in
11 terms of sort of how that's broken down between the three
12 flavors that we look at, they tend to sort of decrease
13 all of them as they go from duopoly to monopoly.

14 The effect of that on consumer surplus is going
15 to be, you know, a reduction in surplus, both because
16 prices increase relative to duopoly, but also because
17 variety falls. And once we endogenize choices, the
18 change in surplus also reflects that relative to the
19 fixed products case, prices are actually not quite as
20 high. And so, these two tend to offset each other.

21 So, let me just conclude here in terms of where
22 we want to take this going forward. I think what this
23 has shown you is that, you know, the results that we
24 would expect to see from a merger on assortment is going
25 to matter on the particular case study, which is not

1 surprising. We are also able, for example, to come up
2 with similar predictions to the Balferger (phonetic)
3 Berry setting where variety actually increases as a
4 result of a merger, which might actually mean that
5 consumers are better off. And this provides you with a
6 -- there's a setting that you can look at that.

7 There are a number of things that you might not
8 like about the way we do this. I think there's things
9 that we can do to improve on our demand side, sort of
10 following on what Jeremy said. There's also things that
11 we can do on how we estimate the product assortment game
12 between firms, drawing on the recent literature.

13 What we're most interested in for now is
14 actually looking at, you know, how the results of the
15 predictions here will change instead of looking at a
16 model where assortment is driven by fixed cost
17 differences between firms. What would we get if instead
18 we looked at a model where assortment is driven by
19 selection in that there are unobserved things about
20 demand and cost that firms might know that affect the
21 selection that they make in a particular market.

22 This is more difficult in terms of solving it,
23 which is why we started with this one. But I think
24 having information on both of these would give you a nice
25 picture of whether assortments matter in a particular

1 case, and if so, how much. Thanks.

2 MR. BAJARI: Our discussant is Minjung Park
3 from the University of Minnesota.

4 MS. PARK: Okay. Let me briefly summarize the
5 paper. So, on the demand side, we have a discrete choice
6 model for differential products. And the model allows
7 random coefficient. There's no site (inaudible) that
8 represents an observed product quality.

9 On the supply side, we have an assortment
10 decision in the first stage, and then firms engage in
11 Bertrand-Nash pricing game in the second stage. And the
12 fixed cost introduction, which is relevant for the first
13 -- first stage decision, is assumed to be private
14 information.

15 So, the author's applied a supply and demand
16 model to the market for vanilla ice cream, and their
17 paper shows that to get the count affecters (phonetic),
18 it is important to first incorporate indulgence product
19 choices, and also it is important to model demand and
20 pricing decisions directly instead of using a reduced
21 (inaudible) function.

22 So, this paper is very well motivated. I think
23 most people in this room would agree that it is important
24 to look at this issue. And the authors do a very good
25 job of doing that. So, thank you, Katja, and thank you

1 this, I think potential readers of this paper would
2 appreciate that quite a bit.

3 My second comment is that product assortment
4 decisions seem to be a dynamic decision, or at least it
5 seems to be state dependent. So, for example, the fixed
6 costs of introducing a product the second time around
7 might be a lot more. Or if there's a serial correlation
8 to fix costs, then a firm might be able to learn about
9 its competitors fixed costs over time from the previous
10 decisions. And the authors sort of assume away these
11 issues and in their application they assume that the
12 assortment decisions are made each month for each market
13 separately in aesthetic fashion.

14 So, I think one simple way to check whether
15 this concern is relevant for this particular market is to
16 report the times where it's appropriate (inaudible)
17 product offerings, so we see the products are offered for
18 many months in a row and didn't get dropped, or do we see
19 that they are offered on and off?

20 So, if you see the latter pattern, it might
21 suggest that it's not such a big concern for this
22 particular market.

23 So, what about dynamics on the consumer side?
24 So, I don't really know much about this market, but the
25 consumers have strong brand loyalty in this market. So,

1 suppose the consumers have loyalty at the brand level,
2 and they also seek variety of flavors. If that's the
3 case, the firm might have an incentive to introduce a new
4 flavor, even just so that they could lock in those
5 consumers at the brand level, although the particular
6 flavor itself might not be individually profitable.

7 Or it might be that it takes some time for
8 consumers to get used to or try new products. And,
9 again, if this is the case, a firm might have an
10 incentive to introduce a new flavor, although doing so is
11 not individually profitable for that particular period.
12 And these conditions sort of make the optimality
13 condition that you use for product offering to be
14 incorrect, and in that regard it would be nice if you
15 could provide some discussion about, you know, consumer
16 behavior in this market.

17 So, for ice cream, we have a very simple form
18 of differentiation. For many of the products, they like
19 you to have multi-dimensional product differentiation.
20 And we are likely to encounter the curse of
21 dimensionality, as she mentioned in the discussion -- in
22 the presentation.

23 So, just to get a sense of how serious this
24 issue might be, and also just to get a feel for how
25 feasible the proposed methodology will be for potential

1 users of this approach, it would be nice if you could
2 report, you know, how long it take to submit a model when
3 you have one dimensional differentiation, two, three or
4 four, those cases.

5 I sort of found it intriguing that these firms
6 charge the same price for all of their flavors. And it
7 also helps simplify the analysis in the paper. So, it
8 would be interesting to know what are these features that
9 sort of justify the practice of uniform pricing in this
10 market. And also just, you know, in addition to that, in
11 Monte Carlo, can you actually -- if you try -- can you
12 actually show that the uniform pricing decision to lead
13 to a lot -- much reduction in firms profits compared to
14 unrestricted pricing, optimal pricing behavior. So, that
15 would be sort of interesting to know on the side.

16 So, last two comments. So, they used to make
17 these fixed costs from the optimality conditions for
18 product offerings, and they find that the fixed costs
19 differ greatly across flavors for a given firm. On the
20 other hand, when they submit the supply side, they assume
21 that the marginal cost is the same for all flavors in the
22 same market, for a given firm.

23 So, it's kind of -- it's kind of strange to
24 argue that the marginal cost is the same, but fixed costs
25 are very different.

1 Last comment. So, in merger simulations, I
2 think eventually we would like to allow firms to
3 introduce new products that were not present in the
4 market previously. And if that's what we want to do
5 eventually, then we'd like to sort of map this production
6 to the characteristics space so that we know how close
7 they are. And, you know, then for that we need to know
8 -- how the consumer substitute patterns among these
9 products.

10 So, in that sense, it'd be nice to buy three
11 gallons of ice cream and try to come up with some
12 measures that can map these flavors into the
13 characteristics space and see how close they are. And
14 I'll be very happy to offer my help for that task.
15 That's it. Thank you.

16 MR. BAJARI: Well, I'd like to thank our
17 authors and discussants for three interesting papers.
18 And let's go have a little bit of coffee.

19 (ss u u)

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3

MS. ATHEY: All right. So, let's get settled.

4

So, where is David? We're missing a speaker here.

5

David? Man of the hour. And you're ready, so we're

6

going to do about 25 and five, so that way when I say

7

zero, you've got, you know, 30 seconds or something.

8

So, let's get started so we have some chance to get

9

everyone out on time.

10

So, our last session is on, again, the topic

11

near and dear to my heart, economics of networks and the

12

Internet, and our first speaker is going to tell us how

13

that advertising works. So, take it away, David.

14

MR. REILEY: Thanks. This topic of how does

15

advertising affect sales is something that has

16

interested me since I was a graduate student. In fact,

17

I had hoped to write my dissertation on that topic and I

18

discovered that all the data that I had been collecting

19

for the professor that I was working for were not

20

actually going to be able to identify these effects in a

21

way that I was going to believe. So, that's when I

22

switched to studying online auctions and running

23

experiments.

24

Since I'm now working at Yahoo! research, I have

25

some really great opportunities to return to this

1 question that interested me from the beginning. And,
2 you know, a couple of people have said, gee, you know,
3 there are ads on all of these pages that I browse, but I
4 basically ignore all the ads, and so it's sort of --
5 it's an interesting question. Are there people who are
6 actually looking at them or are these things affecting
7 us subconsciously or do they have no effect and, you
8 know, people don't -- advertisers are wasting their
9 money on these things.

10 I know economists are always assuming that firms
11 are behaving optimally, but having worked inside a firm
12 now, I'm pretty critical of that assumption.

13 So, I'm really excited to be able to talk about
14 the effects of advertising on sales. This is joint work
15 with -- this is joint work with Randall Lewis, who is a
16 Ph.D. student at MIT, and was a summer intern with me at
17 Yahoo! this summer.

18 So, the outline is, why is it hard to measure
19 the effects of ads on sales, what's the experiment look
20 like, what's the data look like. Then I'm going to talk
21 about basic treatment effects from the experiment that
22 we ran. Then I want to talk about what happens, sort of
23 what are the long-run effects of the advertising
24 campaign that we did as an experiment. And then I'm
25 going to talk about some more detailed results if I have

1 time.

2 So, this is John Wanamaker, department store
3 retailing pioneer, and he famously said, half the money
4 I spent on advertising is wasted, I just don't know
5 which half. And this has been -- this has been my
6 experience that advertising is -- it's not easy to
7 quantify the effects of advertising, and it's hard to
8 know where the advertising you're spending is actually
9 having an impact for you.

10 So, to substantiate my claim that advertisers do
11 not have good measures of the effects of brand image
12 advertising, I want to cite a Harvard Business Review
13 article published this year by the founder and president
14 of ComScore, and in this article, he talks about
15 measurements of the effects of advertising on sales.

16 So, ComScore is the largest Internet data firm.
17 They have a panel of over two million customers
18 worldwide have who agreed to let ComScore track
19 everything that they do in their web browser. And, so,
20 Abraham describes in his article the methodology here is
21 simple, we take those people who saw ads for a
22 particular good and we compare them to the people who
23 didn't see ads for the particular good, and then we
24 survey them to see whether they bought it or not.

25 The potential problem with that methodology is

1 that the two samples don't necessarily come from the

1 practitioners. The classic technique that was used was
2 econometric regressions of aggregate sales versus
3 advertising over time. Marketing professionals do this
4 and call it marketing makes modeling. And it's
5 literally a textbook example of the endogeneited problem
6 in econometric, see Ernie Barron's book on chapter 8,
7 which is uses advertising in sales to illustrate
8 endogeneity. You know, what causes advertising to vary
9 over time? Well, you know, sometimes you run the
10 regression and you get a positive slope, and then you
11 realize, oh, gee, firm was setting advertising as 10
12 percent of sales, right, and so which way does the
13 causality actually go?

14 So, there's two ways for observational data to
15 provide inaccurate results. Aggregate time series data,
16 the advertising doesn't vary systematically over time.
17 You have endogeneity, individual cross-section data, you
18 have admitted variable bias if you compare people who
19 saw ads to people who didn't see ads. And so, you know,
20 my point of view has always been, when the existing data
21 don't give us a valid answer to our question of
22 interest, we should consider generating our own data.
23 And I think our experiment is the best way to establish
24 a causal relationship.

25 So, we're going to systematically vary

1 advertising, showing as to some consumers and not
2 others, we're going to measure the difference in sales
3 between the two groups of consumers, you know, and this
4 is almost never done in advertising, either in online or
5 traditional media. Some exceptions, direct mail
6 marketers are really good at doing experiments, and in
7 search advertising, there is some degree of
8 experimentation going on.

9 I claim that our understanding of advertising
10 resembles our understanding of physics in the 1500s, and
11 Galileo's key insight was to use the experimental
12 method. It's not sufficient to observe that a bowling
13 ball falls faster than a feather. You want to try to
14 control everything, take the same shape and sized items
15 and have one be wood and one be brass and then see which
16 one falls faster, right? So, we're going to try to do
17 controlled experiments here.

18 Market is often measuring the effects of
19 advertising using experiments, but not with actual
20 transaction data. So, typical measurements done by
21 marketers come from questionnaires like do you remember
22 seeing this commercial, how positively do you feel about
23 this brand, you know, what comes to mind first? What
24 brand comes to mind first when you think about
25 batteries?

1 And if you read one of the review articles like
2 Lotus' 1995 article in the Journal of Marketing
3 research, you see that their summary, meta analysis of
4 300 different tests, is that 30 percent of the tests
5 were significant at the 20 percent level of
6 significance. So, there's only a very little bit there.
7 They were being pretty generous using a 20 percent
8 significance level and they still had a hard time
9 finding anything significant.

10 Okay, I'm going to skip a couple of other things
11 here. Well, I should also say some studies derived
12 valid insights from nonexperimental observational panel
13 data. Example being Dan Ackerberg's work on yogurt,
14 where he had individual diaries of TV ads, sample of

1 interesting number, which is what percent of customers
2 actually clicked on an ad, and that's 4.6 percent of the
3 treatment group.

4 The number of ads delivered has a skewed
5 distribution. That bump on the right-hand side is
6 actually -- you know, I'm top coding some observations
7 there, and so actually the maximum is way the heck, you
8 know, across the street, with 6,000 ad views. It's hard
9 for me to imagine that that was actually a few men
10 seeing 6,000 views of this ad, because only about 15
11 percent of all pages shown on Yahoo! had this ad
12 campaign on it. All right, I have to speed up.

13 In-store sales are big compared to online sales,
14 blue versus purple here, and there's a lot of variance
15 from one week to the next. I have a little hole in my
16 data there, in December, where I wasn't able to get the
17 sales data.

18 There were lots of individual outliers. You can
19 see, you know, in the first week that I have data, the
20 mean sales are 93 fake cents per person, and the min is
21 minus \$932, the max is plus \$4,000, fake dollars. This
22 is a retailer who's pretty generous in accepting
23 returns, so I think I actually believe the minus
24 numbers. You know, none of these data were hand coded
25 at any point. These are all directly from computer

1 records from the register.

2 So, not all the treatment group members browsed
3 Yahoo! enough to see the retailer ads. 36 percent of
4 them in the treatment group did not see ads. So, I can
5 assume that in the control group, 36 percent of them
6 behaved in such a way that they would not have seen ads
7 if I had tried to show it to them. Unfortunately, I
8 don't know how to cut out the red people and just
9 examine the green people, you know?

10 So, I'm going to be able to first measure the
11 treatment effect on the intent to treat, but that's not
12 so interesting in this case. You know, it's not like it
13 was a take-up rate decision where the individual said,
14 oh, yes, I want to see ads, or no, I don't. It was, you
15 know, did the person happen to browse in a way that
16 resulted in their seeing an ad? So, this is going to
17 result in dilution of my treatment effect measurements.

18 So, the descriptive statistics are \$1.84 in the
19 control group is mean sales, \$1.89 in the treatment
20 group. So, I got a five-cent increase due to ads. The
21 effect is not significantly significant. Even with 1.6
22 million people. And I sort of think looking for the
23 effect of advertising on sales is a bit like looking for
24 a needle in a haystack. Right? There's huge variance
25 of sales across individuals. I can't expect advertising

1 to explain very much of it, particularly just this one
2 ad campaign on Yahoo!.

3 It was a little disappointing, not to get
4 statistical significance here, and so, one of the
5 problems is I have complete noise for 36 percent of the
6 data because I know these people didn't see ads. So,
7 here's another thing that I want to look at. Suppose I
8 hadn't done an experiment and suppose I just looked at
9 the treatment group, right, I just ran an ad campaign to
10 these people. Some of them ended up seeing ads, some of
11 them didn't, just like in this ComScore study I talked
12 about.

13 So, here, ads decreased sales by 23 cents per
14 person. Big negative effect, if you do it this way.

15 But it's not really a causal thing. It's got to be

goshuf.i (admitted) variable 8 Dila) Tj 57 - just because, I see, I don't bi BefComS TDn ad ca

1 on.

2 And, in fact, if you look at the time series
3 differences, the control group falls from \$1.95 to
4 \$1.84, so a decline of about ten cents, with some
5 rounding, looks like 11, but it's actually ten. And if
6 you look at the bottom line, those who were not exposed
7 to the retailer's ads, those sales fall by ten cents.
8 But if you look at the people who were treated, their
9 sales stay constant, right?

10 So, it looks like we had a period where people
11 bought more and then followed by a period where people
12 bought less, and the ads prevented sales from falling by
13 as much as they would have if they hadn't seen ads.

14 So, I'm going to skip that.

15 Very interesting that the distribution of sales
16 looks so similar across treatment and control. And
17 there's some very small differences that I magnify here,

similar across treatment and control groups. When sales have to move 0.2e

1 the campaign. I can't observe -- I wish the ad server
2 behaved this way. I can't observe that somebody showed
3 up, you know, I would have delivered them a retailer ad,
4 and then the ad server says, oh, wait, they're in the
5 control group, I can't show it. I wish I had been able
6 to record that event, but I can't. And I can't observe
7 that somebody didn't show up to Yahoo! at all.

8 So, out of the 36 percent who didn't see ads,
9 two-thirds of them didn't show up to Yahoo! at all and
I'm able to see if they showed up to Yahoo! at all and

1 going to assume that I have individual fixed effects
2 alpha I, and if I take time series differences, I get
3 rid of them. And, so, the estimated effect that I get
4 is ten cents with a standard error of four cents, which
5 is a estimated sales impact for the retailer of \$83,000
6 plus or minus \$70,000 at 90 percent confidence interval.
7 Compared with the cost of those ads being \$20,000.

8 So, you know, it looks like we're getting a
9 positive return to advertising, and it does seem to be
10 statistically significant.

11 Let's see, what can I say in my one remaining
12 minute? I have a specification test that makes me feel
13 good about the difference in difference models. And, so,
14 then we ask about persistence. And we say, you know,
15 gee, what happens after the two weeks are over? We get
16 a -- we get a treatment effect for two weeks of ten
17 cents, we get a three-week treatment effect of 16 cents,
18 that is the single week -- the third week of after the
19 campaign is over, has a treatment effect of six cents,
20 so a standard error of 2.4 cents.

21 So, there are statistically significant effects
22 of the campaign even in the third week. And then we
23 thought, well, gee, if we have it in the third week, I
24 wonder what happens in the fourth and higher weeks. So,
25 we plot -- we plot our treatment effect estimates, and

1 random buys who possibly get the treatment, but even in
2 this exercise, selection occurs within that set, right,
3 because some people who are going to potentially be
4 exposed to these advertisements are just not going to
5 surf on Yahoo! at that point.

6 So, selection occurs within the set, and those
7 are interesting observations that I think are garnered
8 with the detailed individual level data, panel data. In
9 particular, this persistence effect of advertising, as
10 well as the difference between offline and online
11 results, and I think that's something that, in
12 particular, hasn't been exposed to a detailed and
13 credible level yet.

14 But let me just, you know, caution David and
15 Randall when they're going forward in some of the
16 robustness checks to still be careful of that selection
17 effect that they still have in their model, right? So,
18 they treat -- possibly people can see the selection
19 effect, but if you just don't go on Yahoo! you don't see
20 it. And what he's going to do in some of the later
21 campaigns is actually say, look, I'm just going to
22 control the treated group with the other people who
23 never saw the ad. So, that includes the people in the
24 control group, as well as those people who should have
25 been exposed to ads, but weren't. And David explained

1 have. So, there's the potential for this bias.

2 Now, one thing that's very comforting is that
3 David actually checks in his data on this first
4 campaign, and shows that, well, in fact, you know, all
5 of these average out to about \$2. So, it seems like
6 this part of the treatment group is actually the same --
7 has the same behavior as this control group together.

8 So, in that case, we wouldn't worry so much.
9 But what I would encourage him to do when he's looking
10 at these persistence checks later on, is just to check
11 that are we comparing -- is there a control group,
12 whoever we put in this control group, including those
13 untreated treatment effect people, and the actual
14 treated people, are they reacting to external shock in
15 the exact same manner over time, right? Because that's
16 kind of what you need with that difference in
17 differences. If you have these two groups reacting to
18 shocks differently, then it's not clear that you can do
19 that.

20 So, maybe one way to address, you know, sort of
21 the distribution problems, take a look at Beatty
22 (phonetic) and Nevins and see that they have a way to
23 nest differences in difference. Also, they show this ad
24 about how these net -- these advertising effects are
25 kind of counter-cyclical with sales cycles and I want to

1 suggest that you check other options. Maybe there are
2 lag effects, because these advertising campaigns are not
3 only happening online but offline in TV and newspaper.

4 So, maybe just off line people react to things a
5 little bit differently. As well as the hot topic are
6 all these social networks and they have information from
7 Yahoo! on the social connection of these people, whether
8 they're involved in Yahoo! groups or not. So you can
9 say the persistence effect might actually be connected
10 with that kind of behavior.

11 And then, you know, how many licks does it take
10 click. I thinkit tgMu

1 MS. ATHEY: No questions? Do you have the data
2 set? Okay, so up next, we have interactions between
3 organic search and paid search.

1 of this data, as I move along. All right. So, what is
2 this all about? Well, just to sort of set the stage up,
3 imagine a consumer who is searching for betting on
4 Google, right, and this consumer then gets to see a
5 bunch of letter links on the search engine page and many
6 of us might have seen something similar or even come
7 across and played around with this.

8 So, the one set that you see on the top have
9 three slots and the ones we see on the right-hand side,
10 these are all sponsored links. These are all based on
11 auctions, standard advertisers that you see over here
12 have worked with, and, you know, place bids in
13 combination with the bid price, click on it and they get
14 ranked. And then we also get to see what we refer to as
15 organic or free links. In other words, these are the
16 links that come up for free, and I say that for free,
17 because there are some investments in landing page
18 optimization, but it's free in the sense that there's no
19 explicit auction going on over here.

20 So, the question we're trying to address in this
21 paper is, well, if I'm an advertiser, and my key word or
22 my link shows up for free on the organic side, should I
23 even bother to invest and place a bid on the paid side,
24 okay? I mean, paid ad is costly, you have to pay on a
25 per click basis, the organic links are free. So, does

1 it help me if consumers get to see my link on both the
2 paid and organic side, is that a good thing for me, do I
3 institute need to do that? Does it hurt my conversions?
4 So on and so forth.

5 So, what we are trying to do is look at the
6 interaction between paid and organic and then try to get
7 a sense of whether this interaction is positive or is it
8 not positive at all and is it negative, is it a
9 substitution effect or a complementary effect. Okay?

10 So, the agenda, sort of two full agendas I have
11 today. One is I'm going to be talking about what kind
12 of ads drive variation in consumer demand, drive
13 variation from the point of your purchase, click-through
14 conversion and so on, and in particular I will be
15 talking about specific attributes of these ads. Whether
16 these advertisements actually release the advertiser's

1 showing up for free on the organic side, it does pay for
2 me to be on the sponsored links and have my links there
3 as well. So, the probability of click-through on the
4 page, on the organic or the paid side increases if my ad
5 shows up simultaneously.

6 Now, one of the limitations of an auto logistic
7 model is that we have to assume symmetric ties, so we
8 also look at the discreet game entry model in which we
9 look at asymmetric effects. In other words, what we
10 found out we do as well, is the effect of organic links
11 on paid search, stronger or vice versa, and so we find
12 that the effect of organic links on paid searches, paid
13 links, is stronger than the other way around. Almost
14 three times higher.

15 We do some positive simulations to back out
16 increase in profitability and we find that there is
17 between a 4.5 to 6.7 percent increase in profits for the
18 advertisers who when they show up on the sponsored side,
19 given that they also are showing up on the organic side.

20 And then, finally, if I have the time, I talk
21 about a very interesting field experiment we did. So,
22 what we did with this advertiser is we asked them to
23 stop sponsoring a certain set of ads for two weeks and
24 then track the conversion on the organic side only, and
25 then we asked them to resume sponsoring those ads for

1 another two weeks and we tracked click-throughs,
2 conversions, revenues, from both organic and paid.

3 And, so, we repeated this experiment four times
4 over an eight-week period. And this helps us tease out
5 a little better the effect of organic search on paid
6 listings, okay? And, so, that explanation also
7 corroborates that the net, the click-through rates,
8 conversions, revenues and profits from having both
9 organic and paid significantly compensates for not
10 having paid.

11 All right. So, I'm not going to have too much
12 time to talk about prior work, but just to give you a
13 flavor of what's been going on. There's been a lot of
14 work done in this area from economics, in mechanism
15 designs and options, so we have been doing some of that.
16 In computer science, people are looking at algorithms,
17 you know, what kind of algorithms best optimize these
18 mechanism designs.

19 So, our paper is sort of looking at more of a
20 business perspective, information systems/marketing
21 perspective, and what we're really interested in looking
22 at is, as I said, looking at user firm, modeling firm
23 and user behavior and then search and then performance.

24 So, this requires internal advertising level
25 data, and that's, you know, what we've been trying to do

1 over the last couple of years, work with different
2 companies and get the conversion rates as well. And,
3 so, that's sort of the framework for, you know, where
4 I'm headed at with this study.

5 So, what -- let me first talk about, you know,
6 what kind of attributes we are looking at. So, the
7 first one that we're looking at is the presence or the

1 So, we've seen all kinds of, you know,
2 specificity in these kind of advertisements. And, so,
3 those are the three attributes we will be looking at in
4 the study. So, whether the ads have retailer
5 information, whether the ads have brand information, and
6 whether the ads are longer or shorter. And then we can
7 always look at how these ads are associated with
8 click-throughs, conversions, ranking and cost per click.

9 So, to give you a flavor, I'm not going to have
10 too much time to walk through all the details of the
11 model, but this is a hierarchical based model, and we
12 resolve it using Markov Chain Monte Carlo method,
13 Metropolis-Hastings algorithm.

14 So, one of the models of decision making over
15 here -- well, from the consumer point of view, there are
16 three decisions. As you go on in a sequential manner,
17 first the consumer searches. Based on a search, they
18 get to see an ad. When they see the ad, they makes
19 clicks or not. Based on the click-through, they decide
20 whether they want to purchase or not. So, you have
21 three decisions on the consumer point of view, the
22 advertiser's cost per click decision and the search and
23 rank decision.

24 So, we go in to solve these five models in a
25 simultaneous conversion framework. So, let me first

1 address the data. So, just from the purpose of NDA, I
2 can't disclose the name of the company, but you can
3 guess based on some of the ads that I was talking about.
4 This is a Fortune 500 firm, you know, which has 700
5 stores in the U.S. and internationally. We've got a --
6 we've got a one-year data set recently, but the work
7 that I'm talking about is sort of a three-month data set
8 from Google. The longer the data actually has the same
9 data from Google, Microsoft and Yahoo! so that's -- that
10 helps us tease out a few more things, eventually. So,
11 I'm going to talk about the Google data today.

12 They have -- we've got about 1900 unique key
13 word advertisements, and these are all the ads that this
retailer sponsored. So, you know, we didn't have to

1 the ad was being shown on the screen on the paid and the
2 organic side.

3 So, here's basically the sense of the auto
4 logistic model. I'm going to be just briefly showing
5 you a slide that has the joint level of distributions.
6 So, there are four kinds of possibilities here, right?
7 A consumer may click only on the paid listings. A
8 consumer may click only on the organic listings. A
9 consumer may click on both paid and organic, or a
10 consumer may not click at all. Right?

11 So, we are going to be using the auto logistic
12 model and, in particular, Besag's theorem to formulate
13 the joint distribution functions, and the idea is to
14 tease out the nature of the interaction effect. Is it a
15 complementary effect between paid and organic, is the
16 interaction negative or is it independent?

17 Let me -- so, here's the joint level of
18 distribution. So, the first equation, essentially the
19 probability that a consumer clicks on both the paid and
20 the organic. And the teed up parameter is
21 interdependence parameter. So, teed up parameter maps
22 whether paid and organic, if the simultaneous is
23 positive, that suggests that paid and organic have a
24 positive complementary relationship. If it's negative,
25 that means they have a substitution effect.

1 Pi is intrinsic to the function. So, what we're
2 saying is users, when clicking on a paid ad, they have a
3 market share utility from clicking on an organic ad and
4 they also have some market share utility of clicking on
5 both the organic and paid. And if they don't click at

factor in 821-5555

1 like click-through rates matter, the rank matters
2 relatively more for paid versus organic. So, you know,
3 on the paid side, it does play an important role
4 relative to organic, but that's the interesting
5 parameter from our point of view, the interdependence
6 parameter is very positive that you would see, so that's
7 basically suggesting that paid and organic
8 click-throughs have a positive complementary
9 relationship. So, it does make sense for advertisers to
10 show up on the paid side.

11 Well, I'm going to talk about some robustness.
12 Now, one of the -- you know, in the basic model, we
13 don't factor in independence of the teed up parameter.
14 So, we rate the robustness. We actually extended the
15 model incorporating both independence and
16 interdependence in the interaction parameter. So, it's
17 also a mixture model, the estimate and the point mass of
18 9.72 on the interdependence model would suggest that the
19 interdependence model is actually the right one to go
20 with. We did some out of sample relations and found out
21 the proposed simultaneous regression model predicts a
22 lot better than the same model estimated
23 aggression/regression. Same with when we looked at a
24 naive, very naive non-model-based forecasting approach,
25 the current model does a lot better.

1 We did some policy simulations, and I think the
2 interesting result over here is that they're getting a
3 4.3 to 6.5 increase in advertiser profits if -- given
4 this positive interdependence between paid and organic
5 searches.

6 So, that was interesting and various things
7 happen because of the kind of key words. For certain
8 key words, retailer key words, the positive effect is
9 more. For comparative key words, the positive effect is
10 less. And, so, that's sort of another interesting
11 paper. Or interesting result.

12 Then as I said, in one of the limitations of the
13 auto logistics model is you have to assume symmetric
14 interdependence. So, we also model a discrete game
15 entry framework where we're looking at possibility of
16 say symmetric interdependence. In other words, you
17 could argue that as a consumer, the ad showing up on the
18 paid side might have a probability of me clicking on the
19 organic side than vice versa.

20 So, we're looking at the fact that there's say
21 symmetric interdependence. So, we find that the effect
22 of having organic listings on the paid search is much
23 stronger. On average, about three times stronger than
24 vice versa.

25 So, here's a few experiments that I talked

1 about. We worked with this particular company for about
2 an eight-week period in which we asked them to stop
3 sponsoring a set of key words for two weeks. We tracked
4 their conversions, clicks and revenues for the organic
5 side for two weeks. For the next two weeks we said, why
6 don't you start resuming those sponsored ads and we're
7 going to track your click-throughs, conversions,
8 revenues from both paid and organic, and we repeated
9 this over an eight-week period.

10 And, so, this kind of, you know, turn5.1 -2016te
11 on, turn5.1 -2016te off, experiment helped us to solve
12 -2oldifferent effecte of paid and organic on
13 click-throughs, conversions and revenues a little better
14 -2an -2oldata we had. And, so, that's why you see that
15 a combined conversion rate and -2olcombined
16 click-throughs, when -2olpaid ads were on, were
17 significantly higher. Compared to when -2olpaid ads
18 were turned off.

19 Now this is a smaller sample, you know, because
20 -2oladvertisers wouldn't let us takolall their 1900 key
21 words, this wae only less -2an 100 keywords. But at
22 least this releases -2olfact that hav5.1 your ads show
23 up on -2olpaid search side is definitely a good -25.1
24 for you. So, tholcombined effecte and for both
25 click-throughs and conversions is a lot better. And,

1 also, for profit -- if you looked at revenues and
2 profits, so that went up, too.

3 So, basically to conclude, you know, we have a
4 hierarchical basin model, when we estimated this model
5 to figure out how ads impact consumer search,
6 click-throughs and purchases. We also examined
7 dispositive interdependence, which suggests that, yes,
8 even if you're showing up on this free organic site, it
9 does make sense and does pay for you to show up on the
10 paid side. It is asymmetric. So, showing up on the
11 paid side, also showing you on the organic side has an
12 asymmetrical relationship. There is a 4.3 to 6.5
13 percent increase in your profits, based on some of the
14 counterfactuals and policy simulations we ran.

15 So, that's sort of a -- you know, in the field
16 of experiments validated that, yes, your combined
17 conversion and click-through rates and combined revenues
18 are much higher when you have both paid and organic,
19 compared to when you only have organic.

20 So, part of this, as I said, the last couple of
21 years, part of our work has also extended to working
22 with, you know, this -- these results have some
23 indications on whether advertisers should invest more on
24 search engine optimization, like improving their landing
25 page qualities, versus improving their -- you know,

1 having higher bids, maybe, on search engine options.

2 So, one of the -- some of our current work
3 actually involves working with the advertisers in
4 manipulating the landing pages and trying to see, again,
5 running some field experiments with them and trying to
6 see if they shift the content in a certain way, does
7 that lead to higher conversions and so on and so forth.

8 The one question that I always get, and from
9 advertisers, across, like we worked with, you know,
10 financial services, travel, IT, retail, that if this is
11 true, if having your ad on the paid side does always
12 lead to higher probability of organic and vice versa,
13 would search engines have an incentive to play around
14 with the organic ranks. And I remember Susan and I
15 talked briefly about this and she had some interesting
16 insights to share. So, we are sort of trying to -- so,
17 possible future work is trying to look at this by
18 working with SEOs who have data from multiple
19 advertisers, and the conversions and click-throughs.

20 So, that's sort of where we're headed to, to
21 trying to decide if there is an intent for searches to
22 play around with the organic rankings. They get paid on
23 a per click basis, so you could argue that maybe there
24 is some incentive there.

25 But that's basically what we have so far.

1 MR. SMITH: So, my name is Loren Smith, I work
2 here at the FTC. I have to give the usual disclaimer
3 that these are my views and not the views of any
4 Commissioner or the Commission.

5 I thought this was a really neat paper, and it
6 was very well done. It's very complex, the estimation
7 technique is quite involved, and I must admit that
8 without the help of Matt Weinberg and Wikipedia, I
9 wouldn't have known what was going on. But, eventually,
10 I kind of got a basic idea of what he was doing in the
11 estimation.

12 And, so, the primary question, or the one
13 important question in the paper is, do paid and unpaid
14 search advertisements, how do they interact? Are they
15 complements, are they substitutes, and his simulations
16 indicate that they are complements, and they are
17 supported by his -- some field experiment results.

18 He also finds that retailer-specific key words,
19 which are less competitive and more specific to this
20 particular retailer, have a larger interaction effect
21 than do generic or brand-specific key words.

22 Things I liked about the paper, he empirically
23 qualifies something, a complementarity between organic
24 and paid search listings that, you know, really without
25 doing this exercise, we wouldn't have known what the

1 sign of it was. If you have a high level, a high rank
2 in an organic search listing, is it worth paying for a
3 paid search listing? And I think that's an important
4 question, and I think he answered it well in the paper.

5 The estimation routine allows for an arbitrary
6 correlation pattern across the errors of the model,
7 because of the hierarchy of decisions made in the model,
8 you don't know what the error correlation across the
9 errors of those decisions might be, and his estimation
10 technique allows for that correlation to be arbitrary.

11 The estimate seems sensible. The structure
12 allows for him to run some counterfactuals that inform
13 bid strategy and key word selection in paid search
14 advertising, and the results predicted by the model are
15 supported by a really cool field experiment. I mean,
16 it's very rare in IO that you have the opportunity to
17 compare your results to what might actually happen in
18 the real world, and he has that opportunity, and he took
19 advantage of it. And we all wish that we had that
20 opportunity, and I think it reflects well on his
21 simulation results that it's at least indirectly
22 supported by what he sees in the field.

23 So, the highlights of the model, it's a very
24 detailed model, demand, consumer click-throughs and
25 conversion rates, with some other equations modeled

1 within there. On the supply side, he has cost per
2 click. And then the estimation, he has the observed
3 number. So, the data -- he has the observed number of
4 each possible search outcome, and he estimates a
5 likelihood function of parameters and consumer market
6 share utility function from clicks, the observed number
7 of purchases, the likelihood function of the conversion
8 propensity, and then a cost per click, he parameterizes
9 the linear cost progression equation, and within that,
10 he estimates an equation for the rank of key word search
11 using a similar set of covariate.

12 The very complex estimation routine, you draw a
13 set of parameters from a proposal distribution, you
14 accept the draw, if it meets some criteria, that depends
15 on the proposal -- the relationship between the proposal
16 distribution and a target distribution, the likelihood,
17 and then you do this for a while, and you figure that
18 you're getting close to the proper distribution, you
19 throw all of those initial simulation or iterations
20 through the algorithm away, and then you use the last
21 end iterations of that algorithm and the M accepted
22 draws and treat that as posterior distribution that you
23 can draw the mean and the standard error of your
24 parameters from.

25 This sample -- that's what it says in the last

1 bullet there.

2 Applications, I always think about what could I
3 do with such techniques. So, other advertising, we
4 might want to know if they're complements or
5 substitutes. Direct consumer advertising, detailing in
6 drug markets, this is a question we might be interested
7 in here at the FTC. Are online stores and traditional
8 stores substitutes or complements for one another?
9 That's beyond the scope of advertising.

10 Estimation, anywhere that we want to build a
11 model of consumer decisions where we're uncertain about
12 the correlation in the error structure and we're
13 uncomfortable establishing a nest. We might want to use
14 a method like this where you estimate a set of
15 simultaneous equations, which allows for an arbitrary
16 correlation in the error structure.

17 Some questions and comments that I have. One
18 concern that -- the major concern that I have about what
19 he's doing here is that neither the demand for clicks or
20 the conversion depend on the characteristics of the
21 actual product that ends up being purchased. So, for
22 example, price. Is this information available? Could
23 it be used as a covariate? I think that it's likely to
24 be correlated with both your other explanatory variables
25 and your errors, so it could cause some problems in your

1 estimate.

2 The model fit, you talked just briefly about
3 that managers don't appear to be behaving optimally. I
4 would like to know more about is that behavior
5 systematic. Are they doing something that's related to
6 actually the complementarity, are they missing the
7 complementarity or are they overestimating the
8 complementarity in their decisions?

9 Can you pair the results of the field experiment
10 that you see directly to what your model would have
11 predicted in that situation?

12 And then another counterfactual, you might have
13 to actually re-estimate the model with some interactions
14 for rank, but how does the complementarity between
15 organic and paid advertising vary with the rank order of
16 where the ad shows up in the search listing? Something
17 like that might be interesting to see as well.

18 And that is all I have. Thanks.

19 MS. ATHEY: Any questions?

20 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) relating to
21 Loren's question, it's not clear to me that you have a

1 MR. GHOSE: No, that's right, we know the rank
2 of the organic listing. So, if it appears on the fifth
3 page and ranked sixth, it will show up as rank 36, or
4 rank 56. So, it shows up as well.

5 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) there's not a
6 dummy, though, of whether it's on the first page or not?

7 MR. GHOSE: No.

8 AUDIENCE MEMBER: So, not surprisingly, I was
9 more excited about the field results than the
10 observation results. Can you give me any intuition at
11 all about where identification comes from in your
12 observational study? Is it -- is it basically comparing
13 one key word to another that has different ranks in the
14 different positions and that's how you're doing it?
15 Because I just --

16 MR. GHOSE: In the experiment you mean?

17 AUDIENCE MEMBER: No, no -- well, in the
18 observation AI study. So, it's a very complicated
19 system of equations, and you have a higher arch Cal
20 basis.

21 MR. GHOSE: Right.

22 AUDIENCE MEMBER: You basically have five
23 equations with multinormal error term, and I just was
24 having a hard time imagining what is varying in rank
25 that's allowing you to identify the change in clicks due

1 to the rank?

2 MR. GHOSE: Right. Sure. So, it's a fully
3 recursive triangular system. So, this is, you know,
4 this is based on some -- an identification strategy
5 proposed by Lahiri and Schmidt many years back where
6 what they are saying is if you have a triangular system
7 and if it's fully recursive, then you don't -- you can
8 identify without having any further restrictions on the
9 dynamics and on the area and so on.

10 So, in other words, you start with one variation
11 on the cost per click, which is the advertiser's
12 decision, they base it on the previous period rank and
13 the previous period profit. Then you look at the search
14 engine decision, and the search engine then decides the
15 rank based on the current bid and the prior
16 click-through and they look at the consumer's decision
17 on click-throughs and conversions.

18 So, what is happening is that we have for each
19 of these cursive iterations, there are certain variables
20 missing from the previous one, the previous egression,
21 which is not there in the next egression and so on.

22 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) so, you're
23 actually identifying the over time rate for the
24 particular key word?

25 MR. GHOSE: Yes, identifying over time for a

1 particular key word.

2 AUDIENCE MEMBER: So the rank changes for a
3 particular key word?

4 MR. GHOSE: That's right, yeah.

5 MS. ATHEY: I would just kind of reiterate that
6 question that there's the molding and sometimes it's so
7 complicated that neither your presentation nor the
8 discussion actually was able to articulate that
9 particular issue because the cross-sectional variation
10 could be a little bit problematic, just because if
11 you're searching for -- if somebody is searching for bed
12 sheets at Kmart and then your landing page is going to
13 be very relevant for that. So, you are likely to be
14 high in the organic listings and you're more likely to
15 get a click-through on a Kmart ad. That's a -- that's a
16 correlation and not causality. So, the -- clarifying
17 that issue would seem to me to be the fundamental
18 economic issue.

19 MR. GHOSE: Right.

20 MS. ATHEY: From interpreting your results.

21 MR. GHOSE: Right. So, we also did some
22 simulations, you know, like in order to make sure that
23 the parameters identified, we tried to back out of those
24 from a similar data set, if you could back out the same
25 parameter estimates. So, we did a little bit of that,

1 but you're basically relying on the fact that, you know,
2 the key word rank for a given key word varies across
3 time for that key word.

4 MS. ATHEY: That's right. That's a more sort of
5 compelling sort of variation. So, the comment I
6 actually was going to make about the -- when you go to
7 the field experiment, you have cleaner identification,
8 but then you never get to see what happens when you take
9 the organic link away.

10 MR. GHOSE: Yeah. That's -- yeah. Maybe that
11 is up to the search engines to help us out a little bit.

12 MS. ATHEY: Exactly. So, a future collaborative
13 project. And then the incentive for the search engine
14 in the end, the claim that has been made was that the
15 search engines don't want to put up -- they don't put up
16 paid links on the left side very much. And, so, there's
17 a claim that maybe they've -- they're trying to extract
18 more revenue. You've found that the -- that being high
19 on the organic will increase the click-throughs for a
20 particular advertiser, but what you haven't been able to
21 show is that having those firms on the organic side
22 won't cannibalize clicks away from the ads as a whole,
23 because putting an ad high on the organic side could
24 shift clicks from one advertiser to another.

25 MR. GHOSE: Right.

1 MS. ATHEY: And simultaneously divert clicks
2 away from the paid side all together. So, the search
3 engine's incentive still is not clear.

4 MR. GHOSE: Right.

5 MS. ATHEY: One more question. Two.

6 AUDIENCE MEMBER: I'm going to bring this back
7 to the antitrust world a little bit, rather than the
8 identification world. One of the issues in the Google
9 DoubleClick investigation, a key issue I think was
10 whether or not search advertising and display
11 advertising competed with each other. And your results
12 would suggest to me that search advertising really is
13 potentially quite differentiated from display
14 advertising, especially this synergy between the organic
15 and the paid. I wonder if that is a correct inference
16 in your view or not.

17 MR. GHOSE: I mean, I haven't worked on
18 something myself, but I remember actually someone from
19 Yahoo! I spoke to someone some time back, and some folks
20 in Yahoo! had looked at this possible synergy between

1 MR. GHOSE: I don't remember. I couldn't get
2 that information from him, but he did mention that.

3 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) they've done
4 several studies now that showed, you know, if you run
5 display ad campaigns that your number of searches for
6 your -- (inaudible).

7 MR. GHOSE: And the only other data point I have
8 is from a company called I-crossing. I-crossing is the
9 largest digital ad company in the U.S. and they also
10 work with companies to look at these kind of synergies,
11 and they also corroborated that they found something
12 similar. So --

13 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) I apologize,
14 since I haven't read the paper, so I'm maybe asking two
15 very simple questions, but I was wondering, first of
16 all, if you had separately looked at placement of paid
17 search advertising in the top versus the right-hand side
18 of the page? Meaning that I might imagine that actually
19 if you got your ad on top, it's more of a substitute
20 than a complement to organic. So, I was wondering if
21 there's a differential there.

22 And my second question is that although it seems
23 like you have a rank variable, it would seem intuitively
24 to me like what would matter would be the relative
25 position of the organic and the paid search ad. So, if

1 the organic listing was very high, and the paid search
2 ad was very slow, I might be more likely to click on the
3 organic one, and if the results were opposite, I might
4 be more likely to click on the paid one.

1 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone)

2 MR. GHOSE: Well, from what we know, about 80
3 percent or so stick to the first page, and then the
4 second page about ten more and then just keep going.
5 It's a long, very long table.

6 AUDIENCE MEMBER: And that would then complement
7 or substitute, right, because you're substituting the
8 fact that the paid ad from the first page were back with
9 the organic ad on page 85, right? So, I think the
10 tease -- I mean, the experiment provides for perhaps in
11 terms of the econometric model that the dummy would
12 allow for that.

13 MR. GHOSE: Right.

14 MS. ATHEY: Great. So, let's move on to Gunter
15 and talk about markets with indirect network effects.

16 MR. HITSCH: I hope so. Thank you. All right,
17 well, first, thank you for the opportunity to present my
18 research here. This is joint with J-P Dube and Pradeep
19 Chintagunta at Chicago GSP, which as of today is known
20 as the Booth School of Business, \$300 million and no
21 word yet on my raise next year.

22 This paper is about markets such as BlueRay
23 versus HDTV, standard war of markets in indirect network
24 effects now decided in favor of BlueRay. Economic
25 theory that says markets with indirect market effects

1 tend to become concentrated, and the goal of this paper
2 is first to clarify how you could measure the market
3 concentration in use by indirect network effects and
4 then provide empirical or maybe I should call it semi
5 empirical illustration for a specific case of a
6 standards for the first generation of the Sony
7 PlayStation versus Nintendo 64, about 12, 13 years ago.

8 So, very, very briefly, this might be too
9 obvious for the audience, but what gives rise to
10 indirect network effects? So, think about consumer
11 adoption, consumer adoption for, say, a video game
12 console depends on the hardware and the price of the
13 hardware, it also depends, of course, on the software,
14 which is a complementary good, in particular, quality
15 and variety and price of software.

16 So, assume, which is, I think, true in many
17 markets, that there are economies of scale, meaning if a
18 larger number of people adopt the standard, there can be
19 more software forthcoming. And that gives rise to
20 indirect network effects, because then the adoption
21 decision of consumers indirectly depends on the size of
22 the network. Indirectly because consumers care about
23 the software, not, per se, about how many other people
 have it up.

1 telling you right here, on this slide, you could get out
2 of a Katz and Shapiro, their seminal 9285 paper, which
3 is not a dynamic model, but the information can be
4 provided and stagnant.

5 So, here in this example, there's no initial
6 advantage, but if consumers have expectations,
7 nonetheless the market might tip in favor of one of the
8 standards. Why? Well, suppose consumers expect that
9 standard one will win; therefore, in a certain
10 equilibrium, standard one will win, consumers will
11 believe that standard one will win, will adopt standard
12 one, and then more software will be forthcoming for
13 standard one and expectations are self-fulfilling. And
14 I could construct under certain parameter values and
15 equilibrium that the market is going to tip in favor of
16 standard two.

17 So, to sum this up, why can markets with
18 indirect network effects become concentrated? First,
19 there's the positive feedback effect. You have an
20 initial advantage and just initial advantage tends to
21 propagate, and this process can be exacerbated by
22 self-fulfilling expectations, and then you can actually
23 have multiple equilibrium. And all these mechanisms
24 together, that's what the literature on indirect network
25 and indirect network effects refers to as tipping.

1 Okay?

2 There's no -- the one I have up on the slide is,
3 I think, the most concise definition I could find even
4 -- and actually, I realized in Farrell and Klemperer's
5 survey chapter in the current -- in the latest handbook
6 of industrial organization, there's actually no concise
7 definition of tipping. But I think all these things
8 together, that's what it's really referred to as tipping
9 in the literature.

10 So, now the main point of the paper is, well,
11 how can you measure tipping? I already introduced a
12 concentration measure, one firm concentration ratio.
13 Now, think about what does this concentration ratio
14 depend on? Well, it depends on all the model parameters
15 that define demand and cost, and it depends on a certain
16 equilibrium that's being played out.

17 So, if I know these parameters and if I know the
18 equilibrium, I can, in principle at least, calculate the
19 expected one from concentration ratio, say 25 periods
20 after the initial launch of the -- of both standards.

21 So, now in the even measure of tipping that
22 follows, some are calculated expected concentration
23 ratio, and I compared it to 50 percent. You have two
24 standards and they're completely symmetric, this might
25 make sense. Any deviation from 50 percent might tell

1 us, don't think about how indirect market effects lead
2 to concentration.

3 The obvious problem with that is in empirical,
4 general markets are not symmetric, there's demand and
5 cost differences. So, really, what we would like to do
6 is to make counterfactual predictions about markets if
7 the parameters that in using our network effects were
8 removed or were made smaller in size.

9 So, ideally, I would like to study a model
10 variation where I change some of the parameters that
11 lead to indirect network effects, then I find in
12 corresponding equilibrium, and I compare the market
13 concentration, expected market concentration under our
14 actual market versus the counterfactual hypothetical
15 market where indirect network effects were removed.

So, how do I come --, how do I oarquilmwerD(1 85h idealhthe5

1 model, a model of standards competition under indirect
2 network effects, and we try to calibrate this model from
3 demand estimates and cost side data, and then use the
4 model for an equilibrium and predict the market
5 evolution, okay?

6 So, essentially in our computer we run this
7 experiment where we study counterfactual markets.

8 This is the model in one slide, I believe that
9 it wouldn't make any sense to bring up any equations
10 here, given my time constraints. So, the model has
11 three sides, and two are the really interesting ones.
12 First, consumers sold some dynamic, durable good at
13 option decision. The problem here, they choose between
14 adopting one of -- well, in our application two
15 standards, and they can delay the option until tomorrow,
16 and whether they adopt or delay depends on their --
17 well, depends on current prices and software
18 availability, but also on expectations about future
19 software ability on prices.

20 Then we have another party, the hardware firms,
21 who price their products dynamically taking into account
22 how their current price affects current adoption with
23 all of the future of the market. And we have software
24 firms, and the main part is that software supply is
25 increasing, and the cumulative installed base decides to

1 network.

2 This model is close to using an equilibrium
3 concept. Let me now explain why this is a phase in
4 equilibrium, while there's some private information in
5 the model. So, what does this equilibrium capture? It
6 captures some interaction. It captures that consumers
7 make adoption decisions thinking about how other
8 consumers will adopt the standard. They need to know
9 that because it tells them how much software they can
10 buy in future. And consumer adoption decisions also
11 depends on the expectations on how hardware firms will
12 behave that will tell them at what price they're going
13 to buy a product in the future, and firm decisions
14 depend on the expectation of how consumers and their
15 competitor will behave in future.

16 In our model here, there's no strategic role for
17 software firms, okay? So, essentially all we do is with
18 a reduced firm software side, where we estimate to what
19 extent more software is forthcoming, if the cumulative
20 adoption for a given standard is higher. And there
21 is -- you know, an important, implicit assumption here,
22 which is that you don't have any superstar games like
23 Halo in the market, okay? That's something we assume
24 away, and I think it's okay for our generation of video
25 game consoles that we study, but probably certainly

1 wouldn't be okay for other generations.

2 So, where do we get our parameters from? As I
3 already said, we focus on this standard war between the
4 first generation, the first Sony PlayStation versus
5 Nintendo 64, we estimate demand based on sales price and
6 software data, at the monthly level.

7 I have no time to talk about the exact details
8 here. By the way, the empirical side of our paper is
9 not really contribution. It mostly follows the lines of
10 existing work on durable good adoption. Where do we get
11 cost-side data from? We get cost parameters from
12 industry records. So, that's the approach, that's
13 the -- that's our data.

14 Now, as I said before, a couple of minutes ago,
15 the goal is to calculate this measure of the increase in
16 market concentration due to indirect network effects.
17 And we do that by first getting our parameters,
18 estimating them and getting them from industry records,
19 and it's sold for equilibrium, and we simulate this
20 equilibrium where initially nobody has adopted any of
21 the standards and then simulate the model 5,000 times
22 and record the adoption rates 25 months after the
23 beginning of the adoption process.

24 And when we calculate counterfactuals, we
25 manipulate two parameters: First, the market share

1 utility of software, and secondly, the consumers
2 discount factor. Well, the first part is, I think,
3 obvious why do we manipulate the consumer discount
4 factor. Well, it manipulates the importance that
5 consumers give due to their expectations about the
6 future evolution of the market, the future software
7 availability. Which I think is an important part of --
8 we know is an important part of indirect network effects
9 and the effects of indirect network effects on market
10 concentration. So, I think it's easiest to give to you
11 an idea of the flavor of our results, but first -- four?
12 Five? Four. I'll further negotiate.

13 Let me show you outcomes with symmetric
14 competitors, because it's easier to understand what's
15 going on. So, I take the parameters for Sony, and
16 assume there's two identical Sonys competing against
17 each other. Okay? So, hopefully, this works when I
18 move around with this cursor here. What do we see here?
19 This is the state space. These arrows show you how in
20 expectation the adoption rates move between periods.

21 This here is the 45 degree line, essentially
22 this says, if the -- if the current adoption rates are
23 symmetric, they're expected to stay symmetric. But you
24 see here from the direction of these arrows that, you
25 know, we see these positive feedback effects. If one of

1 these guys gets an advantage, his advantage tends to
2 propagate.

3 Nonetheless, across 5,000 simulations, here,
4 this is the distribution of the share of the installed
5 base after 25 months, there is exactly identical
6 outcomes.

7 Now, these two graphs here are for our estimate
8 of software where the market share utility is scaled
9 down by 75 percent. So, it's 25 percent of the
10 estimated value. Now, here you have the outcomes for
11 100 percent of the estimated values. Well, estimated
12 values.

13 Observation number one, we are unable to sell
14 for symmetric equilibrium, even if I start the symmetric
15 equilibrium, it converts away. How is that possible?
16 It's possible because the computer you have round-up
17 error. So, that's how we saw the first time that, well,
18 there are some strong indications for asymmetric
19 equilibrium here. There's more than one equilibrium.
20 I'm showing you a particular one. Equilibrium tends to
21 favor standard one.

22 And here, this is distribution of installed
23 share, installed base shares, after 25 months, typically
24 a standard of one gains a very large share of the market
25 in more than 25 percent of simulations, more than above

1 about 90 percent of the market.

2 Sometimes, however, standard two gets a very
3 large share of the market. How is that possible? It's
4 due to random demand shocks, which are in our model --
5 I'm sorry, the estimated standard deviation of these
6 from the data. Which might randomly move the state here
7 under this part of the state space and then consumer
8 expectations essentially flip. And due to the change in
 consumer expectationsrd two gets a vn

1 is that? It's because typically in our data, Sony gets
2 more -- there's a larger supply of software targets for
3 Sony at any given state. Why is that? It's because
4 Sony made it cheaper for software developers to develop
5 games.

6 Similar pattern if I move around to consumers
7 discount effect, okay? So, I guess I'll be very, very
8 brief here, but I have two more minutes. All right.

9 So, this is our -- this is the promised measure
10 of concentration, where I -- where we compare
11 concentration under the estimated parameter values
12 versus a counterfactual model, it's a couple of
13 counterfactuals down here, especially along the lines
14 I'm showing you. It seems that in our market, at least
15 for the version of our market that we calibrate and
16 simulate, indirect network effects lead to an increase
17 in concentration, more than 23 percentage points, which
18 is a very, very large economic significance.

19 So, summary, the main goal of this paper is to
20 clarify and explain and show how you can measure
21 tipping. Now, let me relate this a little bit to the
22 literature. I think that the most closely related paper
23 is a paper by Jenkins, Leo, Matzkin and McFadden, they
24 do something very, very similar for the case of browser
25 war, Internet Explorer versus Netscape. The main

1 difference here is that we actually incorporate
2 forward-looking consumers into the model and I think our
3 results show that this is something very, very
4 important. Quantitatively important.

5 Results show potential large increase in
6 concentration. Our results also show that what we
7 predict is very, very sensitive to a couple of things.
8 In particular, the market share value of software, but
9 more what concerns us more is the consumers discount
10 factor. Why does that concern us? It's because that it
11 is virtually impossible to estimate consumer discount
12 factors if you just -- if you have consumer adoption
13 data in the way we have used this data in the recent
14 literature on durable goods estimation.

15 So, well the other thing that I think our
16 results are sensitive to is, of course, the -- I think
17 that it's something you want to discuss here, the
18 assumption of rationality that is enshrined in this
19 equilibrium concept that we have. So, here it is
20 consumers taking the results of this concentration data,
21 all right?

22 So, where we are moving forward is on the
23 consumers discount factor. So, we are currently in the
24 process of designing conjoined experiments. That
25 conjoined analysis is a standard survey-based marketing

1 see complete market tipping toward one standard or
2 another, and the only times we don't are typically as a
3 result of coordination failure.

4 The issue is that in many real-world network
5 settings, it isn't so simple, these networks are
6 multisided, that is there may be consumers and firms
7 using a joint applied forum. These platforms may be
8 strategic and horizontally differentiated. These
9 platforms may engage in different pricing strategies,
10 different consumers or firms. Consumers or firms can
11 join multiple platforms or multiple standards, and there
12 may be even same-sided congestion effect. So, in
13 auction markets, buyers may prefer auctions with fewer
14 buyers, sellers may prefer auctions with fewer sellers.

15 So, in this regards, markets need not completely
16 tip, even though there are strong indirect network
17 effects. Even though I care there are a lot of games,
18 because of these other factors, we can still see market
19 splitting equilibrium. And this raises the question, do
20 network effects still matter?

21 And I think this is one of the great strengths
22 of the paper is it gives us a real way of measuring the
23 impact of network effects by defining an appropriate
24 counterfactual to compare the difference between
25 industry with network effects, and industry without

1 network effects. And notice that even in symmetric
2 market, because of demand shocks, different prices,
3 different marginal costs, we can actually get very
4 different outcomes than complete 50/50 market shares.
5 And, so, I think that's nice.

6 But my interpretation of what we can do with
7 this may be a little bit different. As opposed to
8 asking how much closer do we get to complete market
9 tipping as a result of network effects, we can also ask
10 the parallel question, how far away do we get from
11 complete network tipping because of these other factors?
12 Because of the fact that maybe consumers can multihome.

13 The counterfactual raises an interesting thought
14 question, too, it's more food for thought. What does it
15 mean to reduce network effects? I mean, because just to
16 some extent the fact that consumers really care about
17 the number of firms or there's this dynamic feedback
18 loop, these two aspects are really fundamental to the
19 nature of these two industries and by reducing them or
20 removing them, what are we now looking at? Are we
21 looking at something fundamentally different now?

22 So, maybe we can hold fixed network effects and
23 maybe add the ability to multihome or, you know, change
24 congestion effects or add strategic platforms. And see
25 how that shifts where we go.

1 But let me move to the application, and the
2 question is, you know, are video games tipping? Should
3 we think about them as standards? In my opinion, maybe
4 not so much, because these problems are indeed
5 horizontally differentiated. Consumers may prefer one
6 or the other, for some exogenous reason. Software, also
7 may do so, and they may also adopt multiple platforms.
8 You know, some people really like video games so they
9 buy everything available.

10 So, because adoption decisions are driven by
11 more than software availability, we again need a
12 relevant counterfactual, which is great, the paper
13 stresses that we need to define a relative
14 counterfactual to compare against when we measure
15 network effects, but it might be a weakness insofar as
16 if you don't capture all these dimensions, we might be
17 able to, say, overestimating the impact of these
18 effects.

19 And to this step, you know, I add some
20 suggestions for modeling points. So, right now there's
21 no heterogeneity multihoming. I read in the previous
22 slides they're working on incorporating that, which is
23 great. Right now, consumers only care about the number
24 of software products. And I understand it's very
25 difficult for them to care about the individual identity

1 of software products, but maybe we can make some
2 progress.

3 For example, there's this coefficient called
4 gamma in their paper which refers to how much consumers
5 care about software. And let's say now we allow it to
6 be software-specific. That gamma on Nintendo is
7 different than gamma in Sony. This means that maybe
8 Nintendo games on average can be higher quality because
9 they employed a quality versus quantity approach,
10 whereas Sony employed a quality versus quantity
11 approach. And I think you can identify this because you
12 have a -- the panel metric nature of the data.

13 We can allow consumers to care about other
14 things. Maybe they care about the number of consumers
15 on board. But these are all easy to incorporate in the
16 model as it's specified. The demand shocks are size or
17 ID right now, because it allowed the variance in the
18 market shares driven by these demand shocks. Maybe we
19 can try persistent demand shocks, we try, you know, to
20 test the robustness of the predictions.

21 And, finally, my understanding, I mean, this is
22 a nice, clean application of a two-step estimator. It's
a nice,2

1 first stage policy estimates are they still consistent
2 in this counterfactual because if we reduce network
3 effects, aren't we now changing something fundamental
4 about the industry and maybe we should be a little bit
5 more careful about thinking how we should interpret
6 that.

7 But, in conclusion, it does provide us a nice
8 framework to measure the importance of network effects,
9 and insofar as it allows us to get away from the idea
10 that just because there are indirect network effects, we
11 should expect complete market tipping, I think that it
12 makes a great point. It contributes to the literature
13 on dynamic demand in pricing. And, interestingly, it
14 actually endogenizes penetration pricing, which I
15 thought very nice.

16 Gunter didn't have time to discuss it, but in
17 the paper he discusses that the model predicts that
18 these platforms actually priced below marginal cost
19 early on, which is something we observed in industry.
20 And if we can extend this and maybe allow for, let's
21 say, estimating what marginal costs must have been to
22 rationalize the observed price path, would be very nice.
23 Or maybe we can endogenize the royalties that platforms
24 charge to software providers.

25 So, can we allow the platform now to charge both

1 happens. So, please welcome John List.

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1 over time, and in particular, you have this big jump up
2 from '93 or so to 2000. And since 2000, we've still had
3 substantial growth, as well as in running lab
4 experiments.

5 Now, that's not to say that lab experiments are
6 criticism proof. Now, when I was working at the CEA, I
7 argued that we should be taking account of the
8 willingness to accept willingness to pay disparities that
9 we have found in the lab when we're revising our benefit
10 cost guidelines.

11 A White House official commented, even though
12 these results appear prevalent, they are drawn by methods
13 similar to scientific numerology because students are not
14 real people.

15 (u h)

16 MR. LIST: This is exactly the criticism that
17 you get when you present results from the lab.

18 Now, the next line of skepticism has been
19 brought up in various areas and I think Cross summarizes
20 it well in his 1980 book chapter. It seems to be
21 extraordinarily optimistic to assume that behavior in an
22 artificially constructed market game would provide direct
23 insight into actual market behavior. Now, what Cross is
24 talking about is the early work of Vernon Smith on
25 markets.

1 So, that type of very vague statement makes you
2 think about, well, what is different between the lab and
3 the field? We can think about selection rules in the
4 markets. We can think about the commodity, we can think
5 about the scrutiny. There are actually a lot of
6 differences between the lab and the field.

7 Now, Smith responds to Cross in basically
8 saying, is there empirical evidence to support these
9 criticisms? At the time, there was no empirical
10 evidence. There still is very little empirical evidence.
11 So, Vernon basically says, if not, then the criticism is
12 pure speculation. So, that sort of reasoning induced
13 Glenn Harrison and I to think about different

1 is that we don't have real people in the lab, that's not
2 a real problem for lab experiments, because all you need
3 to do is go out and get the real market players that
4 you're interested in. That's what we call an artifactual
5 or synthetic field experiment because it's not really
6 going out to the field, but it's making an important step
7 in looking at the population itself.

8 Now, to start thinking about going after
9 criticisms of Cross, you need to start thinking about
10 adding naturalness to the environment, maybe adding
11 naturalness in the task, the commodity, the stakes, the
12 time frame, et cetera. And there are a lot of different
13 types of field experiments under this specific
14 classification that we call framed field experiments.

15 But the important part of a framed field
16 experiment is that people still know that they're taking
17 part in an experiment. That might matter sometimes. It
18 might not matter in other cases.

19 Now, the final frontier, so to speak, is what
20 we've seen a lot of today and some of yesterday. David
21 gave us a good example. Dean Karlan gave an example of
22 this. So, it's what we call a natural field experiment
23 where you're in charge of the randomization yourself and
24 it's occurring in the real market. So, you have realism
25 and you have randomization. So, there should not be a

1 criticism of this is not real and it's hard to criticize
2 the identification strategy because the only assumption
3 you need here is proper randomization.

4 So, the underlying idea is to think about this
5 idea that there are a lot of ways to generate your own
6 data, the lab and a lot of different types of field
7 experiments, and you can also use naturally-occurring
8 data. So, we should think about taking advantage of all
9 of these particular areas, not only field experiments,
10 but also lab and using naturally-occurring data.

11 Now, much of my work has gone after what I
12 would consider important economic phenomena in small-
13 scale markets. That's not because I have some affinity
14 for small-scale markets. It's that it's not possible to
15 do large-scale experiments in larger, more important
16 markets. So, the idea is to go to the small-scale
17 markets, manipulate them, test economic theory or provide
18 policy advice in that market, and then think about what
19 are the important features of other markets that we want
20 to generalize these results to.

21 So, now, I want to go to my example. What is
22 my small-scale market in this particular example? It's
23 an open-air market. All of us have probably frequented
24 these open-air markets at some time in our lives. You
25 walk in, you negotiate bilaterally for the good or

1 service in question.

2 So, now, the rest of my talk, I will be giving
3 various examples of field experiments from various open-
4 air markets in a region that -- I can't tell you where
5 exactly the open-air markets are, but you can walk a few
6 miles and probably see some of them.

7 So, let's think about two facts from open-air
8 markets. One is that we know very little about the
9 economics of open-air markets. I think that's because
10 we've never really taken seriously the data-generating
11 process and going in to open-air markets themselves and
12 manipulating them. We see open-air market data, but we
13 tend not to believe it because there are a lot of reasons
14 to mis-state what's happening in open-air markets. So,
15 that's fact number one.

16 Fact number two, which I'm going to focus on
17 for the rest of the talk, is that there are some very
18 basic questions in the collusion literature, such as are
19 large coalitions more fragile than small coalitions, that
20 are very difficult to address empirically with field
21 data. So, what I'm going to argue is that we can make
22 advance on both one and two if we take the data-
23 generating process into our own hands.

24 So, what's the strategy here? Through various
25 interactions and open-air markets, I learned that there

1 were certain collusive arrangements that existed. And
2 I'll talk a little bit about those.

3 So, what I'm going to do is I'm going to run
4 lab experiments to begin my analysis and I'm going to
5 make sure these lab experiments are very similar to the
6 experiments that experimentalists have used to test
7 models of collusion. Then I will slowly move from the
8 lab to an artifactual field experiment to a framed field
9 experiment and then look at results from a natural field
10 experiment. And in this way, this is what I'm talking
11 about, what I'm saying that there's a bridge then between
12 the lab and the naturally-occurring market.

13 Now, it would be important to recognize that in
14 the natural field experiments, there are things that have
15 arisen endogenously that will not be able to randomize,
16 such as how many collusive arrangements are you in or how
17 large is your coalition? That will then induce me to go
18 back and run frame field experiments whereby I can
19 randomize group size and group composition.

20 So, in following this strategy, a few things
21 that I'm arguing I can learn about in this paper, the
22 actual economic underpinnings of open-air markets. We
23 know very little about that question. I'm exploring
24 bilateral negotiations with or without seller
25 communication, provide some insights on a few comparative

1 selling this particular CD. The marginal cost is \$7, so
2 let's all agree not to price lower than \$14. All of the
3 collusive arrangements were based on mark-ups from
4 marginal cost, not on the features of the demand curve.

5 I learned of 27 distinct sellers across eight
6 different markets being part of some type of explicit
7 collusive agreement. These are in groups of two to four
8 and across goods. Some of these sellers have multiple
9 collusive arrangements across markets.

10 So, what am I going to do? I'm going to have
11 my confederate approach various sellers within the
12 collusive rings and outside of the collusive rings and I
13 will negotiate to buy these DVDs and CDs one by one, and
14 then I will explore whether any of these other features
15 are correlated with how often people cheat or what sorts
16 of pricing deals will they give my confederates.

17 Now, some of these sellers will also be in
18 other lab experiments. Some of them will also be in some
19 of the framed field experiments. So, that will give me
20 some leverage to compare behavior across these various
21 domains.

22 So, let's talk about what I find. The two-
23 person arrangements have less cheating than four-person
24 groups. People cheat less when they have collusive
25 arrangements with a partner in more than one market.

1 People cheat more on high-volume, busy days. But you
2 have to step back and say, is this because of treatment
3 of selection? It could be the case that trustworthy
4 people just have more collusive arrangements just because
5 they're more trustworthy, and that's leading to this
6 effect of people cheat less when they have collusive
7 arrangements with a partner in multiple markets.

8 So, that then induces me to step back and say,
9 let's do a series of framed field experiments, and I
10 apologize, I won't have time today to talk a lot about
11 the details of the framed field experiments, but you can
12 get that from the papers. But what I will do is I will
13 randomize the ground size, I will randomize group
14 composition, I will vary cheating profits, I will vary
15 the time frame. Most lab experiments tend to be 30
16 minutes or 60 minutes or an hour and a half. And an
17 interesting question is, if we want to take that short-
18 run elasticity and go up to a week or months or years,
19 does behavior stay the same? That's an open empirical
20 question.

21 So, all in all, I will have some 19 treatments.
22 These are acronyms that you won't know right now until
23 you look at the paper. But I wanted to give you a sense
24 of this. I have students and I have flea marketers in
25 the lab and artifactual field experiments. Then I have a

1 series of framed field experiments where I'm randomizing
2 some important features from economic theory or in this
3 market on people, and then I have the natural field
4 experiment that I've just summarized.

5 And then what I'm going to argue is that it's
6 important to have a draw from each of these, lab, framed
7 and natural field experiments, each of these
8 classifications. Because, together, we can learn a lot
9 more from these than we could with any one in isolation.

10 So, summary comparative stats, this is what I
11 just mentioned about two-person versus four-person. So,
12 framed field treatments, of course, can help, and here's
13 the results for the framed field experiment. What I have
14 on the Y axis is a proportion that cheat and on the X
15 axis, I just have just consider table two and table four,
16 table two is two sellers, table four is four sellers.
17 So, what you have here is cheating rates of about 16
9

1 experiments. And, also, cheating rates are much higher
2 when groups do not have collusive ties outside the
3 experiment. So, both of these results are consistent
4 with this idea that people cheat less when they have
5 multiple agreements across markets.

6 What about this idea of high-volume, busy days,
7 what does this mean? So, the framed results, again, I
8 can look at this because I can vary the rewards or the
9 benefits from cheating. And what you find here, this is
10 roughly a change of about five times in the stakes. So,
11 in the table two seller, these sellers are earning about
12 \$40 for this experiment; in the high stakes, they're
13 earning about \$200 on average.

14 And what you have, just from the change in
15 stakes, you have cheating rates going from 16 percent to
16 close to 50 percent. So, very large effective stakes
17 here.

18 Now, when I look across the entire bridge, I
19 apologize, again, I haven't talked about all of these
particular experiments, but when you lked aboueocy-ibzkdse

1 Now, the interesting part about those sterile
2 lab experiments is that they could do pretty well
3 predicting an aggregate. But when you look at the
4 individual cheating rates, the individuals that cheat in
5 the particular lab setting are not necessarily those that
6 cheat in the natural field experiment. But it is
7 interesting that the best predictor of the cheating in
8 the natural field experiment is cheating in the lab or
9 framed field experiments.

10 So, let's conclude. I've talked about some
11 very specific field experiments and you've heard about
12 some very specific field experiments during the
13 conference. But, of course, field experiments, there are
14 many ways, shapes and forms of field experiments, and
15 I've created this website that you're welcome to go to.
16 There are now about 300 or 400 different field
17 experiments on there that also have PDFs attached to
18 them. So, if you're interested in downloading some of
19 those, please go ahead.

20 And I receive nothing for this and this is not
21 an experiment, even though it's www.fieldexperiments.com,
22 it's just something that I thought was appropriate to set
23 up for people who were interested in field experiments.

24 Now, I want to end on a methodological note.
25 In experimental economics and empirical economics, more

1 generally, many times people argue that -- about
2 representativeness of the population. Many times, people
3 say, well, I don't believe your results because your
4 population is not representative. That's exactly what
5 the White House official was telling me when I was
6 arguing that we should be accounting for WTA, WTP
7 disparities when thinking about the benefit cost
8 guidelines.

9 But what always receives short shrift is
10 representativeness of the situation or properties of the
11 situation. We, oftentimes, generalize across situations
12 without even realizing it, but we oftentimes want to stop
13 ourselves or stop others from generalizing across
14 populations.

15 Now, my last example will be another government
16 example. I apologize to the EPA for this. This actually
17 also occurred when I was at the CEA. The EPA came to me
18 and they were interested in whether male or female
19 surveyors raised more money in these contingent valuation
20 surveys. Contingent valuation is a very important tool
21 for benefit cost analysis. Why? Because it's the only
22 tool we have right now that can estimate the total
23 benefits of the non-marketed good or service, not just
24 the market benefits. It can estimate both the use and
25 non-use values.

1 So, what do you think they did? Well, they
2 spent a whole bunch of money, which they should have, to
3 carefully draw a representative sample of respondents.
4 No doubt that's important. But then they had one man and
5 one woman do the surveying. Now, it's clear that if you
6 don't sample the stimuli, you would come up with very
7 different inferences. Right?

8 On the one hand, you have John and Angelina and
9 Angelina's going to do much better than John, but there's
10 no possible way you want to generalize that to Brad, of
11 course, and Miss Piggy. It's clear that you see that
12 now, but we always, always, always forget about
13 generalizing across situations and realizing the
14 importance of the properties of the situation.

15 I think one advantage of field experiments is
16 that you are able to vary that from the lab to the
17 naturally-occurring data and, of course, when you change
18 each element, you can explore whether that change induced
19 people to act differently, and then we can think about
20 theory or other empirical exercises to learn more about
21 that particular economic behavior.

22 So, thanks for your attention. I'll take any
23 questions if anyone would like.

24 AUDIENCE MEMBER: Very interesting work. I
25 just had a quick question. When I teach the MBAs, when I

1 teach the lecture on collusion, I basically go back to
2 Stigler and talk about all the things that Stigler talked
3 about in his famous early sixties paper. It looked like
4 most of what he was talking about you're finding as
5 correct. I was wondering if there was anything he said
6 that you're finding was incorrect.

7 MR. LIST: No, I think that's right. And
8 that's not because I'm at Chicago. But you're exactly
9 right. In particular, I draw from his '64 paper. Yeah.

10 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) You haven't
11 found anything that was wrong?

12 MR. LIST: Not so far.

13 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) (Inaudible).

14 MR. LIST: And then also use my paper as
15 empirical support.

16 (u h)

17 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) There's a
18 paragraph in my notes.

19 MR. LIST: All right, very good, very good.

20 MR. ADAMS: Any other questions?

21 AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off microphone) Do you have
22 anything where you vary the information environment, you
23 know, what the sellers know about each other and prices?

24 MR. LIST: So, what I do vary is the group
25 composition. So, in some cases, there are CD and DVD

1 sellers in the same group, and in other cases, some of
2 those same CD or DVD sellers are in a group with people
3 who are selling cigarettes or let's say a fruit or
4 whatever. But I don't have anything explicit where I
5 vary the information. I always allow them to discuss
6 between themselves various elements of pricing and how

1 whatever the agreed-upon price is. And that's happening
2 through the negotiation process.

3 Now, it's important, at this point, that I tell
4 you that my confederates are blind to the actual sellers
5 who are part of a collusive arrangement. So, of course,
6 that's important. Otherwise, people always want to bring
7 you back the results that you want and I think there's
8 just a human tendency to want to do that. But my
9 confederates are actually blind to that.

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MATTER NUMBER: P085800
CASE TITLE: ANNUAL BE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION CONF
DATE: NOVEMBER 7, 2008

I HEREBY CERTIFY that the transcript contained herein is a full and accurate transcript of the notes taken by me at the hearing on the above cause before the FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION to the best of my knowledge and belief.

DATED: NOVEMBER 25, 2008

ROBIN BOGGESS

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I HEREBY CERTIFY that I proofread the transcript for accuracy in spelling, hyphenation, punctuation and format.

ELIZABETH M. FARRELL