A FEW REMARKS ON THE ROLE OF INTERMEDIARIES IN THE DIGITAL ECONOMY

Colloquium « The Future of Research in the Digital Society »

Ministère de la Culture – TSE – IAST Musée du Quai Branly

June 26, 2015

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I. TWO-SIDED MARKETS: BACKGROUND



gamers

users

"eyeballs"

cardholders

buyers

videogame platform

operating system

portals, newspapers, TV

debit & credit cards

sharing economy platform

(Uber, Airbnb, OpenTable)

game developers

application developers

advertisers

merchants

sellers





The choice of a business model: general principles

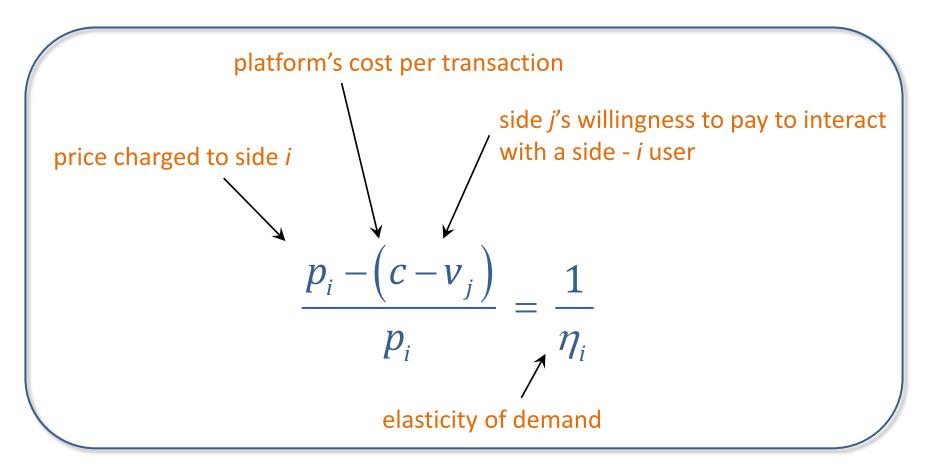
Charge according to what each side can bear and mind the cross-group externalities

- Account for elasticities of demand on both sides: price structure should aim at getting both sides on board, not to allocate costs "fairly".
- Account for surplus generated on the other side: high value to other side
 — low price on this side, high price on other side; and conversely (advertising).





Pricing



 $c - v_i$: "opportunity cost"





Two-sided platforms' business model

Two-sided platforms account for what each side can bear and for externalities —— very skewed pricing patterns

low-price side	high-price side
consumers (search engine, portal, newspaper)	advertisers
cardholders	merchants

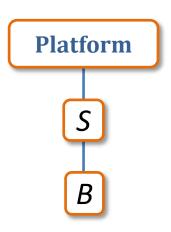




Platforms as regulators

Useful benchmark: the vertical view

Example: IP-owner (platform) licenses to a seller. Contrast two-sided market: platform has relationship with buyer; hence, more protective of buyers' interests, less protective of sellers' interests.



Key difference: P willing to constrain S, as P can
 (partly) recoup benefits on B side.
 Hence, P regulates interactions whereas
 it would grant S commercial freedom under the vertical view.





Regulation of interactions between end-users 2SP performs balancing act through other instruments than price:

- The platform as a competition authority.
 (illustrations: Macintosh-Windows; Palm OS licences)
- The platform as a price regulator.
 (illustration: no surcharge for payments with card)
- The platform as a licensing authority.
 (illustrations: exchanges: solvency requirements, prohibition of front-running; dating clubs)
- The platform as a supplier of information and enforcement.
 (illustrations: auto auctions arbitration processes, eBay's feedback forum)





Example: The sharing economy

- Licensing authority: background checks, training, terminating participants with poor reputation.
- Improving rating system
- Protecting buyer: mediation, money-back guarantees.





Multi-homing

Exogenous multi-homing

Suppose for example that buyers single-home while sellers multi-home:



Single-homing side (competitive bottlenecks) treated favorably: monopoly prices in multi-homing market and low prices in single-homing one.

Endogenous multi-homing

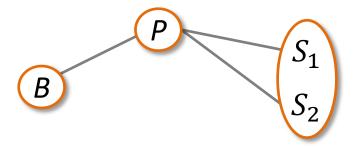




II. ANTITRUST: CHALLENGES

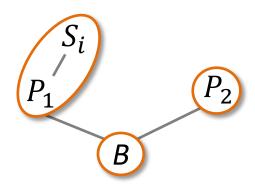
- Received antitrust doctrine does not apply to multi-sided markets: monopoly pricing and below cost pricing may be permanent features of a competitive environment.
- But economics must provide more guidance than that on

Horizontal mergers among users



complements/substitutes...

Vertical mergers

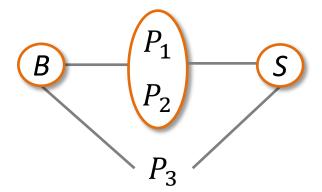


dominant platform vs. entering platform





Horizontal mergers among platforms



[Do not apply SSNIP test to one side only for market definition purposes; need to pick correct demand function.]

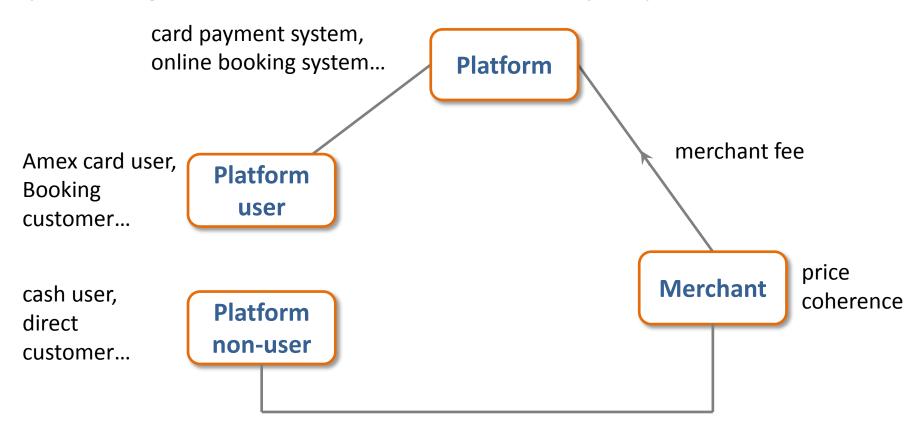
Large network externalities — substantial market power. Must guarantee that contestable entry by more efficient entrant not deterred: should be able to gain critical mass. Should data (ratings, content...) belong to user or to platform?





Wither antitrust for two-sided markets?

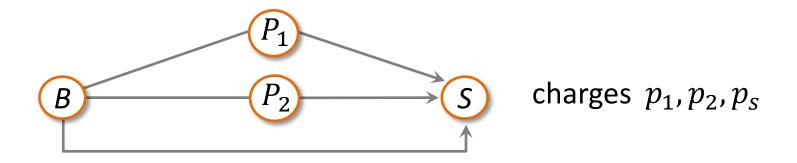
Optimal regulation of must-take cards, must-join platforms



[Rochet-Tirole (2002, 2011)'s tourist test, Edelman-Wright (2014)... Bourguignon-Gomes-Tirole (2014): tourist test + prohibition of surcharges fine; current regulations of surcharges too lenient.]



Gatekeeping platforms: jockeying for the control of the value chain (2)



Booking proposal: only constraint $p_i \leq p_s$

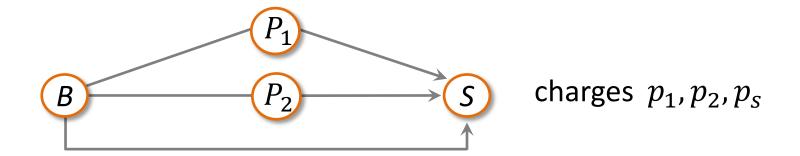
Macron law: hotel owners have full pricing freedom.

[Amazon in UK and Germany no longer allowed to ask for price coherence]

Would Booking proposal suffice?







- (a) Single seller: role of (endogenous) multi-homing
- (b) Competing sellers[even so, elements of complementarity: (a) more competition;(b) finding right match.]
- (c) Large firms with brand recognition.





III. REGULATORY CHALLENGES: (1) TRUST

- Users are de facto "selling" data against some ancillary service (search, social networking, instant messaging, online video, or even transaction: Uber, Airbnb)
- Trust of users in use of data?

Incomplete contract

- platform's investment in security
- resale of data (incentive for vertical integration if prohibited?) Property rights to users?
- o what happens in bankruptcy?

Limited attention/knowledge

Do users understand consequences of that particular transaction? How "informed" is informed consent?





IV. REGULATORY CHALLENGES: (2) INSURANCE

Gathering of data

- useful for controlling moral hazard (monitoring of driving, of number of miles, fitness trackers, persuasion to change habits...)
- may destroy insurance (most obviously genetic testing; but also monitoring of online habits: spending).

In between

Facebook likes predicts smoking, drug behavior,...

Smaller and smaller risk pools.





V. REGULATORY CHALLENGES: FISCAL ASPECTS

Domestic

- Uneasy continuum from untaxed exchange activities (home production, trade with family & friends, clubs, associations supporting small farming,...) to commercial activities.
- Particularly pregnant in France, where labor is heavily taxed
 (average SS contribution: 60 %; VAT; various income taxes).

International



