Comments on Lehr, Sevcik & Weinberg. The Future of Internet Economics

By Shane Greenstein June, 2012

Thanks

- Thanks for the opportunity to talk.
 - Will try to be a little provocative. Take seriously the challenge to push the envelope a bit on understanding the *future of the Internet*.
 - Do not represent any party, firm, or interest group.



Game Plan

- What do the papers do?
 - Lehr, Bauer, Clark
 - Sevcik
 - Odlyzko, St. Arnaud, Stallman, Weinberg
- Strengths & Weaknesses (as a group)
- Comments
 - Where are the platforms & platform providers?
 - Where are the entrepreneurs?



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Lehr, Bauer, Clark: What does this paper do?



- What role could a government sponsored measurement program (at the FCC) play in the transition from the old PSTN to the new Internet-centric network?
 - Embeds discussion in "big think" about long transition.
- Measurement facilitates policy formulation, traffic management, and market intelligence.
 - Special focus on quality of broadband to end users, in a setting w/considerable ambiguity. Not merely bandwidth, also reliability.
 - FCC in position to endorse and sponsor measurement activity.
 - Supports transparency from all market actors. Positive effects.
 - Key takeaway: one size does not fit all.
- Tiptoes around measuring interconnection &end-user pricing.

Sevcik: What does this paper do?



- What pragmatic tool helps a hh manage its broadband traffic?
 - Embeds discussion in understanding of what would allow users to monitor own use, w/sensitivity to non-technical users.
- Taxonomy of data flows have three components (roughly) content, ads, and background. (P.S. I wanted more...)
 - Background traffic is growing. Lots of unknowns.
 - Background and ad traffic not controlled by user. Why is the traffic relevant to a data cap at all? Big potential issue?
 - Key takeaway: Different types of uses (and users!) make use of different proportions of content, ads and background.
- Tiptoes around a vendor's interest to reveal true data? Would a vendor use standardized data yardstick if not compelled?

Odlyzko, St. Arnaud, Stallman, Weinberg, What does this paper do?

- How do justifications for data caps and usage based pricing compare with what we know about network congestion?
 - Embeds discussion in comparison of recent announcements in wireline/wireless networks for UBP w/historical analysis.
- Monthly caps & tiered pricing as tools for revenueenhancement; hard to see how it reduces congestion.
 - Capacity limits more binding in wireless, but same question.
 - Users prefer flat rates & pay for it if competitive mkts offer it.
 - Key takeaway: In wireline networks capacity limitations bind at a point in time, so data use at most times should not count.
- Tiptoes around question of whether tiered pricing plans w/o unlimited pricing options result from vendors incentive to segment users (what economists call exercising mkt power).

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Strengths (as a group)

- All well written. Thinking about 3 years out.
 - Reasonable analysis, engaging discussion.
 - Brings calm conversation to a heated topic.
 - Use of facts, when facts exist. Many cite statistics of NBP.
- Embeds discussion in reasonable notions of today's triumphs.
 - "Middle" of broadband is reasonably competitive. "High" end is focus.
 - High data use is skewed, growing. Today rare, tomorrow common?
 - Deep understanding of management practices at ISPs.
- Identifying many key questions about capacity. Many key takeaways.
 - At households the issues arise only b/w 7 and 10pm.
 - Users do not have information or control over all data flows.
 - Externalities in cable architectures except for 7-10pm? A red herring?
 - Role of data caps play beyond merely shaping capacity?



Weaknesses (as a group)

- Defining transparency. What are we talking about?
 - Firms monitor users for billing. What is so difficult about sending daily email updates to users? If banks can do this, so can ISPs.
 - Are updates meaningful? Is this more than just a problem of notification?
 Even w/monitoring & ISP transparency, are problems solved?
- The features of data caps are endogenous.
 - When is a *monthly* cap meaning(less/ful)? Why isn't use out of 7-10pm free? Why count s/w updates from Adobe/MS/Apple?
- Are data caps & tiered pricing evidence of mkt power?
 - Anticompetitive concerns? Combined w/which vertical restraint?
 - If Comcast limits Netflix, but sells (w/use of an Xbox?) essentially the same service w/o counting against the cap, when is this classic raising rivals costs? At what point does it become a vertical restraint?



- I am shocked, just shocked, to find so much concern about pricing on the Internet... but nobody uses the readily available facts.
 - Why didn't anyone look at CPI for Internet access? Prices have been flat or increased for five years.
 - Imposing a price cap over unlimited is like a price hike, as it takes away services. How much are users willing to pay to avoid a cap? Today? In tomorrow's market?
 - Aside: CPI not entirely fair to producers. A PPI would show quite a bit of progress. Survey of value/dollar show increase too. But we use CPI in this country, for better or worse.
 - Populist time bomb. Many users really care.
 - Illustration: I did a little academic study about quality-adjusted prices, and a little PR report brought down the Kellogg servers.

US CPI for Internet access

2007	73.2
2008	73.9
2009	76.5
2010	77.0
2011	76.3

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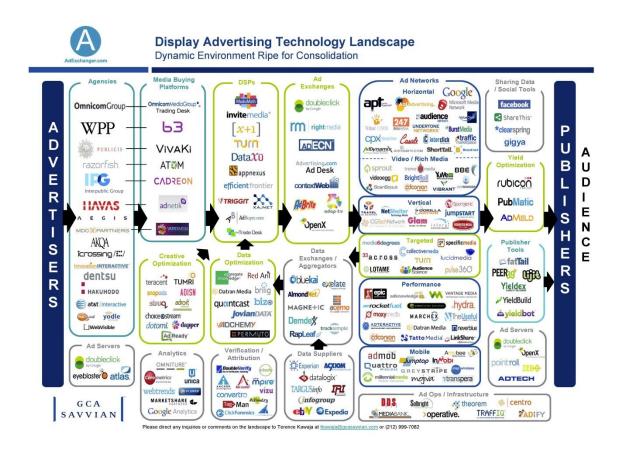
Comment: Where are platforms and platform providers?

- Internet is no longer a network of networks. It is a network of platforms. (That transition happened awhile ago.)
 - Apple, Google, Facebook, Yahoo, Amazon, YouTube, Ebay, Microsoft, app providers, news providers, and millions of firms.
 - Analysis of user-carrier relationship should recognize that there is a user-platform relationship & carrier-platform relationship.
 - Only gets cursory treatment by all papers. Severe oversight.
- When both complements (e.g., carriers & app providers) innovate, then users are better off.
 - When network adoption expands, as in 2000s, then no issue.
 - When users/platforms/vendors start to have exclusive contracts & preferential treatment, starts to change internet.
 - Only hints of treatment by all papers.

(Comment cont') Where are the platforms and platform providers?

- Analysis of all relationships should shape analysis of caps.
 - Netflix's complaints w/Comcast or Apple's data-hungry design for the iPad are canaries in the coal mine.
 - What about the profitability of Hulu, YouTube or FaceBook features?
 - What happens in three years when there are hundreds of video apps?
 - Shapes policy: Vertical restraints missing from the conversation. Price to users for what services with what limitations, if any?
- Open questions.
 - Is lack of uniformity in caps and other pricing policy across US carriers good for US platform development?
 - What is relationship b/w tiered pricing & investment upgrades by carriers that benefit users and platform apps?
 - Bilateral negotiations b/w carriers & Apple, Microsoft, Google,
 Yahoo, or Facebook good/bad for US network?

This is what the ad market looks like, just to give one example...



The relationship of carriers to users is shaped by the relationship of carriers to these players, and the relationship of these players to each other, and so on.

Where are the entrepreneurs?

- No paper focuses on entrepreneurship. Serious deficiency.
 - US entrepreneurial is envy of every other country. Protecting nurturing environment for homegrown talent is policy priority.
- Why is there so much focus on *only* Netflix? What about scores of entrepreneurial firms creating something better?
 - Most entrepreneurial firms today are anticipating world in 3-5 years where high bandwidth not merely 5-10% of population. Open question: When it gets closer to 30-40%, will tiered pricing and data caps look as friendly to entrepreneurs?
 - Open question: If Comcast successfully limits user relationship with Netflix, why would any cautious VC fund a Netflixwannabe? How can this possibility of "expropriation risk" be good for US growth?

(Comment continued) Where are the entrepreneurs?

- If carriers cannot provide even rudimentary transparency for users, what will they do for entrepreneurs?
 - How is a college sophomore w/the next Facebook supposed to find info? Three-to-five years from now?
- Traditional competitive analysis outmoded? Maybe not the only tool needed: How about analysis of vertical restraints?
 - Traditional model stresses horizontal competition as mechanism to generate options for users: users get mad, they leave for competitor, which disciplines firms to price low and to innovate.
 - Bilateral negotiation is basis for the new model: if entrepreneurs want to reach users, do they have a choice but to distribute through Verizon, AT&T, Comcast, etc? Do the carriers have a choice but to work with Google, Apple, etc? As a basis for policy?

Summary

- Three very useful papers about pricing and caps.
 - Quite challenging to see how or why caps have direct relationship to the goal limiting capacity utilization.
 - Takeaway: Modifications seem warranted...at minimum.
 - Easy to see value to vendor form tiered pricing, but also to see some potential danger as step towards raising rivals cost.
- Analysis of carrier-user should not be analyzed in isolation.
 Add carrier-platform and user-platform relationships.
 - What are the effects on entrepreneurs?
 - Traditional competition policy based on "horizontal competition" not sole analytic framing. Bilateral negotiation between platforms/carriers as new basis for policy analysis.

Thanks

• Thanks for listening.