

# BBL Seminar Handout

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December 7, 2011

"Standards, Platforms, and Public Policy"

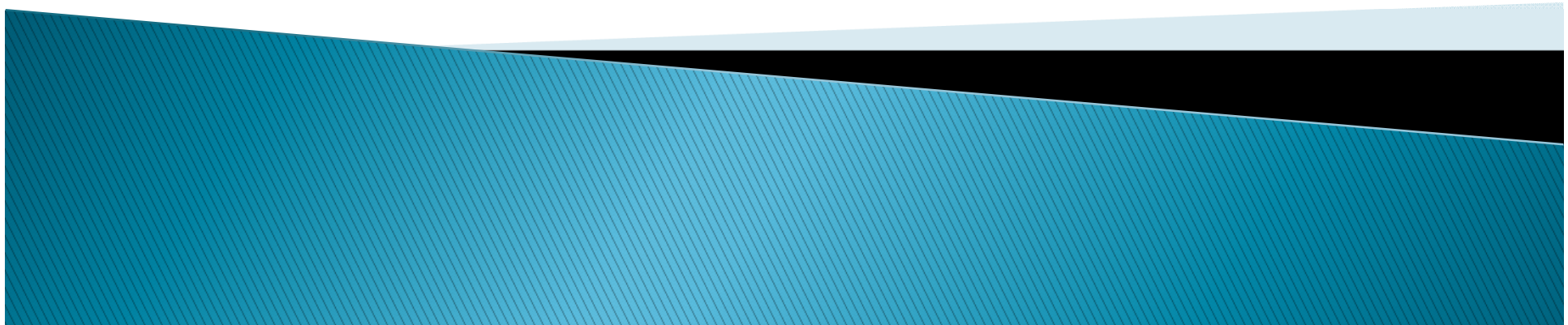
Shane Greenstein

<http://www.rieti.go.jp/jp/index.html>

# Standards, Networks, and Policy

## 規格、ネットワーク、およびポリシー

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# Thank you ありがとう

- ▶ Thank you for hosting me.
  - Big thank you Dr. Reiko Aoki!
- ▶ Thank you for opportunity to talk with you.
  - Interested to know what is useful.
- ▶ Please ask questions.
  - I tend to talk quickly...
  - Apologies in advance...just slow me down.



# Outline

- ▶ **Introduction,はじめ**
- ▶ Illustrations,イラスト
- ▶ Key concepts,キーコンセプト
- ▶ Evolution of platforms,プラットフォームの進化
- ▶ Conclusions,結論



# What is the question?

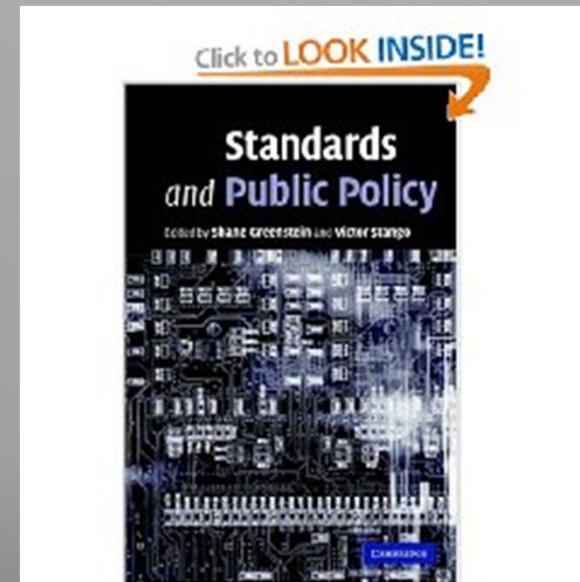
## 質問とは何ですか？

- ▶ *What does the (old and new) literature on standards suggest about government policy?*
  - When should policy makers intervene in markets where standards play a large role?
  - When is a government policy that favors compatibility between standards superior to a policy that favors competition between standards?
  - How well do non-market mechanisms perform in comparison to market mechanisms?
- ▶ *What are the big open questions?*



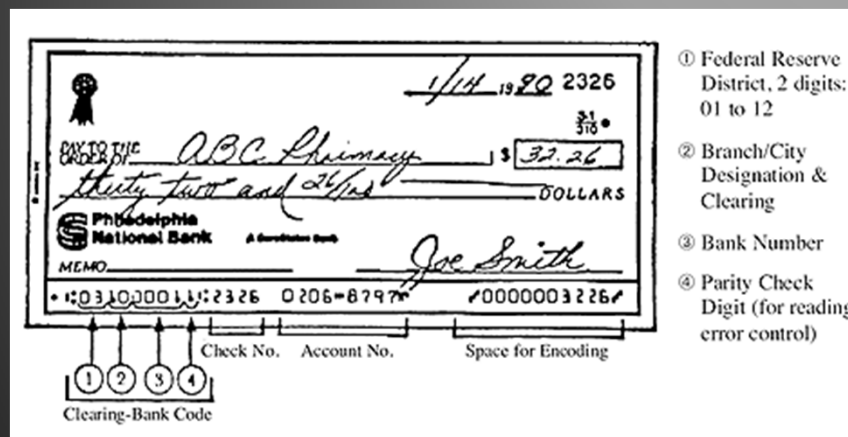
# Why policy cares about standards? ポリシーは、標準規格を気になぜ？

- ▶ Let me start with a personal story....
- ▶ Victor Stango & I edited a book, *Standards and Public Policy* (Cambridge Press, 2007).
- ▶ Why did we do this book?
  - Michael Moskow, head of the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank at the time, asked for it (and paid for it!).
  - Moskow was Victor Stango's boss.
- ▶ Why did Moskow want his research department to investigate standards?



# Moskow believed check clearing had gotten easier due to standards

同総裁は、チェックのクリアを基準に簡単に起因得ていたことを知っていた



- ▶ The Fed had helped push through standards for checks clearing.
  - Improved efficiency in processing checks.
  - Helped the Fed while helping the industry.
  - Large gains for US economy.
- ▶ Did not happen until Fed did it. No individual bank could get others to agree. Fed endorses a design.
  - ▶ Moskow received many suggestions for additional things to endorse.
  - ▶ But he was very wary of making a big mistake....
- ▶ Moskow wanted to know: When to intervene and when not, and why?

# Outline of main theme

## メインテーマの概要



- ▶ *Old & new literature on standards differ in their analysis of the effects of standards on markets, so differ in framework for policy.*
  - Old literature focuses on the demand for compatibility & the creation of switching costs.
  - Focused on the number of ways in which standards limits the distortions from switching costs.
- ▶ *New literature focuses on competition between platforms which embed standards.*
  - Shifts focus to analysis of participation & adoption of platforms by users, developers, advertisers.
  - Investigates multiple ways to grow a platform, and the effects of intervention on platform growth.



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# The purpose for the illustrations

## イラストの目的

- ▶ *Motivate general approach to thinking about standards and platforms.*
  - How do standards help markets emerge out of an exploratory period?
  - What are the catalysts for growth of mass markets?
- ▶ *How do competitive events and governance interplay as platforms evolve?*
  - Does governance respond to competitive pressure?
  - Does competition act as check on poor choice of governance?
- ▶ *Where can policy make a difference?*

# Illustration: Wi-fi

## イラスト: 無線LAN

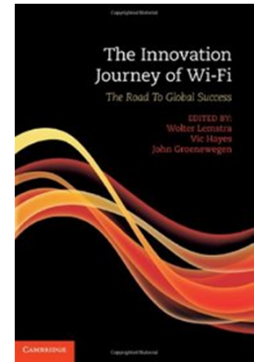


- ▶ *Experiments throughout most of the 1990s.*
  - Early wireless LAN designs generated little sales
  - Interesting usage cases – campuses, warehousing, wireless cash registers.
  - Equipment firms the primary innovators.
- ▶ *IEEE committee 802 designed an interoperability standard. First released in 1997, again in 99.*
  - Helped commit firms, grow mkt size.
  - Used unlicensed spectrum so all could interoperate.
- ▶ *Market competition pushed it forward in 99.*
  - Apple commissioned first product from Lucent. Dell was next. Competitive rivalry took off after that.

# Wi-fi continued

## 無線LANは続けた

- ▶ *Firms formed an alliance shortly thereafter*
  - For conformance testing
  - For branding. Name “Wi-fi” chosen.
- ▶ *The unexpected emergence of the “hot spot”.*
  - Experimentation by access providers.
  - This was the most valuable use. Variety of models.
- ▶ *Unexpected design of Centrino in 2003*
  - Intel designed Wi-fi into motherboard.
    - Intel also designed the chip set to be a commodity.
    - Further cost declines. Fostered ubiquitous use.
- ▶ *IEEE committee continued to upgrade speeds....*
  - Each redesign has become more contentious.



# Observations about Wi-fi

## Wi - Fiに関する観測

- ▶ *Experimentation continued for some time*
  - Throughout most of the 1990s wireless LANs were not a profitable market! But many believe in the usage case, which propelled experimentation by equipment firms.
- ▶ *Breakthrough with an unexpected use.*
  - Leapfrog functionality for the mass market required making equipment at a low cost price point.
  - IEEE-endorsed standards contributed to growth because antenna and receivers had to interoperate.
  - Growth in ubiquity encouraged more follow-on complementary uses.
- ▶ *Sponsors attempted to profit.*
  - By selling equipment.
  - By taking a slice of access revenue.
  - Policy enabled considerable experimentation.



# Illustration: Android's evolution

## イラスト: Androidの進化

- ▶ *Experiments early by leading firms & entrepreneurs.*
  - ▶ Smart phone designs from Microsoft and many others.
  - ▶ Limited adoption in US, more outside US.
- ▶ *Unexpected emergence of the iPhone in 2007.*
  - ▶ One touch movement: a leapfrog in functionality.
  - ▶ Bringing the iPod installed base + phone + pictures.
  - ▶ Apple has a core of fanatical and loyal buyers → sales.
- ▶ *Ecosystem develops for mass market iPhone.*
  - ▶ Apple adopts strict rules for developers. Resentment.
  - ▶ Tries to dictate standards (e.g., Flash). Anger.
  - ▶ Apple profits in App store.



# Android continued

## Androidは続けた



- ▶ *Google looks for competitive response to Apple.*
  - Strategic issue: deter proprietary standards.
  - Buys Android OS, redeploys it with open APIs to invite partnerships. Allows variance in implementation.
  - App store → ecosystem, Android profits in app store.
- ▶ *Growth due to less restriction and lower price*
  - Not as profitable as iPhone. Growth through variety.
- ▶ *Change in competitive landscape?*
  - MS almost gone, Symbian declines, Blackberry in trouble.
  - Tablet competition? Amazon, Apple, B&N, Sony.
  - Many other firms involved (Nokia, MS, HP, Samsung, etc.)

# Observations about Android

## Androidについての観察

- ▶ *Experimentation propelled by software firms.*
  - Through most of the 2000s Microsoft did not have a profitable mobile segment. Usage case presumed strong interplay with PC. Presumed pieces came from many players, organized by Microsoft.
- ▶ *Breakthrough with an unexpected use.*
  - Music + phone + pictures + finger navigation = leapfrog functionality for the mass market
  - Required making equipment at a low cost price point.
  - Proprietary standards contributed to the virtual cycle because copyright holders wanted IP for music.
- ▶ *Android a competitive response*
  - Strategic benefits towards openness pay off for Google.
  - Revenue in app store too.
  - Many others want open, such as Amazon, and most entrepreneurs and their VCs....



# Summary of lessons

## レッスンのまとめ



- ▶ *Experimentation can continue for some time*
  - Variety of strategic choices over time.
  - Usage case propels activity, search for value.
  - Often unprofitable for extended periods.
  - Standard/platforms vary with experimentation.
- ▶ *Breakthrough often unexpected.*
  - Leapfrog functionality or other catalyst, such as a new design with wide appeal.
  - Important: Applications develop → ecosystem.
    - Especially developer behavior → choose among platforms.
- ▶ *Sponsors attempt to profit.*
  - Sell equipment, gain revenue within given platform.
  - Designers, sponsors, close allies typically benefit more.

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# What role do standards play?

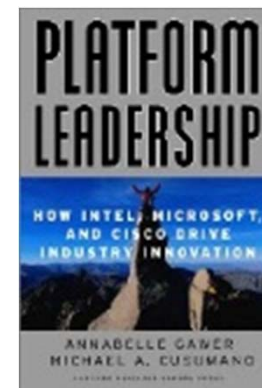
基準は、どのような役割を果たすのですか？

- ▶ *Facilitate inter-networking.*
  - Data in one location shared w/many other locations.
  - Contribute to low costs for Internet applications.
  - Many standards facilitate routinized procedure for sharing data.
- ▶ *Facilitate network effect.*
  - Value of a standard rises w/participation.
  - Standards facilitate interoperability, services build on top of that interoperability, and these services display network effects.
- ▶ *Platforms reduce transactions costs*
  - Between complements components that work together...
  - Between users and application developers.



# Multi-sided platforms play a role マルチサイドプラットフォームの役割を果たす

- ▶ *A platform: Reconfigurable base of compatible components on which participants build applications.*
  - Multisided: Many distinct group of participants
    - Users, advertisers, content providers, app developers, etc.
  - Platform accommodates each group.
  - Often subsidy/cost for one group & revenue from another.
    - Ex: Newspaper, Google search, Apple iPhone.
- ▶ *Platform serves economic function, as intermediary between groups with different interests.*
  - Which supports mix&match.
    - Among antennae and receivers in Wi-fi.
    - Among apps, handsets, and users in Android.



# Platform leadership plays a role

プラットフォームのリーダーシップは、役割を果たしている

- ▶ *Leadership affiliated w/designing computer hardware and/or software that mediates activities among participants.*

- Many firms aspire to leadership role.
  - MS, IBM, Oracle, Google, Apple, Amazon, etc.
  - Windows, web services, search, mobile devices.

- ▶ *What role entails*

- Design standards. Alter them. Inform others about alteration. Roadmaps & targets. Provide assistance.
  - Lower the transactions costs for partners.
- Timing mismatch of costs/revenues: Expend costs in design/operations. Gain revenue later.



# Variety of platform leadership

## プラットフォームリーダーシップの様々な

- ▶ *Both profit or not for profit forms*
  - NFP: Industry consortia, SSOs, Open source org.
- ▶ *Important aspects: Restrictions/limitations on participation and release of information.*
  - Open: make all info available. No limits on use.
  - Differ on interconnection. Open has no limit.
  - Pricing at zero? Maybe in open source, but not necessarily.
    - Confusion about free/libre.
- ▶ *Platform governance shapes several margins of potential platform value.*
  - Not only price. Many strategic choices, often taken at moments when payoffs quite uncertain.
  - Particularly important decision: what technical information developers know about present and future plans for the platform.

# Summary of key observations

## キーの観測の概要



- ▶ *Analysis of standards needs to frame issues in terms of platforms.*
  - Platforms are an organizational form for market oriented users & firms, designed to diffuse standards in manner that serves platform sponsor.
  - Literature stresses private strategic purposes.
- ▶ *Analysis should focus on participation in and adoption of platforms.*
  - By users, developers, advertisers.
  - Shift in emphasis. Places less emphasis on engineering function, more on economic decision making and economic contribution of platform.
- ▶ *Important policy question: regulatory and legal rules for how platform leader treats participants.*

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# Policy analysis & platform evolution

## 政策分析とプラットフォームの進化

- ▶ *Standards and platforms are rarely static.*
  - Most are embedded in products that continually upgraded, etc. Standards change.
  - Platforms add value over time.
- ▶ *Platforms shapes firm competition.*
  - One ecosystem may compete with another.
  - Competition evolves as both platforms evolve.
- ▶ *Policies shape the evolution of competition*
  - By shaping firm incentives, and rules for platform.
  - By shaping the margins on which firms compete



# Coordination and Learning

## 協調と学習

- ▶ *Participants gain from involvement w/platform.*
  - In comparison to unilateral action.
  - Potential bargaining issues or misalignment of cost/benefit.
    - Ex: Bar code scanner useful if all cooperated. Bar code almost collapsed b/c little profitability in first decade.
- ▶ *Platforms become focal for learning and experimentation.*
  - A societal trade-off: Concentrate learning with fewer platforms, but more platforms nurtures variety & competition.



# Key questions for policy analysis

## 政策分析のためのキーの質問

- ▶ *If platforms add value w/o limit...*
  - Existing platforms grow, but there are inherent limits on numbers of platforms.
  - Backward compatibility tends to limit growth of any specific platform (eventually).
- ▶ *Platforms competition incents platform differentiation.*
  - Nurture survival of multiple platforms in market.
  - On what margins do platforms compete?
    - Generally, not on all margins.



# More key concepts

## より多くの主要な概念

- ▶ *Multi-homing: users and/or firms maintain viable economic relationships w/multiple platforms.*
  - More MH can help sustain more platforms competition.
  - Absence of MH can contribute to monopoly of platform.
  - Many examples of where it matters: Bar codes, Battle of the Bund, Internet BB, Smartphones
- ▶ *Converter: Technical bridge b/w platforms*
  - Can change size of market, alter evolution of platforms.
  - Examples: US email systems in 1987; Resolution of 56K modem fight.
- ▶ *Multiple pathways to platform development.*
  - Many ways for market to evolve and achieve economies of scale.



# Symptoms of experimentation? 実験の症状？

- ▶ *Early stage quandary: what design/operation most valuable?*
  - Many usage cases for early adopters do not imply usage case for mass market adopters.
  - Public actors can facilitate experimentation.
    - At early moments, pursuit of variety of approaches.
- ▶ *Quandary: Is market working? Look for symptoms of health.*
  - Economic experiments, entrepreneurial entrants, vigorous standards competition, absence of unilateral bargaining.

# Symptoms of virtuous cycles?

## 好循環の症状？

- ▶ *Quandary: Are platforms growing? Hints of virtuous cycles.*
  - One participant's action raises value of participation in another type of participant. E.g., more users → more apps → more ads.
  - E.g., IBM PCs in early 80s, Apple iPhone in '07.
- ▶ *Developers are focal for analysis.*
  - As symptom of success/failure of virtuous cycle.
  - Difficult management challenge for many platform sponsors.



# Summary

## まとめ



- ▶ A complete analysis requires analysis of change over time, (often) at level of platform & (sometimes) at level of firm.
- ▶ Multiple pathways for platform evolution to take. Firms usually have preferences about which path the market takes, but policy may not have strong preferences.
- ▶ There are a variety of intuitive concepts to analyze evolution as it occurs.

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# Policy when standards are not static

## 標準は静的ではない政策

- ▶ *Private orderings can (& do) resolve issues.*
  - If the conditions are right.
    - Often a few large lead organizers w/incentives to lead.
    - Many producers of complementary goods.
  - If “joining” a coalition is voluntary, hard to design standards that makes everyone happy.
    - Bargaining and negotiation inevitable.
- ▶ *Standard more than just endorsement of a design.*
  - Changing w/technological possibilities, firm needs.
  - Institutions to support, upgrade, test.
    - Firm interest change over time.
- ▶ *Even after a breakthrough, there will be many changes in a design.*
  - This usually creates more value for all participants.
  - Implies policy cannot be static.



# Policy for information disclosure? 情報開示のための政策？



- ▶ *Disclosure raises many issues.*
  - Disclosure rules in standards committees shapes whether firms participate.
    - Sometimes *interoperability is why* firms participate – they want assurances that all the complementary equipment works together.
  - Firms pay close attention the disclosure rules.
    - Big difference between open and proprietary platforms when IP is at stake.
    - Open platforms will elicit disclosure from private firms, but only if rules are tightly written.
- ▶ *Who is favored by disclosure rules?*
  - ▶ Important open question for policy.

# Summary of broad policy lessons

## 広範な政策上の教訓のまとめ



- ▶ *Generally when to consider intervening.*
  - When one platform better than none. When intervention can avert bargaining failure.
  - When public actor hold statutory authority over key input into platform components.
  - When intervention facilitates entry and/or experiments.
- ▶ *Generally when not to intervene.*
  - When private orderings can manage platform development.
  - When platform competition shows symptoms of vigor.
  - When use case remains uncertain, but private initiatives continue to experiment and compete.
- ▶ *Government mandates for designs only rarely will work better than market processes.*
  - Due to leadership failures or statutory requirements.

# Thanks for your attention

- ▶ ご清聴ありがとうございました
- ▶ ご質問は？