

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Superior Court

Suffolk, SS
Business Litigation Session

BENJAMIN EDELMAN,

Plaintiff,

v.

PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF
HARVARD COLLEGE,

Defendant.

Civil Action 2384CV00395-BLS2

**AFFIDAVIT OF BENJAMIN EDELMAN IN SUPPORT OF
CROSS-MOTION FOR PARTIAL SUMMARY JUDGMENT**

I, Benjamin Edelman, state and declare:

1. I am the Plaintiff in the above-captioned action.
2. I was a faculty member at Harvard Business School beginning in 2007. My employment at HBS ended on June 30, 2018, after my application for tenure was denied.

My reply to the draft 2017 FRB Report

3. The FRB sent its 2017 draft report to me on Wednesday September 27, 2017 at 6:38pm. (A true and correct copy of the transmission email, with Bates number HBS20692, is attached as Attachment 1.) The FRB requested my reply by Thursday October 5, 2017 at 5pm – six business days later. (Id.) I spent that period trying to understand and respond to new allegations and new arguments.
4. In responding to the section of the report titled “Respect for others inside the institution,” I struggled to form a strong reply because it was difficult to respond to the report’s anonymous decontextualized negative quotations. I did not know who had (purportedly) said what, or what

subjects they were talking about. I believed that in many cases, if I knew the speaker and the context for their statements, I would be able to provide information that would convince readers of the report that my actions were appropriate—for example, because of widely-shared agreement about the importance of what I was doing, because the speaker had a limited vantage point, or because I achieved an important success. I could not make these points when all quotes were anonymous and decontextualized.

5. In the section titled “Outside activities and conflict of interest,” I struggled in part because the report criticized me without grounding the criticism in specific policies I had supposedly violated. If the FRB had alleged that I violated a specific policy, I would have applied that policy to the facts at hand, and I would have explained why I believed I had complied. Instead, the FRB’s allegations were amorphous. When I identified the policy on point and explained why I complied, that was at most partially responsive to FRB remarks that hadn’t actually claimed I violated that policy. I felt I could not find a strong way to respond.

6. I particularly struggled with the FRB’s claim that the class action lawsuit I originated, against American Airlines, presented material risk to HBS. I believed that airline fees were notoriously unpopular, and I knew that the lawsuit was grounded in impeccable proof of AA promising to transport certain bags for free but then charging for those same bags—due to both software errors and insufficient employee training. I felt confident that the case would ultimately obtain millions of dollars of refunds for passengers, as in fact it did. I could not see material risk to HBS, particularly in light of favorable response to all my prior aviation consumer protection efforts. My Reply to the FRB (Ex. 45 at pages HBS18915-6 and -19) attempted to convince readers that there was minimal risk here, based on the factors known to me at the time. If these topics had been explored in an interview, I could have gained an understanding of why FRB

members believed there were risks of negative publicity, and I would then have addressed the likelihood of those risks materializing.

7. In deposition, FRB member Stuart Gilson speculated that the litigation against AA might cause AA to cancel a hypothetical executive education program staffed by HBS faculty. (Gilson Dep. 200-203.) No one ever expressed this rationale to me at the time, and it did not occur to me to address it in my Reply to the FRB. If Professor Gilson had made that argument when the FRB interviewed me, I would have refuted it. One, I would have argued that Gilson was factually incorrect, because AA has no history of hiring HBS faculty, more often engaging faculty nearer to its headquarters in Texas. Two, I would have argued that Gilson's suggestion was *outrageous* because no policy requires or even suggests that the research and outside activities of HBS faculty should be shaped by the school's desire to market its executive education programs. I would have argued that academic independence calls for faculty to choose research subjects and outside activities without regard for the university's business interests.

Interview Notes

8. Had I received notes of the FRB interviews, I would have examined them in full, in the way laid out in Pl.'s Responses to Def.'s 2d Interrogatories at 1-9. I would also have examined which witnesses were granted multiple quotes, versus which just one (or zero), and would have suggested that those I interacted with most were given short shrift. (For example, I would have called out the remarks of course-heads, who led teaching groups where I participated for multiple hours per week. I would have called out the remarks from my faculty support specialist, who sat outside my office and with whom I interacted multiple times per day.) Without the FRB notes, I could not do any of these things.

9. I would also have called out the many positive remarks in the interview notes, and I would have used these remarks to oppose FRB criticism of my character and conduct. I would have highlighted positive assessments from the FRB’s faculty interviews: “got along with everybody” (W02 Ex. 66), “excellent citizen” (W02 HBS14318, Russcol Aff. Attachment 2), “He stands up for people who need others to stand up for [them]” and “Among the most respectful people I know in terms of staff interactions” (W03 Ex. 15), “least manipulative/Machiavellian person on the planet” (W09 Ex. 66), “acts very nice towards, tries to help the victims/weaker/disadvantage” (Id.), “works with difficult FSS’s – message re: lower status folks” and “if he knows you don’t have resources, he will help you” (W12 Ex. 120 page 6), “responsive with both faculty and staff” (W17 Ex. 120), “whole body of software freely available that can make people better, and is all available to everyone” (W18 Ex. 68).

10. I would have flagged similar praise from staff: “Nothing but positive things to say” and “When I know I will interact with him, I’m glad” (W06 Ex. 67), “very collegial” (W07 HBS19000, Russcol Aff. Attachment 10), “good to work with” and “accommodating” (W15 Ex. 67). When the FRB withheld these favorable reports from colleagues, I was relegated to serving as my own character witness, which was obviously less powerful.

ATSC Meetings and Interactions with W16

11. I remarked in my interrogatory responses in this case that I interacted with W16 W16 in exactly two in-person occasions between the first FRB report and his July 26, 2017 interview by the FRB. (Pl.’s Responses to Def.’s 2d Interrogatories at 5.) I reached this conclusion by reviewing emails and meeting invites relating to meetings of the Academic Technology Steering Committee (ATSC) of which both W16 and I were members. True and accurate copies of this correspondence are attached, collectively, as Attachment 2.

12. There were supposed to be five ATSC meetings during this period. However, W16 did not attend the meeting in November 2016 (Ex. 46 at 16626), and the meeting in July 2017 was canceled (BGE018313). W16 and I both attended the ATSC's meetings of July 21, 2016 (BGE018221) and April 13, 2017 (BGE018241). I believe we interacted during those meetings in the sense that we both spoke and both listened to each other's remarks. However, notes memorializing the April 4, 2016 meeting (BGE018222) indicate that W16 left the meeting at some point midway through the first of two discussion topics. The notes of the meeting indicate that I spoke only after W16 left the meeting, which is consistent with my recollection informed by the notes. I do not think W16 and I interacted during this meeting in the sense of me speaking, other than perhaps to introduce myself, during the period when he was present. That leaves only the July 21, 2016, and April 13, 2017, meetings where W16 could have reached an impression about me based on my oral remarks.

13. Other than at ATSC, I do not recall any in-person meetings with W16 during this period. If we met in passing, such as at a cafeteria or in a hallway, I do not recall any substantive discussion.

My reply to FRB criticism of "inconsistent" disclosures

14. I also struggled to respond to the FRB's criticism that my disclosures were "inconsistent" on six specific work products that the FRB stated were related to Google or Microsoft. (Ex. 45 at 18884-5.) The six work products were an article in CPI Antitrust Chronicle (CPI), an article in European Competition Journal (ECJ), a speech entitled Dominant Platforms (DP), an article in Harvard Business Review (HBR), an analysis of a European regulatory decision (EC), and an article in the Journal of Marketing Research (JMR). I found this criticism frustrating, too. The six

work products were different, discussing a range of practices relating to multiple companies, published in distinct journals with differing editorial standards and policies. The “inconsistent” criticism seemed to suggest that any difference must indicate misconduct or at best error by me, when in fact there were multiple good reasons for differences.

15. In my reply, I focused on the policy provisions (and associated arguments) that applied to all six work products: The work products were not “directly related” to any company I had worked for, as that term was defined in the governing policy; the governing policy did not require disclosure on any of these work products; my disclosures should be seen as instances of going above-and-beyond what any policy required (as I felt I had for many years). I chose this approach because the FRB granted me just six business days to reply. With numerous subjects to cover, I was stretched thin. In particular, I spent most of the available time attempting to respond to the bullet-pointed anonymous quotations, which I believed were very damaging, but which were very hard to address without knowing the speakers and the context for their criticisms. With just six business days, and much of that time taken by responding to other aspects of the report, it was out of reach for me to examine the finer points of each work product—what I submitted to each journal, what editors suggested, how my words were reworked during editing, whether journals had relevant policies. Had the FRB informed me at the outset of its process in 2017 that it was investigating an allegation that my disclosures of past work for Microsoft on publications related to Google were insufficient, I would have prepared to address these issues over a period of weeks when drafting my submission and preparing for my interview.

16. So far as I recall, as I prepared my reply to the FRB’s draft report, I assumed the FRB had correctly quoted the six disclosures. It was only during the course of this litigation that I noticed that the FRB report quotes and criticizes the disclosure from *the publisher web page*

about an article I published in the European Competition Journal, but that *the actual article PDF* adds a two-sentence disclosure which is the text I had asked the publisher to include. I do not know why the publisher used alternative text on a web page linking to the article. A true and accurate copy of the webpage (scrolled to the “Disclosure statement” section) is attached as Attachment 3; a true and accurate copy of the actual article is Attachment 4 (BGE20027). With more time, I am confident that I would have checked the FRB’s six quotes and uncovered this error.

17. In two instances, my approach to disclosure was specifically informed by, and consistent with, journal policy. Current HBR policy calls for disclosing only those activities that pertain to the very “companies that appear as examples” (BGE019974) and “companies named or discussed in your work.” (BGE019978). Contemporaneous CPI policy calls for disclosure if an author served as a lawyer or expert for a client with a stake in a “matter.” My activities, advising a company at most *competing with* a company mentioned in my articles, do not trigger these provisions. My reply to the FRB mentioned generally that “I followed guidance from the respective publishers” (Exhibit 45 at 18683), but due to limited time, I did not check the specific publisher policies, quote them, or explain which articles’ disclosures were proper in light of the stated policies of the corresponding journals. Had the FRB told me earlier in their process that they were concerned about the disclosures on the HBR and CPI articles, I would have had months to reflect on those disclosures and would have been bound to check journal policies, at which point I would have discovered that my disclosures exactly met instructions from those journals. Attachments 5-7 give true and accurate copies of the contemporaneous HBR policy memorialized in my email archives, and of the contemporaneous CPI policy preserved by Archive.org, which is consistent with my recollection of the policy at the time. I believe that the

disclosure policies of a journal inform what a reasonable reader of that journal would expect to be disclosed, and I would have conveyed that point to the FRB.

18. I also did not check the chronology leading to the disclosures in the respective work products. The FRB criticized a disclosure in an article I published in Harvard Business Review, suggesting that the disclosure omitted details that should have been included. But in fact, I provided key details to my HBR editor, an employee of Harvard Business Publishing who I understood to be familiar with all applicable rules and to be expert in conforming my disclosure to the style required to publish in HBR. In a comment in my manuscript, I specifically flagged the possibility that disclosure was appropriate. A true and accurate copy of this email and attached manuscript with comments are attached as Attachments 8 and 9. (Transmission email BGE019993, providing file BGE020020, remarking in relevant part “I do mention Google so perhaps should include a disclosure...”). In a revised manuscript, my editor removed my comment and added the disclosure that was ultimately published and that the FRB criticized. With more time, I would have revisited these emails and figured out where the text came from. I would have pointed out to readers that the disclosure at issue was drafted by a Harvard employee, after timely and full disclosure by me. I would also have pointed out that HBR is known for its distinctive style, quite different from academic journals. HBR editors previously told me that HBR disfavors the verbose author disclosures that are routine elsewhere. While I am ultimately responsible for all text published in my name, I would have attempted to convince readers of the FRB report that it was proper for me to follow disclosure instructions from an editor, employed by another part of Harvard, whose responsibilities included standardizing HBR’s preferred style. The subsequent section “My Understanding of HBR Editorial Policies”

discusses additional interactions that informed my understanding of HBR's policies about disclosures and revisions to authors' texts.

19. There are yet other reasons why I viewed my disclosures as proper. I took the FRB to criticize my JMR article, but that article *does* disclose prior work for Microsoft. A post on my web site appeared below a "bio" link that provided my full biography including a list of clients. The HBR article relates to Google at most tangentially – discussing the *historic* (pre-acquisition) practices of a company Google *later* acquired. I gave the DP speech at an event where disclosures of speakers' affiliations and potential conflicts were largely made by the person who introduced each speaker, and I was introduced by a sophisticated industry expert who was aware of my past work for Microsoft and who I understood did not believe any disclosure was necessary or appropriate.

20. In multiple respects, I perceived that HBS treated my disclosures differently than disclosures made by other HBS faculty. In general, I understand that a variety of HBS faculty have at various times been asked to improve their disclosures, but I am unaware of any other faculty member facing the sort of inquiry that the FRB undertook in my case. As to my DP speech, HBS treated me differently than another HBS faculty member who also spoke at that same event, who I understand was paid for some of the work he presented, who offered no disclosure, and who did not face FRB proceedings relating to his remarks. Finally, during discovery I learned that another HBS faculty member in 2017 faced allegations of allegedly insufficient disclosures in HBR—there, omitting disclosure of a directly related matter that should have been disclosed under both HBS policy and HBR policy. For that faculty member, HBS's inquiry immediately flagged the possibility of the disclosure being proper in light of both

HBR policies and HBR IT limitations, and HBS ultimately did not criticize him or sanction him for the allegedly-deficient disclosure in his HBR publication.

21. As to all but that argument grounded in discovery, I could have made these arguments at the time, and I believe I would have, had I had ample time to investigate and to gather my thoughts.

22. Reviewing the arguments I made in my reply, and the additional arguments I could have made given sufficient time, I prepared the following table. X marks an argument I made in my reply, while [] marks an argument I could have made with more time. By my count, I made two arguments in my reply, each applying to all six work products. Due to shortage of time, I omitted seven arguments that, collectively, apply to each article.

	CPI	ECJ	DP	HBR	Blog	JMR
(1) My work with Microsoft was not directly related to the work product	x	x	x	x	x	x
(2) My work with Microsoft had already ended at the time of article submission	x	x	x	x	x	x
(3) FRB error as to actual disclosure present		[]				
(4) Compliance with journal policy	[]			[]		
(5) Decision by editor / introducer			[]	[]		
(6) Disclosure mentions Microsoft work						[]
(7) Disclosure on unavoidable "bio" link					[]	
(8) Minimal relationship to Google				[]		
(9) Holds me to a different standard than other HBS faculty in same venue			[]	[]		

My Understanding of HBR Policies about Disclosure and Role of Authors versus Staff

23. My understanding of HBR editorial policies as to disclosure was informed by my June 2014 email discussion with my HBR editor, who initially declined to include a disclosure, but included a single sentence when I insisted. The editor requested that the disclosure be more general and open-ended due to limitations in the HBR editorial system, which was unable to

present a different disclosure for each article written by the same author. (See Attachment 10, a true and correct copy of our entire email exchange on this subject.) I understood from this discussion that the editor, who I took to have more information than I did about HBR policy, believed the disclosure he proposed—both there and later—was consistent with HBR requirements. The same editor then used a variant of this disclosure in the 2016 article—creating a causal path from the HBR IT limitation (allowing only a single disclosure for all articles written by a single author) to the editor’s judgment of appropriate disclosure to the disclosure that editor wrote and used in my April 2016 article in the April 2016 print edition of HBR.

24. My understanding of HBR editorial policies was further informed by a January 2015 discussion with an HBR Articles Editor, who moved and revised a disclosure without consulting me. See Attachment 11, a true and correct copy of our discussion. Note especially my February 10, 2015 remark “Where is the author’s bio...” calling out the importance of a disclosure “required under HBS policies” which I did not see in her revision. Her approach left me with the sense that HBR staff preferred to implement disclosure (and other publication formalities) on their own and without my feedback. On one hand, I wanted to make sure that disclosure was done properly, consistent with my standards and consistent with HBS policy. But she specifically instructed that “we can’t accommodate any edits other than corrections to typos or factual errors.” Overall, her approach indicated that she considered it routine to revise my text, and that she thought she and colleagues were better positioned than me to decide how my submission should be published.

25. My understanding of HBR’s preferred approach to revisions and decision-making was also informed by other incidents in which HBR staff revised my writings without notice to me or prior review by me. For example, in February 2011, an HBR Associate Editor requested an

article from me, then published it online with what I saw as material revisions—without consulting me or informing me of the revisions. In an email, I explained why I saw those revisions as ill-advised. He saw them as routine. While I remained of the view that an author should be told about any change to his or her words, this interaction again left me with the impression that HBR’s standard practice was to revise texts without notice to or consent from authors, and that HBR staff preferred that authors defer to their revisions, recommendations, and decisions. Attachment 12 gives a true and correct copy of my email discussion with the Associate Editor on this subject.

My teaching in 2017

26. I worked hard to embrace the Leadership and Corporate Accountability teaching assignment I received in 2016-2018. It was difficult to teach an entirely new course, and some aspects of the assignment were well outside my comfort zone. BGE002643 summarizes student evaluation of my 2016-2017 in the standard HBS course evaluation tool; Attachment 13 is a true and correct copy of that document from my records. Despite being a rookie to the course, I was proud to have achieved a score significantly higher than other instructors at the key metric “overall effectiveness of the instructor” (6.6 versus course average of 6.1). I understood at the time that a 6.6 instructor effectiveness score was unusual, particularly in this course, which was ordinarily taught by senior faculty. I understood that my score was the highest of any instructor teaching that course that year.

Signed under the pains and penalties of perjury this 24th day of October, 2025.

/s/Benjamin Edelman
Benjamin Edelman

Attachment 1

From: aedmondson@hbs.edu
Sent: Wednesday, September 27, 2017 6:38 PM EDT
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: FRB Draft Report

You have received 1 secure file from aedmondson@hbs.edu.

Use the secure link below to download.

Dear Ben,

The Faculty Review Board has reviewed your materials, completed its interviews and evaluation, and drafted a report summarizing our work and findings. Consistent with the FRB guidelines, you now have an opportunity to provide a written response to this document, which we ask that you send us by 5pm on Thursday, October 5, 2017. We then will determine whether the draft should be amended or stand as is; either way, the report at that time will be considered final, and we will provide a copy to you and to the Standing Committee of the Appointments Committee.

Separately, I have let Paul Healy (in his role as Senior Associate Dean for Faculty Development) know where we are in the process; you should feel free to reach out to him with any questions about how this relates to your promotion case.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Best,

Amy

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Attachment 2

From: "Clark, Elizabeth" <eclark@hbs.edu>

To: "Oberholzer, Felix" <foberholzer@hbs.edu>, "Kierstead, Jana" <jkierstead@hbs.edu>, "Edelman, Benjamin" <bedelman@hbs.edu>, "Applegate, Lynda" <lapplegate@hbs.edu>, "Gallagher, Stephen" <sgallagher@hbs.edu>, "Homa, David" <dhoma@hbs.edu>, "Emmons, Willis" <wemmons@hbs.edu>, "Korn, John" <jkorn@hbs.edu>, "Wallace, Debra" <dwallace@hbs.edu>, "Amrhein, Andrew" <aamrhein@hbs.edu>

Subject: Academic Technology Steering Committee: Notes from 4/4 Meeting

Date: Thu, 07 Apr 2016 00:49:54 +0000

Importance: Normal

Attachments: ATsteering16-04-04_Notes.docx

Dear all,

It was great seeing everyone on Monday at the ATSC meeting. I'm attaching a PDF of the deck from the meeting, along with meeting notes. Please let me know if you have any questions about either.

I look forward to seeing you next on July 21st at 10 AM.

Best of luck with the remainder of the semester!

All the best,

Beth

Elizabeth Clark, PhD | Managing Director | Academic & Administrative Technology Services | Harvard Business School | 617.495.7556



Academic Technology Steering Committee

Notes

Date: April 4, 2016

Time: 11:00 AM – 12:00 PM

Place: Baker B82

Invitees: Andrew Amrhein, Lynda Applegate, Beth Clark, Benjamin Edelman, Penny Ellard, Willis Emmons, Steve Gallagher, David Homa, Jana Kierstead, John Korn, Felix Oberholzer-Gee, Debra Wallace

Notes:

Course Evaluation Project: Introduction and Updates

A project to replace the current homegrown course evaluation system is underway (for both the MBA and Doctoral Programs; ExEd will be considered later), the first phase of which is an investigation into vendor-based products followed by an RFP. The RFP went out on March 23rd and will be completed by the vendors no later than April 22nd. Based on the data gathered in the RFP, up to four vendors will be chosen to visit the HBS campus and present to faculty and staff. Tentative dates for the presentations are as follows (invitations will go out when the vendors are confirmed):

5/9, 5/19, 5/23, 5/24

After the presentations, a recommendation will be brought to this committee, and then an implementation project will kick off. ITPC funding has been allocated in both FY16 and FY17 for this project.

Questions from the committee:

- Will the tool be flexible enough to incorporate mid-semester assessments? (Inherently, all of the tools are date agnostic.)
- Will the systems under consideration allow (or are they considering) voice or video feedback with speech-to-text capabilities? (We will build this into the questions asked of the vendors.)

Canvas Project Update

An update was given on the Canvas project. Things have gone smoothly in the Doctoral Program, and there are a seven courses using Canvas in the EC. Work streams for the project in FY16 include not only the implementation across the program, but the SIS integration (complete), a revised calendar management system, self-enrollment for faculty, staff and students (officially called Temporary Course Viewing), and collaboration with the new myHBS student portal project team (Canvas data are being pulled into the new portal).



Academic Technology Steering Committee

Two questions were up for committee discussion:

1. *The time period for self-enrollment in course sites:* This relates to giving temporary access to Canvas course sites for community members so that they can access course materials. The way this feature is being configured, student information will be protected, and only syllabi and course materials will be exposed. The question for the committee related to how long temporary access should be given to faculty, staff, and students.

Decision: 2 semesters plus 30 days

After Felix and Jana left the meeting, Ben brought forward a question around copyright and intellectual property rules related to content in the course sites. This will need further review from the project team. This will be a basic issue that needs addressing as the course information repository is built as a component of the FY17 Canvas project.

2. *Faculty access to course analytics and student notification:* Faculty will have new analytics capabilities in Canvas that they did not have in Learning Hub. They will be able to review individual and aggregate student performance in each Canvas site. Given the visibility faculty will have into student performance in Canvas, the project team's recommendation was to send out a global announcement to students at the start of each term letting them know about the capability.

Decision: The committee agreed with the recommendation

Kaltura (Digital Video Asset Management) project

The status of the Kaltura implementation project was reviewed. Details are included in the meeting PPT slides.

Action Item: Add Ben Edelman to the faculty pilot

Next meeting: July 21st, 10:00 AM

From: "Edelman, Benjamin"

To: "Gallagher, Stephen" <sgallagher@hbs.edu>

Subject: Accepted: Spring ATSC

Date: Mon, 27 Mar 2017 13:23:14 +0000

Importance: Normal

Attachments: unnamed

From: "Clark, Elizabeth" <eclark@hbs.edu>

To: "Oberholzer, Felix" <foberholzer@hbs.edu>, "Edelman, Benjamin" <bedelman@hbs.edu>, "Raman, Ananth" <araman@hbs.edu>, "Kierstead, Jana" <jkierstead@hbs.edu>, "Renner, Scott" <srenner@hbs.edu>, patrick.mullane <patrick.mullane@hbs.edu>, "Emmons, Willis" <wemmons@hbs.edu>, "Wallace, Debra" <dwallace@hbs.edu>, "Korn, John" <jkorn@hbs.edu>, "Gallagher, Stephen" <sgallagher@hbs.edu>, "Amrhein, Andrew" <aamrhein@hbs.edu>

Cc: "Racine, Heath" <hracine@hbs.edu>, "Targett, Katherine" <ktargett@hbs.edu>

Subject: Summer ATSC meeting

Date: Mon, 19 Jun 2017 16:58:09 +0000

Importance: Normal

Dear all,

Unfortunately, due to scheduling conflicts, we need to cancel the summer ATSC meeting. I will be working with Gina Donaldson to find another time for us in the fall.

Prior to that meeting, I will send an update on the video recording policy work that is ongoing between MBA and IT. There may also be some preparatory work related to the discussion around projection, so stay tuned for that.

In the meantime, enjoy the summer months - I look forward to seeing you soon!

All the best,

Beth

Elizabeth Clark, PhD | Managing Director | Academic & Administrative Technology Services | Harvard Business School | 617.495.7556

Attachment 3

[←](#)
[→](#)
[www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17441056.2016.1254483#d1e889](#)

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In this article

[I. Google's Android business model and licensing requirements](#)

[II. Harmful effects of the requirements imposed on Android manufacturers](#)

[III. Legal assessment](#)

[IV. Remedies](#)

[V. Looking ahead](#)

[Disclosure statement](#)

[Footnotes](#)

In the realm of search, Google has been widely alleged to favour its own services – a strategy which struck some as improper¹²⁵ but seemed to others the natural privilege of dominance in search.¹²⁶ In mobile operating systems, Google's contractual approach arguably reduces the disagreement somewhat. Whereas Google's tactics in search use elements of technological tying, with the key practices embodied within Google code, Google's tactics in mobile draw more heavily on contracts whose black-letter provisions seem particularly out of line when subjected to scrutiny. It is in part for this reason that we think competition authorities are particularly likely to question Google's contractual restrictions.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

ORCID

Benjamin Edelman <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6001-0310>

Damien Geradin <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5378-8354>

Notes

1 'Number of mobile phone users worldwide from 2013 to 2019,' *Statista*, 2016;

"Number of tablet users worldwide from 2013 to 2019," *Statista*, 2016.

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European Competition Journal
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European Competition Journal
Published online: 11 Oct 2018

Attachment 4



Android and competition law: exploring and assessing Google's practices in mobile

Benjamin Edelman & Damien Geradin

To cite this article: Benjamin Edelman & Damien Geradin (2016) Android and competition law: exploring and assessing Google's practices in mobile, European Competition Journal, 12:2-3, 159-194, DOI: [10.1080/17441056.2016.1254483](https://doi.org/10.1080/17441056.2016.1254483)

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Android and competition law: exploring and assessing Google's practices in mobile

Benjamin Edelman ^{a†} and Damien Geradin ^{b,c,d*†}

^aAssociate Professor, Harvard Business School, Boston, MA, USA; ^bFounding Partner, EDGE Legal, Brussels, Belgium; ^cProfessor of Competition Law & Economics, Tilburg Law & Economics Center (TILEC), Tilburg University, Tilburg, The Netherlands; ^dVisiting Professor, University College London, London, UK

(Received 2 October 2016; accepted 26 October 2016)

Since its launch in 2007, Android has become the dominant mobile device operating system worldwide. In light of this commercial success and certain disputed business practices, Android has come under substantial attention from competition authorities. We present key aspects of Google's strategy in mobile, focusing on Android-related practices that may have exclusionary effects. We then assess Google's practices under competition law and, where appropriate, suggest remedies to right the violations we uncover.

Keywords: Android; antitrust; competition policy; exclusion; mobile communication devices; remedies; tying

JEL Classification: K21; L42; L41; L40; L99

Since its launch in 2007, Android has become the dominant mobile device operating system (“OS”) worldwide. In 2015, there were more than 4.4 billion mobile phone users and 1 billion tablet users in the world,¹ over 80% of which run Google Android.² In light of this commercial success and certain disputed business practices, Android has come under substantial attention from competition authorities. For instance, in September 2015, Russia's Federal Antimonopoly Service completed an investigation finding that Google broke Russia's competition rules by

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[†]The authors have no current clients adverse to Google with respect to the practices discussed herein. No client of either author requested or suggested this article or had a right to review it prior to publication.

¹‘Number of mobile phone users worldwide from 2013 to 2019,’ *Statista*, 2016; ‘Number of tablet users worldwide from 2013 to 2019,’ *Statista*, 2016.

²‘Global mobile OS market share in sales to end users from 1st quarter 2009 to 1st quarter 2016,’ *Statista*, 2016.

unfairly bundling its own services and preventing rival products from being installed on Android software.³ Then, in April 2016, the European Commission sent a statement of objections to Google indicating its preliminary view that Google had committed an abuse of a dominant position by imposing certain restrictions on Android device manufacturers and mobile network operators.⁴ The Korean Fair Trade Commission announced a similar investigation in August 2016,⁵ and the US Federal Trade Commission was reported in September 2015 to have begun investigating Google's tactics in mobile⁶ despite the Commission's prior decision not to pursue Google's disputed tactics in search and search preferencing.⁷

A recurring theme in these investigations is the concern that Google's Android-related practices protect or enhance its position of strength in some key applications or services, Google Search among others, to the detriment of competing app makers and service providers. We share this concern. As we show in this paper, Google's practices can produce exclusionary effects on competing app makers and service providers. Of course, Google's practices are unlikely to harm the thousands of firms or individuals developing apps that do not compete with Google's. But these practices harm makers of apps that directly compete with Google's key apps, including in the sectors most important to advertisers and most frequented by users. In particular, we show that Google's restrictions imposed on manufacturers of commercially viable Android users would increase the difficulty of a new, innovative mobile search engine challenging Google Search and competing on the merits.

Antitrust investigations are complex and fact-intensive, and thus the goal of this paper is not to offer a full antitrust analysis of Google's Android-related practices. Even if this were our aim, it would not be possible because most of the licences and other documents implementing the restrictions at issue are not

³Federal Antimonopoly Service of the Russian Federation, 'FAS Russia Decision and Determination of 18 September 2015', No 1-14-21/00-11-15. The Russian authorities also fined Google for its practices in mobile. See 'Russian Antimonopoly Service Fines Google \$6.7 Mln' *Russian Legal Information Agency* (11 August 2016) <<http://www.rapsinews.com/news/20160811/276651091.html>>.

⁴European Commission, 'Antitrust: Commission Sends Statement of Objections to Google on Android Operating System and Applications' (20 April 2016, IP/16/1492) <http://www.ipeuropa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-1492_en.htm>.

⁵Song Jung-a, 'South Korea Confirms Google Antitrust Probe' *The Financial Times* (12 August 2016) <<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/59bd6b78-6044-11e6-b38c-7b39cbb1138a.html#axzz4Hn7Tu74P>>.

⁶Brent Kendall and Alistair Barr, 'FTC Looking at Complaints over Google's Android Control' *The Wall Street Journal* (25 September 2015) <<http://www.wsj.com/articles/ftc-looking-at-complaints-over-googles-android-control-1443201867>>.

⁷'Statement of the Federal Trade Commission Regarding Google's Search Practices' *The Federal Trade Commission* (3 January 2013) <https://www.ftc.gov/system/files/documents/public_statements/295971/130103googlesearchstmttoftcomm.pdf>.

public (although there are some notable exceptions which we examine in subsequent sections). This difficulty is compounded by the fact that there is to date only a single antitrust authority decision or court judgment assessing Google's restrictions under antitrust rules. (Indeed, even that decision, by Russia's Federal Antimonopoly Service, was until recently available only in Russian. Only in the course of this article did we obtain, and post to the web, an English translation.⁸) In light of these limitations, we use the available information to provide a critical analysis of some of the restrictions that apply to device manufacturers that wish to develop commercially viable Android devices, and to assess the arguments offered by Google (including some of the papers Google has commissioned) to justify these restrictions.⁹

Undistorted competition in mobile environments carries special importance given the growing reliance of individuals on mobile communications devices, such as smartphones or tablets, as their primary means of access to the Internet. The Microsoft antitrust investigations were set against a PC-centric era in which most users relied on desktops and laptops,¹⁰ but today Android plays a correspondingly central role for the majority of users.¹¹ Without denying Android's merits, this paper concludes that Google's Android-related contract provisions harm competition to the detriment of developers of competing apps and services, as well as to the detriment of consumers. The restrictions also hurt Android device manufacturers by constraining their options, reducing their secondary revenue sources and limiting their ability to distinguish themselves from competitors. To protect competition on the merits and assure that consumers have access to the best devices and services, we suggest that these practices should be eliminated and their historic harm undone.

Against that background, this paper is divided into five sections. In Section I, we present the relevant aspects of Google's Android business and the key contract provisions in dispute. In Section II, we explore the harms resulting from these provisions. In Section III, we apply relevant legal principles, and in Section IV we propose remedies responsive to the apparent violations and harms. Section V offers a brief conclusion.

⁸Benjamin Edelman, 'English Translation of FAS Russia Decision in Yandex v. Google' <<http://www.benedelman.org/news/092816-1.html>>.

⁹Kent Walker, 'Android's Model of Open Innovation' *Google Europe Blog* (20 April 2016) <<http://googlepolicyeurope.blogspot.com/2016/04/androids-model-of-open-innovation.html>>.

¹⁰'Computer Ownership Up Sharply in the 1990s', U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (March 1999) <<http://www.bls.gov/opub/btn/archive/computer-ownership-up-sharply-in-the-1990s.pdf>>.

¹¹See Preston Gralla, 'The Era of the PC Is over – IDC' *Computerworld* (2 December 2010) <<http://www.computerworld.com/article/2469794/mobile-apps/the-era-of-the-pc-is-over—idc.html>>.

I. Google's Android business model and licensing requirements

A. *Android's business model, market positioning and apps*

Google's Android business is grounded in the company's August 2005 acquisition of Android, Inc., a small firm founded in 2003 to develop a mobile operating system.¹² In November 2007, approximately 10 months after the public launch of Apple's iPhone,¹³ Google unveiled what it called the Open Handset Alliance, an "alliance of leading technology and wireless companies" collaborating to develop "the first truly open and comprehensive platform for mobile devices."¹⁴

As an operating system, Android necessarily sits between hardware, applications and users. It provides application developers with standard interfaces to send and receive data as well as to present and receive information from users. It also provides hardware manufacturers with an ecosystem of software applications, as well as user demand and marketing support.

Apple iOS, available on iPhones and iPad tablets, is Android's main rival.¹⁵ However, Apple iOS is not a realistic alternative to Android for mobile device manufacturers because iOS is not available to install on third-party hardware such as the devices offered by HTC, Lenovo, LG, Samsung and others. Historically, hardware makers could choose from among several other mobile operating systems, including Windows Phone and Symbian. But as of 2016, neither option is commercially viable. No Symbian handsets have shipped since 2013.¹⁶ Windows Phone is officially still available, but has found a harsh reception in the market, selling a total of 101 million devices from 2011 through 2015 – compared to 4.5 billion iOS and Android phones in the same period – leading Microsoft and Nokia to drop Windows Phone offerings and reviewers to declare "Windows Phone is dead."¹⁷ As a result, hardware manufacturers see little alternative to Android.

A portion of Android's commercial success results from its price. From the outset, Google offered Android to hardware manufacturers at no charge.¹⁸ In

¹²Lisa Eadicicco, 'The Rise of Android: How a Flailing Startup Became the World's Biggest Computing Platform' *Business Insider* (27 March 2015) <<http://www.businessinsider.com/how-android-was-created-2015-3>>.

¹³Charles Arthur, 'The History of Smartphones: Timeline' *The Guardian* (24 January 2012) <<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2012/jan/24/smartphones-timeline>>.

¹⁴'Industry Leaders Announce Open Platform for Mobile Devices' *Open Handset Alliance* (5 November 2007) <http://www.openhandsetalliance.com/press_110507.html>.

¹⁵Kate Bevan, 'Android Wars Are Raging as Rivals Challenge Google's Dominance' *The Financial Times* (19 October 2014) <<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/3ed11e7e-4d6b-11e4-bf60-00144feab7de.html>>.

¹⁶Christopher Null, 'The End of Symbian: Nokia Ships Last Handset with the Mobile OS' *PC World* (14 June 2013) <<http://www.pcworld.com/article/2042071/the-end-of-symbian-nokia-ships-last-handset-with-the-mobile-os.html>>.

¹⁷Tom Warren, 'Windows Phone Is Dead' *The Verge* (28 January 2016) <<http://www.theverge.com/2016/1/28/10864034/windows-phone-is-dead>>.

¹⁸Juan Carlos Perez, 'Google Offers Up 'Android' As Its New Open Mobile Platform' *Macworld* (5 November 2007), <http://www.macworld.com/article/1060897/android.html>.

contrast, Symbian and Windows Phone both initially charged licence fees, albeit subsequently dropping those fees to zero in response to competition from Android.¹⁹ In a paper commissioned by Google, Prof. Körber points out:

Google operates on two-sided markets on which the consumers decide about the success of a service, but the remuneration comes from advertising clients. The distribution of Android (and of most apps and mobile services) for a zero price is an indirect tool to attract as much attention as possible by the consumers, increase mobile usage, and ultimately monetise this usage, through advertising or otherwise.²⁰

Application availability is a second reason for Android's popularity. Mobile devices can view web pages, but many services are better accessed through apps which include executable code that runs on the local device – providing functionality even when a device is unable to connect to a data network, and allowing direct access to device hardware such as location sensors, accelerometer, camera and microphone. These apps are written for specific platforms, and app makers naturally focus on the most popular mobile platforms in order to reach as many users as possible.

Google and others now offer a wide range of apps for a variety of purposes. For example, for sending and receiving email, there is Google's Gmail app, but also all manner of others including from widely known firms (such as Microsoft Outlook for Android and Yahoo Mail) as well as boutique specialists (Kale Interactive WeMail, Boxer and TypeApp's TypeMail). For mapping and navigation, Google Maps and Google Waze are widely used, but consumers can also choose among MapQuest, Nokia HERE, Sygic, BackCountry Navigator and dozens more. In many sectors, particularly those that are novel or small, consumers choose only among independent apps, without any offerings from Google.

As we discuss below, most Android devices come bundled with an additional software package known as Google Mobile Services (GMS). GMS includes widely used Google apps including Google Maps, Gmail and YouTube, each of which is available only through GMS and not for separate download by device manufacturers, carriers or end users. GMS also includes Google Play, the app store where users can download other apps from Google and third parties.

Some apps carry disproportionate importance to users, not just for their frequency of use or value when used, but especially for the lack of substitutes.

¹⁹Andreas Constantinou, 'Nokia and Symbian to Become One; Royalty-Free, Open Source Roadmap', *Vision Mobile* (24 June 2008) <<http://www.visionmobile.com/blog/2008/06/nokia-and-symbian-to-become-one-royalty-free-open-source-roadmap/>>; Brad Chacos, 'Microsoft Makes Windows Free on Phones, Small Tablets, and Gizmos – but Not PCs', *PC World* (2 April 2014) <<http://www.pcworld.com/article/2139080/microsoft-makes-windows-free-on-iot-and-small-mobile-devices-but-not-pcs.html>>.

²⁰Torsten Körber, *Let's Talk about Android – Observations on Competition in the Field of Mobile Operating Systems* (German Version: NZKart 4 July 2014), 378–6, <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2462393>.

Google apps enjoy special power in this regard. Consider Google's YouTube, which is extremely popular and has no close competitors. For one, no other content library offers YouTube's distinctive format. With over 400 hours of video uploaded to YouTube every minute, no other content library can match the breadth of content available at YouTube.²¹ In principle, other apps can present content hosted by YouTube, but Google retains preferred search, channel subscription, personalized recommendations and easy sharing capabilities for its own app.²² In addition, a native app provides integrated messaging,²³ faster frame rates with higher image quality,²⁴ and, in a June 2016 addition, live video streaming.²⁵

Users typically obtain apps from app "marketplaces" which organize available software, track developer identity and reputation, and collate other users' reviews and assessments. While Android apps are available from a variety of marketplaces, Google makes its apps available only from the company's own marketplace, Google Play. Furthermore, with 2.2 million apps, Google Play has several times more apps than any competing Android app store.²⁶ These advantages give Google Play outsourced importance to users. As discussed below, Google imposes certain contractual restrictions on device manufacturers wishing to preinstall Google Play and other Google apps.

B. Licensing and other contractual obligations for Android device manufacturers

Depending on which type of "Android" devices they want to offer, device manufacturers have to sign one or several agreements.

1. Building a "bare" Android device

If a device manufacturer is prepared to offer a "bare" Android device, it need only pass technical tests²⁷ and accept the Android License Agreement. This approach

²¹'Hours of Video Uploaded to YouTube Every Minute as of July 2015', *Statista*, 2016.

²²YouTube App, *Google Play* <<https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.google.android.youtube&hl=en>>.

²³Davey Alba, 'YouTube's New Messenger Means You'll Never Have to Leave YouTube' *Wired* (11 May 2016) <<http://www.wired.com/2016/05/youtubes-new-messenger-means-youll-never-leave-youtube/>>.

²⁴Jim Lynch, 'YouTube for Android Now Supports 60 FPS Video' *InfoWorld* (1 July 2015) <<http://www.infoworld.com/article/2942751/android/youtube-for-android-now-supports-60-fps-video.html>>.

²⁵Davey Alba, 'Youtube's New Messenger Means You'll Never Have to Leave Youtube' *Wired* (11 May 2016) <<http://www.wired.com/2016/05/youtubes-new-messenger-means-youll-never-leave-youtube/>>.

²⁶'Number of Apps Available in Leading App Stores as of June 2016' *Statista*, 2016.

²⁷'Compatibility Test Suite', *Android* (2016) <<http://source.android.com/compatibility/cts/index.html>>.

reduces the contractual restrictions the manufacturer must accept, potentially increasing flexibility to configure a device as the manufacturer sees fit. However, this approach foregoes several key benefits that most device manufacturers seek.

Notably, bare Android devices are not permitted to include *any* Google apps (the distribution of which is conditioned on other contracts discussed below). For some Google apps, the device manufacturer may substitute an alternative – perhaps Yahoo Maps instead of Google Maps. But for other Google apps, the alternative is less clear. Notably, as discussed above, there is no apparent substitute for YouTube. Most troublesome is the prohibition that bare Android devices include Google Play, the app store whereby users obtain other apps, both from Google and from independent app developers. Without Google Play, users cannot easily obtain the Google apps they typically expect.

As a result, bare Android is not what consumers expect when they purchase modern mobile devices.

2. Building a “normal” Android device

To obtain GMS and distribute an Android device that consumers view as “normal,” a manufacturer must sign two additional agreements.

First, the device manufacturer must sign a Mobile Application Distribution Agreement (MADA). It seems the MADA is customized for each manufacturer, and by all indications Google intended MADAs to be confidential. Nonetheless, the main MADA requirements can be found in the two MADAs which became publicly available during the course of copyright litigation between Google and Oracle.²⁸ First, manufacturers must “preinstall” “all Google applications” that Google specifies.²⁹ Second, Google requires that these preinstalled apps be prominent, with certain apps presented “at least on the panel immediately adjacent to the Default Home Screen” and others “no more than one level below the Phone Top.”³⁰ Newer MADAs even specify the sequence, from left to right and top to bottom, in which the Google apps must be presented.³¹ Third, Google requires that Google Search “must be set as the default search provider for all Web

²⁸Mobile Application Distribution Agreement (Android) Between Google Inc. and HTC Corporation. § 2.1. (1 January 2011) [hereinafter Google-HTC MADA]; exhibit 286 in *Oracle America Inc. v. Google*, 872 F.Supp.2d 974 (N.D. Cal., 2012). Mobile Application Distribution Agreement (Android) Between Google Inc. and Samsung Electronics Co., Ltd (1 January 2011) [hereinafter Google-Samsung MADA], exhibit 2775 in *Oracle v. Google*.

²⁹MADA section 2.1.

³⁰MADA section 3.4.(2)–(3).

³¹Amir Efrati, ‘Google’s Confidential Android Contracts Show Rising Requirements’ *The Information* (26 September 2014) <<https://www.theinformation.com/Google-s-Confidential-Android-Contracts-Show-Rising-Requirements>>.

search access points,” ruling out the possibility of any other search provider being the default.³² Subsequent revisions require that Google Search be the default for “assist” and “voice search” functions, and in addition require that Google Search be activated when a user presses and holds a device’s physical “Home” button or “swipes up” from a digital home button.³³ Fourth, Google requires that Google’s Network Location Provider service be preloaded and the default, tracking users’ geographic location at all times and sending that location information to Google.³⁴ Finally, Google requires that any time a mobile app presents a web page, the web page must be rendered by a “Google WebView Component” (the core of a web browser).³⁵

To make a “normal” Android device, a device manufacturer also needs to sign the Anti-Fragmentation Agreement (“AFA”). The provisions of the AFA are confidential, and as far as we know, no copy has ever been released to the public – not from Google, through litigation, by accident or in any other way. Nonetheless, Google confirms the existence of the AFA, explaining that “we ask manufacturers who are preloading our apps to put their device through a compatibility test and sign our Anti-Fragmentation Agreement.”³⁶ By all indications, Google’s stated concern is modified Android code, a so-called fork, which could cause some devices to be unable to run apps that work on other devices, or otherwise to be incompatible. Notably, it seems that the AFA is a company-wide document, binding a manufacturer for all of its present and even future devices.³⁷ Thus, AFA obligations apply to the entire operations of the companies that sign.

3. *Learnings from device manufacturers’ experience marketing bare Android*

When challenged about MADA and AFA restrictions, Google typically points out that device manufacturers are not required to accept these agreements to manufacture Android devices. For example, Google’s General Counsel in April 2016 argued that Google’s “partner agreements are entirely voluntary – anyone can use Android without Google.”³⁸ Indeed, Google made such claims as early as the 2007 announcement of Android when Google’s Andy Rubin stated that

³²MADA section 3.4(4).

³³Efrati (n 31).

³⁴MADA section 3.8(c).

³⁵Efrati (n 31).

³⁶‘Frequently Asked Questions’, *Google* (2016) <<https://landing.google.com/intl/en/androidisforusers/faq.html>>.

³⁷See Commission press release (n 4) (“However, if a manufacturer wishes to pre-install Google proprietary apps, including Google Play Store and Google Search, on any of its devices, Google requires it to enter into an ‘Anti-Fragmentation Agreement’ that commits it not to sell devices running on Android forks” (emphasis added)).

³⁸Walker (n 9).

“Google will include its apps suite with the platform, but since the platform is open, a manufacturer or operator can remove some or all the applications.”³⁹

While these claims are strictly true, they do not capture the commercial reality of customer requirements or the reality of the choice available to a device manufacturer. If a manufacturer offers bare Android, it need not preload any specific Google app, but in that case the device cannot include *any* Google app including those that are expected by the vast majority of users and are necessary for commercial success. To get even a single Google app, including the Play Store that provides access to others’ apps, the device manufacturer must sign the MADA and the AFA, committing to preload a full suite of Google apps, accepting Google’s other requirements and promising not to use modified versions of Android on any devices they sell. This is far from the flexibility Google suggests.

Nonetheless, some device manufacturers have pursued this approach. Their experiences illustrate the challenges of offering bare Android to mainstream consumers in western markets. A notable example is Amazon, which in July 2014, began to distribute Fire Phones which did not preload any Google apps and indeed were not marketed with the Android name or logo. Reviews prominently complained about the lack of Google apps. The Wall Street Journal’s review flagged the problem: “Don’t expect to get all the apps you love: Though it runs on a version of Google’s Android operating system, Google apps like Maps, Drive and YouTube are locked out.”⁴⁰ Furthermore, if a consumer had already purchased a paid app via Google Play for a prior Android device, a non-Google Play device would be unable to recognize the prior purchase or install the app – requiring the customer to repurchase every such app.⁴¹ With these limitations, the Fire Phone was not commercially viable, and Amazon discontinued it just one year after launch, taking a \$170 million write-down on the project.⁴²

Similarly, beginning in February 2014, Nokia offered the Nokia X, running bare Android customized with Nokia’s services, notably without Google apps.⁴³ This approach also attracted little consumer excitement. A mobile device

³⁹Greg Sterling, ‘Google’s Android Arrives: Not Gphone but an Open Source Mobile Phone Platform’ *Search Engine Land* (5 November 2007) <<http://searchengineland.com/googles-android-arrives-not-gphone-but-an-open-source-mobile-phone-platform-12611>>.

⁴⁰Geoffrey A Fowler, ‘Amazon Fire Phone Review: Full of Gimmicks, Lacking Basics’ *The Wall Street Journal* (23 July 2014) <<http://www.wsj.com/articles/amazon-fire-phone-review-full-of-gimmicks-lacking-basics-1406077565>>.

⁴¹*ibid.*

⁴²Kia Kokalitcheva, ‘Amazon Is Killing Off the Fire Phone’ *Fortune* (9 September 2015) <<http://fortune.com/2015/09/09/amazon-killing-fire-phone/>>.

⁴³Tom Warren, ‘This Is Nokia X: Android and Windows Phone Collide’ *The Verge* (24 February 2014) <<http://www.theverge.com/2014/2/24/5440498/nokia-x-android-phone-hands-on>>.

analyst remarked that the phone “falls short” of consumers’ expectations.⁴⁴ Bloggers noted specific problems including lacking Google apps, lacking Google Play access to obtain other apps, and specific apps (WhatsApp among others) unavailable even through Nokia’s app store.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, in April 2014, Microsoft announced its purchase of Nokia, creating a strategic conflict since the primary rationale for the transaction was to advance Microsoft’s Windows Phone operating system. Facing a poor market reception as well as internal conflict, Nokia X was discontinued in July 2014.⁴⁶

Much of the weakness of non-GMS devices comes from the lack of Google Play and resulting unavailability of Google apps and difficulty obtaining third-party apps. In principle, end users can “sideload” desired apps directly onto an Amazon Fire Phone or other non-GMS phone. Indeed, the web site sideloadfirephone.com is devoted entirely to this possibility. But enabling sideloading requires first reducing phone security settings, which users will rightly hesitate to do. Moreover, rather than accessing a convenient app store via an app preinstalled on the phone, users must navigate sites like sideloadfirephone.com and rawapk.com, which are notably less intuitive. Sideloading users also forego other app store features such as reviews, one-tap app activation, uninstall and more. A user might sideload the Google Play app store onto an Amazon Fire Phone. But the process of sideloading Google Play is particularly convoluted, requiring 11 separate steps including four downloads from a file-hosting site with no obvious indicia of trustworthiness.⁴⁷ Users have every reason to distrust this process and refuse to attempt it.

Relatedly, even if a user manages to sideload a competing app store, that app store would remain unsatisfactory to most users. Google withholds its own apps from competing app stores, immediately putting competing app stores at a major disadvantage.⁴⁸ Furthermore, Google Play has several times more apps than any other Android app store,⁴⁹ and popular independent apps are systematically missing from third-party app stores.⁵⁰

One might draw a somewhat more favourable view of the marketability of bare Android devices based on, at the least, the survival of Amazon’s Kindle Fire tablet.

⁴⁴‘Discontinued Nokia X Phones Suffered from a Lack of Identity’ *Gadgets 360* (18 July 2014) <<http://gadgets.ndtv.com/mobiles/features/discontinued-nokia-x-phones-suffered-from-a-lack-of-identity-561119>>.

⁴⁵Narender Singh, ‘Do Not Buy Nokia X Devices (Including X2) – My Reasons’ *Tech-Mesto* (17 July 2014) <<https://www.techmesto.com/avoid-nokia-x-xl/>>.

⁴⁶*Gadgets 360* (n 44).

⁴⁷‘Google Play for the Amazon Fire Phone’ *Sideload Fire Phone* (2016) <<http://sideloadfirephone.com/google-play-for-the-amazon-fire-phone/>>.

⁴⁸‘Why Android Users Should Have Google Play Store App on Their Device’ *Neurogadget* (17 May 2016) <<http://neurogadget.net/2016/05/17/android-users-google-play-store-app-device/30446>>.

⁴⁹*Statista* (n 21).

⁵⁰See eg *Gadgets 360* (n 44), as to WhatsApp missing from the Nokia X app store.

First released in November 2011, the Kindle Fire tablet has been repeatedly updated and seems to have found a pool of satisfied customers, focusing on media content that Amazon licences and distributes. Yet as a non-MADA-compliant device, a Kindle Fire tablet also lacks GMS and thus cannot preinstall any Google apps – an omission that users widely complain about.⁵¹ Here too, third-party web sites provide sideloading instructions, but the process is unattractive in the many steps required, not to mention deceptive advertising which diverts users to unrelated apps.⁵² Sideloading Google Play remains the most difficult, requiring a USB connection to a Windows computer, adjusting Kindle Fire security settings, ignoring Windows security warnings, installing special drivers on the computer and running a script on the computer to modify the Fire tablet to run Google Play – a process that one web site explains in four sections with 23 paragraphs of instructions (plus eight bulleted substeps) and 12 screenshots.⁵³ Even if technical experts find the process workable, it is far from accessible to ordinary users.

Experience in certain developing countries offers a somewhat different sense of the importance of GMS and hence the need for device manufacturers to accept Google's MADA and AFA restrictions. Most notable is China, where Android enjoys nearly 74% market share,⁵⁴ yet GMS-equipped phones are virtually absent.⁵⁵ The absence of GMS is explained in part by a full ecosystem of competing apps (including competing app stores from well-established Chinese firms⁵⁶) which make it feasible for manufacturers to forego GMS. Furthermore, at various points the Chinese government has blocked most Google servers from sending data in and out of China,⁵⁷ making it particularly easy for competitors to develop apps and services that consumers find more reliable and ultimately more attractive than Google's offerings. That said, these factors are unlikely to recur elsewhere.

⁵¹'Can't Use Voice Search on Kindle Fire' *Amazon Developer Forums* (21 September 2014) <<https://forums.developer.amazon.com/questions/14243/cant-use-voice-search-on-kindle-fire.html>>.

⁵²Locust, 'How to Install Google Play Store App on Kindle Fire Without Rooting' *thefire-tablet.com* <<http://thefiretablet.com/posts/install-free-google-play-store-app-on-kindle-fire-without-rooting/>>.

⁵³Chris Hoffinan, 'How to Install the Google Play Store on Your Amazon Fire Tablet' *How-To Geek* (6 November 2015) <<http://www.howtogeek.com/232726/how-to-install-the-google-play-store-on-your-amazon-fire-tablet/>>.

⁵⁴'Market Share Held by Smartphone Operating Systems in China from 2013 to 2016, by Month' *Statista*, 2016.

⁵⁵Meg Butler, 'Why No One in China Has an Android Phone' *GSM Nation* (23 November 2012) <<http://www.gsmnation.com/blog/2012/11/23/why-no-one-in-china-has-an-android-phone/>>.

⁵⁶Viranch, 'Google and China: 5 Reasons Why It's Tough to Bring Back the Play Store' *TechPP* (28 November 2015) <<http://techpp.com/2015/11/28/google-china-play-store/>>.

⁵⁷Keith Bradsher and Paul Mozur, 'China Clamps Down on Web, Pinching Companies Like Google' *The New York Times* (21 September 2014).

For example, most countries are unlikely to block Google services, and most companies lack strong local incumbents to provide key services.

Beginning in 2014, mobile software firm Cyanogen touted its “Google-free” version of Android, substituting third-party services for each component of GMS.⁵⁸ But Cyanogen’s approach was, by all accounts, slow to catch on – leading to 2016 layoffs and widespread discussion of shifts in the company’s strategy.⁵⁹ On the whole, Cyanogen’s suite of competing apps could not match Google’s functionality. Moreover, Cyanogen’s strategy remained importantly limited by Google’s various restrictions, including preventing Cyanogen and manufacturers from selecting desired Google apps (due to MADA restrictions) and preventing manufacturers from shipping some Cyanogen devices and some GMS devices (per the AFA discussed below).

In his Google-commissioned article, Prof. Körber suggests that bare Android is a viable option for device manufacturers, arguing that “some OEMs and MNOs actually exclude GMS and Google services from their Android devices, and nevertheless are successfully [*sic*] on the markets.”⁶⁰ But in fact the few manufacturers that tried to avoid MADA requirements are notable primarily for their failures, as discussed above. Körber cites Amazon Fire, Nokia X and CyanogenMod as examples of non-GMS devices. But to the extent that he presents these as successful or commercially viable, time has proven his claims mistaken; his article was published in July 2014, on the eve of discontinuation of Nokia X and just before withdrawal of the Fire Phone. Nor do Cyanogen’s struggles and sluggish market acceptance advance Körber’s argument.

As a result, device manufacturers seeking to offer commercially viable Android devices have no choice but to sign the MADA and AFA contracts and accept the significant restrictions they contain.

II. Harmful effects of the requirements imposed on Android manufacturers

We now turn to the effects of Google’s restrictions on Android, including the MADA and AFA contracts. While the specific effects vary, the restrictions all contribute to protecting Google’s dominance in search, as well as in other key apps and services for which alternatives are available.

⁵⁸R Maxwell, ‘Cyanogen Wants to Take the ‘Google’ out of Android’ *Phone Arena* (25 January 2016) <http://www.phonearena.com/news/Cyanogen-wants-to-take-the-Google-out-of-Android_id65194>.

⁵⁹Leo Sun, ‘Wannabe Google Assassin Cyanogen Runs Out of Bullets’ *The Motley Fool* (28 July 2016) <<http://www.fool.com/investing/2016/07/28/googles-wannabe-assassin-cyanogen-runs-out-of-bull.aspx>>.

⁶⁰Körber (n 20).

A. *Requiring mobile device manufacturers to include certain Google apps and defaults in order to get any part of Google mobile services*

The MADA contracts implement Google's strategy of making GMS an all-or-nothing choice for device manufacturers, increasing the likelihood of manufacturers choosing Google's app suite and correspondingly increasing the barriers against competition from makers of rival apps.

1. Foreclosing entry by competing apps and services

Google's MADA strategy is grounded in Google's market power in areas without close substitutes (including Google Play and YouTube). With that power, Google compels distribution of its other apps and services (such as Google Search and Maps), even if competitors have viable offerings. In particular, Google uses its market power in the first group to protect and expand in the second – enlarging its dominance and deterring entry.

Tying apps together helps Google whenever a device manufacturer sees no substitute to even one of Google's apps. Some manufacturers may be willing to offer devices that default to Bing Search, DuckDuckGo, MapQuest or Yahoo Maps, particularly if paid a fee to do so. The manufacturer could retain the payment as profit, or pass the savings to consumers via a lower retail price. But only Play lets a manufacturer offer comprehensive access to substantially all apps. Furthermore, a manufacturer would struggle without YouTube preinstalled; such a device would be unattractive to many consumers, and in many markets, mobile carriers would struggle to sell costly data plans for devices without YouTube access. Needing Google Play and YouTube, a manufacturer must then accept Google Search, Maps, Network Location Provider and more – even if the manufacturer prefers a competitor's offering or would prefer payment for installing some alternative.

Google's ties thus harm competition. For one, the restrictions prohibit alternative vendors from outcompeting Google's apps on the merits. No matter their advantages, device manufacturers must install Google's full suite as instructed by the MADA. Furthermore, Google can amend its rules to make its new apps the default in the corresponding categories, and updated MADAs reveal that Google has indeed made such revisions.⁶¹

Moreover, Google's ties impede competitors' efforts to pay device manufacturers for distribution. Where Google permits installation of additional apps, a manufacturer cannot provide a competing app maker with default or exclusive placement (precisely the options ruled out by Google's requirement of preinstalling its app). Rather, the manufacturer can offer only inferior duplicative placement. Consider, say, Yahoo Maps – a competitor to Google Maps. Yahoo Maps

⁶¹Efrati (n 31).

managers likely seek increased usage of their service, and if the Yahoo Maps app were the only mapping app preinstalled on a new smartphone, Yahoo's projections would probably indicate substantial usage – enough to justify a large up-front payment to the phone manufacturer. But with Google Maps guaranteed to remain installed and prominent, because the MADA so requires, Yahoo's projections will anticipate much lower usage, hence less worth paying for. At best, Yahoo will be willing to make some reduced payment to a device manufacturer. Equally likely is that the reduction in value may make the deal pointless, too small to be worth pursuing, as competing app makers are forced to resort to other promotional methods or, for some apps, accept the reality that there is no cost-effective way to reach the required users.

2. *Additional harms when Google requires default settings*

Many of Google's MADA requirements insist not just that mobile device manufacturers preinstall Google apps, but that they preset Google apps and services as the default from each search access point. These defaults entail an important element of exclusivity. Each search access point can only have one default search provider. Furthermore, each device can have only one default assist for voice search; a device can trigger only one function based on a prolonged button push; a device can have only one default Network Location Provider and only one component that renders web pages inside of apps. Google's MADA provisions insist that Google receives each of these benefits.

In principle, Google's compulsory defaults leave manufacturers free to install other apps and services as non-defaults. But experience shows that few users change their defaults or otherwise stray from the default system settings.⁶² Deference to the default is particularly likely for services with no user-facing user interface (such as location tracking) or with no visible user interface (such as voice search). If competing app and service makers perceive low usage response to non-default placement, they will be correspondingly unwilling to pay for such placement, as detailed in the prior section. In any event, such placement will be correspondingly limited in its ability to advance competition.

Körber's Google-commissioned paper also argues that the MADA requirement that Google Search be the default "is of a very limited practical relevance" because, he says, the requirement only applies to a "specific intent" by which one Android app can invoke another.⁶³ But the plain language of the MADA imposes a notably broader requirement, insisting that device manufacturers

⁶²See eg Jared Spool, 'Do Users Change Their Settings?' *User Interface Engineering* (14 September 2011) <<https://www.uie.com/brainsparks/2011/09/14/do-users-change-their-settings/>>. See also Jakob Nielsen, 'The Power of Defaults' *Nielsen Norman Group* (26 September 2005) <<https://www.nngroup.com/articles/the-power-of-defaults/>>.

⁶³Körber (n 20), at 9.

must set “Google Search ... as the default search provider for all Web search access points.”⁶⁴ The plain language of the MADA thus encompasses default search from the text entry box on an Android device’s home screen – a valuable and prominent search interface of great importance in directing users’ searches. Moreover, more recent MADAs include a specific requirement that Google Search be a user’s default voice search⁶⁵ – here too, widely and frequently used.

3. *Assessing Google’s justifications*

In response to the European Commission’s announcement that it had adopted a statement of objections against Google’s contractual restrictions in mobile software licensing, Google’s General Counsel⁶⁶ offered several arguments to justify the company’s approach.

First, Google noted that Android is “open source” and that device manufacturers “can download the entire operating system for free, modify it how [they] want, and build a phone.”⁶⁷ Indeed, as Google points out, device manufacturers need not sign the MADA if they do not want to be bound by the restrictions it contains. Nonetheless, this carries a high price to manufacturers, as their devices would then be deprived of Google Play, YouTube and other Google apps that the majority of users expect to have preloaded on their devices. Without these apps and features, most consumers will find a device unattractive, as Nokia, Amazon and others have learned, as discussed in Section I.B.3. Google offers manufacturers no real option when asking them to choose between Google’s restrictions versus commercial irrelevance.

Second, Google observes that manufacturers can “choose to load the suite of Google apps to their device and freely add other apps as well.”⁶⁸ But this is little solace to manufacturers who, having promised to preinstall Google apps, cannot offer a competitor exclusivity or the most prominent placement, as discussed in Section II.A.1. Furthermore, certain Google requirements demand exclusivity, either explicitly or through technical architecture, including for default search provider, location provider and voice search provider, as discussed in Section II.A.2. For these services and functions, Google errs in claiming manufacturers can install other options in parallel.

Third, Google denies that consumers are harmed because they can “personalize their devices and download apps on their own – including apps that directly compete with [Google’s].”⁶⁹ But user customizations only partially discipline

⁶⁴MADA Section 3.4(4).

⁶⁵Efrati (n 31).

⁶⁶Walker (n 9).

⁶⁷*ibid.*

⁶⁸*ibid.*

⁶⁹*ibid.*

Google. For one, only savvy users make major customizations.⁷⁰ Furthermore, user customizations give competing app developers no way to pay to attract users *en masse*, as they could by, for example, contracting with device manufacturers or carriers. Nor do user customizations let app developers partially subsidize devices.

Fourth, Google notes that “while Android is free for manufacturers to use, it’s costly to develop, improve, keep secure, and defend against patent suits.”⁷¹ Google says the company had therefore to offset those costs via “revenue [from] Google apps and services [it] distribute[s] via Android.”⁷² Surely Google should be allowed to operate a two-sided business model, including using revenue from one portion of the business to cover costs elsewhere. But Google’s choice of a two-sided business model cannot be *carte blanche* to eliminate competition. Following Google’s logic, every two-sided business would be free to restrict competition on the free side of its business on the basis of the unsubstantiated claim that such restrictions stimulate demand for its fee-paying activities. Moreover, following Google’s logic, competition authorities would be prohibited from limiting or disallowing such restrictions. This mischaracterizes the state of competition law. While there is nothing inherently wrong in distributing Android for free, Google’s choice to do so cannot legitimize the company’s exclusionary tactics.

In addition, authors of papers commissioned by Google developed additional arguments to justify the MADA restrictions. First, Körber argues that

the MADA must be seen in the context of competition among “mobile device ecosystems” (Android, iOS, Windows Phone, Blackberry and others). Most OEMs install the suite of apps on their devices as consumers expect smartphones to come with functionalities and apps “out of the box”. ... The MADA ensures that users – who choose to buy a device with GMS – get a device with a full set of apps that offer a “Google experience” similar to the “Apple experience” offered by iOS devices or the “Microsoft experience” offered by Windows Phone devices.⁷³

Whatever the benefits of the “experience” Körber emphasizes, we question whether that benefit outweighs the effects on competition. Notably, Körber’s

⁷⁰See eg Derek Walter, ‘How to Change the Default Search Engine in Android’ *Green Bot* (5 February 2015) <<http://www.greenbot.com/article/2879150/how-to-change-the-default-search-engine-in-android.html>>, noting, among other complications, that the procedure varies across devices.

⁷¹Walker (n 9).

⁷²*ibid.*

⁷³Körber (n 20). See also J Gregory Sidak, *Do Free Mobile Apps Harm Consumers?* 52 San Diego Law Review 619, 674 (2015). (“The MADA’s conditions on distribution of GMS enable android-operated devices to meet consumer expectations. The vast majority of mobile devices reached the end user with a set of pre-installed apps that offer consistent out-of-the-box experience that consumers demand.”)

reasoning ignores the foreclosure of competing best-of-breed apps that cannot gain traction in a world of “experience” ecosystems. Nor is it realistic to ask an upstart app maker to make a full “experience” of its own, as a full ecosystem is of course much more burdensome than a single great app. That Apple provides such an “experience” is beside the point from a competition perspective; as the dominant platform, Android is rightly subject to greater restrictions.

Second, Sidak argues that the MADA “enables Google to prevent free riding by its competitors.”⁷⁴ In support of this argument, Sidak presents the case of Google Play. But manufacturers’ distribution of Google Play, onto additional devices even without other Google apps and services, would be the very opposite of the “free-riding” Sidak claims. When a user buys an app through Google Play, Google retains a commission of 30%, passing the remaining 70% through to the app maker.⁷⁵ If Google deems this 30% fee insufficient in light of the costs of making and operating Google Play, Google could raise the fee as it sees fit. Nor would other Google apps support Sidak’s argument. For example, the YouTube app shows commercials, and industry analysts estimate that YouTube now at least covers its costs based on this ad revenue.⁷⁶ Far from “free-riding” on Google investments, manufacturers who distribute the YouTube app would be giving Google no-charge additional distribution of a revenue-generating service.

B. Preventing manufacturers from selling devices running on competing operating systems based on Android

To distribute GMS and the must-have Google apps, Google also requires device manufacturers to accept the AFA. As discussed in Section I.B.2, the effects of this requirement are particularly difficult to assess because, to our knowledge, the AFA has never been released to the public.

Papers commissioned by Google style the AFA as a benefit to consumers, reducing the problem of modified OS code yielding incompatibilities. For example, Sidak argues that “[f]ragmentation might cause the malfunctioning of mobile apps and thus degrade the quality of the consumer experience.” He notes corresponding problems for app developers: “Fragmentation would also harm the development of apps for Android-operated devices. As fragmentation worsens, the cost of developing and maintaining apps for divergent versions of Android rises.”⁷⁷

⁷⁴Sidak (n 73), at 675.

⁷⁵‘Transaction Fees’, *Google Developer Console Help* <<https://support.google.com/googleplay/android-developer/answer/112622?hl=en>>.

⁷⁶Rolfe Winkler, ‘YouTube: 1 Billion Viewers, No Profit’ *Wall Street Journal* (25 February 2015) <<http://www.wsj.com/articles/viewers-dont-add-up-to-profit-for-youtube-1424897967>>.

⁷⁷Sidak (n 73), at 671.

We acknowledge the problem of fragmentation and the potential benefit of policies that reduce fragmentation. But the Commission's Statement of Objections and other publicly available information indicate that Google's AFA restrictions go considerably further. In particular, the AFA commits a device manufacturer to not distribute a modified version of Android on *any* of its devices.⁷⁸ Notably, the AFA appears to apply to *all* of a manufacturer's devices, not just a single device for which the manufacturer seeks benefits that Google conditions on the AFA. In particular, a carrier cannot accept the AFA as to some of its devices, but retain the right to distribute other devices that violate AFA.

Amazon's experience is illustrative. Amazon's Fire Phone and Fire Tablet both use alternative versions of Android, modified from Google's standard version. It seems Amazon was permitted to design and sell devices with this modified code precisely because Amazon is not a manufacturer of GMS-equipped phones that bind all of Amazon to the AFA. In contrast, if competing phone manufacturer Samsung were to attempt to sell the Fire (or any other device that, like Fire, was grounded in a modification of Android), that would breach the AFA and expose Samsung to cancellation of its licence to distribute GMS, which Samsung of course relies on for its scores of other devices. The experience of phone manufacturer Acer offers a useful example. When Acer in 2012 planned to sell phones running a modified version of Android, the company reported that Google required it not to do so and threatened to withhold access to other Google software.⁷⁹ The AFA thus makes it commercially infeasible for established device manufacturers, including Samsung and others, from attempting the architectural innovation Amazon explored in Fire. It is little stretch to think such innovation would be more successful by Samsung than by Amazon – Samsung's experience as the largest manufacturer of phones would likely help.⁸⁰ But the AFA denies Samsung this strategy and denies consumers the benefit of devices that combine Amazon's creative approach with Samsung's experience.

On this understanding, the AFA substantially raises the stakes for any company considering distributing a modified version of Android. By requiring that a manufacturer give up all licences to GMS when it distributes a customized version of Android contrary to the AFA, Google requires any manufacturer to "bet the company" on its

⁷⁸Statement by Commissioner Vestager on Sending a Statement of Objections to Google on Android Operating System and Applications' *European Commission Press Release Database* (20 April 2016) <http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-16-1506_en.htm>, "Google prevents manufacturers who wish to pre-install Google apps on *even one* of their devices from using modified, competing versions of Android on *any* of their other devices" (emphasis added).

⁷⁹Michael Kan, 'Google Threat Blamed as Acer Cancels China Smartphone Launch' *Computerworld* (13 September 2012) <<http://www.computerworld.com/article/2492455/data-center/google-threat-blamed-as-acer-cancels-china-smartphone-launch.html>>.

⁸⁰Smartphone Vendor Market Share, 2015, Q2' *IDC* <<http://www.idc.com/prodserv/smartphone-market-share.jsp>>.

experiment with a non-GMS version of Android. Established device manufacturers – those best positioned to offer high-quality devices that consumers want – cannot justify foregoing their existing business for the small chance at something new.

C. *Exclusionary payments to device makers*

In a press release on 20 April 2016, the European Commission noted that in addition to the above restrictions, Google may have breached EU competition law by “giving financial incentives to manufacturers and mobile network operators on condition that they exclusively preinstall Google Search on their devices.”⁸¹ According to Commissioner Vestager, the Commission found evidence that as a result of such payments, “device manufacturers and mobile network operators have refrained from preinstalling alternative search services.”⁸² Industry sources confirm these allegations, describing Revenue Sharing Agreements (RSAs) that provide a device manufacturer with a share of Google’s advertising revenue from searches on that device only if the device manufacturer commits not to install competing search services. We are informed that some RSAs disallow any competing search services, while others name specific competitors whose apps and search providers must not be installed.⁸³

Google has neither acknowledged such payments nor tried to justify them. In our view, Google’s rationale for such payments is probably that while the MADA requires that Google be the “default” search provider, it leaves open the possibility of a manufacturer preinstalling other search apps – perhaps a Bing or Yahoo icon leading to a search box. We question how many users would use such an app if it were installed in this way, both because it would not be the default and because it seems that most users broadly tend to favour Google search. Nonetheless, Google’s payments to manufacturers rule out this possibility – thereby excluding the opportunity for rival search engines to get even the benefit of parallel, limited access to users.

Google’s payments also risk creating an all-or-nothing decision for countries or regions where a device is to be offered, further impeding entry by prospective competitors. In many sectors, an entrant would most readily offer a new service only in a particular national or regional market – for example, a search engine that searches only pages in a given language, or a service that reviews local businesses only in a given geographic scope. Such an entrant would naturally seek distribution only within the corresponding region, and could offer viable payments for distribution only within that area. Consider the interaction of this strategy with Google’s payments for search defaults. If Google’s payments are

⁸¹Antitrust: Commission Sends Statement of Objections to Google on Android Operating System and Applications’ *European Commission Press Release Database* (20 April 2016) <http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-1492_en.htm>.

⁸²Vestager (n 78).

⁸³Our industry source prefers not to be listed by name or affiliation due to the sensitivity of these allegations.

contingent on *worldwide* exclusive preinstallation of Google Search, consistent with the worldwide scope of the MADA and AFA, an entrant could not offer a payment only for distribution in the specific country or region where it focuses operation; the entrant would have to bid against Google on a worldwide basis where Google predictably wins.

D. *Dispute resolution and penalties further compel device manufacturer compliance*

After carefully reviewing all applicable contracts, some device manufacturers might look for opportunities to install third-party apps or otherwise customize devices, both to provide distinctive devices and to obtain additional revenue. But Google's contractual framework and approach to dispute resolution might cause device manufacturers to fear taking actions that Google views unfavourably. For one, Google's MADA specifically requires that a device manufacturer obtain Google's approval for each new device.⁸⁴ Nothing in the MADA compels Google to provide its approval in any particular circumstances or with any particular speed, and indeed the MADA leaves open the possibility that Google might withhold approval for unrelated matters. While the relevant portions of other contracts are not publicly available, by all indications Google similarly retains significant discretion in each. Device manufacturers thus anticipate that if they implement strategies that Google dislikes, they may face retaliation up to and including prohibitions that they distribute Google apps. Indeed, when Google sought to block distribution of certain software from competing geolocation service Skyhook, Google told Samsung that its devices "cannot be shipped" with the disfavoured Skyhook code.⁸⁵ Anticipating similar threats from Google, other device manufacturers correctly perceive that they must not take actions adverse to Google.

Notably, Google's agreements with device manufacturers allow Google to impose penalties, including stop-ship orders, on a unilateral basis. In the Samsung incident described, Google did not need to seek ratification from a court or even an arbitrator or other independent authority. Rather, Google imposed the stop-ship order on its own and with immediate effect.

E. *Preventing entry by a more efficient competitor*

Taken together, Google's contractual restrictions could impede entry even by a competitor that is better than Google and, in the relevant sense, more efficient

⁸⁴MADA section 4.3.

⁸⁵Email from Andy Rubin to WP Hong, 22 June 2010, 'RE: [Urgent] GPS-Related Issue on Galaxy S'. Affidavit of Douglas R Tillberg for Plaintiff's Opposition to Defendant's Motion to Dismiss or for Summary Judgment (Exhibit 16), *Skyhook Wireless, Inc. v. Google Inc.*, 86 Mass. App. Ct. 611 (2014).

than Google. Consider some company NewCo that produces a mobile search engine of notably high quality, such that once users try NewCo's service, they prefer it to Google Search. How would NewCo make its offering known to consumers?

NewCo could pay device manufacturers to preinstall its search engine on their devices. But that technique would be ineffective because Google's MADA requirements would assure both that Google would remain preinstalled and indeed also the default. NewCo's payments would yield only parallel, additional placement of much-reduced value. Furthermore, even if NewCo were willing to pay device manufacturers to preinstall its offering, its efforts could be thwarted by Google's incentive payments to device manufacturers for exclusive preloading of Google Search. While NewCo could attempt to outbid Google, that would be an expensive effort for the modest benefit of a parallel and additional placement.

If NewCo found it intractable to gain access to consumers on mainstream Android devices, the company could instead try to reach users via an alternative Android platform to be developed by an interested manufacturer. But here too, Google restrictions stand in the way. Any established manufacturer would be unable to take such a risk on NewCo, as it would be commercial suicide to breach the AFA and lose the ability to preload GMS on any of its devices.

Nor is it any serious answer to suggest that NewCo do business with Apple. Google reportedly pays Apple more than \$1 billion to be the default search provider on iPhone.⁸⁶ A new entrant would be unable to make an up-front payment even a fraction of that size, plus Google's contract with Apple has an extended duration, preventing competitors from counterbidding to contest the market.

It is equally unrealistic to suggest that NewCo might build its own mobile ecosystem to avoid the restrictions Google imposes. If NewCo encouraged mobile device manufacturers to preinstall its search engine on "bare" Android devices, the resulting devices would forego the benefits contingent on a MADA. Such devices would thus forego all Google apps – effectively requiring that NewCo offer not just a better search engine but a full suite of apps including maps, mail, photos, a video library and more. Such devices would also forego Google Play delivery of apps from third parties – thus requiring that NewCo somehow devise a method of providing third-party apps, either via a new app store or via sideloading as described in Section I.B.3. Google's restrictions thus raise the bar required for a more efficient competitor. With these restrictions in place, it is not enough for NewCo to be better at search, as NewCo must also build or replace the entire set of services Google offers.

The above hypothetical example illustrates how Google's contract provisions interlock to impede entry even by competitors with high-quality offerings. An

⁸⁶Joel Rosenblatt and Adam Satariano, 'Google Paid Apple \$1 Billion to Keep Search Bar on iPhone' *Bloomberg* (21 January 2016) <<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-01-22/google-paid-apple-1-billion-to-keep-search-bar-on-iphone>>.

occasional competitor might somehow find a way through, but Google's restrictions block the most natural approaches and raise the entrant's costs and challenges.

III. Legal assessment

We begin with two important observations. First, as noted above, our legal assessment of Google's Android-related practices is constrained by the lack of publicly available information on some of the contractual requirements Google imposes on device manufacturers that want to manufacture commercially viable devices. The AFA is one notable example of a contract that to this day is unavailable to the public. In addition, we have only limited information about the financial incentives that Google allegedly pays to device manufacturers and mobile network operators on the condition that Google Search is preloaded as the exclusive search provider on their devices. As a result, our antitrust assessment of Google's practices will largely focus on the MADA-related restrictions, for which contracts became available to the public as discussed in footnote 28. We also provide a brief, albeit necessarily incomplete, assessment of the AFA and the financial incentives.

Second, we have also seen that Google's Android-related practices are investigated in various jurisdictions whose antitrust laws vary to some extent. We primarily assess these practices under EU competition law because European authorities seem to be taking the closest look at Google's practices in this area. However, we take a conservative approach by, for instance, applying a more demanding test to Google's tying conduct than the one required by the EU case-law. In this section, we identify three exclusionary practices: (i) Google's MADA requirements that device manufacturers include certain Google apps and defaults in order to get any part of GMS; (ii) Google's AFA prohibition that device manufacturers sell devices running on competing operating systems based on Android and (iii) Google's financial incentives to device manufacturers and carriers for exclusive preinstallation of Google Search. The first and third directly protect Google's dominance Search, while the first also benefits other Google's position in the market for certain other apps and services. The second raises the stakes for device manufacturers and increases the effectiveness of the other methods. We review these practices in turn.

A. *MADA requirements that device manufacturers include certain Google apps and defaults in order to get any part of Google mobile services*

As discussed in Section II.A, Google's MADA strategy leverages the company's market power in certain services and apps for which there is no clear substitute (most notably Google Play and YouTube) in order to compel device manufacturers wishing to manufacture commercially viable devices to install other services and apps (including Google Search and Google Maps) for which there are substitutes. This is a clear case of tying.

In this section, we describe the notion of tying, as well as its possible pro- and anti-competitive effects. We then review the legal test applied to tying under EU competition law, and we apply that test to Google's tying practices.

1. *Tying and its effects*⁸⁷

Tying generally refers to a situation where a seller refuses to sell one product (the "tying" product) unless the buyer also takes another product (the "tied" product).⁸⁸ Sellers can implement tying on a contractual basis, with a tie enforced through contractual provisions to that effect. Sellers can also use a technical or technological tie where, for instance, the tying and the tied product are physically integrated or designed in such a way that they can only work together.

Tying is commonly used by firms with or without market power to offer better, cheaper and more convenient products and services. Shoes have always been sold with laces and cars with tyres. But product integration extends beyond these simple products and has become a key business strategy in many industries. For instance, manufacturers of consumer electronics combine many components into a single product that works better or is more cost effective, smaller or energy-efficient. Smartphones comprise elements that used to be provided separately (phone, camera and more), and the smartphone's screen and software provide a flexible platform that allows integration of ever more functions.

While tying is usually pro-competitive, it may also be used as an exclusionary strategy. First, a firm that is dominant in the market for the tying product may seek to extend its market power into the market for the tied product. Since consumers must obtain the tying product from the dominant firm, the firm can expand its dominance by tying the purchase of the two goods together.⁸⁹ If the firm ties a complementary product to its monopoly product, customers can only buy the monopoly product if they also purchase the tied product. Second, there may be circumstances where tying protects dominance in the tying product market.⁹⁰ Consider a

⁸⁷Our articulation of the relevant legal standard and proposed text is based in part on a working paper draft ultimately published, in part, as Benjamin Edelman, *Does Google Leverage Market Power Through Tying and Bundling?* 11 *Journal of Competition Law & Economics* 365 (2015). The relevant sections were largely removed from the published text due to space constraints.

⁸⁸In *Eastman Kodak*, the Court defined tying as "an agreement by a party to sell one product but only on the condition that the buyer also purchase a different (or tied) product, or at least agrees that he will not purchase that product from any other supplier." *Eastman Kodak v. Image Technical Servs.*, 504 U.S. 451, 461 (1992). See also Guidance on the Commission's enforcement priorities in applying Article 82 of the EC Treaty to abusive exclusionary conduct by dominant undertakings issued in December 2008, OJ 2009, C45/7, at § 48.

⁸⁹See Einer Elhauge and Damien Geradin, *Global Antitrust Law and Economics* (2nd edn 2011), at p. 562 et seq.

⁹⁰See eg R Cooper Feldman, *Defensive Leveraging Strategy in Antitrust*, 87 *Georgetown Law Journal* 2079 (1999).

tying monopolist that expects successful tied product-makers to evolve into tying product-makers. Such a monopolist has an incentive to foreclose rivals in the tied product markets to prevent or reduce competition in its tying market.

We offer several additional observations as to the effects of tying in online markets. First, anti-competitive harm may occur even if users are not asked to pay directly for the tying product or the tied product. A provider of free online services may have an incentive to extend its dominance in the provision of some services (the tying services) to other services (the tied services) in order to improve its capacity to monetize the services it provides on the paying side of the platform (e.g., advertising).⁹¹ This strategy is particularly prominent among multi-sided platforms: A platform operator may provide service to one set of users without a direct charge, choosing instead to profit from fees charged to others. For example, in the context we consider, Google may find that it can increase its advertising revenue by controlling a greater share of online services (search, maps, travel services, etc.).

Second, while competition law does not require a showing of dominance in the tied product market, it makes no difference if the firm engaged in the tie is also dominant in that market. For instance, if Firm A manufactures dominant product X (for which there is no substitute) and Y (which is highly successful, but for which there are substitutes), A might protect Y by tying it to X. Thus, a firm's dominance in the tied product market does not mean that it cannot benefit from a tie, as the tie may be used to protect it from challenges from competing products. That is the case here, since Google can use the apps and services for which there are no substitutes to protect and increase its dominant position in search and other key apps to which there are substitutes.

Third, additional measures may magnify the effects of tying. One might not ordinarily think of favoured formatting, preferred placement or default settings as "products" that could be tied. But a dominant firm that controls an enabling infrastructure (such as a search engine result page or an operating system) is well positioned to grant preferential access to these benefits, specifically reserving special benefits only for its own services. Given the known importance of formatting and placement in shaping users' actions and the known importance of defaults in influencing users' choices,⁹² these benefits are likely to significantly sway market outcomes.

2. *The EU case-law on tying*

The European Commission has issued a number of decisions concerning tying, most famously its 2004 finding that Microsoft abused its dominant position on

⁹¹Jean-Charles Rochet and Jean Tirole, *Platform Competition in Two-Sided Markets*, 1 Journal of the European Economic Association 990 (2003).

⁹²n 62.

the PC operating system market. In *Microsoft*, the Commission decided that Microsoft infringed Article 102 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) by tying Windows with Windows Media Player (WMP).⁹³ The Commission found that anti-competitive tying requires the presence of the following elements: (i) The tying and the tied goods are two separate products; (ii) The undertaking concerned is dominant in the tying product market; (iii) The undertaking concerned does not give customers a choice to obtain the tying product without the tied product and (iv) The tying in question forecloses competition.⁹⁴

The Commission found that WMP and Windows were two separate products.⁹⁵ The distinctness of products had to be assessed with an eye towards consumer demand. The Commission noted that the market provided media players separately, which the Commission considered evidence of separate consumer demand for media players versus client PC operating systems. It also found that Microsoft was dominant in the market for PC operating systems and established that customers were not given the choice of acquiring the tying product without the tied product. As to the element of foreclosure, the Commission first stated that tying has a harmful effect on competition,⁹⁶ but also acknowledged that there were circumstances “which warrant a closer examination of the effects that tying has on competition in this case.”⁹⁷ The Commission thus decided to use an effects-based approach and found that Microsoft’s conduct created anti-competitive effects, hence condemning Microsoft’s tie of WMP.

Microsoft subsequently appealed the decision of the Commission to the General Court of the EU (GC).⁹⁸ In its judgment, the GC supported the position of the Commission that (i) operating systems for PCs and media players are distinct products; (ii) Microsoft is dominant on the market for operating systems and (iii) the condition of coercion is met in that Microsoft did not give consumers the option of obtaining Windows without WMP. However, the GC departed from the Commission’s effects-based approach to evaluating foreclosure. It noted the Commission’s finding that the ubiquitous presence of WMP on PCs provided a significant “competitive advantage” to Microsoft, and the GC said that this finding was “sufficient to establish that the fourth constituent element of abusive bundling is present in this case.”⁹⁹ For the GC to demonstrate that the

⁹³Commission Decision, 24 March 2004, Case COMP/C-3/37.792 *Microsoft*. See Damien Geradin, Limiting the Scope of Article 82 of the EC Treaty: What Can the EU Learn from the US Supreme Court’s Judgment in *Trinko* in the Wake of *Microsoft*, *IMS*, and *Deutsche Telekom*, 41 Common Market Law Review 1519 (2004).

⁹⁴*ibid* at § 794.

⁹⁵*ibid*, section 5.3.2.1.2.

⁹⁶*ibid* at § 835.

⁹⁷*ibid* at § 841.

⁹⁸*Microsoft v. Commission*, T-201/04, [2007] ECR 2007 II-3601. See generally, Christian Ahlborn and David S Evans, ‘The Microsoft Judgement and Its Implications for Competition Policy Towards Dominant Firms in Europe’, 75 Antitrust Law Journal 887 (2009).

⁹⁹*ibid* at § 1058.

tying in question creates a competitive advantage that rivals are unable to replicate, it was thus sufficient to show that WMP was ubiquitous. After demonstrating such a competitive advantage, it is no longer necessary to show that the tying produces foreclosure effects in the market in question.

Although the European Commission can probably satisfy itself in applying the test developed by the GC in *Microsoft* to establish a breach of Article 102 TFEU, we think that it is generally desirable that antitrust authorities apply a stricter test requiring them to establish that the tying practice under investigation produces foreclosure effects and consumer harm. Furthermore, we suggest that the assessment should consider any efficiencies that may be generated by the challenged practice. With these extensions, in the next section we develop a six-step test, which we subsequently apply to Google's tying.

3. *Proposed modified test*

Because tying can be a source of efficiencies, we believe that such practices should be analysed with consideration of the following six questions: (i) Does the defendant have market power in the tying product; (ii) Are the tying and the tied product different?; (iii) Are the tying product and the tied product tied together?; (iv) Does the tie foreclose competitors?; (v) Does the tie create consumer harm? and (vi) Are there countervailing efficiencies?

To establish the presence of illegal tying, we suggest that foreclosure effects and consumer harm must be demonstrated, not merely presumed. We then balance such harms against any efficiencies generated by the tie in order to determine the net effect of the tie.

4. *Application of the test to Google's MADA restrictions*

We now apply our six-part test to Google's MADA restrictions.

a. *Market power in the tying product.* Google uses as tying products certain services and apps for which there are no clear substitutes, such as Google Play and YouTube. The Commission has not yet defined a market for "app stores," but such a market can be defined based on requirements and functionality. Notably, Google is dominant in this market not only because it has several times more apps than any competing Android app stores,¹⁰⁰ but more fundamentally because Google makes its popular apps available only through Google Play. Thus, for mainstream Android users, there is no real alternative to Google Play.

It is also impossible for device manufacturers to preload a must-have Google app without also taking the other apps specified by Google in the MADA. Any such must-have app also serves as a tying product. This is the case for

¹⁰⁰Statista (n 26).

YouTube, for which there is no real alternative because YouTube hosts a distinctive quantity and selection of video content. Indeed, ComScore reports that YouTube is the only video app among the top 15 apps.¹⁰¹ YouTube would be found dominant on any reasonable definition of the mobile video service market.

Of course tying products can change over time. For example, if competition effectively disappears in a given area (perhaps due to Google's tie or other market forces), Google's offering in that sector may come to lack any competitor, and Google can then use that offering as a tying product. Perhaps Google's maps offerings, Google Maps and Waze, are or might soon be must-have apps that similarly lack competition and thus can serve as tying products. Indeed, within Google Play's Navigation section, those two apps each have more than five times as many reviews as the nearest competitor. (Mapquest, once a household name, has less than 1% as many Google Play reviews as Google Maps, by all indications indicating correspondingly light usage of its Android app.¹⁰²) While some US users turn to Bing or Yahoo, South Koreans to Naver and Russians to Yandex, there is no clearly viable general-purpose search engine in most other countries, creating the possibility that even search could become a tying product.

b. *A tie.* The MADA contracts specifically prohibits device manufacturers from preloading Google Play, YouTube or any other must-have apps without also preloading Google Search, Google Chrome and the other apps Google specified in the MADA. The essence of Google's tying strategy is that as long as a device manufacturer finds even a single Google app essential to the commercial success of its devices, it must preload all other Google apps.

c. *The tying and the tied product(s) are separate.* It is hard to deny that Google Play and apps such as Google Search or Chrome are distinct products. The apps offer distinct functionalities accessed via distinct on-screen icons. The apps are embodied in software code distributed in distinct "APK" (Android Package Kit) file bundles, and each app uses a different APK which can be and is updated separately from the others. Furthermore, users can manually deactivate some Google apps and the others will continue to function. The apps are separately tracked by the Android operating system for purposes of memory consumption, network transmissions, battery usage and more. Even Google's contract-writers recognize the separation between the apps, periodically revising the MADA to adjust which apps must be included.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹Top 15 Smartphone Apps – Total U.S. Smartphone Mobile Media Users, Age 18+ (iOS and Android Platforms) – July 2016' Comscore, <<http://www.comscore.com/Insights/Market-Rankings>>, data as of 25 August 2016.

¹⁰²Authors' calculations from Google Play, 28 September 2016.

¹⁰³Efrati (n 31).

Moreover, using the test contained in the EU tying case-law, there is clearly separate demand for Google Play versus, say, Google Search. A user of an Android phone may, for instance, be interested in using Google Play to download a broad selection of third-party apps, but prefer to use another company's search service, perhaps to obtain greater privacy protections than Google Search offers.

d. *Foreclosing competition.* Google's tie produces exclusionary effects by hindering rival app makers' efforts to compete with Google Search and other key apps, which device manufacturers are bound to preload on their devices in order to provide Google Play and other Google must-have apps. As a result of the tie, additional apps such as Google Search, Chrome and Maps are ubiquitous on Android devices from leading manufacturers despite the availability of potential competitors. Moreover, the tie makes it impossible for rival app makers to pay device manufacturer to exclusively install their apps on Android devices in order to reach users *en masse*. Whatever amount a rival app maker might be willing to pay for exclusive placement, such as a placement simply is not available.

Moreover, the foreclosure effects of the tie are magnified by Google's additional requirements. Google requires that its preinstalled apps be prominent, with some "at least on the panel immediately adjacent to the Default Home Screen" and others "no more than one level below the Phone Top."¹⁰⁴ These requirements reduce a device manufacturer's ability to feature competitors by relegating Google apps to inferior placement. New contracts also specify the sequence in which Google apps must be presented,¹⁰⁵ further limiting a device manufacturer's flexibility to promote competitors.

Google's tactics also foreclose competition for components outside the confines of apps. Google requires that devices use its Network Location Provider service,¹⁰⁶ its WebView Component (the core of a web browser),¹⁰⁷ and its voice search and hardware-button-activated search.¹⁰⁸ By requiring that all these settings feature Google, in each instance exclusively because the specified setting can accommodate only one option at a time, Google prevents competitors from gaining market position via these settings and the corresponding availability to users.

An additional foreclosure mechanism arises from the leverage theory offered in a recent paper by Choi and Jeon.¹⁰⁹ They consider a firm in a competitive market A with a two-sided structure in which the firm would ordinarily find it

¹⁰⁴MADA section 3.4.(2)–(3).

¹⁰⁵Efrati (n 31).

¹⁰⁶MADA section 3.8(c).

¹⁰⁷Efrati (n 31).

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹Jay Pil Choi and Doh-Shin Jeon, 'A Leverage Theory of Tying in Two-Sided Markets', CEPR Discussion Paper No. DP11484 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2834821>.

optimal to set a negative price to one side in order to attract more users on the other side. For example, a search engine operator might pay consumers in order to attract more advertisers, yielding additional advertising fees more than sufficient to cover the payments to users. While such payments are attractive in principle, they suffer numerous practical problems such as fraud, and thus we often instead observe a zero payment to users in such circumstances. A competitor seeking to enter market A is thus unable to set a lower price to consumers, and as a result all firms in this market earn excess profits that are not competed away through payments to consumers. Against that backdrop, the authors point out the possibility of the firm tying its offering in market A to its monopolistic offering in some other market B. A user who wants the firm's B product is then required to accept the A product. If the monopolist's offering in B is sufficiently compelling, many users may choose it, thereby accepting the monopolist's offering in A and increasing the monopolist's market share in A – letting the monopolist expand while satisfying the non-negativity constraint on payments to consumers. Notably, the monopolist's effort in no way requires that its offering in market A be preferable to competitors' offerings. Taking A to be the market for mobile apps and mobile search, and B to be the market for app stores and mobile operating systems, this theory arguably applies to Google's conduct in mobile. Choi and Jeon thus offer a robust theoretical understanding of Google's conduct and the resulting harm to consumers.

e. *Consumer harm.* By foreclosing rival app makers, Google harms consumers. First, mobile device users would benefit from greater competition between Google's tied apps (Search, Chrome, etc.) and other apps. As explored in Section II.D, a new mobile search engine would struggle to attract users on Android devices in light of the preload and prominence required for Google Search. The same is true for every app competing with a Google offering that has guaranteed distribution and prominence per the MADA. Moreover, the list of apps benefiting from the MADA changes from time to time, as Google sees fit.¹¹⁰ As a result, even if Google lacks an offering in a new category or has not historically favoured its app via a MADA provision, Google can easily do so in the future. Although many of the apps at issue are free, in up-front purchase price, they nonetheless impose costs on users including in advertising as well as collection and processing of private information. In all these regards, Android device users would benefit from competition to increase product diversity and innovation.

The benefits of competition would be particularly pronounced for the types of users that pay for Google's services, most notably advertisers. When Google knows that it controls most of the advertising venues for reaching users on a mobile device, it can raise prices with relative confidence – ultimately raising

¹¹⁰Efrati (n 31).

prices in light of advertisers' willingness to pay. In contrast, if other vendors also reached users on mobile devices, prices would fall correspondingly – potentially to prices closer to services' marginal cost, which would probably be quite low. Witness the intense competition among the many online publishers that sell banner advertising, for which prices have dropped sharply,¹¹¹ versus high prices for search ads,¹¹² where Google is the only commercially significant seller in most markets. Competition in mobile apps portends a world of low advertising prices, benefiting the advertisers whose payments put the system in motion; whereas lack of competition will bring needlessly high prices that deny advertisers a significant share of the efficiencies of electronic marketing. When Google drives up the price of advertising, advertisers pass a portion of that cost on to consumers (according to the relative elasticity of supply and demand).¹¹³

Additional harm results from Google's efforts to block or sharply limit app makers from paying for distribution by device manufacturers and network operators. With such payments, device manufacturers and network operators would receive a secondary revenue stream to complement consumers' cash payments. In competitive markets, device manufacturers and network operators would compete away these additional revenues by lowering the device purchase prices they charge to consumers. But when Google prevents device manufacturers and network operators from offering certain valuable placements (e.g. exclusive pre-installation) and limits other placements, Google prevents such payments, leaving consumers with higher device purchase prices.

f. *Efficiencies.* In its Guidance Paper on Article 102 TFEU,¹¹⁴ the Commission observes that in

the enforcement of Article [102], the Commission will also examine claims put forward by a dominant undertaking that its conduct is justified. A dominant undertaking may do so either by demonstrating that its conduct is objectively necessary or by demonstrating that its conduct produces substantial efficiencies which outweigh any anti-competitive effects on consumers. In this context, the Commission will assess whether the conduct in question is indispensable and proportionate to the goal allegedly pursued by the dominant undertaking.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹Farhad Manjoo, 'Fall of the Banner Ad: The Monster That Swallowed the Web' *The New York Times* (5 November 2014) <<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/06/technology/personaltech/banner-ads-the-monsters-that-swallowed-the-web.html>>.

¹¹²Mark Ballard, 'AdWords Brand CPCs Rising? Here's Why and What You Can Do about It' *Search Engine Land* (23 July 2015) <<http://searchengineland.com/adwords-brand-cpcs-rising-heres-can-225648>>.

¹¹³Michal Fabinger and Glen Weyl, 'Pass-Through as an Economic Tool: Principle of Incidence under Imperfect Competition' 121(3) *Journal of Political Economy* 528 (2013).

¹¹⁴Communication from the Commission – Guidance on the Commission's enforcement priorities in applying Article 82 of the EC Treaty to abusive exclusionary conduct by dominant undertakings, O.J. 2009, C 45/7.

¹¹⁵*ibid* at § 28.

Both directly and via various commissioned articles, Google has offered explanations and justifications for its MADA restrictions. In our view, these arguments are unpersuasive (see Section II.A.3) and do not meet the test set by the Commission. In fact, Google does not so much seek to justify its practices on the grounds that they are a source of efficiencies, but rather by denying their restrictive effects, emphasizing the great degree of “freedom” that Google’s Android policy gives to device manufacturers. While it is strictly true that a manufacturer does not have to sign the MADA to develop a bare Android device, they have no choice but to sign this agreement – and thus accept its restrictions – if they wish to manufacture a commercially viable device. Moreover, Section II.D explains how these restrictions – combined with the restrictions contained in the AFA and the financial incentives granted to some manufacturers and MNOs – would make it quite difficult, if not impossible, for an equally or more efficient new search engine to compete with Google Search. Even if these restrictions were a source of efficiencies, they would not justify complete rival foreclosure.

We are therefore sceptical about Google’s claim that its “partner agreements have helped foster a remarkable – and, importantly, sustainable – ecosystem, based on open-source software and open innovation.”¹¹⁶ While Android is a successful ecosystem, at least in terms of market penetration, the restrictions Google imposes on device manufacturers make Android much less opened than claimed. Whatever the goal the restrictions seek to achieve, they create disproportionate harm competition and innovation.

B. AFA prohibition that device manufacturers sell devices running on competing operating systems based on Android

Device manufacturers hoping to manufacture commercially viable Android devices must not only sign the MADA, which guarantees ubiquitous distribution to Google apps, but also the AFA, which prevents them from making or distributing modified versions of Android. While our assessment is necessarily limited without access to the exact contractual provisions, the AFA appears to be another effort by Google to leverage its market power in certain services to prevent the creation of alternative platforms that would weaken its control.

Based on what is publicly known about the AFA, it seems to create two forms of exclusionary effects. First, the AFA prevents leading device manufacturers from developing an alternative Android-based platform. The development of a *single* device using such a platform, perhaps as an experiment to assess market reaction, would deprive a manufacturer of access to Google Play and must-have Google apps for *all* its devices. This form of defensive leveraging reduces platform diversity and is particularly harmful in light of the paucity of competing mobile OS platforms.

¹¹⁶See Walker (n 9).

Second, the AFA deprives rival app makers of access to alternative Android platforms to commercialize their apps. If large device manufacturers could offer devices based on a modified Android platform that did not include GMS, while maintaining access to GMS for their other devices, then rival app makers could seek preferred distribution on the modified devices. By assuring that such devices do not come to market, from the large manufacturers best positioned to provide low-cost high-quality devices, Google rules out that strategy and further reduces opportunities for rival app makers.

The AFA's harm to consumers thus flows not only from foreclosed competition in apps, but also from the reduced opportunity for device manufacturers to develop or distribute an alternative Android-based platform.¹¹⁷ While any device manufacturer could in theory develop such platforms, the reality is that only companies with no prior history in developing mobile devices (e.g., Amazon) or Android devices (e.g., Nokia) are willing to accept the trade-offs Google imposes when a manufacturer modifies Android. Large manufacturers of Android devices are better positioned to develop and commercialize alternative Android platforms based on the skills and capabilities they have developed with Google's version of Android, but they cannot accept the penalties Google imposes for experimentation. As a result, end users are left with a choice between Google's version of Android on mainstream devices, modified Android on a few unusual devices from inexperienced manufacturers and the iOS platforms. With iOS too costly for many users, and devices from lesser-known manufacturers predictably unattractive, many end users are left with no practical choice except Google's Android.

Whatever the efficiencies resulting from the AFA, we doubt that the need to protect Android from fragmentation justifies the all-or-nothing bet-the-company choice Google imposes on device manufacturers. Moreover, experience from Amazon, Nokia and lesser-known manufacturers suggests that most modifications of Android are at the level of the user interface, leaving the operating system's core intact and making it likely that apps will continue to work as expected. In this context, the risk of fragmentation could be addressed by strict compatibility requirements and testing rather than by a quasi-prohibition against modifications.

C. Financial incentives to device manufacturers and carriers for exclusive preinstallation of Google search

As discussed in Section II.C, Google has neither admitted nor attempted to justify its apparent practice of paying financial incentives to device manufacturers and mobile network operators for the exclusive preloading of Google Search on

¹¹⁷In this respect, you could argue that there is an element of "exploitation" in Google's approach in that it forces device manufacturers that want to develop commercially viable Android devices to "unfair trading conditions." Case C-333/94, *Tetra Pak International SA v. Commission*, [1996] E.C.R. I-5951.

their devices. Assuming that the European Commission is correct in claiming that Google pays incentives for exclusive preloading, this contradicts Google's claim that device manufacturers may "choose to load the suite of Google apps to their device and *freely add other apps* as well" (emphasis added).¹¹⁸ The reality is manufacturers subject to these incentives would not be "free" to load mobile search competing with Google Search; such additions would require forfeiting the incentive, a monetary penalty that is the opposite of "free."

As discussed in Section II.C, we are puzzled by Google offering incentives for exclusive preloading because the MADA already ensures that Google search will be preloaded and default. The clearest direct benefit to Google, above and beyond what the MADA already assures, is the elimination of *non-default* installation of competitors, e.g. a Bing or Yahoo app leading to those vendors' search tools, in parallel to a default and more prominent Google offering. At the same time, exclusivity payments also offer benefit to Google by hindering growth of prospective entrants. For example, exclusivity to Google prevents device manufacturers from learning about consumer response to alternative search engines. When device manufacturers are committed to Google exclusively, Google hinders alternative search engines in their efforts to gain traction, ruling out the possibility of an alternative search engine paying to preinstall its service on thousands of new phones and thereby gaining the market position and scale necessary to attract advertisers and build a reputation with consumers.

It is difficult to analyse conduct about which so little known, but payments for exclusive preloading of Google Search appear to be similar to practices previously condemned under European competition law. Consider the payments that Intel allegedly awarded PC manufacturers on the condition that they postpone, cancel or otherwise restrict the launch of specific AMD-based products – a practice condemned under Article 102 TFEU.¹¹⁹ Google might argue that interested Android end users retain the ability to acquire a competitor's offering by installing an alternative search app on their devices. But users seem to do so infrequently. Nor would the potential user response, offsetting a portion of the harmful effect, justify payments whose purpose appears calculated to stop rivals. In our view, there is little doubt that such exclusionary payments would infringe Article 102 TFEU.

IV. Remedies

If Google's practices are found impermissible under competition law, a crucial further question will be what changes must be made in response.

A natural starting point is to end Google's contractual ties, allowing device manufacturers to install Google apps in whatever configurations they find

¹¹⁸Walker (n 9).

¹¹⁹Commission Decision, 13 May 2009, COMP/C-3 /37.990 – *Intel*.

convenient and in whatever way they believe the market will value. One might expect to see low-cost devices that feature Yahoo Search, MapQuest maps and other apps that vendors are willing to pay to distribute. Other developers will retain a “pure Google” experience, foregoing such payments from competing app makers but offering apps from a single vendor, which some users may prefer.

To assure that contractual ties are truly unlocked, Google would need to be barred from implementing pretextual restrictions or other practices that have the same effect as the contractual ties. For example, Google ought not limit the functionality of Google Play when accessed from devices with competing apps, nor should Google withhold the latest versions of the operating system or apps from device manufacturers who begin to distribute competitors’ apps.

Google might counter that with no compulsion to use Google apps, the OS will not be profitable.¹²⁰ But this reasoning is in tension with Google’s prior proclamations that the company will make more money when users increase their online activity.¹²¹ In any event, if Google wants to charge a fee for Android, or for some of its apps, it would be free to do so. Of course such a fee could not itself be anti-competitive. For example, it would surely be anti-competitive for Google to offer Google Play alone for \$50 per device, but the full GMS suite (per the MADA) for free – a hollow choice designed to make only the latter viable.

Remedies should also seek to affirmatively restore competition.¹²² We see several possibilities. For one, we note the importance of app stores in distributing apps and the crucial role Google Play has taken as the sole app store that offers Google apps. Were Google apps available in other app stores, either because Google was required to distribute them there or because other app stores were permitted to copy them there, this would help competing app stores gain traction and demonstrate value to users. For example, if Amazon were permitted to copy Google apps into its app store, Amazon Fire devices would instantly become significantly more attractive to many users, ending a key weakness criticized in many reviews. Google might object to this remedy as intrusive, but it would require nothing more than copying small APK files or authorizing app stores to make such copies themselves. Moreover, this remedy is directly linked to Google’s

¹²⁰See Walker (n 9).

¹²¹Erick Schoenfeld, ‘Breaking: Google Announces Android and Open Handset Alliance’ *TechCrunch* (5 November 2007) <<https://techcrunch.com/2007/11/05/breaking-google-announces-android-and-open-handset-alliance/>>.

¹²²We do not discuss here the possibility of financial penalties on Google, but they could come in two fashions. First, competition authorities can impose fines, and it is likely that if the European Commission were to adopt an infringement decision against Google’s Android-related practices, this decision would be combined with a fine, potentially a large one. Moreover, decisions of competition authorities would likely be followed by damages actions, and some plaintiff law firms are already getting ready to pursue such actions. See Gaspard Sebag, ‘Google Faces New Menace in EU as Hausfeld Eyes Damages Lawsuits’ *Bloomberg* (1 September 2015) <<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-09-01/google-faces-new-menace-in-eu-as-hausfeld-eyes-damages-lawsuits>>.

practice of using Google Play and Google apps in a tying scheme that foreclosed the development of other app stores.

In light of the impediments Google put in the way of competing app developers, a full remedy would also attempt to restore competition for key apps. Here, the European experience with Windows is squarely on point. From 2010 to 2014, a new Windows computer in Europe was required to show a screen offering a choice of five web browsers, in random order, with no default such that each user made an affirmative choice.¹²³ The same approach could be used for Android. “Ballot box” decisions would most naturally be requested for all the categories of apps that benefited from tying under Google’s MADA. Alternatively, the ballot box could be restricted to the categories that are most commercially significant, i.e. those with frequent usage and those that show advertising. A ballot box could also be presented when a user first activates a given category of app, i.e. when a user first requests a map or first requests a local review, in order to get “just-in-time” contextualized decisions and reduce the up-front decisions requested of users.

V. Looking ahead

Competition lawyers and scholars often claim that regulatory interventions in high-tech markets create more harm than good. Rather, they suggest, what matters most is Schumpeterian competition in which new firms displace old ones.¹²⁴ Whether or not one shares these views as a general matter, Google’s practices have the striking effect of impeding entrants. The incumbent phone makers best-positioned to create innovative devices – efficient at hardware manufacturing, competing vigorously with each other for device market share – cannot stray from Google’s requirements lest they lose the right to distribute GMS on their existing devices. New firms, like Amazon, bring important new resources yet are doubly hamstrung both by inexperience in the device market and by the incompatibilities and limitations Google intentionally imposes. The best-funded entrants, such as Microsoft with Windows Mobile, similarly struggle without access to any portion of Google’s ecosystem and the apps and services that consumers expect. Nor is it reasonable to expect a successful challenge to Google’s behemoth from a niche player (like Cyanogen) or a declining firm (such as Nokia). For those who favour Schumpeterian competition, in this instance it is not at all clear where the entrant might come from.

¹²³Dave Heiner, ‘The Browser Choice Screen for Europe: What to Expect, When to Expect It’ *Microsoft TechNet* (19 February 2010) <https://blogs.technet.microsoft.com/microsoft_on_the_issues/2010/02/19/the-browser-choice-screen-for-europe-what-to-expect-when-to-expect-it/>.


¹²⁴See eg Geoffrey A Manne and Joshua D Wright, ‘Google and the Limits of Antitrust: The Case Against the Antitrust Case Against Google’, 34 *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 171 (2011); J Gregory Sidak and David J Teece, ‘Dynamic Competition in Antitrust Law’, 5 *Journal of Competition Law & Economics* 581 (2009).


In the realm of search, Google has been widely alleged to favour its own services – a strategy which struck some as improper¹²⁵ but seemed to others the natural privilege of dominance in search.¹²⁶ In mobile operating systems, Google's contractual approach arguably reduces the disagreement somewhat. Whereas Google's tactics in search use elements of technological tying, with the key practices embodied within Google code, Google's tactics in mobile draw more heavily on contracts whose black-letter provisions seem particularly out of line when subjected to scrutiny. It is in part for this reason that we think competition authorities are particularly likely to question Google's contractual restrictions.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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¹²⁵See eg Edelman (n 87).

¹²⁶Robert H Bork and Gregory Sidak, *What Does the Chicago School Teach about Internet Search and the Antitrust Treatment of Google?*, 8 *Journal of the Competition Law and Economics* 663 (2012).

Attachment 5

From: "Edelman, Benjamin"

To: "'West, Loann'" <loann.west@hbr.org>

Subject: RE: HBR Important Author Information for the April 2016 Issue

Date: Mon, 11 Jan 2016 18:38:28 +0000

Importance: Normal

Attachments: Disclosure_form_fillable_Edelman.pdf; Author_Information_Form_Fillable_Edelman.pdf; Copyright_Agreement_Edelman.pdf

Thanks. See attached.

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Attachment 6

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If you have any questions, Loann can be reached by email, or by phone at 617-783-7634.

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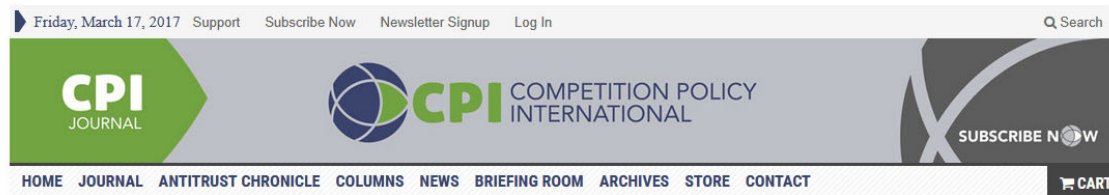
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Attachment 7

Attachment 7: Historic Editorial Policy of Competition Policy International

Retrieved from Archive.org at

<https://web.archive.org/web/20170318034833/https://www.competitionpolicyinternational.com/our-editorial-policy/> on October 23, 2025



Our Editorial Policy



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Our publications and courses are dedicated to the intellectual integrity of all of the information we publish or present. Sometimes we invite authors to write articles on a particular topic of interest to our readers. Other times authors send articles for our consideration, which we publish when they meet our quality standards. Articles and commentary published in Competition Policy International and in the Antitrust Chronicle are selected and reviewed by editorial teams comprised of competition policy experts drawn from academia, authorities, courts, and law firms around the world. We do not provide preference to any individual or entity that has purchased subscriptions to our publications.

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increa... Big companies aiming
t...
141 views
-  US: Bar sues Trump for
un... A Washington restauran...
134 views

Attachment 8

From: "Edelman, Benjamin" </O=EXCHANGELABS/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=BBE2A483E2994485AA23116C4F645FB D-BEDELMAN>

To: "Champion, David" <DChampion@hbr.org>

Subject: RE: Platforms article - status

Date: Fri, 11 Dec 2015 02:23:01 +0000

Importance: Normal

Attachments: Edelman_and_Gerardin_December_10.docx

Here's our revision. All changes shown in redline, relative to your November 25 version. Comments flag the areas where we thought our clarification (rationale for our edits) might be useful.

Most substantive is comment BGE5, as to the question of what to do with the "Option #4: Accept your shrinking prospects" section. We could discuss that synchronously (phone or Skype) if it's too difficult by email.

From: Champion, David [mailto:DChampion@hbr.org]

Sent: Wednesday, December 09, 2015 12:11 PM

To: Edelman, Benjamin

Subject: Re: Platforms article - status

Thanks!

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>

Date: Wednesday, December 9, 2015 at 11:47 AM

To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>

Subject: RE: Platforms article - status

I've just finished my revisions to your revisions. Passed the draft to my coauthor Damien who will now take a few days. We'll get it to you Monday at the latest, I think, which will still yield lots of time before your December 22 break.

From: Champion, David [mailto:DChampion@hbr.org]

Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2015 8:23 AM

To: Edelman, Benjamin

Subject: Re: Platforms article

Thanks Ben,

Look forward to reading it. I'll work on it next week.

Happy Thanksgiving (in these troubled times)

David

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>

Date: Tuesday, November 24, 2015 at 12:15 AM

To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>

Subject: RE: Platforms article

Here's our working draft:

Spontaneous Private Deregulation: Competing with Airbnb and Uber—and Napster and YouTube

<https://www.dropbox.com/s/lhyv0icewj1yo46/spontaneous-deregulation-draft-2015-11-24.docx?dl=0>

You'll see that you can download from Dropbox if you like, and edit in the usual ways in Word.

Some aspects of this were difficult, for broadly the reasons we discussed previously. You'll see several queries from us to you as to scope and direction. Plenty of time left to revise and improve, as we should and will. Look forward to your thoughts.

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]

Sent: Wednesday, November 11, 2015 4:36 PM

To: Edelman, Benjamin

Subject: Re: Platforms article

Thanks for the update. Beginning of December is fine for me and that will give us time to iterate. The hard deadline is Jan 11 for copyedit, and we should plan to get it to top edit a week before that. FYI, I will be on vacation over the holiday season, from Dec 22 and back Jan 4 but I expect we'll finalize it before Dec 22 as we'll have the best part of three weeks to work on it..

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>

Date: Wednesday, November 11, 2015 at 3:21 PM

To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>

Subject: RE: Platforms article

Making progress. Introduction drafted and some examples selected. Was delayed somewhat because I had to write a loosely related article for Competition Policy International (related in the sense that Uber inspired both). Just sent that on Monday to my editor there. <https://www.dropbox.com/s/3yqk22o3t3ycegl/competitive-dynamics-tncs-3.docx?dl=0>. I'll reuse a fraction of the stories (perhaps Southwest, one of my very favorites).

My notes from our prior discussion indicate you need a draft "sometime in December." Can you be more precise? I think I can get this done by, or pretty near, the start of the month. Want to leave plenty of time to iterate because I feel it's a hard piece, less closely linked to material from my course, perhaps a bit controversial, etc.

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]

Sent: Wednesday, November 11, 2015 12:49 PM

To: Edelman, Benjamin

Subject: Platforms article

Hi Ben,

Just doing some housekeeping and was wondering how you were progressing with the platforms article. Hope all going well.

Best

david

Attachment 9

Spontaneous Private Deregulation: Competing with Airbnb and Uber—and Napster and YouTube

Benjamin Edelman and Damien Geradin – for HBR – draft 1 – November 24, 2015

Naval officer and computer programmer Grace Murray Hopper is credited with the maxim that it's easier to request forgiveness than to get permission. Familiar to teenagers and delinquents, her advice increasingly applies in competitive strategy, as companies test the limits of the law. In a strategy we call *spontaneous private deregulation*, companies ignore laws that disallow their chosen approach—hoping that customers will embrace them, that public attitudes will shift in their favor, and that regulators will eventually be forced to allow their operation.

In fact this is not a new approach, as entrants have often pushed the boundaries of the law. As we discuss in the sidebar “Spontaneous deregulation in an earlier era,” similar questions arose in the dawn of motor vehicles and the start of aviation. But these days, the issues arrive increasingly rapidly and in ever more industries. A decade ago, new software startups brought a wave of piracy that rendered copyright laws effectively irrelevant and drove media companies closer to the brink. Today, transportation services like Uber launch new services with or without licenses, while Airbnb hosts skip the taxes, zoning, and safety protections that add complexity and expense to the hotel business. As consumers, it's easy to embrace these services for their increased flexibility, lower prices, and greater convenience. But they present remarkable challenges for incumbents.

Could similar shifts affect your sector? It's easy to think one's field immune. “No one would settle for a knock-off lawyer not licensed to practice,” an attorney might tell herself—happily oblivious to the routine real estate transactions, uncontested divorces, small business contracts, and other situations in which customers might accept a basic, low-cost option. Similarly, investment bankers might think their high-value field is unassailable—until a web-based platform enables entrepreneurs to sell equity directly to both individuals and institutional investors. One might respond that such services would be manifestly unlawful. But the same could be said of redistributing audio and video recordings without explicit permission from rights holders, as both Napster and YouTube did with abandon. While still controversial, these and related practices are becoming increasingly routine, and few sectors, if any, appear to be off limits.

In this piece, we offer three strategies for affected incumbents. The accompanying sidebar assesses which types of firms are most vulnerable.

Sidebar: Assess your vulnerability

Could your industry and your firm face an attack from a software platform? Vulnerable companies include those with the following weaknesses:

- Regulation sets minimum standards or otherwise limits entry. If so, beware a software platform that ignores the standards or requirements. It might style its service as using some other metric to assure quality, such as reputation systems in lieu of advance approval. Or it might claim that compliance functions are best left to decentralized service providers, not the platform itself.

Examples: Real estate agents; attorneys; investment advisors and certain financial services.

- Customers hate you. Perhaps regulatory protection has made you unresponsive to consumer needs and/or sheltered you from price competition. If so, consumers will be especially excited to find an alternative.

Examples: Taxi fleets; real estate agents; content providers including record companies and movie studios.

Further down the road: Internet service providers; mobile phone carriers; airlines. As technology advances, with small-scale generation increasingly feasible, perhaps even electric utilities. So far, it's hard to see how powerful platforms would provide these services. But we hesitate to argue that any sector is immune.

- Suitable software can allow casual providers to perform the functions of your business. Historically, consumers favored trusted firms for vetted staff. But software can improve performance of casual providers, for example by giving step-by-step instructions. And software platforms can facilitate ratings that let casual providers demonstrate their effectiveness. With such software, casual providers may be able to take on the tasks you use professionals to provide.

Examples: Repair of myriad machines and electronics, from bicycles to dishwashers to furnaces; plumbers and electricians; nannies, nurses, and teachers.

- Your business incurs major costs in protecting third parties and other non-customers, benefits your direct customers do not value. If so, a software platform could facilitate a less accountable structure of relationships where it becomes unclear who is harming third parties, and customers need not pay for precautions that do not benefit them.

Examples: Companies emitting pollution.

Sidebar: Spontaneous deregulation in an earlier era

Consider early regulation of motor vehicles in England. At the dawn of mechanized transportation, most vehicles violated British highway and transport laws, as Parliament's Locomotive Acts established onerous requirements for mechanically propelled vehicles (everything other than animal power). In 1861, vehicles were limited to two miles per hour in cities, towns, and villages, and four elsewhere; in 1896, this was revised to 14 mph. Vehicle operators particularly disliked the requirement that three people were required to attend the vehicle at all times, one of them assigned to carry a red flag at least 60 yards ahead of it to help assist horses and horse-drawn carriages. Nor was England alone in these requirements. For example, Vermont largely copied the British approach; a Tennessee act required drivers to provide a week's notice for any impending road trip; Iowa required motorists to telephone ahead to warn towns of their arrival; Pennsylvania's legislature passed a law requiring any driver

Commented [BGE1]: We think these historical examples are remarkable and show that the banditry of Uber et al is not exactly a new situation, nor are ill-advised laws. We like the centuries of history as a counter to those who think they've found first-of-their-kind issues. Look forward to your feedback on whether this is adequately framed to be relevant to HBR readers.

encountering cattle or livestock to “immediately and as rapidly as possible disassemble the automobile, and ... conceal the various components out of sight behind nearby bushes until equestrian or livestock is sufficiently pacified.” (The governor’s veto prevented these requirements from taking effect.) The stated purpose of these requirements was to prevent damage to roadways from fast-moving vehicles, and to protect the public from vehicles that were indisputably noisy and dirty, and sometimes dangerous. But the requirements were also overbroad, limiting all manner of productive activity. And the requirements came at a high cost: They slowed the use of automobiles, impeding both leisure and commerce.

Early restrictions on automobiles pushed many prospective drivers to find alternatives, including continuing to use horses. A few flouted the law, risking fines as large as 10 pounds (equivalent to more than US \$1100 in 2015). While lawbreaking raised obvious concerns, it also demonstrated the benefits of even the earliest automobiles—proving convenience and reasonable safety, and also showing that some early fears were overstated. For example, horses turned out to accept automobiles more readily than had been expected, which paved the way for liberalization by the end of the nineteenth century, ending the most onerous requirements on automobiles. From this perspective, the Locomotive Acts look like an alarmist reaction to a much smaller problem. Their thirty-year presence slowed early use of automobiles in the UK and reduced both economic progress and general ease of transport.

Similar regulatory questions arose at the dawn of aviation a few decades later. The Romans had held that a landowner owned his land from “from the bowels of the earth to the heavens above.” British and American law copied this approach. But anyone flying a plane would necessarily pass over thousands of parcels with diverse ownership. Aviation would collapse under the administrative burden of negotiations and permissions from every landowner. Fortunately Congress recognized the problem, in 1940 defining “navigable airspace” to be free for everyone to use, without permission from landowners below. Here, at least, legal rules imposed little real barrier to transportation innovation.

The challenge in context

For the better part of two centuries, most economic activity has been organized by and through firms—designing processes, employing workers, assuring quality. There is much to be said for this approach, and large-scale facilities (such as factories and warehouses) surely still require it. But firms may impose a high cost structure and may be slow to adapt to changing consumer needs. Meanwhile, casual providers may be able to work for lower prices and may be more willing to respond to consumer needs by, for instance, providing service during nights and weekends.

Economist Ronald Coase’s Nobel-winning theory of the firm emphasized the role of transaction costs in defining firm boundaries—arguing that the purpose of a company is to reduce transaction costs. IT advances have yielded other ways to reduce transaction costs, in turn threatening the importance of the firm. For example, software often provides new ways to assure quality, including the software itself measuring that work was done, as well as reducing costs to collect evaluations from customers. In this context, a firm relying on its ability to assure quality may find consumers less willing to pay for that benefit. So too for a firm whose key purpose was matching customers with workers; software may

Commented [BGE2]: We have mixed views about this section. On one hand, these are important theoretical points nicely connected to a distinguished academic literature. They also frame the situation and help build understanding of when these situations arise.

On the other hand, this article is not about the shift from traditional companies to the newest platforms and peer production. Certainly that shift has brought some of the spontaneous private deregulations of recent experience – but the overlap is not exact and is not what this article is to be about.

deliver other methods to arrange these matches, ultimately reducing the firm's ability to charge for its efforts.

Call your lawyer

When a competitor enters and ignores key regulations, it is natural to seek legal assistance—perhaps private litigation, or urging a regulator to take action. We credit the instinct, and when violations are clear-cut, this strategy can be effective. For example, rights-holders sued various software companies facilitating copyright infringement, and their litigation successes compelled the shutdown of Napster's filesharing service (among others).

Yet this strategy has important limitations that should dull enthusiasm. Legal actions can be slow, costly, and unpredictable. Moreover, courts often take a dim view of competitors seeking to enforce regulations, finding that only regulators have authority to do so.

Legal action also assumes that laws will remain as they are. But if consumers embrace an entrant's approach, laws may change—sometimes, rapidly. Software companies have discovered the power of mobilizing their users to influence regulators. For example, Uber has encouraged its passengers to contact regulators in cities where its service has been banned or is at risk of being banned. In contrast, an incumbent seeking to maintain the status quo is likely to lack popular support. Any incumbent lawsuit is vulnerable to ever-shifting political debates, which in turn influence legal requirements.

If you can't beat 'em, join 'em?

For an incumbent facing a creative entrant, a natural starting point is to embrace the best aspects of the competitor's approach. Often entrants offer some important improvements. Music from Napster was usually copyright-infringing – but at least it was available nearly instantly and compatible with all devices without limitation. In contrast, early online music sales platforms asked users to navigate a multi-step purchase process, only to deliver Digital Rights Management (DRM) encrypted files that played on a limited set of compatible devices, often with additional restrictions when a consumer changed devices. Sellers had every reason to fear piracy of their offerings. But locking their content behind DRM probably pushed consumers to piracy more than it increased sales. Facing competition from copyright infringement and pressure from e-retailers, music sellers ultimately embraced unencrypted files that widened consumers' options. Legal music sales might have taken off faster, and piracy might have been correspondingly reduced, had rights-holders invoked this approach earlier.

Similarly, Uber and Lyft attracted users with user-friendly platforms providing quick and reliable service. Users also relished the opportunity to rate drivers, yielding incentives for safe and polite service. To stay in the game, taxi services in most cities launched their own applications and made efforts to improve service quality. Many passengers think calling a cab means a phone call to a grumpy dispatcher, but taxi companies now widely offer web and app-based ordering, embodied in a customer interface not unlike Uber's. In fact, some taxi fleets offered web-based booking years before Uber. Even vehicle-en-route

Commented [BGE3]: Could expand this section. Natural way to expand is with more examples, including examples of the strategy working well (we offer one example, challenging Napster) and working badly (we have some examples, including courts rejecting competitor complaints about Uber; there are probably other mechanisms for poor outcomes here, including looking like a sore loser).

tracking has been around for years. If a taxi fleet operator complains about Uber but fails to offer these services, it's hard to feel much sympathy.

While it's tempting to encourage incumbents to copy entrants' strategies, this approach is not always appropriate. For one, most incumbents build up capabilities that are not useful in entrants' models. Consider the skills required to run a national hotel chain—attracting and supervising franchisees, coordinating marketing efforts, booking conferences and events. Would any of these translate to success in a world where short-term accommodations follow Airbnb's model? Hilton may have done well at the old model, but that's no guarantee of success in the new approach.

Moreover, incomplete efforts to implement a new model may be tragically ineffective. Consider a taxi fleet operator concerned about competition from app-based transportation services. Uber claims important cost advantages including avoiding buying medallions, foregoing commercial vehicle registration and insurance, and simplifying the driver verifications many cities require of taxis. Woe is the taxi fleet operator that expects an online booking service to overcome a persistent price gap. When Hailo tried to organize New York taxis via a modern app, its prices were always higher than Uber—predictably disappointing the customers concerned about price.

Play to your strengths

New platforms typically offer some benefits, but there are usually downsides. Airbnb may offer an authentic experience—but if a delayed flight compels a guest to “check in” after the time agreed with the host, the guest will long for the convenience of a front desk open around the clock. Novice Uber drivers won't know shortcuts commonly used by experienced taxi drivers. Incumbents should remind consumers of the advantages they offer, and for the right customers in the right circumstances, the message may resonate.

A common challenge for incumbents is that customers often ignore unanticipated problems and small probabilities when assessing available options. A hotel may have better fire safety, like wider stairwells and high-grade smoke detectors; and a taxi may be inspected more carefully and more often than an Uber driver's personal car. In both areas, the consequences of mishap can be severe—indeed, deadly. But rare is the consumer who considers the possibilities. Perhaps a safer car and professional driver transform a one-in-ten-million risk into one-in-twenty-million. At \$5 extra, is that a good deal? Most of us could run the analysis if the numbers were known, but in fact these risks tend to be uncertain and difficult to measure.

At the very least, incumbents should tout the clear-cut benefits they offer with certainty. Trained staff and consistent room furnishings are clear-cut, but hotels shouldn't stop there. Online booking tools have long offered immediate confirmation of hotel reservations, whereas most Airbnb bookings still require a multi-step inquiry, offer, and confirmation. These conveniences mean that many customers should genuinely prefer a hotel, even at a slightly higher price. But if a hotel attracts customers for speed and convenience, check-in lines must stay short and rooms always ready on time. New competition requires incumbents not just to tout their advantages, but to deliver them consistently.

Accept your shrinking prospects

Even Google's widely-used YouTube video service began with an important element of spontaneous private deregulation, hosting widespread copyright-infringing videos uploaded by the service's users (and some uploaded by its founders, too). Fast-forward a few years, and record company leaders were up against a wall in their negotiations with YouTube, ultimately accepting modest royalties because the only apparent alternative was piracy, which paid them nothing at all. One doesn't fault managers for choosing the former. But it's not an outcome to celebrate—and it illustrates potential losses when companies are too slow to respond to changing conditions, both in law and in practice.

Commented [BGE4]: This section is the shortest and clearly the least developed. I do think a "what happens if you miss the boat" section could be useful. I have been thinking that YouTube is a nice venue for that. If we don't put YouTube somewhere, we probably can't include it in the title, and I do like it in the title. One possible approach is to expand this section, probably to 2-3 paragraphs in total. Another approach, which we have considered in earnest, is deleting it altogether – reflecting that "give up" isn't a strategy to celebrate.

Our bottom line

While incumbents often find it tempting to blame software platforms for eating their lunch, there is little doubt that these platforms are here to stay and grow. Technological innovation makes it possible for software applications to carry out increasingly complex tasks, and two-sided platforms are well positioned to help casual providers leapfrog traditional firms. In order to survive, industries that are vulnerable to software platforms must themselves adopt modern tools, but also play to their strengths. In many ways, Uber and Airbnb seduced consumers that were disenchanted with the services provided by taxi cabs and hotel chains. With diligence and foresight, other established providers can avoid a similar fate.

Benjamin Edelman is an associate professor at Harvard Business School.

Damien Geradin is founding partner of EDGE | Legal thinking, a Brussels-based boutique law firm specialized in EU competition law and intellectual property law, and a Professor at Tilburg University and George Mason University School of Law.

Commented [BGE5]: I do mention Google so perhaps should include a disclosure as to work advising competitors, but 1) Google is peripheral here, and 2) that work is not closely linked to YouTube, the one subject at issue here, so I think maybe not relevant.

Room for another sentence of bio?

Commented [BGE6]: Too long? Damien has many affiliations.
http://www.professorgeradin.blogs.com/damien_geradins_biography/

Possible additional example to be worked in, in a place TBD

AT&T in 2015 noting competitors breaking the law (offering certain VOIP phone services without an accommodation for customers with hearing disabilities), refusing to proceed with such a service until regulator approves, but flagging competitors' violations and pushing regulator to act promptly

Southwest Airlines in the 1970's wanting to charge lower prices than permitted by then-applicable federal law, and offering intra-state Texas-only service at preferred prices. Competitors had basically

ignored that market and in any event charged high rates there, not anticipating the way Southwest would be able to enter with an innovative (cheaper but lawful) service.

Attachment 10

From: "Champion, David" <DChampion@hbr.org>

To: "Edelman, Benjamin" <bedelman@hbs.edu>

Subject: Re: blog

Date: Mon, 16 Jun 2014 07:21:27 +0000

Importance: Normal

You're very welcome and merci du compliment

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>

Date: Sunday, June 15, 2014 5:48 PM

To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>

Subject: RE: blog

Works for me.

Such a pleasure to have an excellent editor!

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]

Sent: Sunday, June 15, 2014 2:23 PM

To: Edelman, Benjamin

Subject: Re: blog

How about this as a sentence at the end, in parens:

(Disclosure: I advise a number of companies using or competing with powerful platforms such as Google)

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>

Date: Sunday, June 15, 2014 12:35 PM

To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>

Subject: RE: blog

Guess this is no surprise. Unusual for a CMS to allow different footer for each post. Though note that this issue is sure to arise more given new HBS policies that presuppose the technical feasibility of an article-specific disclosure.

I agree that it doesn't work to put a Google reference into the bio. But having the Google disclosure appear separate from the bio seems strange too – really privileges this in an odd way, putting it before my employment, which I don't like.

How about copying the bio as it stands into the bottom of the piece's body, then removing the Google reference from the bio in the bio field? Not ideal – most of my bio will then appear twice. But it makes the best of the fact that we have to put some text into the body.

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]

Sent: Friday, June 13, 2014 10:26 AM

To: Edelman, Benjamin

Subject: Re: blog

I can't customize the bio for each blog post (articles are different). Perhaps the best thing is to cut the Google ref in the bio and disclose in the blog. Would you like to send me a sentence to add?

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>
Date: Friday, June 13, 2014 10:23 AM
To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>
Subject: RE: blog

I don't want to change the disclosure on my prior posts. The new addition won't make sense on my prior posts and probably won't make sense on future posts.

Is there a way to change the disclosure for a single post? Worst case, could put the disclosure into the body of the article... though 1) there should be only one author bio + disclosure, plus 2) it would be nice to keep the bio in a differentiated layout/format, which is what the CMS would ordinarily do if we use the bio function.

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]
Sent: Friday, June 13, 2014 10:20 AM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: Re: blog

It changes for all posts, past and present and future. It's a separate input item

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>
Date: Friday, June 13, 2014 10:18 AM
To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>
Subject: RE: blog

That's fine.

When you change the bio for an author, does that take effect only for subsequent posts? So the change you're making now will apply for the next post (and future posts, except that we'll be changing it again before the next post), but not for what I've posted previously? That's very handy and just what we need here. I had envisioned the bio being a global property across the site – change the bio and it changes all the author's prior posts, which isn't what we want in this case.

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]
Sent: Friday, June 13, 2014 10:15 AM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: Re: blog

Ok. Just remind me to change the bio for your next blog. Is this text OK?

Benjamin Edelman is an associate professor at Harvard Business School. His research is available on www.benedelman.org. He is also an adviser to companies that rely on or compete with powerful platforms such as Google.

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>
Date: Friday, June 13, 2014 10:12 AM
To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>
Subject: RE: blog

I need a different disclosure for each piece, as the information to be disclosed varies according to what is related to each piece. I wouldn't want the "compete with powerful platforms such as Google" disclosure on a piece totally unrelated to Google (including my prior pieces on the HBR web site) – it wouldn't make sense there.

The 2013 HBS policy on faculty conflicts of interest similarly calls for a document-specific disclosure. So this issue should be arising for others too (at least if others read the policy and thought about it carefully).

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]
Sent: Friday, June 13, 2014 10:08 AM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: Re: blog

Sorry, miswrote.

Here is the bio. The idea is to avoid having to rework the bio each time. Cheers

Benjamin Edelman is an associate professor at Harvard Business School. His research is available on www.benedelman.org. He is also an adviser to companies that rely on or compete with powerful platforms such as Google.

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>
Date: Friday, June 13, 2014 10:04 AM
To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>
Subject: RE: blog

That's great. Thanks. Agreed that this disclosure is specific to this piece – disclosures definitely have to vary from document to document, based on what's relevant.

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]
Sent: Friday, June 13, 2014 10:04 AM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: Re: blog

I added this line to your bio:

He is also an adviser to companies that rely on or compete with powerful platforms such as Google.
I wanted to keep the "this piece" because it might not make sense for future blogs

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>
Date: Friday, June 13, 2014 9:59 AM
To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>
Subject: RE: blog

Thanks. I do need some disclosure as to Google in order to comply with HBS rules (and it's also my own preference and longstanding practice).

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]
Sent: Friday, June 13, 2014 9:57 AM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: Re: blog

Thanks, done. Bio already in the system

Cheers
david

From: <Edelman>, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>
Date: Friday, June 13, 2014 9:29 AM
To: David Champion <dchampion@hbr.org>
Subject: RE: blog

Thanks. Attached.

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]
Sent: Friday, June 13, 2014 8:58 AM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: Re: blog

Copy to word and track changes would be great thanks

Sent from my iPhone

On Jun 13, 2014, at 2:54 PM, "Edelman, Benjamin" <bedelman@hbs.edu> wrote:

That's largely fine.

Note a typo: in your edits, "rare" became "are".

In a few small places your edits don't quite work for me. For example, you inserted "notably Amazon" into "For example, many platforms (notably Amazon) promise (explicitly or implicitly) to be complete, such as offering all flights or all homes available for purchase." But the "such as" examples don't apply to Amazon. If this sentence is to include Amazon, I'd like to change the examples.

Can I take the file back to correct glitches like this? Best mechanism for that? Copy to Word and edit there (with Track Changes on)? Something else?

From: Champion, David [<mailto:DChampion@hbr.org>]
Sent: Friday, June 13, 2014 4:10 AM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: blog

In the system, with a few small tweaks. Should go live sometime next week:

The publishing group Hachette has been in a very public fight with Amazon for the last month. Amazon wants Hachette to cut its prices on books and e-books and most people think Amazon has the upper hand: customers often begin shopping at Amazon, so books not available there are almost invisible. No wonder Hachette authors are up in arms.

Though I don't envy Hachette's problem, Amazon is far from invulnerable on this issue.

Think about it. If customers can't find popular authors like JK Rowling and Malcolm Gladwell on Amazon, they'll very likely try another online bookstore to get them, which gives an Amazon competitor the perfect opportunity to get a

toehold in a market Amazon currently dominates. After serving a customer once, the competitor gets an email address and a sense of the customer's interests, allowing mailings with other products to consider. It's the first step towards eroding Amazon's dominant position. Indeed, Walmart reports book sales increased 70% since the Amazon-Hachette dispute began.

Meanwhile, the public debate makes Amazon look like a bully. Amazon points out that retailers choose what products to sell. But Amazon's analogies are grounded in physical stores, where floor space is a genuine constraint. Amazon's site now shows many Hachette books as "unavailable." But they're only "unavailable" because Amazon chooses to withhold them. Jokes from Jon Stewart — a Hachette author — only worsen public opinion of Amazon.

The dispute reflects a tension you find in many other industries as well. Most businesses now depend on powerful intermediaries; are is the company that doesn't need Google search traffic and ad placements. Hotels and airlines live on bookings from online travel agencies. Restaurants need reservations from OpenTable and takeout orders from GrubHub. Real estate sellers have to be listed in their regional MLS.

In each instance, the company's core problem is its reliance on a platform that acts as a choke-point in reaching prospective customers. With transactions passing through such an intermediary, the company's margins and prospects are predictably impaired. In principle one might hope that competing platforms would help level the playing field. But in many online markets, a single platform dominates — often a result of network effects, technical standards, or returns to scale. Woe is the search engine that competes with Google.

How can companies deal with these powerful platforms? In the June 2014 edition of Harvard Business Review, I offer several suggestions. Broadly, I argue that customer heterogeneity offers savvy companies an unnoticed opportunity to bargain from strength. For example, when some customers reach a company directly, the company can circumvent the platform to serve them. With the right incentives, mainstream customers could do the same.

Other companies benefit from intermediaries' commitments. For example, many platforms (notably Amazon) promise (explicitly or implicitly) to be complete, such as offering all flights or all homes available for purchase. These platforms are vulnerable to a company threatening to remove its listings. To stay complete, a platform may have little choice but to lower its fees or improve its terms.

When considering a fight with a platform, most companies focus on their own weaknesses, like lost sales if the company rejects the platform's demands. But it's often at least as promising to flip the discussion, considering why the platform needs the company and why the company may not need the platform so much after all. Hachette's distinctive authors do a fine job at the first part of this task. There's probably more to be done on the second. Could Hachette begin to distribute books itself, or do more to help customers find other distributors?

Platform operators are repeat players, and they've honed their skills through repeated dealings with their many seller-suppliers. When approaching a negotiation with such a platform, a company should devote extra attention both to its moves and to platforms' likely responses. Facing an adversary as sophisticated as Google or Amazon, it's easy to be despondent, and indeed many companies have been outmaneuvered. But with the right tactics, it's possible to redress the balance.

Attachment 11

From: "Bortz, Christina" <cbortz@hbr.org>

To: "Edelman, Benjamin" <bedelman@hbs.edu>

Subject: RE: Your HBR manuscript

Date: Wed, 11 Feb 2015 15:41:04 +0000

Importance: Normal

The existing toggling problem is with the first three paragraphs, not within the first. My proposal was to start with "It's not hard to see why" – in other words, start with benefits and move to problems.

Will send new suggestion.

Christina Bortz
Articles Editor

HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW
60 Harvard Way | Boston, MA 02163
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hbr.org

From: Edelman, Benjamin [mailto:bedelman@hbs.edu]

Sent: Wednesday, February 11, 2015 10:35 AM

To: Bortz, Christina

Subject: RE: Your HBR manuscript

Want to make sure I understand your suggestion. Is your proposal for the first three paragraphs the following:

Starting a new online platform, mobilization strategies usually loom large. Many of the most successful online businesses connect two or more types of users for communication or commerce – buyers and sellers on a shopping portal, travelers and hotel operators on a booking service, viewers and content producers on a video hosting site. But what if you have neither?

It's not hard to see why entrepreneurs are drawn to online platform businesses: They create significant value by enabling communication or commerce among different types of users—buyers and sellers on a shopping portal, travelers and hotel operators on a booking service, viewers and content producers on a video hosting site. They have modest operating costs because they don't usually manufacture tangible goods or hold inventory. And network effects protect their position once established; users rarely leave a vibrant platform.

But platform businesses also face significant start-up challenges. Customers...

That would be fine by me, once we clear out the duplication of clauses between the first and second paragraphs. But on this understanding of your proposal, I don't see how this fixes the back-and-forth problem.

I wouldn't be excited to begin the article with the "It's not hard" paragraph, eschewing my "Starting a new" paragraph. The "It's not hard paragraph" could be the introduction to any article about platform businesses. It doesn't deserve the distinctive font the layout provides.

If the concern is back-and-forth *within* my proposed first paragraph, I can fix that by adjusting the second sentence to stay focused on mobilization.

Starting a new online platform, mobilization strategies usually loom large. You may aspire to connect two or more types of users [for communication or commerce] – buyers and sellers on a shopping portal, travelers and hotel

operators on a booking service, viewers and content producers on a video hosting site. But what if you have neither?

(Could remove bracketed phrase for brevity or otherwise shorten/simplify second sentence to taste.)

Signing off for teaching for several hours. Back online midafternoon.

From: Bortz, Christina [<mailto:cbortz@hbr.org>]
Sent: Wednesday, February 11, 2015 10:22 AM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: RE: Your HBR manuscript

Thanks for getting back to me so quickly. Your changes to the IIB are fine.

I completely agree that we should liven up the first sentences. My concern with your suggestion as that it toggles back and forth in the first three paragraphs from “mobilizations problems loom large” to the benefits of platforms and then back to the start-up problems. How about smoothing out like this:

It’s not hard to see why entrepreneurs are drawn to online platform businesses: They create significant value by enabling communication or commerce among different types of users—buyers and sellers on a shopping portal, travelers and hotel operators on a booking service, viewers and content producers on a video hosting site. They have modest operating costs because they don’t usually manufacture tangible goods or hold inventory. And network effects protect their position once established; users rarely leave a vibrant platform.
But platform businesses also face significant start-up challenges. Customers...

If this works for you, I’ll see what our designer can do.

Christina Bortz
Articles Editor

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hbr.org

From: Edelman, Benjamin [<mailto:bedelman@hbs.edu>]
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2015 3:09 PM
To: Bortz, Christina
Subject: RE: Your HBR manuscript

Thanks for the redline. Strangely that still doesn’t show quite all changes relative to January 23. I may be spoiled from working with computer scientists whose change-tracking (used for both computer code and article text) is superb. Anyway, I’m content with the redline. It’s reassuring to see (almost) every change.

I know it’s a pain on your end to revise at this stage, but I think it’s worth it to make sure readers see the contribution of this piece, which otherwise gets a bit lost in the large-type “The ubiquity of the Internet.” The piece is better than that intro suggests!

Suggested replacement first paragraph:

Starting a new online platform, mobilization strategies usually loom large. Many of the most successful online businesses connect two or more types of users for communication or commerce- buyers and sellers on a shopping portal, travelers and hotel operators on a booking service, viewers and content producers on a video hosting site. But what if you have neither?

That's 58 words. Current first paragraph is 59. Even with varying line breaks, it seems like it should fit in the same space.

I'm sure you'll have ideas for improvement. Hope we can squeeze that in as "tweak the first paragraph" – which it is. You'll see much of the current wording preserved, but with a new start and end.

One other area where a change seems important, as flagged in my prior note:

IIB – The Solution:

To launching a platform successfully, ~~consider a business must~~ quickly attracting a large group of users, offering features that provide value even if few users sign up, establishing credibility, and ensuring that the platform works with legacy systems.

(Rationale: Getting rid of "must" conveys the tentativeness of the ideas and the level of flexibility in possible combination.)

From: Bortz, Christina [<mailto:cbortz@hbr.org>]
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2015 2:35 PM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: Re: Your HBR manuscript

Dear Ben,

I will have our Production group create a redline version -- please know that it will be very clunky and difficult to read, but we'll do our best. The small changes you noted in the mainbar were a result of our final in-house review with David, Sarah Cliffe, and Amy Bernstein.

The more substantial edits to the sidebar were meant to address the issue of parallel structure. Please let me know how you would like to revise the wording, keeping in mind the real estate we have available.

I'm sorry you're not happy with the look of the opening paragraph -- we do not usually share the layouts with authors, because the design of the pages is at the discretion of our Art Director. At this point, we could tweak the first sentence or revise the first paragraph, but making more substantive edits to the lede would have cascading effects throughout the layout.

I've attached the opening page (art not showing) so that you can review title, dek, and bio.

The IIB text is considered "house" text -- David Champion is responsible for writing it. If you have changes that you'd like to make that do not change the length, please let me know.

The most efficient way to handle any necessary changes is for you to mark them on a PDF and send a scan of the pages to me by e-mail. My concern with reverting to Word is that the line breaks and word length constraints become less clear in that format.

Again, it's imperative that we keep changes to an absolute minimum -- we risk introducing errors and want to make sure that there's a very high bar for changes as we prepare to close out this article.

Will send the red-line version asap.

Christina

From: Edelman, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2015 2:02 PM
To: Bortz, Christina
Subject: RE: Your HBR manuscript

Thanks.

Do you have redline relative to my redline of January 23? That will let me focus my attention on areas where there have been changes. I looked at the areas where I suggested changes on January 23, and I see that an edit was made in each case – though usually not the exact edit I proposed. I also see changes in the Checklist sidebar, some of which change the meaning in ways I'm only marginally comfortable with. These changes lead me to wonder whether there have been other changes since that draft – changes I can't easily spot.

Thoughts on the layout:

1) There's much to be said for a first paragraph that deserves the oversized distinctive font proposed in this layout. Certainly a good author aspires to get the essence of the idea out early, right in the first paragraph. Unfortunately this first paragraph, as written and repeatedly revised, doesn't do that. I was content with it as lead paragraph, but the oversized font may be a bridge too far. As drafted, the essence of this article appears in the last paragraph of the first section, "... offer a framework to help..." This doesn't work as well when the first paragraph alone gets blown up in a big font.

We could draft a new first paragraph that better foreshadows the substance of the article, or change to a layout that avoids so much emphasis on the first paragraph. I know you don't like new drafting at this stage, but I don't think it's desirable to use an oversized font on this paragraph.

2) Where is the author's bio from the DOC? I want to confirm that the disclosure, required under HBS policies, is included.

3) I notice no title in the PDF. Is the title yet to be finalized? I liked the working title and squib fine and would like to know if these will be changed.

4) The text in Idea in Brief does not match the way I would describe these ideas. Two key problems: The Challenge only gets to the subject of this article in the brief second sentence. Feels like this could use at least one additional clause. Second, and most important, the Solution suggests that a platform must do all of those things, but my text doesn't suggest that every platform must use every strategy I offer, and in fact it would probably suffice to use a single strategy very well. Changing "and" to "or" is a natural start though wouldn't capture the inevitable subtlety.

Incidentally I don't think I've seen this IIB text previously.

Best way to edit it? Ordinarily I'd favor a tool that tracks changes, such as Word. I could copy from the PDF into Word, then edit there with track changes turned on. Would preserve the length which I understand shouldn't be expanded.

From: Bortz, Christina [<mailto:cbortz@hbr.org>]
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2015 1:13 PM

To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: RE: Your HBR manuscript

Dear Ben,

We're in the very final stages of Production on your article. It will be proofed one final time (tomorrow) for typos, and then will close (will be sent to pre-press) on Thursday.

The attached PDF reflects your changes from our last round – and you'll also see the Q&A that David Champion conducted with Ed McLaughlin of Paytrust. Please take a careful look at this final layout. At this point we can't accommodate any edits other than corrections to typos or factual errors. But please let me know if you have any necessary changes.

Thanks very much,
Christina

Christina Bortz
Articles Editor

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hbr.org

From: Edelman, Benjamin [<mailto:bedelman@hbs.edu>]
Sent: Friday, January 23, 2015 7:02 PM
To: Bortz, Christina
Subject: RE: Your HBR manuscript

Thanks very much. I like your edits – thank you! Attached are light further adjustments and a few inline comments where clarification seemed useful.

From: Bortz, Christina [<mailto:cbortz@hbr.org>]
Sent: Friday, January 23, 2015 6:31 PM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: Re: Your HBR manuscript

Sure, here it is.

Christina

From: Edelman, Benjamin <bedelman@hbs.edu>
Sent: Friday, January 23, 2015 6:08 PM
To: Bortz, Christina
Subject: RE: Your HBR manuscript

Thanks. Do you have redline relative to the prior version? That will let me focus my attention on areas where you made changes.

From: Bortz, Christina [<mailto:cbortz@hbr.org>]
Sent: Friday, January 23, 2015 5:02 PM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: Your HBR manuscript

Dear Ben,

I'm an articles editor at HBR, and I've had the pleasure of copyediting your piece on strategies for launching digital platforms. I worked on Tom Eisenmann's 2006 piece as well as Andrei Hagui's article, and I continue to find the topic fascinating.

Your article was in excellent shape, so my changes were minor--mainly edits to tighten prose and address grammar/house style issues.

Please review this manuscript carefully and let me know if you have comments or questions. You'll have an opportunity to review the Q&A that David Champion has prepared, which will accompany your article, early next week.

Thanks in advance,
Christina

Christina Bortz
Articles Editor
HBR
(617) 783-7557

Attachment 12

From: "O'Connell, Andy" <aoconnell@harvardbusiness.org>

To: "Edelman, Benjamin" <bedelman@hbs.edu>

Subject: RE: I've entered it into the system, so it's up to the web folks to launch it.

Date: Thu, 03 Feb 2011 20:34:44 +0000

Importance: Normal

Got it - thanks

From: Edelman, Benjamin [mailto:bedelman@hbs.edu]

Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2011 3:30 PM

To: O'Connell, Andy

Subject: RE: I've entered it into the system, so it's up to the web folks to launch it.

Attached is redline showing changes between the version I submitted and the version that is posted.

From: Edelman, Benjamin

Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2011 3:29 PM

To: 'O'Connell, Andy'

Subject: RE: I've entered it into the system, so it's up to the web folks to launch it.

<http://blogs.hbr.org/hbsfaculty/2011/02/in-accusing-microsoft-google.html> --

Looks like someone made numerous changes. Some harm substance (e.g. inserting the word "manipulated", which is a term of art in the context of search engines, and is not appropriate here; cutting the sole reference to the fact that users consented to the monitoring Microsoft performed). Others yield style I don't like (such as cutting the mid-article heading, and inserting the weak word "has" as the second word of the article).

I've been content with HBR editing previously. Not here.

I'd like to revert to the exact text I submitted (including the mid-article heading). If that's not acceptable, please remove the post, and I'll run this on my own site.

Going forward, I'd like to receive redline of all proposed edits to my writings for any part of HBR.

From: O'Connell, Andy [mailto:aoconnell@harvardbusiness.org]

Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2011 2:13 PM

To: Edelman, Benjamin

Subject: I've entered it into the system, so it's up to the web folks to launch it. Heading out for a walk. I'll keep you posted.

From: Edelman, Benjamin [mailto:bedelman@hbs.edu]

Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2011 1:30 PM

To: O'Connell, Andy

Subject: RE: Wondering if you had anything you wanted to blog about re the Google-MS-Bing flap

Great. That's a fine link to add. Let me know when it's live and I'll take a look ASAP.

From: O'Connell, Andy [mailto:aoconnell@harvardbusiness.org]
Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2011 1:28 PM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: RE: Wondering if you had anything you wanted to blog about re the Google-MS-Bing flap

Yes, the rest is great. Shall I put it through? I'm planning to link to <http://searchengineland.com/google-bing-is-cheating-copying-our-search-results-62914> where the piece mentions the "media uproar." That ok w you?
Thanks

From: Edelman, Benjamin [mailto:bedelman@hbs.edu]
Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2011 1:25 PM
To: O'Connell, Andy
Subject: RE: Wondering if you had anything you wanted to blog about re the Google-MS-Bing flap

That title doesn't bother me. I like it.

Is the rest of the piece OK as is, in your view? If so, I'm ready to post.

Proposed bio line: [Benjamin Edelman](http://www.benedelman.org/bio) is an Assistant Professor at Harvard Business School. Ben counts Microsoft among his [consulting clients](http://www.benedelman.org/bio) (though on matters unrelated to those discussed here).

From: O'Connell, Andy [mailto:aoconnell@harvardbusiness.org]
Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2011 1:22 PM
To: Edelman, Benjamin
Subject: RE: Wondering if you had anything you wanted to blog about re the Google-MS-Bing flap

Wow, this is great, Ben. We'd love to use it on hbr.org. How would you feel about a title like "Google Doth Protest Too Much"? or does that make you barf? (you can be honest – I'm comfortable with being a hack). As you know, the title makes the piece in the blog world.

We could say something about your MS work in your bio – how should we word it? Your past blog bios have read like this:

"[Benjamin Edelman](#) is an Assistant Professor at Harvard Business School in the [Negotiations, Organizations, and Markets](#) unit."

Thanks!
Andy

From: Edelman, Benjamin [mailto:bedelman@hbs.edu]
Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2011 1:08 PM
To: O'Connell, Andy
Subject: RE: Wondering if you had anything you wanted to blog about re the Google-MS-Bing flap

Here's my first draft – drafted with an eye to my web site, but potentially for the HBR site if you think the fit is workable.

Musings on Google's "Copying" Allegations

Google this week sparked a media uproar when it alleged that Bing "copies" Google results. Bing unequivocally denied it. What's going on?

When a user runs certain features -- parts of Bing Toolbar or IE8's Related Sites -- the user's browser sends Microsoft various information about the pages the user views. Knowing about this feature, Google staged a setup: For gibberish search terms Google made up, Google caused its search engine to serve up random pages Google selected arbitrarily. Then Google told 20 of its staff to run Google searches for these gibberish terms, and to click the artificial results Google had inserted. Participating staff did all this on computers running Bing Toolbar and IE Related Sites, so their click patterns were sent to Microsoft -- just as Microsoft's privacy policy and other disclosures said they would be. And then Microsoft used this data to improve its search results -- to present in Bing results the links these users seemed to favor, again just as Microsoft said it would.

Google argues that Microsoft "copied" its results. I don't think that's the best summary of these facts. If Google had merely listed these pages in its search results, Microsoft never would have noticed. What Microsoft actually did is observe *user behavior*. Microsoft received user permission for these observations. And information about users' click patterns is *users'* information -- not Google's.

Indeed, there's no sense in which Microsoft singled out Google for this data collection. If Google had run the same experiment but had told its staff to run their gibberish searches on AOL Search or Ask.com, Microsoft's data collection systems still would have noticed. Microsoft didn't single Google out in any way.

Of course the reality is that Google's high market share means Google gets far more searches than any other search engine. And Google's popularity gives it a real advantage: For an obscure search term that gets 100 searches per month at Google, Bing might get just 5 or 10. Also, for more popular terms, Google can slice its data into smaller groups -- which results are most useful to people from Boston versus New York, which results are best during the day versus at night, and so forth. So Google is far better equipped to figure out what results users favor, and to tailor its listings accordingly. Meanwhile Microsoft needs additional data, such as Toolbar and Related Sites data, to attempt to improve its results in a similar way.

Google Previously Said Microsoft's Approach is "A Good Idea"

Google itself previously praised and endorsed the use of Toolbar and similar data to improve search results. In [a post at WebmasterWorld](http://www.webmasterworld.com/forum80/21-1-30.htm), Google's Matt Cutts (then posting under pseudonym GoogleGuy) wrote as follows:

"It's my personal, unofficial belief that using toolbar data in the future to augment our crawl is not only a good idea, but specifically allowed by the original policies we posted."

"A good idea," Matt said, when contemplating Google using this method -- but now that Microsoft uses this very approach, suddenly Google argues it's improper.

Google now disavows this tactic, [telling](http://searchengineland.com/google-bing-is-cheating-copying-our-search-results-62914) Danny Sullivan "we've never used those URLs or data [from Toolbar] to put any results on Google's results page." But the plain language of [the Google Toolbar Privacy Policy](http://www.google.com/support/toolbar/bin/answer.py?hl=en&answer=81841) still allows Google to collect this information, and specifically says Google may use Toolbar data "to improve ... Google Services" such as search. Google retains the right to do exactly what Microsoft did: Pot, kettle, black.

There's also a striking irony to Google's complaints about copying. After all, before acquiring YouTube, Google staff called YouTube a "rogue enabler of content theft"; YouTube founder Jawed Karim uploaded infringing material himself; YouTube staff felt they'd lose 80% of traffic if they removed obviously infringing clips. Then there's book-scanning, where Google copied hundreds of thousands of books without authors' permission. And news, image search, spam blogs, typosquatting, and Google's myriad uses of others' intellectual property. It's great to see Google recognize the

importance of respecting others' investments in collecting and analyzing data. But Google has much to do to put its own house in order in this regard.

somewhere, should disclose my work for Microsoft (though on unrelated subjects)

Attachment 13

Evaluation Results for: 17/SP RC - 72 - Leadership & Corporate Accountability - Section H - Benjamin Edelman - Summary Report

17/SP MBA RC Spring Course Evaluation	
Raters	Students
Responded	92
Invited	94
Response Ratio	98%

Demographics

Gender

GENDER	Count	Percentage
M	52	57%
F	39	42%
Others	1	1%

US Citizen

US_CITIZEN	Count	Percentage
N	29	32%
Y	63	68%

Cross Registration

CROSS_REG	Count	Percentage
N	92	100%

Survey Questions

MBA Survey

	Top 2 Resp*	Mean	SD	# of Resp	7**	6	5	4	3	2	1
1a. You Understood This Field Prior To Taking This Course	12 %	4.3	1.2	92	0 %	12 %	37 %	29 %	15 %	3 %	3 %
1b. On average, how much time did you spend preparing for each class?***	0 %	2.5	0.7	92	0 %	0 %	0 %	8 %	38 %	50 %	4 %
1c. How did the overall preparation and engagement of your fellow students in this course compare to other courses you have taken at HBS?	15 %	4.6	0.8	92	1 %	14 %	29 %	50 %	5 %	0 %	0 %
2a. This subject area is important to business management education.	96 %	6.7	0.8	92	80 %	15 %	3 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	1 %
2b. The course coverage of key conceptual issues and managerial applications is appropriate.	84 %	6.1	1.0	92	42 %	41 %	10 %	2 %	3 %	1 %	0 %
2c. With these and other considerations in mind, how would you rate the overall quality of the course?	75 %	6.0	1.0	92	30 %	45 %	20 %	3 %	1 %	0 %	1 %
3a. Instructor set high quality standards.	93 %	6.6	0.7	91	66 %	27 %	5 %	1 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
3b. The instructor effectively managed classroom discussion.	90 %	6.5	0.8	92	67 %	23 %	8 %	1 %	1 %	0 %	0 %
3c. The instructor appropriately related course material to managerial issues.	92 %	6.6	0.8	92	70 %	23 %	4 %	1 %	2 %	0 %	0 %
3d. The instructor was responsive to students' concerns.	82 %	6.2	1.1	90	54 %	28 %	9 %	7 %	0 %	1 %	1 %
3e. With these and other considerations in mind, how would you rate the overall effectiveness of the instructor?	92 %	6.6	0.7	92	75 %	17 %	5 %	1 %	1 %	0 %	0 %
4a. The paper or project was a valuable part of the course.	11 %	4.3	0.8	38	5 %	5 %	5 %	84 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
4b. The paper or project was well integrated into the course.	11 %	4.3	0.8	38	5 %	5 %	5 %	84 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
4c. The instructor provided helpful supervision and guidance for the papers and projects.	8 %	4.3	0.8	38	5 %	3 %	5 %	87 %	0 %	0 %	0 %

* Percentage of students responding with one of two highest scores (6,7)

** Percentage of students reporting "7"

*** For question 1b: 7=3.5 or more hours; 6=3 hours; 5=2.5 hours; 4=2 hours; 3=1.5 hours; 2=1 hour; 1=.5 hours or less

Comparative Scores

Question	Section Specific			Overall Course (72)		
	Mean	Response Count	Standard Deviation	Mean	Response Count	Standard Deviation
1a. You Understood This Field Prior To Taking This Course	4.3	92	1.2	4.3	881	1.3
1b. On average, how much time did you spend preparing for each class?***	2.5	92	0.7	2.3	886	0.9
1c. How did the overall preparation and engagement of your fellow students in this course compare to other courses you have taken at HBS?	4.6	92	0.8	4.1	887	1.2
2a. This subject area is important to business management education.	6.7	92	0.8	6.7	882	0.7
2b. The course coverage of key conceptual issues and managerial applications is appropriate.	6.1	92	1.0	6.0	881	1.2
2c. With these and other considerations in mind, how would you rate the overall quality of the course?	6.0	92	1.0	5.8	884	1.4
3a. Instructor set high quality standards.	6.6	91	0.7	6.1	885	1.3
3b. The instructor effectively managed classroom discussion.	6.5	92	0.8	5.8	884	1.6
3c. The instructor appropriately related course material to managerial issues.	6.6	92	0.8	6.3	877	1.1
3d. The instructor was responsive to students' concerns.	6.2	90	1.1	6.1	877	1.3
3e. With these and other considerations in mind, how would you rate the overall effectiveness of the instructor?	6.6	92	0.7	6.1	876	1.4
4a. The paper or project was a valuable part of the course.	4.3	38	0.8	4.4	420	1.0
4b. The paper or project was well integrated into the course.	4.3	38	0.8	4.3	415	0.9
4c. The instructor provided helpful supervision and guidance for the papers and projects.	4.3	38	0.8	4.4	414	1.0