Regulating Big Tech

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Motivations

- In the last 20 years we have seen a dramatic rise in size and market value of the so-called digital platforms (online businesses that facilitate commercial interactions between at least two different groups).
- Often referred to as Big Tech
- This rise has generated a debate on <u>whether</u> and <u>how</u> Big Tech should be regulated
- This debate has mostly taken place within countries or economic areas
- Yet, there are important international and geopolitical dimensions in this discussion
- Today I will focus on those

What Is Different in a Digital World

- 1. Economies of scale
- 2. Economies of scope
- 3. Network effects
- 4. Zero marginal costs
- 5. Switching costs create a large lock-in effect

Market Power in the Digital World

- These forces lead to
- 1. Digital markets are prone to concentration
- 2. Competition for the market
- 3. Different type of competition
 - i. Benefits limited in time
 - ii. Other costs

"imo, photos (along with comprehensive/smart contacts and unified messaging) is perhaps one of the most important ways we can make switching costs very high for users."

Global Nature of Digital Markets

- 1. No transportation costs
- 2. No service cost
- 3. Zero marginal cost
- => Instant global reach (in the absence of trade

barriers)

TECHNOLOGY: TIME TO REACH MASS ADOPTION

Defined as a 25% of market access

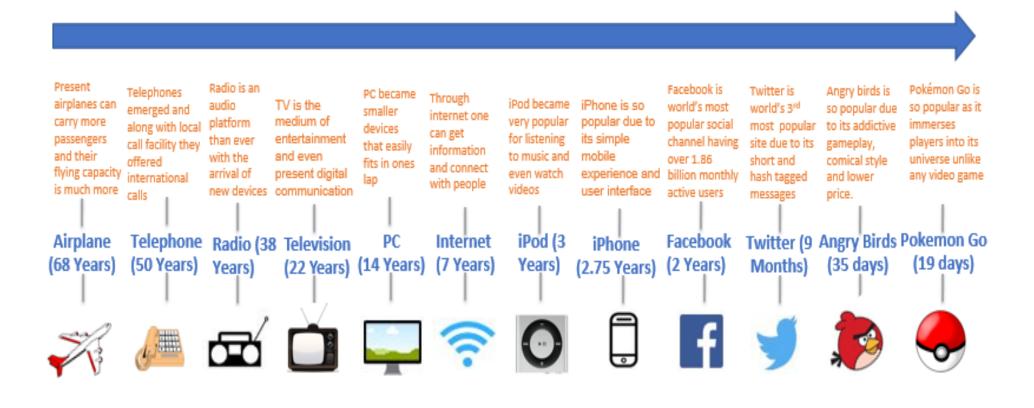
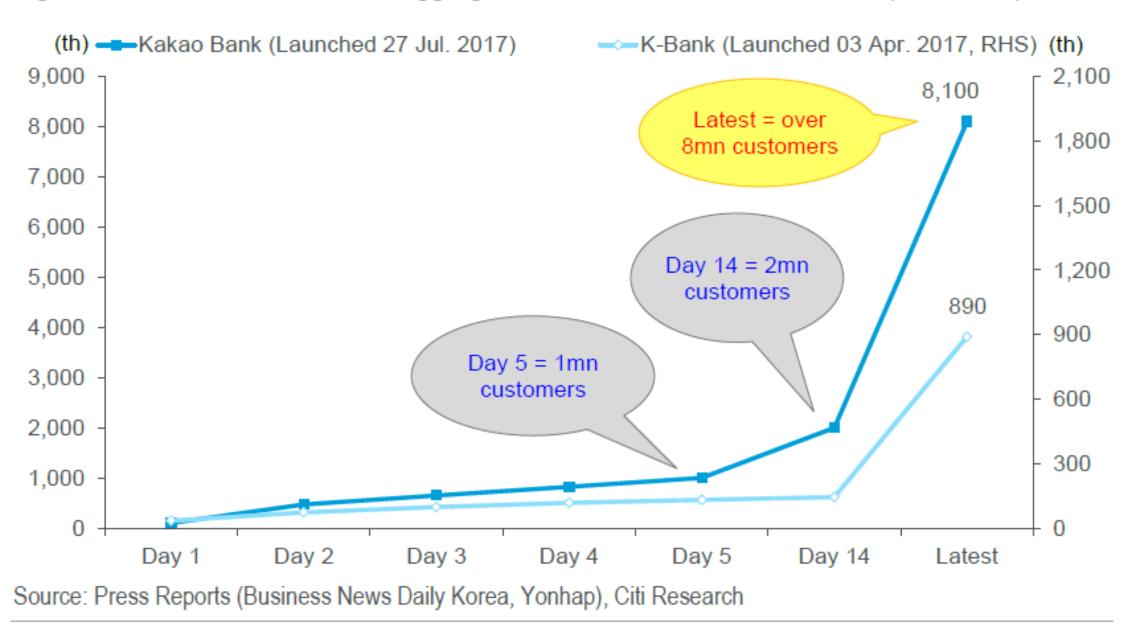




Figure 107. Korea Internet Banks Aggregate Number of New User Accounts (in millions)



Geopolitical Dimensions

- Digital markets tend to be
 - 1. global in nature,
 - 2. prone to tipping, and when the tipping occurs –
 - 3. highly profitable
- Very dangerous combination in an international setting:
- 1. Desire to shift profits to domestic firms
- 2. Data control
- 3. Threat of exclusion
- 4. Possible manipulation
- => Extra reason why they should be regulated

The New Geopolitical Game



How Not to Regulate Them

- To regulate the size of digital platforms by law
- There are strong efficiency reason for aggregating on the same platform
- Any regulation trying to prevent that will face a very uphill battle

How to Regulate Them: 1-Interoperability

- We take network externalities as a technological constraint.
- Yet, network externalities are a technological feature at the industry level, not at the firm level.
- In the early phone industry, there were enormous network externalities because one could only call people on the same phone network.
- The problem was fixed when the U.S. government mandated interoperability among the various phone-service providers
- The same is true for social media

- This interoperability can easily be achieved by mandating an open Application Program Interface (API), or even better a common API.
- This is what the Second Payment Services Directive has mandated for banking services in the European Union and the UK
- The problem is not limited to social media. Think about ridesharing services.
- The restrictions Uber and Lyft are imposing on their users are only designed to gain market share and eventually drive out of existence the competitor.
- With an open API, this segmentation would become impossible, because other software companies would come in to arbitrage away the friction.

How to Regulate Them: 2 –Data Ownership

- Data are a non rivalrous good and are best in the public domain.
- As for inventions, there might be incentive reasons to restrict temporarily access to data to the person/company who paid the cost to accumulate them.
- This trade-off, however, depends crucially on the size of the benefits obtained by putting them in the public domain and the cost born to accumulating them.
- For data, unlike for inventions, there is also a privacy issue.
- Releasing data in the public domain can lead to massive privacy violations.

- Yet, it is possible to de-anonymize data and make them more broadly available
- There are three main approaches to data:
 - 1. European: privacy above all
 - 2. American: who gets them first, own them
 - 3. Chinese: the state has the first cut
- We need to develop a fourth approach
 - Data as a Common
- At least after a short period of time
- This will reduce barriers to entry

Alternative Models: 1. The Dream of Web3

- Hansmann (1997) claims that cooperatives are a way consumers can protect themselves against the abuses of a monopolist.
- After all, in social media the users create all the content. Why shouldn't they appropriate some of the value they create?
- The idea behind the so-called Web 3.0 is very much in this direction.
- Crypto tokens as a way to reward people for their contribution on the platform
- The problem is whether the system can be completely decentralized.
- I doubt

2. Opensource Software

- Open-source software projects are built and maintained by a network of volunteer programmers (Linux and its derivative Android)
- Open-source evangelist Eric S. Raymond distinguishes between
 - The <u>cathedral model</u> of software development (highly centralized)
 - The bazaar model, decentralized where users are co-developers
- Advantages
 - 1. Lower cost
 - 2. Better quality
 - 3. Higher security
 - 4. No vendor 'lock in'
- Not fully decentralized: Open Source Software Institute

3. The Indian Stack System

- Public/private partnership
- National Id System (Adhaar)
- Universal Payment Interface (UPI)
- Stack system that enables interoperability
- Promotion of national champions (PayTM)

4. The Academic Network

- Academic knowledge is a network
- Johnathan Rauch (2021) calls it the "reality based community"
- This network is characterized by
 - Some trusted nodes
 - A process to resolve disagreement
 - No concentration of power in any node
- Joel Mokyr *2018) claim that it was precisely the fragmentation of political power in Europe that made credible that no political power took over the process
- This might be true today in the international arena

Can an International Organization Regulate Big Tech?

- At the international level, there is no democracy.
- Yet, in a monopoly-prone world there will be one or two nations in favor of protecting their monopolies and all the others try to prevent it.
- Thus, it is a natural balance you do not expect at the national level.
- In addition, it is difficult for the digital platform to bribe foreign governments into supporting them.
 - Explicit bribes are illegal and easy to detect.
 - "Electoral bribes" must to be custom-tailored for every country, making it difficult to administer and organize without being explicitly perceived to have done a corrupt deal.
 - In democratic countries, the forces in power know they will be a minority in the future and fear an excessive concentration of power that might be used against them.
 - Last but not least, no government that has a real chance to capture for itself the power of social media would be like to relinquish that chance. But the vast majority of countries are not in the situation.

- The vast majority of countries fear the concentrated power in somebody else hands more than they are attracted to the probability of grabbing that power.
- Thus, the prevailing of decentralized solutions has more chances to emerge if the vast majority of a committee fears the centralization of power.

Conclusions

- Regulating BigTech is an international problem.
- Only at the international level, there are the right incentives to introduce regulation.
- Only at the international level, effective regulation can be designed.
- Only at the international level, the potential conflict between BigTech superpowers can be deescalated.
- International regulation of technology is not just a desirable goal, it is a necessity to keep our world at peace.
- The international banking regulatory experience could be used as a model to introduce such regulation.