Mergers and Monopolies: The role of economics in antitrust enforcement

Nancy L. Rose

MIT Economics and HKS WEAI 100th Annual Conference Presidential Address June 22, 2025

"Antitrust has come into fashion"

Jennifer L. Rochon, US District Ct Judge, Southern District of NY Opinion & Order in FTC v. Tapestry & Capri, October 2024

FTC v. Tapestry and Capri Holdings, Nov 1, 2024, Case 1:24-cv-03109-JLR https://www.nysd.uscourts.gov/sites/default/files/2024-11/FTC%20V%20Tapestry.pdf

Antitrust enforcement is making headlines

Google loses advertising monopoly case

A Federal judge found Google "willfully engaged in anticompetitive acts" to control the ad server and ad exchange markets.

Anu Adegbola on April 17, 2025, Martech.com

U.S. judge blocks JetBlue's acquisition of Spirit, saying deal would hurt consumers

JANUARY 17, 2024 · 12:50 PM ET

By Ayana Archie

Meta's Fate Now Rests With a Judge

A landmark antitrust trial accusing the social media giant of cementing its dominance through acquiring Instagram and WhatsApp has concluded. New York Times, May 27, 2025

Kroger and Albertsons grocery megamerger halted by two courts

UPDATED DECEMBER 10, 20245:29 PM ET HEARD ON MORNING EDITION

Google loses massive antitrust case over its search dominance

UPDATED AUGUST 5, 2024 · 7:40 PM ET 🕕

By The Associated Press



The curious case of Epic Games: how the developer beat Google but not Apple

Mack DeGeurin 16 Dec 2023

The Fortnite maker filed antitrust suits against both tech companies - while one emerged victorious, the other was found at fault on 11 claims



Judge Blocks Luxury Fashion Deal, Citing Risk of Higher Handbag Prices

The F.T.C. had sued to halt the merger of Tapestry, the parent of Coach and Kate Spade, and Capri, the owner of Versace and Michael Kors. <u>New York Times, 10/24/2024</u>

How to assess this?

First, get on the same page

What is antitrust ("competition policy")?

- Laws that prohibit acquisition or exercise of market power *through anticompetitive behavior*
 - Collusion
 - Monopolization
 - Mergers
- US antitrust law does not prohibit exercise of market power acquired or maintained "fairly"
 - More restrictive "abuse of dominance" in EU and elsewhere
- *Law enforcement* in US ---relies on courts

Key US antitrust statutes

Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)

- Section 1: Cartels
- Section 2: Monopolization

Clayton Act (1914)

- Creates Federal Trade Commission
- Sec. 7 (1950 amendments) mergers

Hart-Scott-Rodino (1976)

Pre-merger notification

Case law determines interpretation

Key: Case law and enforcement involves judges

- Federal agencies (DOJ & FTC), state Attorneys General, private parties may challenge conduct under federal law
- Blocking or remedying the conduct requires a decision for the plaintiff (challenger) by a judge
 - Usually a federal District Court judge
 - Review by appellate and Supreme Court

Sounds like it's for lawyers-What role does economics play?

- 1. Economic institutions
- 2. Economics in action
 - Merger enforcement
 - Monopolization
- 3. The role of academic research: A case study

1. Economics in antitrust: Institutions

- Economics is integral part of enforcement
 - "Consumer welfare standard" is guiding principle
- DOJ Antitrust Division & FTC hire economists (lots!)
 So do litigation consulting firms
- Outside economic experts testify at trial
- Antitrust lawyers typically know some economics
- But judges rarely have economics *or* antitrust experience
 - Bridging this gap is critical at trial

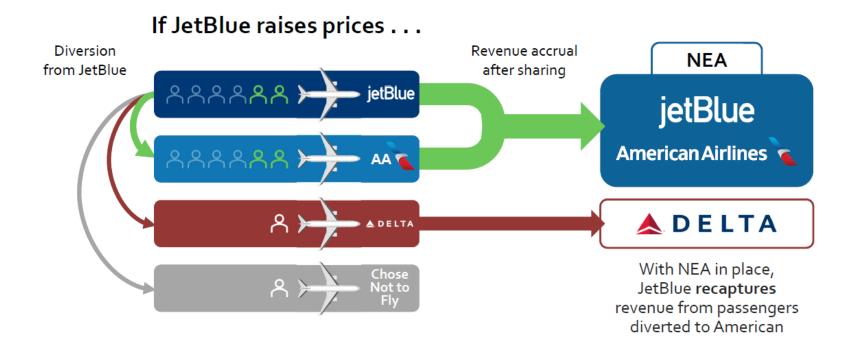
2. Economics in action: Mergers What role do economists play?

- Develop theory of competitive harm
- Define markets, compute shares and concentration
- Predict likely effect of merger
 - Unilateral effects: merging company incentives
 - Coordinated effects: e.g. rivals' responses, tacit collusion
- Evaluate efficiency claims or other rebuttal evidence
- Experts explain competitive harm at trial
 - Analytic evidence & competitive narrative

Example: AA/JetBlue Northeast Alliance (NEA) Expert explained similarity to merger

Revenue Sharing Raises Prices Because of Recapture Incentive

Illustrative example



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US v American Airlines & JetBlue, Case 1:21-cv-11558. Plaintiff Closing Argument Demonstrative, p. 17, https://www.justice.gov/atr/case-document/file/1552921/dl?inline

The combination creates significant market power

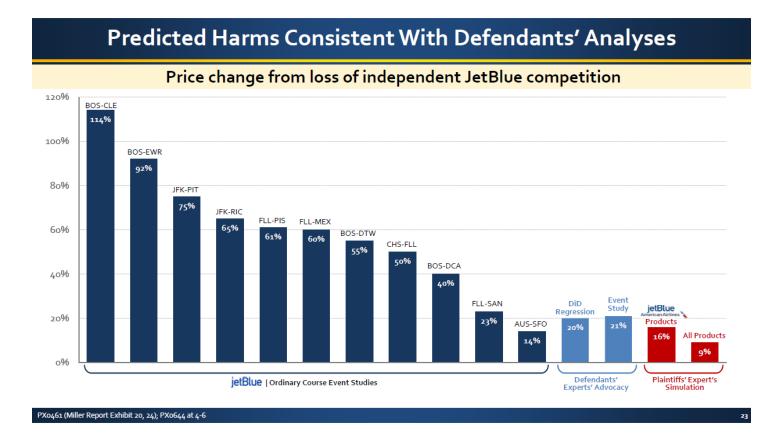
Market Shares Establish Market Power On Boston Routes

| | | 1 M 2 | | 3 |
|---|----------------------------------|--|------------------------|---|
| | Boston Overlap Markets | Combined Revenue Share (as of 2019) | Anticompetitive by HHI | 5 |
| 6 | Boston – Charlotte | 96.1% | \checkmark | |
| | Boston – Chicago | 48.5% | \checkmark | |
| | Boston – Dallas/Fort Worth | 83.6% | \checkmark | |
| | Boston – Los Angeles | 62.6% | \checkmark | |
| | Boston – Miami | 76.5% | \checkmark | |
| | Boston – New York City (JFK/LGA) | 49.8% | \checkmark | |
| | Boston – Philadelphia | 86.8% | \checkmark | |
| | Boston – Phoenix | 85.2% | \checkmark | |
| | Boston – Rochester | 86.2% | \checkmark | |
| | Boston – Syracuse | 82.1% | \checkmark | |
| | Boston – Washington, D.C. (DCA) | 88.0% | \checkmark | |
| | | | | |

PX0461 (Miller Report Exhibit 16)

US v American Airlines & JetBlue, Case 1:21-cv-11558. Plaintiff Closing Argument Demonstrative, p. 9, https://www.justice.gov/atr/case-document/file/1552921/dl?inline

AA/JetBlue: Expert event studies & merger simulations



US v American Airlines & JetBlue, Case 1:21-cv-11558. Plaintiff Closing Argument Demonstrative, p. 23, https://www.justice.gov/atr/case-document/file/1552921/dl?inline

Quantifying the predicted effect on consumers

- Estimate nested logit demand model for air travel
- Recover marginal costs inferred from FOC, assuming Bertrand-Nash competition
- Simulate alliance effects on post-alliance fares
- Show that "event study" estimates of fare changes from JetBlue entry/exit were similar

Economics in Action: Section 2 Monopolization Cases

Monopolization cases are back!

A sampling in big tech

- **Google search:** filed 2020, liability decision 2024, remedy hearing 5/2025, remedy decision expected summer 2025?
 - Then appeals....
- Google ad tech: Texas et al. filed 2020 (trial 2026). DOJ et al. (2023), decision 4/2025, remedies hearing in fall
- Facebook: FTC & states filed 2020, trial 5/2025.
- Amazon: FTC & states filed 2023, trial Oct 2026?
- **Apple:** DOJ & states filed 3/2024, briefed motion to dismiss
- **Google Play Store:** States v Google & private class action settled for \$700m 2024. Epic v Google (private jury suit) filed 2020, 2024 injunctions, under appeal.
- **Epic v Apple App Store** (filed 2020, injunction on antisteering 2024. Apple now in contempt)

What's the role for economists in these cases? Google search example

Govt economic experts in liability phase (was law violated?):

- 1) General search & search text advertising are well-defined markets
- 2) Google has **monopoly power** with 85-90% + share
- Google conduct was anticompetitive
 E.g., default search contracts with Apple & others denied rival search engines scale needed to compete
 - Behavioral economics influential in court decision
- 4) Procompetitive benefits did not outweigh harms

Judge Mehta held for DOJ and states on liability (violation)

Current phase in Google Search: Remedies

Economics plays a role here, too

The role of defaults & choice screens

Evidence from Recent Academic Studies

Sources of Markar Power in Web Search: Evidence from a Field Experiment Hunt Allcott, Juan Carnito Castillo, Matthew Gentzkow, Leen Musofff, and Tobias Salz NBER Working Paper No. 33410 January 2025 HL, No. L4, L86

ABSTRACT

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We evaluate the covernic forces that contribute to Google's large market is develop a model search engine demail is which consumer choices are costs, quelty beiefs, and institution, and estimate it using a field experiment uses. We find that (i) reguing Google users to make an activengines increases Bing's market share by only 1.1 percentage points, intrily play a limited rule; (ii) Google users who accept one payment to ry update positively about its relative quality, with .3 percent preletring to (iii) after changing the default tom Google to Hing, many users do not with persistent instantion. In our model, correcting beliefs and removing increase Bing's market thate by 15 percentage points and lincrease cours consume-yaar. Pulicies that expose users to alternative search engines share more than how rules rules exister exister. The results sugges cick-and-query data with Mensent trues have a linated first on market suggest

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A randomized controlled trials registry entry is available at https://www.socialsciencoregistry.org/trials/12884

2025 Allcott, et al. Study

We evaluate the economic forces that contribute to Google's large market share in web search. We develop a model of search engine demand in which consumer choices are influenced by switching costs, quality beliefs, and inattention, and estimate it using a field experiment with US desktop internet users. We find that (i) requiring Google users to make an active choice among search engines increases Bing's market share by only 1.1 percentage points, implying that switching costs play a limited role; (ii) Google users who accept our payment to try Bing for two weeks update positively about its relative quality, with 33 percent preferring to continue using it; and (iii) after changing the default from Google to Bing, many users do not switch back, consistent with persistent inattention. In our model, correcting beliefs and removing choice frictions would increase Bing's market share by 15 percentage points and increase consumer surplus by \$6 per consumer-year. Policies that expose users to alternative search engines lower Google's market share more than those requiring active choice. We then use Microsoft search logs to assess the impact of additional data on search result relevance. The results suggest that sharing Google's click-and-query data with Microsoft may have a limited effect on market shares.

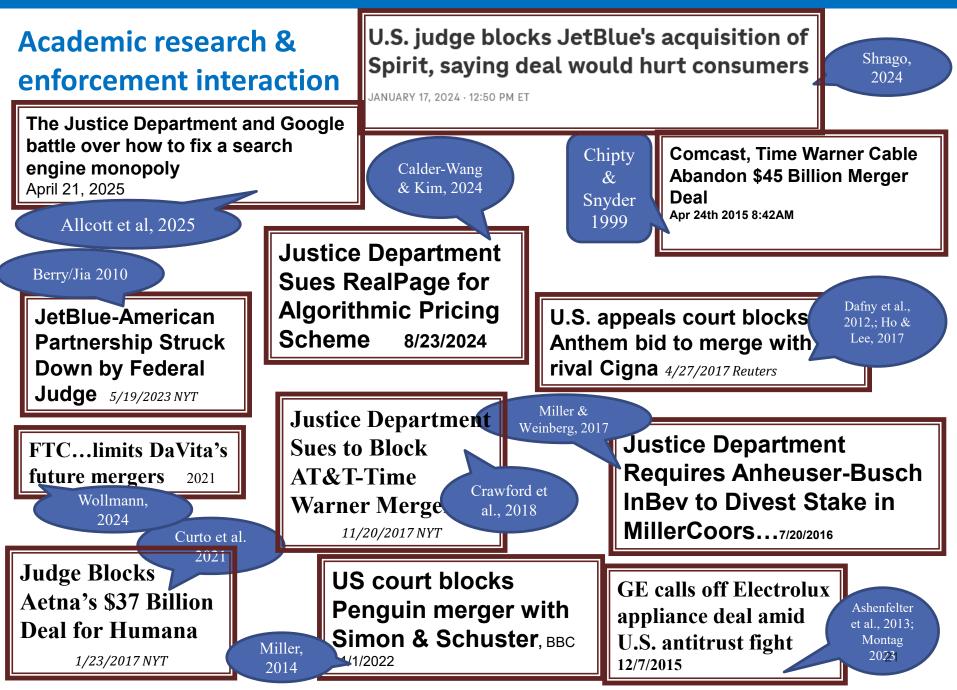
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Source: Hunt Allcott et al., "Sources of Market Power in Web Search: Evidence from a Field Experiment" (NBER Working Paper No. 33410, Cambridge, MA, January 2025), at 1.

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3. Research

How does economic research influence antitrust?



Scholarship impacts on enforcement:

Drilling down on labor market competition

Antitrust enforcers are (finally) paying increased attention to competition effects "upstream"

Particularly in labor markets

• Anticompetitive conduct

No-poach, wage-fixing, non-compete employment clauses

• Mergers that increase employer market power

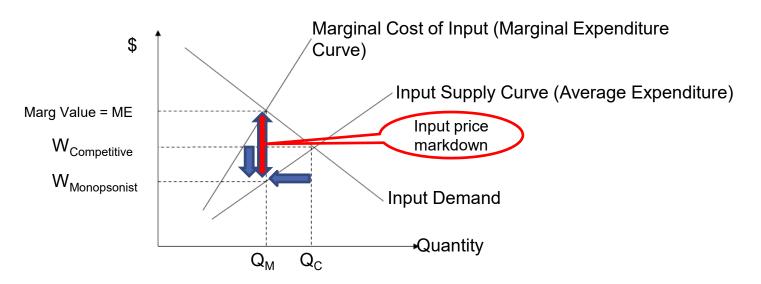
How do economists model upstream harm in markets with few buyers?

- Monopsony power
 - Markets with posted or uniform prices
- Bargaining leverage
 - Negotiated prices (bilateral market power)

Hemphill and Rose (Yale LJ 2018)

Monopsony power: posted prices

Monopsonists (one or few buyers) face upward-sloping input supply curves & restrict input use below competitive levels

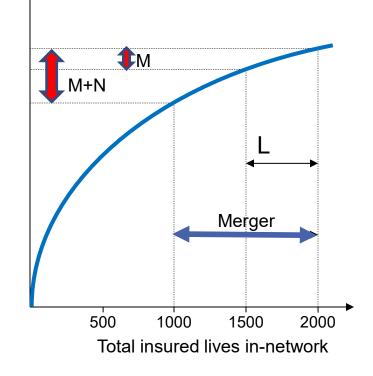


- Price paid for inputs and quantity fall, markdown widens, downstream harm
- Despite lower wages, there are NO efficiencies or cost reductions to pass downstream (perceived MC increases with monopsony power)

Bargaining leverage: negotiated prices

Example: Hospitals facing merger of health insurers

Value to hospital of being in additional insurance network



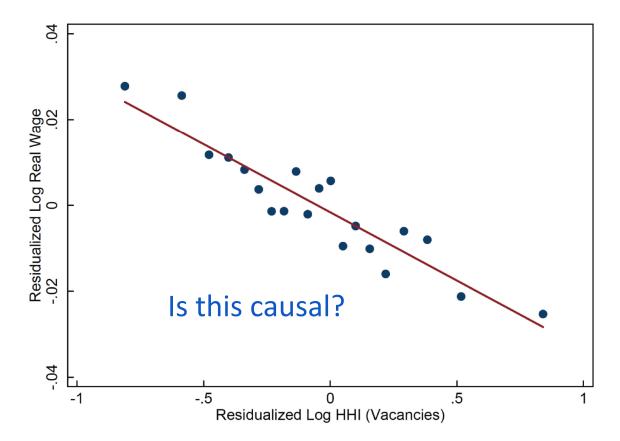
Merger of 2 insurers of size L allows the 2L insurer to bargain over M+N > 2M

Competition lets hospital negotiate better deal

"No deal" threat makes hospital worse off after merger, reducing payments by insurer

But is theory predictive in fact?

Empirical research starts to fill in gaps Wage – Concentration regressions



And what bounds a labor market?

- Geography?
- Occupations?
- Industries?

Azar, Marinescu, & Steinbaum, JHR 2022

Figure 7. Binned scatter of residualized log HHI based on vacancies and residualized log real wage. This figure shows a binned scatter plot of the residuals of a regression of log HHI (based on vacancy shares) on log tightness, CZ times SOC fixed effects, and CZ times year-quarter fixed effects and the residuals of a regression of log real wage in the same market, also on log tightness, CZ times SOC fixed effects, and CZ times year-quarter fixed effects.

Clearer evidence of competitive effects:

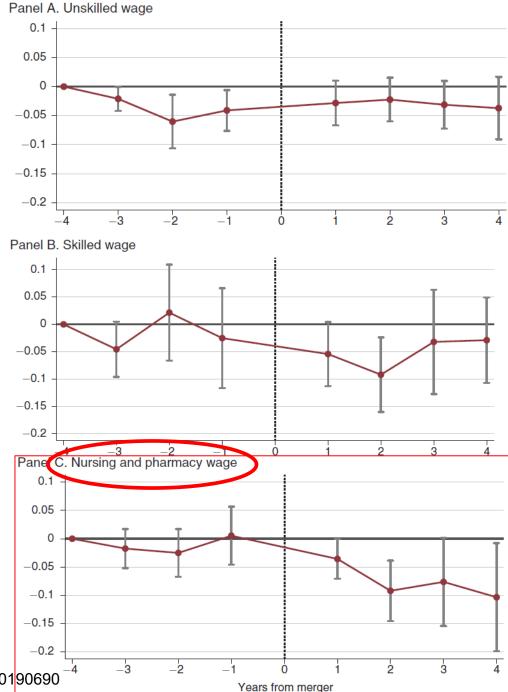
Local hospital mergers

Result: Hospital mergers that most increase concentration reduce wage growth– but only for industry-specific employees

Mergers with highest quartile change in concentration (presumptively anticompetitive), wage growth +/- 4 years of merger

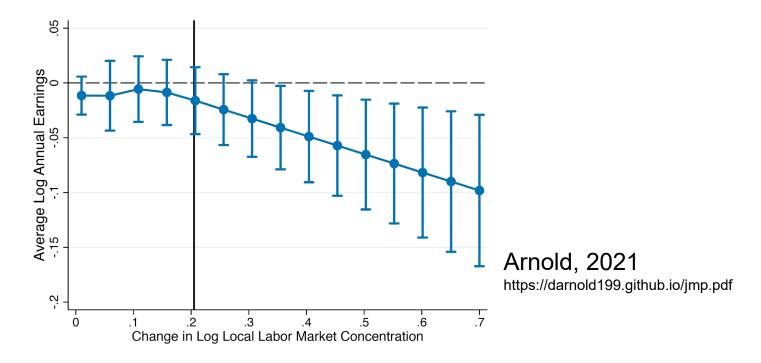
Prager & Schmitt, AER, 2021

https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aer.20190690



Looking across many mergers: Increases in local labor market concentration reduce earnings for affected workers

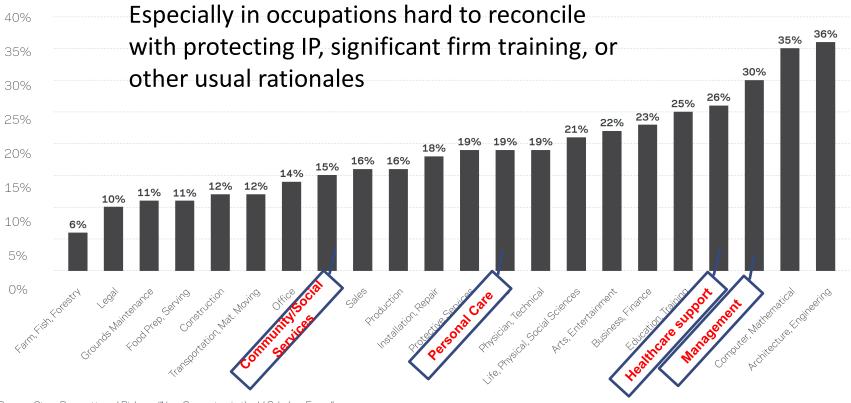
Figure 6: Market-Level (Excluding M&A Firms) Impacts by Predicted Change in Local La Market Concentration



Note: This figure reports the impact of M&A on market-level earnings as a function of the predicted change in log local labor market concentration. A market is defined as a 4-digit NAICS by commuting zone cell. Local labor market concentration is measured using the flows-adjusted concentration

Documenting rise of non-competes

Figure 2. Probability of Signing a Non-Compete Agreement (Based on Occupation)



Source: Starr, Prescott, and Bishara, "Non-Competes in the U.S. Labor Force"

https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2625714

Results?

Widespread no-poach enforcement

Apple, Google, Other Silicon Valley Tech Giants Ordered To Pay \$415M In No-Poaching Suit

AdC issues sanctioning decision for anticompetitive agreement in th labor market for the first time

Alex Wilhelm, Sarah Buhr / 1:02 PM EDT • September 3, 2015

COFECE sanctions football clubs in first no-poach probe

Julie Masson 24 September 2021



Turkey bolsters no-poach crackdown with

MORTGAGE

First American settles 'no-poach' allegations with New York AG

The \$4.5M agreement follows similar settlements with 'big four' title insurance underwriters Fidelity National Financial, Old Republic National Title Insurance and Stewart Title Guaranty

Aug. 25, 2023, 6:31 PM EDT

7th Cir. Revives Ex-McDonald's Workers' No-Poach Antitrust Suit

Boards, Policy & Regulation | Antitrust | Regulatory Oversight | Employment

EU antitrust regulators looking at company no poach deals, EU official says

By Foo Yun Chee

September 22, 2023 4:42 PM EDT - Updated 3 months ago



Settlement in \$48.9 million class-action suit against railway suppliers approved

Wabtec, Knorr-Bremse among companies that agreed not to hire competitors' employees

💭 Brian Straight 🛩 , Sunday, August 30, 2020

cross-sector fines

🖶 Print artic

Labor market harm in litigated mergers

Bertelsmann Penguin Random House/Simon & Schuster (2022)

Case rested on alleged harm to authors (upstream only)

- Particularly authors of anticipated topselling books
- Merger would depress author advances and reduce quantity and variety of titles by eliminating head-to-head competition
- And facilitate coordination among remaining Big Five Publishers

Stephen King Testifies That Merger Between Publishing Giants Would Hurt Writers.

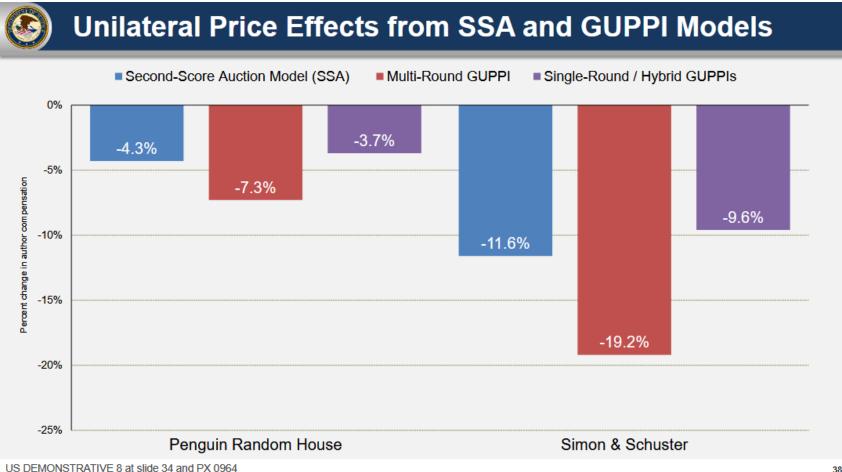
"Consolidation is bad for competition," Mr. King said in the trial that will determine whether Penguin Random House may acquire Simon & Schuster.



This article is part of our <u>Daily Business Briefing</u>



Economic estimates of merger harm to authors



Court opinion (2022)

Judge Pan held for US on both unilateral and coordinated effects harm to authors of anticipated top sellers, with no apparent concern about novelty of labor market case

"The post-merger concentration of the relevant market would be concerningly high...[with] strong evidence of likely unilateral effects and coordinated effects that would hurt competition... [especially for] targeted sellers - the authors of anticipated top-selling books. Those authors have unique needs and preferences, have fewer outlets that can satisfy their requirements, and therefore are vulnerable to anticompetitive behavior."

US v. Bertelsmann et al., Case 1:21-cv-02886-FYP, Nov. 15, 2022. https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/district-of-columbia/dcdce/1:2021cv02886/237043/196/

The forecast for labor market antitrust?

- Strong economic and legal basis for competition law protecting upstream competition
- But the headwinds against enforcement that exist for enforcers in downstream markets in many jurisdictions are at least as strong for upstream/labor markets
- More to be done to ensure competition benefits for workers & suppliers, just as for purchasers

In conclusion

Economics provides models & empirical tools for rigorous assessment of harm

Insistence on a strong economic framework can discipline decisions & minimize politicization

But much work remains- roll up our sleeves!



Thank you

Monopolization case citations

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 - TEXAS et al. ad tech (2020): https://www.courtlistener.com/docket/60181878/the-state-of-texas-v-google-llc/
 - Trial pushed back, currently August 2026
- Facebook: FTC & states filed 2020, trial 5/2025
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 - State of Utah at al v Google (2021) settled with class action plaintiffs for \$700m. <u>https://www.courtlistener.com/docket/60042641/state-of-utah-v-google-llc/</u>
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- **Epic v Apple** (2020). App store monopolization. Judge ruled for Apple on all but CA Code of Fair Competition violation (2021), issuing injunction on antisteering provisions. 9th Circ denied appeal to pause injunction, S. Ct. declined to hear case.
 - <u>https://cand.uscourts.gov/cases-e-filing/cases-of-interest/epic-games-inc-v-apple-inc/</u>
 - Apple held in contempt for noncompliance with antisteering injunction (2025): <u>https://business.cch.com/ald/EpicGamesIncvAppleInc522025.pdf</u>

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- Academic work: Hunt Allcott, Juan Camilo Castillo, Matthew Gentzkow, Leon Musolff & Tobias Salz (2025), "Sources of Market Power in Web Search: Evidence from a Field Experiment," <u>NBER Working Paper 33410</u>, Rev. May 2025.

Comcast and Time Warner Cable merger (abandoned 2015)

- FCC docket: <u>https://www.fcc.gov/proceedings-actions/mergers-transactions/comcast-time-warner-cable-mb-docket-14-57</u>
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- DOJ filings: <u>https://www.justice.gov/atr/case/us-and-plaintiff-states-v-realpage-inc</u>
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 - Takuo Sugaya and Alexander Wolitzky, "<u>Collusion with Optimal Information Disclosure</u>," MIT Working Paper, January 2025.

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Cases and academic work

SABMiller and Molson Coors joint venture: <u>https://www.justice.gov/archive/atr/public/press_releases/2008/233845.pdf</u>

US v Anheuser-Busch InBev SA/NV and SABMiller, plc. (2016) <u>https://www.justice.gov/atr/case/us-v-anheuser-busch-inbev-sanv-and-sabmiller-plc</u>

Academic work:

- Nathan H. Miller and Matthew C. Weinberg, "<u>Understanding the Price Effects of the MillerCoors Joint Venture</u>," *Econometrica*, 85 (2017): 1763-1791.
- Orley Ashenfelter, Daniel Hosken, Matthew C. Weinberg, "Efficiencies Brewed: Pricing and Consolidation in U.S. Brewing," *RAND Journal of Economics*, 46 (2015): 328-361.

US and Plaintiff States v Aetna and Humana

- DOJ documents and decision: <u>https://www.justice.gov/atr/case/us-and-plaintiff-states-v-aetna-inc-and-humana-inc</u>
- Academic work:
 - Vilna Curto, Liran Einav, Amy Finkelstein, and Jay Bhattacharya, "<u>Can Health Insurance Competition Work? Evidence from</u> <u>Medicare Advantage</u>," *Journal of Political Economy*, 129 (2021): 570-606.

US v Bertelsmann, Penguin Random House,...& Simon & Schuster, Case 1:21-cv-02886-FYP

- DOJ documents and decision: <u>https://www.justice.gov/atr/case/us-v-bertelsmann-se-co-kgaa-et-al</u>
- Academic work:
 - Nathan H. Miller, "Modeling the Effects of Mergers in Procurement," International Journal of Industrial Organization, 37 (2014): 201-208.

US v Electrolux and General Electric

- DOJ case documents (no decision, merger abandoned during trial): <u>https://www.justice.gov/atr/case/us-v-ab-electrolux-electrolux-north-america-inc-and-general-electric-company</u>
- Academic work:
 - Orley C. Ashenfelter, Daniel S. Hosken, and Matthew C. Weinberg, "<u>The Price Effects of a Large Merger of Manufacturers:</u> <u>A Case Study of Maytag-Whirlpool,</u>" *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy,* 5 (2013): 239-261.
 - Felix Montag, "<u>Mergers, Foreign Competition, and Jobs: Evidence from the US Appliance Industry</u>," 2025.

A few more examples of scholarship impacts on antitrust

- Methodological advances in merger simulation (BLP demand estimation, upward pricing pressure, price leadership... LOTS)
- Enforcement resources (Kades, 2019; Wollmann, 2019)
- Merger retrospectives in product markets (Kwoka, 2015; Asker & Nocke, 2021; and scores of others)
- Merger efficiencies (Rose & Sallet, 2020)
- Bargaining leverage (Doudchenko & Yurukoglu, 2016)
- Upstream harm (Hemphill & Rose, 2018)
- Merger impacts on labor markets (Prager & Schmitt, 2021, Arnold 2021)
- Potential competition & killer acquisitions (Cunningham et al. 2021)
- Stealth acquisitions (Wollmann 2019, 2020; Kepler et al. 2021)
- Vertical mergers & contracting (Crawford et al. 2018)
- Structural presumptions (Nocke & Whinston, 2022)
- Platform competition (Rochet & Tirole, 2003)
- Power of defaults in search (Allcott et al. 2025)
- And many many more.....