Substituting Away? The Effect of Platform Bargaining Regulation on Content Display

Marita Freimane (KU Leuven & University of Zurich)

CEPR Online Event on News Bargaining Codes

April 4, 2023



- Policy Issue: Large platforms can leverage their market power when negotiating with suppliers to appropriate most, or even all, of the surplus.
 - → Particular concern if the weaker party generates a **social** henefit.



- Policy Issue: Large platforms can leverage their market power when negotiating with suppliers to appropriate most, or even all, of the surplus.
 - → Particular concern if the weaker party generates a **social** henefit.



- Regulatory Response: Australia passed a novel regulation mandating platforms to bargain with news content providers.
 - → Increases the bargaining power of the news content providers enabling redistribution of the surplus.

- Policy Issue: Large platforms can leverage their market power when negotiating with suppliers to appropriate most, or even all, of the surplus.
 - → Particular concern if the weaker party generates a **social benefit**.



- Regulatory Response: Australia passed a novel regulation mandating platforms to bargain with news content providers.
 - → Increases the bargaining power of the news content providers enabling redistribution of the surplus.
- This study: Implementing such regulation can have unintended consequences because the **platform** may **respond by altering** its **algorithm**.
 - --- Can lead to **changes** in what **media content** is **prioritized**.

Bargaining-based regulation leverages private information while strengthening the weaker party

Bargaining-based regulation leverages private information while strengthening the weaker party

- Regulators suffer from asymmetric information due to highly heterogeneous goods and zero or unobservable prices in digital markets
 - \longrightarrow This regulation **leverages private information** of the bargaining parties

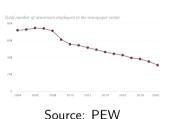
Bargaining-based regulation leverages private information while strengthening the weaker party

- Regulators suffer from asymmetric information due to highly heterogeneous goods and zero or unobservable prices in digital markets
 - \longrightarrow This regulation **leverages private information** of the bargaining parties
- Bargaining parties required to come to an agreement within a fixed timeframe
- Otherwise they have to **submit a final offer** to an arbitrator who chooses one of the two offers
 - \longrightarrow Incentivizes negotiated deals and 'reasonable' offers if the arbitration stage is reached [Çelen and Özgür, 2018]

Regulators target the news industry as it provides an important social good, but struggles financially

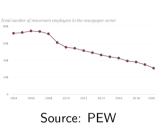
Regulators target the news industry as it provides an important social good, but struggles financially

- News media companies struggle financially due to
 - Low consumer willingness to pay for online news [Park et al., 2021]
 - Increased reliance on online advertising, a highly concentrated industry dominated by Google [Srinivasan, 2020]



Regulators target the news industry as it provides an important social good, but struggles financially

- News media companies struggle financially due to
 - Low consumer willingness to pay for online news [Park et al., 2021]
 - Increased **reliance on** online **advertising**, a highly concentrated industry dominated by Google [Srinivasan, 2020]



- Aggregator platforms such as Google and Facebook display news content but do not compensate publishers for it.
- ▶ Mandated bargaining between platforms & news publishers aims to
 - → **Alleviate** the **financial pressures** on the news media industry
 - --- Ensure the continued provision of quality journalism

Support for mandated platform payments to news publishers is growing with similar regulations considered in Canada, the UK and the US

Canada introduces legislation to compel Facebook, Google to pay for news

Reuters · 18 days ago



Tech giants like Google and Facebook will have to pay UK news publishers under new plans

iNews · 30 Jan



Sen. Klobuchar: Local media needs to be able to compete with Big Tech for ad dollars

CNN · 6 Feb



Research Question

Research Question: What happens to content on Google News once Google has to pay for news?

Research Question and Summary of Findings

- Research Question: What happens to content on Google News once Google has to pay for news?
- Summary of Findings: The regulation significantly affects what content is displayed by the Google News algorithm.
 - Larger **foreign** news websites **gain** content shares
 - Larger domestic news websites lose content shares
 - More substitution where more alternatives available, such as in global news topics

What do we know about aggregator platforms and their relationship with content providers?

- Bargaining-based media market regulation can improve total welfare and never harms consumers: Sandrini and Somogyi [2022]
- Proportional monetary transfers affect how/which content is displayed: Chen and He [2011], Bourreau and Gaudin [2022], De Corniere and Taylor [2014], De Corniere and Taylor [2019], De Corniere and Sarvary [2023]
- Content display has an effect on how/which content is consumed: Jeon and Nasr [2016], Calzada and Gil [2020], Dellarocas et al. [2016], Claussen et al. [2019]

Australian Mandatory News Media Bargaining Code

- Competition-law based regulation developed with **Google** & **Facebook** in mind.
- Enacted in March 2021, does not apply as no platform has been formally designated under the regulation.
- ► Threat of regulation sufficient for both Google and Facebook to conclude a number of licensing deals with publishers.
- Applies to news websites
 - Targeting the **Australian market** (Hypothesis 1)
 - Having a minimum turnover of 150 000 AUD (Hypothesis 2)
 - Publishing news on issues significant to Australians

Licensing deals between Google and news websites

- Deals yielding over AUD200 million per annum to Australian news businesses [Sims, 2022].
- Lump-sum take-it-or-leave-it offers to smaller news websites
 - Based on audience size, volume of content, subscription prices & journalist employment costs [Turvill, 2021].
- Customized offers to larger news websites, including ad revenue sharing

The News Corp. agreement includes the development of a subscription platform, the

sharing of ad revenue via Google's ad technology services, the cultivation of audio journalism, and meaningful investments in innovative video journalism by YouTube.

Excerpt from a News Corp press release [News Corp, 2021]

Expected effects of changes in relative prices of news by type of news website

(H1) News from **domestic** news websites become relatively more **costly**



Substitute towards news from (larger) **foreign** news websites

(H2) Cost of news from large domestic news websites vary with content volume

Substitute towards news from **smaller** domestic news websites



Expected effects of changes in relative prices of news by type of news website

(H1) News from **domestic** news websites become relatively more **costly**



Substitute towards news from (larger) **foreign** news websites

(H2) Cost of news from **large domestic** news websites **vary** with **content volume**

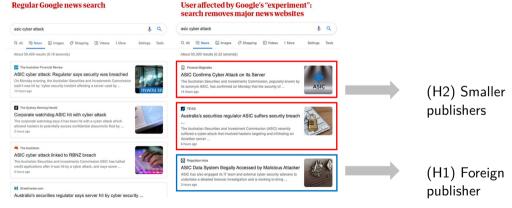


Substitute towards news from **smaller** domestic news websites

However, substitution might be limited by the availability of appropriate substitutes.



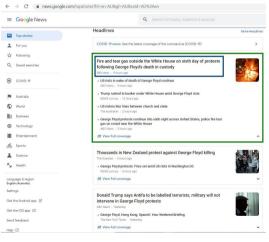
Google experimented with its algorithm prior to the enactment of the Bargaining Code



Source: The Guardian

Introduction Regulation Data Empirical Strategy Results Conclusion 00000 ●0 0000 000 000 000

I scrape data from the front page of the Google News aggregator for 8 months before & after the regulation



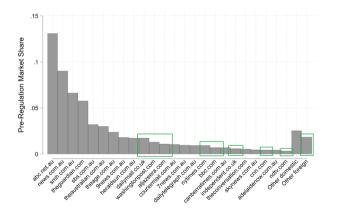
From Google News

- ► Topic "Headlines", "World" & "Australia"
- Rank of news stories & articles
- News outlet name & website
- ► Time when article published & when scraped

Additional

Country of the news website

Summary Statistics - Article shares by news website - Foreign websites



The **distribution** of articles is highly **skewed**

- **805** news websites in the sample at least once
- On average, **31** (2.67) news websites have at least 1 article per day

Difference-in-differences analysis: Choosing a control group

I choose news websites in **New Zealand** respectively **South Africa** as the control groups

- Like in Australia, news market mostly domestic but with a considerable share of news from the UK, the US and other English language speaking countries
- No upcoming regulation nor participation in Google News Showcase licensing program during the period studied

Detailed Summary Statistics

$$\begin{aligned} Y_{itc} &= \alpha_1 + \beta_1 A \textit{fter}_t \\ &+ \gamma_1 A \textit{fter}_t \times \textit{Dom}_{ic} \\ &+ \gamma_2 A \textit{fter}_t \times \textit{MS}_{ic} \\ &+ \delta_1 A \textit{fter}_t \times \textit{MS}_{ic} \times \textit{Dom}_{ic} + \\ &+ \gamma_3 \mathsf{AU}_\mathsf{c} \times \mathsf{After}_\mathsf{t} \\ &+ \delta_2 \mathsf{AU}_\mathsf{c} \times \mathsf{After}_\mathsf{t} \times \mathsf{Dom}_{ic} \\ &+ \delta_3 \mathsf{AU}_\mathsf{c} \times \mathsf{After}_\mathsf{t} \times \mathsf{MS}_{ic} \\ &+ \eta_1 \mathsf{AU}_\mathsf{c} \times \mathsf{After}_\mathsf{t} \times \mathsf{MS}_{ic} \times \mathsf{Dom}_{ic} \\ &+ \psi_{it} + \mu_{ic} + \upsilon_t + \varepsilon_{itc} \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \textbf{Y}_{itc} &= \alpha_1 + \beta_1 A \textit{fter}_t \\ &+ \gamma_1 A \textit{fter}_t \times \textit{Dom}_{ic} \\ &+ \gamma_2 A \textit{fter}_t \times \textit{MS}_{ic} \\ &+ \delta_1 A \textit{fter}_t \times \textit{MS}_{ic} \times \textit{Dom}_{ic} + \\ &+ \gamma_3 \textbf{A} \textbf{U}_c \times \textbf{A} \textit{fter}_t \\ &+ \delta_2 \textbf{A} \textbf{U}_c \times \textbf{A} \textit{fter}_t \times \textbf{Dom}_{ic} \\ &+ \delta_3 \textbf{A} \textbf{U}_c \times \textbf{A} \textit{fter}_t \times \textbf{MS}_{ic} \\ &+ \eta_1 \textbf{A} \textbf{U}_c \times \textbf{A} \textit{fter}_t \times \textbf{MS}_{ic} \times \textbf{Dom}_{ic} \\ &+ \psi_{it} + \mu_{ic} + \upsilon_t + \varepsilon_{itc} \end{aligned}$$

Outcome: daily article share per country and news website

$$\begin{aligned} Y_{itc} &= \alpha_1 + \beta_1 A f t e r_t \\ &+ \gamma_1 A f t e r_t \times Dom_{ic} \\ &+ \gamma_2 A f t e r_t \times M S_{ic} \\ &+ \delta_1 A f t e r_t \times M S_{ic} \times Dom_{ic} + \\ &+ \gamma_3 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r_t} \\ &+ \delta_2 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r_t} \times \mathbf{D} \mathbf{o} \mathbf{m}_{ic} \\ &+ \delta_3 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r_t} \times \mathbf{M} \mathbf{S}_{ic} \\ &+ \eta_1 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r_t} \times \mathbf{M} \mathbf{S}_{ic} \times \mathbf{D} \mathbf{o} \mathbf{m}_{ic} \\ &+ \psi_{it} + \mu_{ic} + \upsilon_t + \varepsilon_{itc} \end{aligned}$$

Outcome: daily article share per country and news website

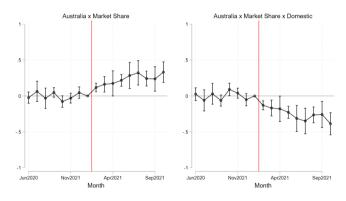
$$\begin{aligned} Y_{itc} &= \alpha_1 + \beta_1 A f t e r_t \\ &+ \gamma_1 A f t e r_t \times Dom_{ic} \\ &+ \gamma_2 A f t e r_t \times M S_{ic} \\ &+ \delta_1 A f t e r_t \times M S_{ic} \times Dom_{ic} + \\ &+ \gamma_3 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r_t} \\ &+ \delta_2 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r_t} \times \mathbf{D} \mathbf{o} \mathbf{m_{ic}} \\ &+ \delta_3 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r_t} \times \mathbf{M} \mathbf{S_{ic}} \\ &+ \eta_1 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r_t} \times \mathbf{M} \mathbf{S_{ic}} \times \mathbf{D} \mathbf{o} \mathbf{m_{ic}} \\ &+ \psi_{it} + \mu_{ic} + \upsilon_t + \varepsilon_{itc} \end{aligned}$$

Outcome: daily article share per country and news website

Don't expect an effect

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{Y}_{itc} &= \alpha_1 + \beta_1 A f t e r_t \\ &+ \gamma_1 A f t e r_t \times Dom_{ic} \\ &+ \gamma_2 A f t e r_t \times M S_{ic} \\ &+ \delta_1 A f t e r_t \times M S_{ic} \times Dom_{ic} + \\ &+ \gamma_3 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r}_t \\ &+ \delta_2 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r}_t \\ &+ \delta_3 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r}_t \times \mathbf{M} \mathbf{S}_{ic} \\ &+ \eta_1 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r}_t \times \mathbf{M} \mathbf{S}_{ic} \\ &+ \eta_1 \mathbf{A} \mathbf{U_c} \times \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{r}_t \times \mathbf{M} \mathbf{S}_{ic} \\ &+ \psi_{it} + \mu_{ic} + \upsilon_t + \varepsilon_{itc} \end{aligned} \end{aligned}$$
 Don't expect an effect on (large) foreign news websites $\mathbf{H} \mathbf{y} \mathbf{p} \mathbf{v} \mathbf{h} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{s} \mathbf{i} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{$

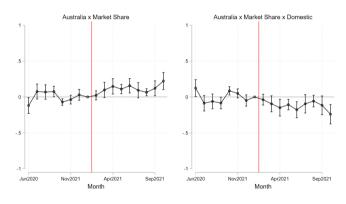
Parallel Pre-Trends - Monthly - New Zealand







Parallel Pre-Trends - Monthly - South Africa







Introduction Regulation Data Empirical Strategy Results Conclusion

Share of articles per news website - Across all articles in Headlines, World and Australian news

	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	0.000
1.Australia × 1.After	(0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic	0.000)	0.000)
1.Australia × 1.After × 1.Domestic		
1.Australia × 1.After × c.ArticleShare	(0.001)	(0.000)
1.Australia × 1.Arter × c.ArticleSnare	0.383***	0.327***
1.4	(0.111)	(0.098)
$1. Australia \times 1. After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1. Domestic$	-0.469***	-0.352***
	(0.153)	(0.123)
Constant	0.001***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	595,023	554,246
R-squared	0.021	0.009
Websites	1,387	1,298
Time Periods	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level



Share of articles per news website - Across all articles in Headlines, World and Australian news

	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
$1.Australia \times 1.After$	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.383***	0.327***
	(0.111)	(0.098)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.469***	-0.352***
	(0.153)	(0.123)
Constant	0.001***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	595,023	554,246
R-squared	0.021	0.009
Websites	1,387	1,298
Time Periods	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

1% pre-treatment article share foreign news website $\longrightarrow 0.33\text{-}0.38\%$ pt increase



 Introduction
 Regulation
 Data
 Empirical Strategy
 Results
 Conclusion

 00000
 000
 000
 ●000
 000

Share of articles per news website - Across all articles in Headlines, World and Australian news

	(1)	(2)
	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.383***	0.327***
	(0.111)	(0.098)
1.Australia $ imes 1$.After $ imes$ c.ArticleShare $ imes 1$.Domestic	-0.469***	-0.352***
	(0.153)	(0.123)
Constant	0.001***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
	()	()
Observations	595,023	554,246
R-squared	0.021	0.009
Websites	1,387	1,298
Time Periods	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	· /	1
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE
Website FE	✓	

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** p < 0.01 ** p < 0.05 * p < 0.1

- ightharpoonup 1% pre-treatment article share foreign news website ightharpoonup 0.33-0.38% pt increase
- 1% pre-treatment article share domestic news website \longrightarrow **net** 0.03-0.09% pt **decrease**



Heterogeneity Analysis: World news and Australian news

	(1)	(2)
	World news	Australian news
	DiD ZA	DiD ZA
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic	0.002	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.002)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.699**	0.108
	(0.283)	(0.144)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.883***	-0.121
	(0.334)	(0.180)
Constant	0.002***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.002)
Observations	444.015	130.416
R-squared	0.025	0.003
Websites	1,035	304
Time Periods	429	429
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1



Introduction

Heterogeneity Analysis: World news and Australian news

	(1)	(2)
	World news	Australian news
	DiD ZA	DiD ZA
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.002	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.002)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.699**	0.108
	(0.283)	(0.144)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.883***	-0.121
	(0.334)	(0.180)
Constant	0.002***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.002)
Observations	444,015	130,416
R-squared	0.025	0.003
Websites	1,035	304
Time Periods	429	429
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1



Introduction

Heterogeneity Analysis: World news and Australian news

	(1)	(2)
	World news	Australian news
	DiD ZA	DiD ZA
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic	0.002	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.002)
1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare	0.699**	0.108
	(0.283)	(0.144)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.883***	-0.121
	(0.334)	(0.180)
Constant	0.002***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.002)
Observations	444,015	130,416
R-squared	0.025	0.003
Websites	1.035	304
Time Periods	429	429
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** p<0.01 *** p<0.05 * p<0.01

More substitution in World news where more substitutes available



The results are robust to

- ► Heterogeneity analysis by prominence Prominence
- ▶ Placebo tests with news websites in NZ and IE as 'treated' units Placebo
- Aggregating by newspaper ownership By Ownership
- Using article count instead of article share as outcome variable Article Count
- Including country-specific time-trend Linear Trend
- ► Including fixed effects by news website country Website-Country FE
- Using per-hour (non-aggregated) data

 Introduction
 Regulation
 Data
 Empirical Strategy
 Results
 Conclusion

 00000
 000
 000
 000
 000
 000

Share of Articles per news website - Aggregated by Owner

	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
	0.000	0.000
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.383***	0.327***
	(0.110)	(0.099)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.496***	-0.380***
	(0.150)	(0.112)
Constant	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	557,271	515,389
R-squared	0.020	0.009
Websites	1,299	1,207
Time Periods	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Share of Articles per news website - Aggregated by Owner

	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.383***	0.327***
	(0.110)	(0.099)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.496***	-0.380***
	(0.150)	(0.112)
Constant	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	557,271	515,389
R-squared	0.020	0.009
Websites	1,299	1,207
Time Periods	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** p < 0.01. ** p < 0.05. * p < 0.1

1% pre-treatment article share foreign news website \longrightarrow **0.33-0.38%** pt increase

Share of Articles per news website - Aggregated by Owner

	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.383***	0.327***
	(0.110)	(0.099)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.496***	-0.380***
	(0.150)	(0.112)
Constant	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	557,271	515,389
R-squared	0.020	0.009
Websites	1,299	1,207
Time Periods	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1

1% pre-treatment article share foreign news website $\longrightarrow 0.33\text{-}0.38\%$ pt increase

▶ 1% pre-treatment article share domestic news website → net 0.05-0.1% pt decrease

Share of Articles per news website - Aggregated by Owner

	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.383***	0.327***
	(0.110)	(0.099)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.496***	-0.380***
	(0.150)	(0.112)
Constant	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	557,271	515,389
R-squared	0.020	0.009
Websites	1,299	1,207
Time Periods	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 1% pre-treatment article share foreign news website $\longrightarrow 0.33\text{-}0.38\%$ pt increase

- ightharpoonup 1% pre-treatment article share domestic news website \longrightarrow **net** 0.05-0.1% pt **decrease**
- The estimated negative effect on domestic news websites is larger and more precise.

Introduction Regulation Data Empirical Strategy Results Conclusion

00000 000 000 000 ●00

Discussion and Conclusion

Summary

Provide causal evidence that bargaining-based platform regulation affects which content is displayed.

Takeaways

- Google as a gatekeeper platform has some ability to substitute towards less expensive content. It is nevertheless constrained by consumer demand and available substitutes.
- ▶ Mandate of lump-sum payments and coordination across jurisdictions can further limit the incentives and ability of the platform to alter its ranking.

Open Questions

Are newspapers and consumers **better or worse off overall**, after taking into account transfers?

- Does the effect on Google News content translate into a considerable effect on web traffic and consequently affect the market structure?
- Does the effect on Google News content translate into a considerable effect on quality of news that reach the consumers?

Thank you!

@MaritaFreimane
marita.freimane@business.uzh.ch
sites.google.com/view/maritafreimane

References I

- Marc Bourreau and Germain Gaudin. Streaming platform and strategic recommendation bias. Journal of Economics & Management Strategy, 31(1):25–47, 2022.
- Brantly Callaway, Andrew Goodman-Bacon, and Pedro HC Sant'Anna. Difference-in-differences with a continuous treatment. arXiv preprint arXiv:2107.02637, 2021.
- Joan Calzada and Ricard Gil. What do news aggregators do? Evidence from Google News in Spain and Germany. *Marketing Science*, 39(1):134–167, 2020.
- Boğaçhan Çelen and Onur Ozgür. Final-offer arbitration with uncertainty averse parties. *Games and Economic Behavior*, 109:484–500, 2018.
- Yongmin Chen and Chuan He. Paid placement: Advertising and search on the internet. *The Economic Journal*, 121(556):F309–F328, 2011.
- Jörg Claussen, Christian Peukert, and Ananya Sen. The editor vs. the algorithm: Targeting, data and externalities in online news. 2019.
- Alexandre De Corniere and Miklos Sarvary. Social media and news: Content bundling and news quality. *Management Science*, 69(1):162–178, 2023.

References II

- Alexandre De Corniere and Greg Taylor. Integration and search engine bias. *The RAND Journal of Economics*, 45(3):576–597, 2014.
- Alexandre De Corniere and Greg Taylor. A model of biased intermediation. *The RAND Journal of Economics*, 50(4):854–882, 2019.
- Chrysanthos Dellarocas, Juliana Sutanto, Mihai Calin, and Elia Palme. Attention allocation in information-rich environments: the case of news aggregators. *Management Science*, 62(9): 2543–2562, 2016.
- Doh-Shin Jeon and Nikrooz Nasr. News aggregators and competition among newspapers on the internet. *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics*, 8(4):91–114, 2016.
- News Corp. News corp and google agree to global partnership on news, Feb 2021. URL https://newscorp.com/2021/02/17/
 - news-corp-and-google-agree-to-global-partnership-on-news/. Online; accessed 13 May 2021.
- Andreas Olden and Jarle Møen. The triple difference estimator. *The Econometrics Journal*, 25 (3):531–553, 2022.

References III

- Sora Park, Caroline Fisher, Kieran McGuinness, Jee Young Lee, and Kerry McCallum. Digital news report: Australia 2021, 2021.
- Ashesh Rambachan and Jonathan Roth. A more credible approach to parallel trends. *Review of Economic Studies*, Forthcoming.
- Luca Sandrini and Robert Somogyi. News media bargaining codes. Working Papers 22-06, NET Institute, 2022.
- Rod Sims. The logic behind Australia's news media bargaining code, 2022. URL https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/
 - logic-behind-australias-news-media-bargaining-code. Online; accessed 10 March 2023.
- Dina Srinivasan. Why Google dominates advertising markets competition policy should lean on the principles of financial market regulation. *Stanford Technology Law Review*, 24(1), 2020.
- William Turvill. News Shh-owcase... the secrets behind Google's \$1bn scheme, Oct 2021. URL https://pressgazette.co.uk/google-news-showcase/. Online; accessed 13 May 2021.



Summary Statistics - Distribution of Variables - Australia

	Before						After					
	Mean	Sd	p25	p50	p75	Max	Mean	Sd	p25	p50	p75	Max
All Articles												
Per Time Period	233	17	221	235	245	276	234	19	224	236	246	280
Per news website	0.31	2.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	71	0.31	2.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	68
Share per news website	0.001	0.011	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.289	0.001	0.012	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.281
New Articles												
Per Time Period	87	15	76	86	97	122	87	16	77	87	97	130
Per News Website	0.14	1.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	31	0.14	1.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	31
Share per News Website	0.002	0.012	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.316	0.002	0.012	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.313
Share by Country												
Domestic	0.86	0.04	0.83	0.86	0.88	0.95	0.86	0.04	0.83	0.85	0.88	0.95
United States	0.06	0.02	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.13	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.07	0.10
United Kingdom	0.06	0.02	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.13	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.07	0.10
Other	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.11
Other												
News Website Count	31.07	5.04	28.00	30.00	34.00	43	31.50	4.59	29.00	31.00	34.00	49
Article Duration (Hours)	13.20	11.40	3.00	11.00	21.00	129	13.07	11.12	3.00	11.00	21.00	85

Summary Statistics - Overview

Summary Statistics - Distribution of Variables - Australia, South Africa and New Zealand

	Before						After					
	Austra	lia	South	Africa	New Z	ealand	Austra	lia	South	Africa	New Z	ealand
	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd
All Articles												
Per Time Period	233	17.33	220	19.74	204	26.00	234	18.87	213	22.21	212	20.36
Per News Website	0.31	2.67	0.32	2.75	0.34	3.43	0.31	2.76	0.31	2.94	0.35	3.69
Share per News Website	0.001	0.01	0.001	0.01	0.002	0.02	0.001	0.01	0.001	0.01	0.002	0.02
New Articles												
Per Time Period	87	14.93	61	14.84	60	14.07	87	15.90	59	13.69	64	13.93
Per News Website	0.14	1.01	0.11	0.83	0.11	1.04	0.14	1.03	0.11	0.86	0.12	1.13
Share per News Website	0.002	0.01	0.002	0.01	0.002	0.02	0.002	0.01	0.002	0.01	0.002	0.02
Share by Country												
Domestic	0.86	0.04	0.85	0.06	0.86	0.06	0.86	0.04	0.89	0.04	0.88	0.04
US	0.06	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.02
GB	0.06	0.02	0.09	0.04	0.08	0.03	0.06	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.06	0.03
Other	0.04	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.02
Other												
News Website Count	31	5.04	24	4.56	19	4.35	32	4.59	24	5.16	20	4.47
Article Duration (Hours)	13	11.40	18	14.35	18	15.28	13	11.12	18	13.76	17	14.97

Summary Statistics - Overview

Summary Statistics - What does the Google News aggregator look like on an average day in Australia?

I aggregate the data across 4 observations per day

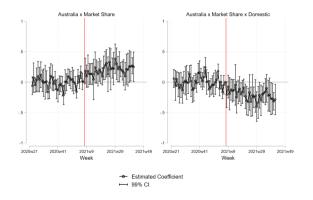
- ▶ The sample covers **429 days** between June 2020 October 2021
- The distribution of articles is highly skewed
 - ▶ I observe **805 news websites** in the sample at least once
 - **233** (17.33) **articles** on average **per day**
 - ▶ 31 (2.67) news websites have at least 1 article on average per day
 - The average article share per news website is 0.1 (1.1) per cent

Assumptions Regression

- Parallel trends should hold across all differences [Olden and Møen, 2022] \longrightarrow plot event study estimates
- Continuous treatment → parallel trends should hold at different levels of treatment intensity [Callaway et al., 2021] → plot event study estimates
- lackbox Highly volatile data but parallel trends hold on average \longrightarrow aggregate the data
- $\begin{tabular}{ll} \textbf{Different secular trends} &\longrightarrow \text{include a linear country-specific trend} \\ & [Rambachan and Roth, Forthcoming] \\ \end{tabular}$

Parallel Pre-Trends - Weekly

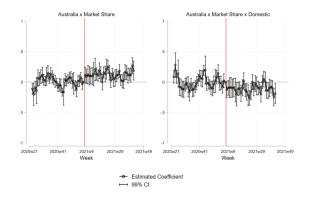
Figure 1: Article Share: Weekly Event Study Coefficients with New Zealand as Control Group





Parallel Pre-Trends - Weekly

Figure 2: Article Share: Weekly Event Study Coefficients with South Africa as Control Group





Story - visible vs. non-visible articles

Figure 3: Story - visible articles



Figure 4: Story - visible & non-visible articles

US warns Solomon Islands against China military base as Australian MPs trade blame

The Guardian ⋅ 1 hour ago □ < :

'That makes Australia less safe': Opposition continues criticism of
 Government over China-Solomon Islands deal

9News - 1 hour ago

 US warns against allowing Chinese military base in Solomon Islands, promises to fast-track reopening an embassy

ABC News · 14 hours ago

'Richard Marles has been caught red-handed'

The Australian - Yesterday - Opinion

. Solomon Islands pact is a sea change in our security

The Australian · 2 days ago · Opinion

View Full coverage



^



	(1)	(2)
	Visible	Non-Visible
	DiD ZA	DiD ZA
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
1.Australia $ imes$ 1.After $ imes$ 1.Domestic	0.001	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.306***	0.485***
	(0.108)	(0.167)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.415***	-0.542***
	(0.150)	(0.185)
Constant	0.003***	0.002***
	(0.001)	(0.000)
Observations	317,460	509,223
R-squared	0.013	0.015
Websites	740	1,187
Time Periods	429	429
Website FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level *** p < 0.01. ** p < 0.05. * p < 0.1

	(1)	(2)
	Visible	Non-Visible
	DiD ZA	DiD ZA
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.001	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.306***	0.485***
	(0.108)	(0.167)
$1. Australia \times 1. After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1. Domestic$	-0.415***	-0.542***
	(0.150)	(0.185)
Constant	0.003***	0.002***
	(0.001)	(0.000)
Observations	317,460	509,223
R-squared	0.013	0.015
Websites	740	1,187
Time Periods	429	429
Website FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS EE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1



	(1)	(2)
	Visible	Non-Visible
	DiD ZA	DiD ZA
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.001	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.306***	0.485***
	(0.108)	(0.167)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.415***	-0.542***
	(0.150)	(0.185)
Constant	0.003***	0.002***
	(0.001)	(0.000)
Observations	317,460	509,223
R-squared	0.013	0.015
Websites	740	1,187
Time Periods	429	429
Website FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** >< 0.01. ** >< 0.05. * p< 0.1

Bigger reduction

 in more
 prominently
 displayed articles
 by domestic
 news websites

Placebo Tests: New Zealand, Ireland (Control: South Africa)

	(1)	(2)
	NZ	IE
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.New Zealand/Ireland $ imes$ 1.After	-0.000	-0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)
1.New Zealand/Ireland $ imes$ 1.After $ imes$ 1.Domestic	-0.000	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)
$1.New\ Zealand/Ireland\ imes\ 1.After\ imes\ c.ArticleShare$	0.082	0.132
	(0.079)	(0.118)
1.New Zealand/Ireland $ imes$ 1.After $ imes$ c.ArticleShare $ imes$ 1.Domestic	-0.140	-0.228
	(0.126)	(0.149)
Constant	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	494,893	387,241
R-squared	0.026	0.022
Websites	1,159	1,097
Time Periods	427	353
Estimator	OLS	OLS
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Model	FE	FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1



Placebo Tests: New Zealand, Ireland (Control: South Africa)

	(1)	(2)
	NZ	IE
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
1.New Zealand/Ireland \times 1.After	-0.000	-0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)
1.New Zealand/Ireland $ imes$ 1.After $ imes$ 1.Domestic	-0.000	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)
$1.New\ Zealand/Ireland\ imes\ 1.After\ imes\ c.ArticleShare$	0.082	0.132
	(0.079)	(0.118)
1.New Zealand/Ireland $ imes$ 1.After $ imes$ c.ArticleShare $ imes$ 1.Domestic	-0.140	-0.228
	(0.126)	(0.149)
Constant	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	494,893	387,241
R-squared	0.026	0.022
Websites	1,159	1,097
Time Periods	427	353
Estimator	OLS	OLS
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Model	FE	FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** p<0.01. ** p<0.05. * p<0.1

Reassuringly, the coefficients are not significant!



Articles Count per news website - Across All Articles in Headlines, World and Australian News

	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Count	Article Count
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.006	-0.003
	(0.004)	(0.004)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.147	0.145
	(0.119)	(0.101)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	89.623***	65.221***
	(25.093)	(21.973)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-100.035***	-77.959***
	(33.901)	(27.395)
Constant	0.348***	0.346***
	(0.074)	(0.090)
Observations	EOE 022	EE4 246
	595,023	554,246
R-squared	0.013	0.017
Websites	1,387	1,298
Time Periods	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

*** p < 0.01. ** p < 0.05. * p < 0.1

Share of Articles per news website - Including Linear Trend

	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
$1.Australia \times 1.After$	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.383***	0.327***
	(0.111)	(0.098)
$1. Australia \times 1. After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1. Domestic$	-0.469***	-0.352***
	(0.153)	(0.123)
Constant	-0.505	-0.373
	(0.418)	(0.313)
Observations	595,023	554,246
R-squared	0.021	0.009
Websites	1,387	1,298
Time Periods	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Linear trend	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1



Share of Articles per news website - Including Website-Country Fixed Effects

	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Share	Article Share
$1.Australia \times 1.After$	-0.000***	-0.000*
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.000**	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	0.360***	0.261***
	(0.040)	(0.028)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.468***	-0.282***
	(0.098)	(0.038)
Constant	0.009***	0.009***
	(0.002)	(0.002)
Observations	595,023	554,246
R-squared	0.160	0.164
Websites	1,387	1,298
Time Periods	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓
Website country - Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level

^{***} p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Heterogeneity Analysis - by Topic - Headlines, World and Australian News

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ	DiD ZA	DiD NZ	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Count	Article Count	Article Count	Article Count	Article Count	Article Count
	World News	Headlines	Australian News	World News	Headlines	Australian News
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.000	0.004	-0.010	-0.011**	-0.013	-0.018*
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.009)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.102	-0.024	0.083	0.091	0.077	0.152*
	(0.075)	(0.099)	(0.066)	(0.060)	(0.093)	(0.084)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	53.100***	31.611	29.534***	19.935**	7.503	15.128**
	(19.046)	(22.631)	(10.107)	(8.262)	(8.971)	(7.495)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-57.603***	-35.887	-36.296***	-26.709**	-7.521	-17.102*
	(21.918)	(22.595)	(13.391)	(10.773)	(11.140)	(9.963)
Constant	0.129***	0.131***	0.301***	0.374***	0.405***	0.348***
	(0.028)	(0.030)	(0.077)	(0.116)	(0.105)	(0.092)
Observations	444.015	446.215	322.608	227.164	130.416	138,775
R-squared	0.018	0.012	0.009	0.013	0.008	0.016
Websites	1.035	1.045	752	532	304	325
Time Periods	429	427	429	427	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓	✓	√	✓	√
Date FE	√	1	✓	√	√	√
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE	OLS FE	OLS FE	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level



^{***} p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

	Visible		Non-Visible	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Count	Article Count	Article Count	Article Count
1.Australia × 1.After	-0.005	-0.004	-0.003	-0.002
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.003)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times 1.Domestic$	0.174	0.104	0.041	0.076
	(0.139)	(0.081)	(0.049)	(0.055)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare$	40.674***	39.920***	49.097***	23.656*
	(14.364)	(11.673)	(15.495)	(14.125)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-50.419***	-49.608***	-50.340***	-26.256*
	(19.186)	(14.350)	(17.285)	(15.871)
Constant	0.366***	0.393***	0.179***	0.168***
	(0.092)	(0.115)	(0.032)	(0.035)
Observations	317,460	282,674	509,223	480,802
R-squared	0.008	0.014	0.011	0.010
Websites	740	662	1,187	1,126
Time Periods	429	427	429	427
Website FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1



Newly Introduced Articles

	(1)	(2)
	DiD ZA	DiD NZ
VARIABLES	Article Count	Article Count
$1.Australia \times 1.After$	-0.000**	-0.000
1.Australia imes 1.After imes 1.Domestic	(0.000) 0.001	(0.000) 0.001
1.Australia × 1.After × c.ArticleShare	(0.001) 0.424**	(0.001) 0.475**
	(0.168)	(0.192)
$1.Australia \times 1.After \times c.ArticleShare \times 1.Domestic$	-0.499*** (0.189)	-0.521*** (0.196)
Constant	0.002*** (0.000)	0.002*** (0.000)
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	363,140	326,340
R-squared	0.011	0.008
Websites	1,084	980
Time Periods	335	333
Website FE	✓	✓
Date FE	✓	✓
Estimator	OLS FE	OLS FE

Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (200 replications), clustered at news website level *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

