## The impact of ending RPM on books: 20 years of evidence from the UK <br> Matt Olczak <br> Aston University, Birmingham, UK <br> 

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## Contents

- The UK Net Book Agreement (NBA) \& its collapse
- Key insights from 2008 report for the Office of Fair Trading evaluating the impact of abolishing the NBA
- Subsequent developments in the industry - market structure \& prices
- Some open questions on developments in the UK.


## The UK Net Book Agreement

- From circa 1900 - around 1996 the Net Book Agreement (NBA) prevented retailers from selling a book under the publisher's chosen (net) price.
- 1962 Restrictive Practises Court (RPC) allowed the NBA to continue: 'books are different'.
- Formally abolished by the RPC in 1997. But by then it had effectively collapsed anyway partly due to:
- pressure from the EC - cross border considerations (UK \& EIRE)
- entry of supermarkets - buyer power.


## 2 Research Objectives

1) Use the abolition of the NBA as a case study to assess the impact of a competition policy intervention on productivity:

- pre v post
- publishers \& retailers
- comparison with Germany.

2) To develop a general methodology appropriate for assessing the impact of competition policy interventions.

## Decomposing productivity changes

- Within firm effects
- competition, or the threat of entry, puts pressure on firms to use their resources more efficiently
- Between firm effects / market sorting
- competition can reallocate market share, with higher productivity firms gaining market share at the expense of less productive firms


## Entry



Supermarkets, internet retailers +Borders (1998-2009):

|  | 1995 | 2005 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Large/ Multiple Stores | 31 | 42 |
| Independent Stores | 28 | 11 |
| Grocery multiples | 1 | 8 |
| Internet | 0 | 11 |

Arguably entry was facilitated by freedom to discount

- suggested by comparisons with Germany


## Online market share for book retailing - Germany \& UK



## amazon

## Quote I (from 1997)

Reaction from booksellers to Borders expansion to the UK:
'(some booksellers) expressed fears that expansion of the US chains on the UK high street would be as 'reckless' as it had been in the US, and that a price war would break out.'


## UK bricks \& mortar book retailers real labour productivity



Negative WITHIN firm effect for bricks and mortar incumbents \&
by no mean just affecting small independents

## Bricks \& mortar book retailers in Germany and the UK real labour productivity


a similar decline in productivity wasn't observed in Germany

## In 2006 Waterstone's described themselves as:

'caught in a 'pincer movement' between, on the one hand, the supermarkets offering a limited range but substantial discounts, both on best sellers and on an increasing number of deep-range titles, and, on the other hand, the Internet retailers offering a very extensive range.'

+ used this as an efficiency defence for Waterstone's/Ottakar's merger (2006)



## Nominal turnover

## sample bricks \& mortar retailers v growth industry turnover



## Smkts \& Amazon's productivity = fixed at 3x Waterstone's level in 2005



|  | Absolute change | \% change |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aggregate | 3.8 | 4.3 |
| Within | -12.5 | -12.1 |
| Between | 16.2 | 18.8 |

## UK publishers real labour productivity



WITHIN firm productivity gains

## UK publishers real labour productivity \% change 1992-2005

|  | $1992-95$ | $1995-2005$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aggregate | 26.3 (8.7 p.a.) | 55.1 (5.5 p.a.) |
| Within | 20.5 | 59.5 |
| Between | 4.8 | -2.8 |
| Large | -2.5 | 82.9 |
| Small | 49.9 | 42.1 |

BUT slower productivity growth after the NBA
\& smaller publishers disproportionately affected

## Publishers in Germany and the UK real labour productivity



On the other hand UK favourable post NBA in comparison to Germany

## Overall conclusions from our 2008 report

- The abolition of RPM facilitated a wave of new entry in the retail market
- AND this impacted particularly on incumbent retailers.
- Opponents had for a long time argued that removing RPM would seriously jeopardise small independent retailers, who would be unable to survive in the face of discounting competitors.
- But as the new entrants started to grow it was also the much larger chains, that became unable to counter the challenge of new entrants.


## Developments since our study

|  | 1995 | 2005 | 2014 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Large/ Multiple <br> Stores | 31 | 42 |  |
| Independent Stores | 28 | 11 |  |
| Bookshops |  |  | 38 |
| Supermarkets | 1 | 8 | 7 |
| Internet | $/$ | 11 | 46 |

By 2014 a substantially changed UK retail landscape

## Comparison with Germany

|  | 2005 | 2005 | 2014 | 2014 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | UK | Germany | UK | Germany |
| Bookshops |  |  | 38 | 47 |
| Supermarkets | 8 |  | 7 |  |
| Internet | 11 | 7 | 46 | 16 |

## UK publishing market concentration



Smallest enterprises increased from 14 to $26 \%$ of the number of enterprises

## Number of book retailers



## Number of enterprises in book retail by turnover

| Turnover <br> (Thousand fs) | \% change in no. of <br> enterprises 2010-19 |
| :---: | :---: |
| $0-49$ | 50 |
| $50-99$ | 7 |
| $100-199$ | -7 |
| $200-499$ | -16 |
| $500-999$ | -50 |
| $1000-1999$ | -33 |
| $2000-4999$ | -50 |
| $5000-9999$ | 0 |
| $10000-49999$ | 50 |
| $50000+$ | 0 |
| TOTAL | 8 |

Smallest enterprises increased from 14 to $26 \%$ of the number of enterprises

## Retail prices as \% of RRP

| Year | Best sellers <br> (top 5,000 titles) | Deep range titles |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2001 | $88 \%$ | $93 \%$ |
| 2002 | $84 \%$ | $93 \%$ |
| 2003 | $82 \%$ | $92 \%$ |
| 2004 | $80 \%$ | $90 \%$ |
| 2005 | $75 \%$ | $90 \%$ |

Increasing discounts on RRPs, especially for best sellers

## Retail Price Index: books v all items



## Wholesale price discounts

| Retailer type | Estimated wholesale prices paid as <br> $\%$ of RRP in 2005 |
| :---: | :---: |
| Independent retailers | $60 \%$ |
| Major chains | $50 \%$ |
| Internet retailers | $55 \%$ |
| Supermarkets | $60 \%$ |

Significant differences in wholesale prices paid across retail types

## Prices of top 10 best sellers



## Back of the envelope welfare estimate:

In 2005:

Best sellers (top 5,000 titles): 57\% of titles by volume

## BUT:

Deep range titles: $43 \%$ of titles by volume \& only $10 \%$ discounts on RRP

So:

Estimate of average price $=0.57^{*}($ ASP Top 10 $)+0.43^{*} 0.9^{*}$ RRP

## Estimated average selling price



## Role of the RRP

- Some books sold at (or close to RRP)
- Others at considerable discount on RRP
- Potentially RRP increases used as a means for suppliers to counteract discount retailers
- response to retailer bargaining power?
- An aside in hub \& spoke cartels - RRP can play be the focal point for coordination.


## Previous literature on RRPs

- Consumer-side
- Loss aversion/gains relative to a reference price: Puppe \& Rosenkranz (2011) and Fabrizi et al. (2016)
- RRP influences consumer search: Lubensky (2017).
- Firm-side
- the RRP allows a supplier to communicate info on its costs: Buehler \& Gartner (2013)
- RRPs may facilitate collusion: Faber \& Janssen (2017).
- The previous theoretical literature has typically considered symmetric retailers that receive take-it or leave-it offers from the supplier
-> no consideration of role RRPs in the bargaining process \& differences across products/retailers.


## Some open questions on developments in the UK industry

- What have the price effects been and what are the distributional implications?
- What role do RRPs play in bargaining \& pricing?
- Are we really seeing a revival of independent bookstores?

