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Quality Predictability and the Welfare Benefits from New Products: Evidence from the Digitization of Recorded Music

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2015
Abstract

We explore the consequence of quality unpredictability for the welfare benefit of new products, using recent developments in recorded music as our context. Digitization has expanded consumption opportunities by giving consumers access to the ‘long tail’ of existing products, rather than simply the popular products that a retailer might stock with limited shelf space. While this is clearly beneficial to consumers, the benefits are somewhat limited: given the substitutability among differentiated products, the incremental benefit of obscure products - even lots of them - can be small. But digitization has also reduced the cost of bringing new products to market, giving rise to a different sort of long tail, in production. If the appeal of new products is unpredictable at the time of investment, as is the case for cultural products as well as many others, then creating new products can have substantial welfare benefits. Technological change in the recorded music industry tripled the number of new products between 2000 and 2008. We quantify the effects of new music on welfare using an explicit structural model of demand and entry with potentially unpredictable product quality. Based on plausible forecasting models of expected appeal, a tripling of the choice set according to expected quality adds more than fifteen times as much consumer surplus as the usual long-tail benefits from a tripling of the choice set according to realized quality.
Abstract

We explore the consequence of quality unpredictability for the welfare benefit of new products, using recent developments in recorded music as our context. Digitization has expanded consumption opportunities by giving consumers access to the “long tail” of existing products, rather than simply the popular products that a retailer might stock with limited shelf space. While this is clearly beneficial to consumers, the benefits are somewhat limited: given the substitutability among differentiated products, the incremental benefit of obscure products - even lots of them - can be small. But digitization has also reduced the cost of bringing new products to market, giving rise to a different sort of long tail, in production. If the appeal of new products is unpredictable at the time of investment, as is the case for cultural products as well as many others, then creating new products can have substantial welfare benefits. Technological change in the recorded music industry tripled the number of new products between 2000 and 2008. We quantify the effects of new music on welfare using an explicit structural model of demand and entry with potentially unpredictable product quality. Based on plausible forecasting models of expected appeal, a tripling of the choice set according to expected quality adds more than fifteen times as much consumer surplus as the usual long-tail benefits from a tripling of the choice set according to realized quality.

Keywords: Welfare, Entry, Digitization, Recorded Music.

JEL classification: D60, L13, L82, O33.
1 Introduction

The rise of the Internet - and digitization more generally - has placed attention on the welfare benefit of a cost reduction that raises the number of available products. Researchers and others have viewed the Internet as delivering infinite shelf space, allowing consumers access to a long tail of obscure products.\(^1\) Despite the importance of long-tail effects in consumption, the welfare benefit of new products is much larger when we account for the unpredictability of product quality at the time of investment. We term this the “long tail in production.”

The usual long tail idea in consumption is that the Internet allows consumers access to the large number of extant products, rather than simply the popular products that consumers might access from a local retailer with limited shelf space. While access to additional products is clearly beneficial to consumers, the benefits may be somewhat limited: given the substitutability among differentiated products, the incremental benefit of obscure products - even lots of them - can be small. A long tail in production is different. The appeal of many products to consumers is difficult to know at the time that investments are made. This unpredictability is substantial for cultural products such as books, movies, and music, leading screenwriter William Goldman to famously remark that “nobody knows anything” about which new movies will be commercially successful. Industry observers say that roughly 10 percent of new movies are commercially successful, and the figures for books and music are similar (Caves, 2000). The unpredictability of product appeal is not limited to cultural products. Gourville (2005) reports new product failure rates between 40 and 90 percent across many categories.

When the costs of bringing new products to market fall, society can in effect take more draws from an urn of new products. If the appeal of new products to consumers were predictable at the time of investment, then entry of additional products would be similar to adding more shelf space, virtual or otherwise, in a retail environment. The additional products would each have limited appeal and, in particular, lower appeal than the last currently entering product. But if appeal is unpredictable - and we will confirm that it is for music - then adding more products can have substantial benefits by delivering consumers products

\(^{1}\text{By some estimates, the benefit consumers obtain from access to a long tail of additional varieties may be as high as$1.03$ billion per year for books alone in 2000 (Brynjolfsson et al., 2003).}
throughout the realized quality distribution. Because product appeal is also unpredictable in other industries, this idea may have broader applicability.

Technological change in the recorded music industry has allowed substantial growth in the number of new products in the choice set. Between 2000 and 2008 the number of new products brought to market annually tripled, leading us to ask how a tripling of the number of new products available affects welfare. We can measure the benefit as the difference between welfare with the new, enlarged choice set and a smaller choice set including a third of the recently-entering products. Yet, the welfare impact of an entry cost reduction that triples the choice set depends heavily on which third of existing products would have entered absent the cost reduction. This, in turn, depends on the predictability of quality at the time of investment. At one extreme, if product quality were perfectly predictable, then a reduction in the cost of entry from, say, $T$ to $T'$ would elicit entry of new products with expected - and realized - revenue between $T$ and $T'$. The addition of these modest-appeal products to the choice set corresponds to the traditional long tail benefits. The new entry would necessarily raise surplus available to consumers, but the benefit might be small since none of the new products would exceed the quality of the least-attractive existing product. In the more realistic case in which quality were not entirely predictable, benefits would be larger, as some new products would have high realized quality despite low expected revenue.

To quantify the benefits of new products made possible by digitization, we develop an equilibrium model of the recorded music industry that includes a structural demand model and a model of entry based on expected revenue. We use data on digital music track sales for 17 countries 2006-2011 to estimate a nested logit model of demand. The output of the model includes both parameter estimates and estimates of the realized appeal of each product ($\delta$). We use the realized $\delta$’s to develop a forecasting model of expected quality, which we incorporate in our entry model. We infer fixed costs from the expected revenue of the last entering product. The model allows us to address the question that motivates the paper: what is the effect of the cost reductions associated with digitization - which have tripled the number of products brought to market in the US - on welfare? And how do these benefits, which we term the long tail in production, relate to the conventional long tail in consumption? We find that a tripling of the choice set according to expected quality adds more than fifteen times as much consumer surplus and revenue as a tripling of the choice set according to realized quality.
The paper proceeds in 7 sections after the introduction. Section 2 presents descriptive facts about entry in the music industry and a simple model illustrating the impact of unpredictability on the welfare effects of entry. Section 3 sets out an empirical structural model of the music market. Section 4 presents the data that we will use in our estimations, while Section 5 presents our estimates of demand, expected revenue, and the fixed costs from the entry model. Next, we turn to counterfactual results in Section 6, including estimates of the main object of interest, the welfare impact of an enlarged choice set with imperfect predictability of product appeal, in relation to the welfare impact of an enlarged choice set with perfect foresight. Section 7 discusses robustness of estimates to estimated parameters and other assumptions. Section 8 concludes and discusses the policy implications of our results.

2 Background

2.1 Industry Background

Since 1999 recorded music revenue has fallen by 70 percent around the world. While industry participants - particularly the major record labels - have raised concerns that declining revenue will undermine investment incentives, the number of new products brought to market has risen rather than fallen as the cost of bringing new products to market has fallen substantially. As Waldfogel (2013b) argues, the cost of production, promotion, and distribution of new music have fallen sharply with digitization. And the number of new recorded music products brought to market each year has risen since 1990 and more sharply since 2000 (Oberholzer-Gee and Strumpf, 2010; Handke, 2012; Aguiar et al., 2014). According to Nielsen data, the number of new music products brought to market tripled between 2000 and 2008.\footnote{See for instance http://tinyurl.com/how-many-releases.} We view this growth in the number of products as a consequence of cost reductions associated with digitization. These cost reductions are substantial enough to have enabled growth in the number of new products despite the drastic decline in revenue.
2.2 Related Literature

The study quantifies the benefit of a technological change that allows more entry of new products, given that new product appeal is unpredictable. Our question and approach are related to both the literature estimating the welfare effects of particular new products and the entry literature. Many studies evaluate the welfare impact of new products. A few prominent examples include Petrin (2002) and Hausman and Leonard (2002). The usual approach is to estimate demand in the presence of the new product, then to simulate welfare absent the new product. We similarly do that, but we also model the entry process. That is, the comparative static that we evaluate is not simply about whether a particular new product exists but rather about the cost of product entry.

Our paper is therefore closely related to the strand of the entry literature that incorporates demand modeling and therefore allows for explicit estimates of fixed costs (e.g. Berry and Waldfogel (1999)). Usually, researchers postulate a model in which products (or firms) enter as long as their variable profit exceeds their fixed costs; and fixed costs are estimated from (roughly) the expected revenue of marginal entrants. Observed entry configurations can then be viewed as Nash equilibria given the estimated of fixed costs. Such models can be used to estimate welfare under, say, counterfactual fixed costs. Our exercise does this, adding the novel feature that product appeal is unpredictable at the time of entry.

Our exercise is also closely related to the literature on the “long tail” benefits of the Internet. Brynjolfsson et al. (2003) quantify the benefit of access to the full list of books at Amazon in contrast to the 50,000 books available to a local consumer. Sinai and Waldfogel (2004) show that locally isolated consumers make greater use of the Internet. Anderson (2006) popularized the idea of the long tail in a book asserting that the long list of products at the tail of the distribution are growing in importance relative to the small number of products at the head. All of these studies take the view - implicitly or explicitly - that digitization raises the variety available to people via an infinite shelf-space mechanism rather than the production mechanism that we explore.
2.3 How Would Entry Cost Reduction Affect Welfare?

To fix ideas this section describes the intuition of our approach. Section 3 discusses the explicit model. When entry costs are \( T \), then all products with expected revenue above \( T \) enter, while those with lower expected revenue do not; when the entry cost falls from \( T \) to \( T' \), then more products become viable, and more entry occurs. Having more products in the choice set raises welfare, but the size of the impact of additional products on welfare depends on the predictability of product quality at the time of investment. To see this, consider the following simple model of product entry with the possibility of quality unpredictability.

At the time of investment, a label forms an estimate of a product’s marketability as the true revenue \( y \), plus an error \( \nu \): \( y' = y + \nu \). If the entry cost is \( T \), then all products with expected revenue \( y' > T \) enter. If the entry cost \( T \) falls to \( T' \), then all products with \( y' > T' \) enter. When product quality is perfectly predictable (\( \nu = 0 \)), then a reduction in entry costs brings new products with expected and realized revenue - and therefore, we infer, product quality - between \( T \) and \( T' \). In the more realistic case in which product quality is not perfectly predictable at the time of investment, the addition of products with expected revenue between \( T \) and \( T' \) elicits entry of products whose realized revenue might be anywhere in the distribution and can, of course, exceed \( T \).

Our main concern in this paper is the evaluation of an entry cost reduction that tripled the number of new products. Given that digitization has already occurred, the welfare effect of digitization is the difference between the welfare associated with the current status quo choice set and the choice set including only a third as many new products. The major challenge to this exercise, however, is determining which third of recently-added status quo products would have existed if digitization had not reduced entry costs. This, in turn, depends on the predictability of product quality.\(^3\)

If investors had perfect foresight - and product quality were therefore completely predictable - then when costs were high, only the products with the highest realized quality would enter. Hence, the counterfactual high-entry-cost choice set would be the top third of products according to realized quality. The comparison of the top third of products with the total choice set is analogous to the shelf-space problem underlying the usual long tail welfare calculation.

\(^3\)While we focus throughout the text on the welfare benefit of tripling the number of new products, we also explore the consequence of different degrees of new product growth for our result of interest, the relative change in welfare with and without predictability. See Section 7.
asking, for example, what benefit consumers derive from access to the top million books as opposed to the top 100,000. Under this usual approach, the benefit of additional products would be relatively small. At the other extreme, if quality were completely unpredictable, then the counterfactual choice set associated with high entry costs would be a random sample of status quo products. Because the additional products would be as good, on average, as existing products, the additional products would add more to welfare than when entry is ordered by expected quality.

In the more plausible intermediate case of imperfect predictability, the effect of new products on welfare would fall between the two polar cases. This discussion demonstrates that the impact of cost reduction on product entry and resulting welfare - the long tail in production - depends crucially on the predictability of product quality.

Evaluating the welfare impact of cost reduction requires three components. First, we need a structural model of demand, which allows us to calculate the consumer surplus and revenue associated with any set of products. Second, we need a forecasting model for quality to describe the revenue that producers expect from each product at the time of investment. Third, we require an entry model that makes use of the expectations to determine the set of products entering under any entry cost structure. The entry model generates estimates of fixed costs from the expected revenue of the last entering product.

3 The Model

This section describes the components of our equilibrium model of the recorded music industry. We start by describing our structural model of demand. We then turn to our forecasting model of product quality before presenting our entry model. Details of the empirical implementation are deferred until Section 5, after we introduce the data in Section 4.

3.1 Demand

Given our goal of developing an entry model incorporating expectations about product quality, we employ a model that allows us to easily infer product quality while also allowing for substitutability among products. To this end we employ a nested logit model, similar to
that of Berry (1994) and Ferreira et al. (2013).

In each country, consumers choose whether to buy music and then choose among available songs. The choice sets of songs vary both across countries and over time. Define $J_{ct}$ as the set of songs available in country $c$ at time $t$, and index songs by $j$. Suppressing the time subscript, each consumer therefore decides in each month whether to download one song in the choice set $J_c = \{1, 2, 3, \ldots, J_c\}$ or to consume the outside good (not downloading a song). Specifically, every month every consumer $i$ in country $c$ chooses $j$ from the $J_c + 1$ options that maximizes the conditional indirect utility function given by:

$$u_{ij} = x_{jc}\beta - \alpha p_{jc} + \xi_{jc} + \zeta_i + (1 - \sigma)\epsilon_{ij}$$

$$= \delta_{jc} + \zeta_i + (1 - \sigma)\epsilon_{ij}, \quad (1)$$

where $\delta_{jc}$ is therefore the mean utility of song $j$ in country $c$. The parameter $\xi_{jc}$ is the unobserved (to the econometrician) quality of song $j$ from the perspective of country $c$ consumers and can differ across countries for the same song (song $j$ can for example have different quality to US vs French consumers). $\epsilon_{ij}$ is an independent taste shock. In contrast to a simple logit model, the nested logit allows for correlation in consumer’s tastes for consuming digital music. The parameter $\zeta_i$ therefore represents the individual-specific song taste common to all songs in the nest. Cardell (1997) shows that if $\epsilon_{ij}$ is a type I extreme value, then this implies that the error term $\zeta_i + (1 - \sigma)\epsilon_{ij}$ is also a type I extreme value. The parameter $\sigma$ measures the strength of substitution across songs in the choice set $J_c$. When $\sigma = 0$, the model resolves to the simple logit (see footnote 4) and the parameter $\zeta_i$, the consumer-specific systematic song-taste component, plays no role in the choice decision. As $\sigma$ approaches 1, the role of the independent shocks ($\epsilon_{i0}, \epsilon_{i1}, \ldots, \epsilon_{ij}$) is reduced to zero and the within group correlation of utility approaches one. This implies that consumer tastes, while different for any consumer $i$ across songs, are perfectly correlated within consumer $i$ across songs.

Given the functional forms associated with nested logit, we can calculate the market share

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4In the logit model the individual taste $\epsilon_{ij}$ is independent across both consumers and choices and the conditional indirect utility function is given by $u_{ij} = \delta_{jc} + \epsilon_{ij}$. This prevents the possibility that consumers have heterogeneous tastes, i.e. differ in their taste for consuming music.
and revenue of each product for any set of product qualities $\delta_{jc}$.

3.2 Quality Prediction

The results from our demand estimation allow us to construct estimates of the mean utility of each song. While our demand estimation uses data for multiple countries, we undertake the entry exercise using data for only one country and year, the US in 2011, so we omit the country subscript below in discussion of the quality prediction model and the entry model. For each song $j$, $\delta_j$ measures how much appeal it generates to consumers once the song has entered the market. Our model of entry with unpredictable product quality requires us to have a measure of the expected appeal that each song $j$ would generate. That is, we need a measure of the appeal (or commercial success) that an investor would expect from releasing song $j$. For each product $j$ in our US data, we assume that an investor contemplating the release of song $j$ from artist $a$ will form a prediction of its appeal based on information available prior to release (e.g. previous sales of artist’s release, time since artist’s first release and the identity of the song’s label):

$$
\delta_{ja} = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 Z_a + \mu_{ja},
$$

where the vector $Z_a$ contains information on artist $a$ and $\mu_{ja}$ is an error term. The predicted values $\delta'_{ja} = \hat{\gamma}_0 + \hat{\gamma}_1 Z_a$ then provide us with a measure of the expected quality of each song $j$ prior to release.

3.3 Supply and Fixed Costs

The welfare associated with an entry configuration, or set of products that enters, is the sum of consumer surplus and revenue less the number of products times the fixed cost per product. The demand model gives us consumer surplus and revenue for any entry configuration. In order to evaluate the welfare associated with a set of entering products, we

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5 We also implement our estimates using a plain logit model to explore robustness of the results to the demand model specification. See Section 7 below.

6 In the nested logit model we can calculate $\delta_{jc}$ as $\ln (S_{jc}) - \ln (S_{oc}) - \sigma \ln \left( \frac{S_{jc}}{1-S_{jc}} \right)$, where $S_{jc}$ represents the market share of song $j$ in country $c$ and $S_{oc}$ is the market share of the outside good. See Section 5 for details of implementation.
need fixed costs and the ordered set of entering products, which our entry model delivers. While the imperfect prediction model is our central approach, we also develop approaches using perfect foresight and no predictability, both to illustrate the intuition of our approach and to compare our estimates of the long tail in production with estimates analogous to the long tail in consumption, reflected in the perfect foresight model.

3.3.1 Perfect Foresight

Under perfect foresight, products enter in order of realized quality, or \( \delta_j \). The fixed cost under the status quo is the expected revenue of the last \((N^{th})\) entering product. The minimum revenue observed in our data is 1 US sale in 2011 at a price of $1, so the implied status quo fixed cost must be $1 as well. To estimate fixed costs that give rise to one third of recent status quo entry, we must calculate the expected revenue of the last product when only the \( \frac{N}{3} \) best-selling products enter.

Define \( \delta_j \) as the realized quality of product \( j \), and define \( \Delta_j \) as the set of products \( \{\delta_1, \ldots, \delta_j\} \). Because products are imperfect substitutes, revenue to each product depends on the full set of products in the market. The expected revenue to product 1 entering alone depends on \( \Delta_1 \), and so on. That is, if \( E[r_k] \) is the expected revenue of product \( k \), then \( E[r_k] \) is a function of the vector \( \Delta_k \).

If we order the products such that \( \delta_k > \delta_{k+1} \), the products enter as long as \( E[r_k(\Delta_k)] > T \). For example, given the nested logit structure, the expected and realized revenue to product 1 when it is alone is

\[
    r_1 = pM_{s1} = pM \left[ \frac{e^{\frac{\delta_1}{\sigma}}}{D_1^\sigma + D_1} \right],
\]

where \( D_1 = e^{\frac{\delta_1}{\sigma}} \), \( p \) is the price of the product, and \( M \) is market size.

More generally the revenue to product \( k \) (when it is the last entering product) is given by

\[
    r_k = pM_{sk} = pM \left[ \frac{e^{\frac{\delta_k}{\sigma}}}{D_k^\sigma + D_k} \right],
\]
where $D_k = \sum_{j=1}^{k} e^{\frac{\delta_j}{\sigma}}$. To estimate counterfactual fixed costs when $(\frac{N}{3})$ products enter, we can infer that the fixed costs ($T$) equal the expected (and realized) revenue of the last entering product: $T \approx r_k, \ k = \frac{N}{3}$.

3.3.2 No Predictability

At the opposite extreme from the perfect predictability model is a model with no predictability. With no predictability, all products are identical ex-ante. Hence the expected revenue of any product depends only on the total number of products entering ($k$) and is the total revenue to those $k$ products divided by $k$. That is,

$$E[r_k] = pM \left[ \frac{D_k}{\frac{N}{3} + D_k} \right], \quad (5)$$

where $D_k$ is evaluated with a particular draw of $k$ product qualities ($\delta_j$), $p$ is the price and $M$ is market size.

Hence, the no prediction estimate of status quo fixed cost is the total observed revenue divided by the number of products. We estimate counterfactual fixed cost as the average revenue per product if $\frac{N}{3}$ products entered. To estimate this we take draws of $\frac{N}{3}$ $\delta$’s, and each draw generates an estimate of average revenue per product.

Under the no prediction model, additional products add substantially to welfare by construction because the average quality of products does not decline with entry. The only reason that consumer surplus and the expected revenue per product decline with entry is through substitution allowed for by the nested logit model’s parameter $\sigma$.

3.3.3 Imperfect Prediction

The perfect foresight and no-prediction models present two extremes, both somewhat unrealistic. This leads us to the imperfect prediction case, in which investors have some ability to predict the appeal of songs at the time of investment. Our predicted $\delta$’s (which we term $\delta'$) create an ordering of potential projects in descending order of ex ante (expected) promise: $\delta'_1 > \delta'_2 > \ldots > \delta'_N$. In the no prediction case (above), we took a random draw of the
products to estimate the revenue per product when \( k \) products enter. In the imperfect prediction case, the analog to a random draw of \( k \) products is the top \( k \) products ordered by expected quality.

We calculate the expected revenue of the \( k^{th} \) entrant as follows. Order songs by their ex ante promise \( (\delta') \). When the first \((k - 1)\) songs, ordered by their ex ante appeal, are in the market with their ex post appeal, the revenue to the \( k^{th} \) entrant depends on its realized value. For a particular realization of \( \delta_k = \delta'_k + \varepsilon \), the share of population consuming product \( k \), via the nested logit formula, is:

\[
s_k(\varepsilon) = \frac{e^{(\delta'_k + \varepsilon)}}{\sum_{j=1}^{k-1} e^{(\delta'_j + \varepsilon)} + e^{\varepsilon/(1-\sigma)}} + \frac{e^{\delta'_k + \varepsilon}}{\sum_{j=1}^{k-1} e^{\delta'_j + \varepsilon} + e^{\varepsilon/(1-\sigma)}}.
\]  

(6)

Because of the nonlinearity of the share formula, we compute the expected market share by integration. The expected market share of the \( k^{th} \) entrant is therefore given by

\[
E[s_k] = \int s_k(\varepsilon)f(\varepsilon)d\varepsilon,
\]  

(7)

where \( f \) is the density of \( \varepsilon \). In our empirical implementation, we will take \( f \) to be the empirical distribution of the residuals from our prediction model, \( \varepsilon \equiv \delta - \delta' \). We will therefore compute the expected revenue of the \( k^{th} \) entrant (when the first \((k - 1)\) songs ordered by their ex ante appeal have entered) as

\[
E[r_k] = pME[s_k] = pM \left[ \frac{1}{N} \sum_{n=1}^{N} s_k(\varepsilon_n) \right] = pM \left[ \frac{1}{N} \sum_{n=1}^{N} \frac{e^{\delta'_k + \varepsilon_n}}{D_{kn} + D_{kn}} \right],
\]  

(8)

where \( D_{kn} = \sum_{j=1}^{k-1} e^{\delta'_j} + e^{\delta'_k + \varepsilon_n} \) and \( N \) is the total number of products.

We estimate status quo fixed costs using the expected revenue of the last entrant, and we estimate counterfactual fixed cost as the expected revenue of the last product when the top \( \frac{N}{3} \) products according to expected quality enter.
3.3.4 Welfare Counterfactual

Each of the three approaches provides both a set of entering products and a method for calculating the expected revenue of the last entering product and therefore an estimate of fixed costs. Given an estimate of fixed costs ($T$), along with an approach to calculating consumer surplus and revenue associated with a number of entering products, we can calculate the welfare associated with any level of entry $k$ as $W(k) = CS(k) + rev(k) - kT$. We can assess the impact of technological change on welfare by comparing an evaluation of the function at status quo $k$ and $T$ against its value at pre-digitization $k_0$ and $T_0$, where the 0 subscripts refer to the counterfactual with one third of the recently added status quo products.

4 Data

The basic data for this study include annual sales of all digital songs in the US, Canada, and 15 European countries, 2006-2011, along with country characteristics drawn from the World Bank and the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI).\(^7\)

The sales data are drawn from Nielsen’s SoundScan product, which serves as “a major source for the Billboard charts and is widely cited by numerous publications and broadcasters as the standard for music industry measurement.” Nielsen tracks what consumers are buying “both in-store and digitally.” In particular, they “compile data from more than 39,000 retail outlets globally.”\(^8\) We use the same version of the Nielsen data employed in Aguiar et al. (2014), and readers are directed there for details on the dataset construction.\(^9\)

Total digital track sales in the data are 628.3 million in 2006 and rise to 1512.4 million in 2011. In the US, for example, digital track sales accounted for 56 percent of 2011 revenue (IFPI Recording Industry in Numbers 2013).

\(^7\)The dataset initially includes the following 16 European countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. However, given that Poland enters the data in 2008 only, we decided to drop it from the analysis.


\(^9\)That dataset excludes entries that appear not to be songs and includes only artists whose national origins can be determined from MusicBrainz (www.musicbrainz.org). The latter criterion excludes 44.4 percent of otherwise valid observations while retaining 91 percent of sales. We verify below that this sample gives the same results as a less restrictive sample. See footnote 16.
Our final sample include 3,987,877 distinct tracks from 75,239 distinct artists and, because a song can appear in multiple countries and years, 50,870,037 observations.

Other variables we employ in the study include population, GDP per capita, the urban share of the total population, the percentage of fixed broadband Internet subscribers, the percentage of mobile cellular subscriptions, and the percentage of Internet users. These are drawn from the World Bank Open Data.\(^{10}\) We also use measures of the digital share of music expenditure in each country and year, which we take from the Recording Industry in Numbers 2013 publication from IFPI.

5 Empirical Implementation

5.1 Demand Model

We now turn to the empirical implementation of our equilibrium model of the recorded music industry. We start by presenting the estimation of our structural demand model. We then present, in turn, our forecasting model of product quality and the estimation of the fixed costs of entry.

Following equation (1) and normalizing the utility of the outside good \(\delta_{0c}\) to 0, the market shares for all \(j \in J_c\) are given by \(S_{jc} = \frac{\delta_{jc}}{D_{jc}^\sigma + D_{jc}}\), where \(D_{jc} = \sum_{j \in J_c} e^{\frac{\delta_{jc}}{\sigma}}\). Inverting out \(\delta_{jc}\) from observed market shares as in Berry (1994) yields

\[
\ln (S_{jc}) - \ln (S_{0c}) = \delta_{jc} + \sigma \ln \left( \frac{S_{jc}}{1 - S_{0c}} \right)
= x_{jc} \beta - \alpha p_{jc} + \sigma \ln \left( \frac{S_{jc}}{1 - S_{0c}} \right) + \xi_{jc},
\]

so that an estimate of \(\beta, \alpha\) and \(\sigma\) can be obtained from a linear regression of differences in log market shares on product characteristics, prices and the log of within group share. The estimate of \(\sigma\) will be positive if variation in a song’s share relative to the total inside

\(^{10}\)See http://data.worldbank.org/.
share \((1 - S_{0c})\) explains \(\ln(S_{jc}) - \ln(S_{0c})\) conditional on the other explanatory variables. Here, \(x_{jc}\) includes a constant, a set of year dummy variables, and a host of country level controls. In particular, we include a direct measure of digital share of music expenditure in each destination and year, GDP per capita, the urban share of the total population, the percentage of fixed broadband Internet subscribers, the percentage of mobile cellular subscriptions, and the percentage of Internet users.

5.1.1 Identification of \(\sigma\)

Since the inside share of each song \(j\) is, by construction, endogenous in equation (9), we need to find an instrument in order to consistently estimate \(\sigma\). Given that identification of \(\sigma\) is related to how the inside shares change and the number of songs available in a market change, and since we observe variation in the number of songs available over time and across markets, one potential instrument is \(J_c\), the number of songs available in a given country. Figure 1 graphs the relationship between the number of products (songs) and the total inside share across countries for the year 2011. For each country \(c\), the total inside share is defined as \(S_{Jc} = \frac{1}{M_c} \sum_{j \in J_c} q_{jc}\), where \(M_c\) is a measure of market size and \(q_{jc}\) is the number of downloads for song \(j\) in country \(c\).\(^{11}\) Figure 1 shows a positive relationship between the number of songs available in a given country and the share of the population consuming music in the form of digital downloads. There is, however, reason for concern that the number of songs entering each market is endogenous. In particular, we would expect entry to be larger in markets with greater unobserved demand for music. An alternative instrument is country population. If more songs are made available in larger markets simply because of market size and not because of demand intensity, consumers in larger markets would face larger choice sets of music. Figure 2 presents the relationship between the number of songs available and the population of each country for the year 2011 and shows that larger countries do indeed offer larger choice sets. The descriptive evidence from Figures 1 and 2 therefore suggest a positive relationship between the number of available downloadable songs and the total share of population consuming music in the form of digital downloads. This suggests a substantial benefit from additional songs (market expansion) and therefore an estimate of \(\sigma\) lower than 1.

\(^{11}\)For each country \(c\), we define the market size as 12 times its population.
5.1.2 Consumer Surplus and Revenue

Given our estimates of $\sigma$ and $\alpha$, we can calculate the mean utility of each song, and given these estimates of $\delta_{jc}$ we can calculate the consumer surplus (CS) and revenue. The formula for the CS is given by\footnote{The results from our estimations allow us to calculate CS and revenue for each country in each year. However we omit the country and time subscripts since we perform our counterfactual exercise on US data in 2011 only.}

$$CS = \frac{M}{\alpha} \ln \left( \sum_j D_j^{1-\sigma} \right) = \frac{M}{\alpha} \ln \left( D_j^{1-\sigma} + 1 \right).$$ \hspace{1cm} (10)

Revenue is given by

$$Rev = p_j M \left[ \frac{D_j}{(D_j^\sigma + D_j)} \right].$$ \hspace{1cm} (11)

5.1.3 Price coefficient

We don’t observe variation in price, but if we knew the average price as well as the marginal cost, then we could infer $\alpha$ from a profit maximization assumption, as is customary in the literature. We treat the US price as $1 per song, and we treat zero as the marginal cost.\footnote{While Apple pays $.70 for each song in the US, it is far from clear that they price in a double marginalized way. Shiller and Waldfogel (2011) find a revenue maximizing uniform song price that is close to the actual iTunes song price, suggesting that zero marginal cost is a reasonable assumption.}

Because the price is constant, the term $\alpha p_{jc}$ in (9) simply becomes part of the constant term in the estimating equation

$$\ln (S_{jc}) - \ln (S_0) = x_{jc} \beta + \sigma \ln \left( \frac{S_{jc}}{1 - S_{0c}} \right) + \xi_{jc}. \hspace{1cm} (12)$$

Using $\sigma$ we can calculate the country-specific mean utility of each song $\delta_{jc}$:

$$\delta_{jc} = \ln (S_{jc}) - \ln (S_{0c}) - \sigma \ln \left( \frac{S_{jc}}{1 - S_{0c}} \right). \hspace{1cm} (13)$$

Assuming that pricing is governed by a revenue maximizing monopolist, we can solve for the
\(\alpha\) that makes the demand for music unit elastic.\(^\text{14}\) At this point we therefore have estimates of \(\sigma, \alpha\) and mean utilities \((\delta_j)\) for each product, which allow us to calculate CS and revenue.

5.1.4 Results

The key parameter that we estimate is \(\sigma\) which, intuitively, is identified from the relationship between the number of products and the share of the population consuming. The expansion of the digital markets which proceeds at different rates in different countries produces a threat to identification. The growth in the number of digital products and digital consumption both arise from the diffusion of digital technology and may give the appearance that a growing number of products expands the market, or that \(\sigma\) is low. We employ two strategies to avoid this sort of mistaken inference. First, we instrument the inside share with cross sectional variation in measures of market size (population or its logarithm) for the destination country. Second, we employ direct and indirect controls for digital diffusion by including the country-specific explanatory variables described above.

Table 1 reports estimates of the demand model when using the natural logarithm of population as the instrumental variable for the inside share in equation (9). Column (1) includes GDP per capita as well as the share of digital music expenditure (our measure of digital diffusion). On top of these control variables, specification (2) uses the logarithm of population interacted with time dummies as instruments for the inside share. Specification (3) builds on (2) and adds interactions between the control variables and time dummies. Finally, specifications (4) to (6) include the same explanatory variables and instruments as, respectively, specifications (1) to (3) and add other country-specific control variables: the urban share of the total population, the percentage of fixed broadband Internet subscribers, the percentage of mobile cellular subscriptions and the percentage of Internet users. We find estimates of \(\sigma\) ranging between .67 and .8. We also estimate the same specifications with different instrumental variables for the inside share, using the country population in levels, the number of products in the market, and the logarithm of the latter. Table 2 presents

\(^{14}\)Under our assumption that \(p = 1\) for all songs, we have that the elasticity of music is given by \(\eta_Q = \alpha \left[1 - \frac{D_j}{D_j + \sigma D_j}\right]\). Solving for the \(\alpha\) that makes the demand for music unit elastic therefore leads to \(\alpha = \frac{D_j + \sigma D_j}{D_j}\). Note that this way of inferring \(\alpha\) is not uncommon among practitioners. As noted by Björnerstedt and Verboven (2013), one may want to verify whether elasticities are consistent with external industry information as opposed to relying too heavily on econometric estimates. While our motivation is driven by lack of data on product prices, we basically follow the same type of approach.
the estimates of \( \sigma \) for each specification and each set of instruments. The second row of the table therefore corresponds to the estimates already presented in the first row of Table 1. Overall we find estimates of \( \sigma \) ranging between .4 and .8.

Our preferred specification uses the logarithm of population interacted with time dummies as instruments for the inside share and includes all the control variables interacted with time dummies (specification (6) in Table 1). This specification gives the highest estimate of \( \sigma \) and therefore the most conservative estimate of the welfare gains from new products. We will use these demand estimates for our counterfactuals, noting that the estimates from other specifications are very similar. We will also confirm the robustness of our results to different values of \( \sigma \) in Section 7.

5.2 Quality Prediction

While we estimate the demand model on data for 17 countries over the period 2006-2011, we will perform our counterfactual exercises on US data for 2011. The simulations proceed by comparing a status quo choice set, such as all of the songs available for sale in 2011, to a choice set that would have been available if entry costs had not fallen, such as the top third of products according to expected quality at the time they were originally released.

Because constructing counterfactual choice sets requires a way of ordering products according to their prospects at release, we need a quality forecasting model for the 2.2 million songs sold in the US in 2011. In other words, we need a measure of the commercial success that an investor would expect from releasing product \( j \). We can use the information available on the artist associated with song \( j \) to construct these estimates. Define \( Z_j \) as the vector containing information on song \( j \)’s artist (e.g. artist’s past sales, etc.). Because our counterfactual exercise is performed on US data for the year 2011, it is tempting to regress \( \delta_j \) for the 2011 releases on their characteristics at release, that is, the \( Z_j \)’s for the 2011 songs and then to use the fitted values of \( \delta_j \) as our measure of expected quality. This approach faces a few complications. First, a regression of the vintage-2011 \( \delta_j \)’s - which contain the realized qualities of songs in 2011 - uses information not available prior to the release of the songs. That is, if \( \delta_j' = Z_j,2011 \hat{\gamma}_{2011} \), the \( \hat{\gamma} \) from the 2011 regression contains the realizations for vintage-2011 \( \delta_j \), which were not known when the 2011 songs were released. This challenge can be overcome by using data available prior to release. For example, if we estimate \( \hat{\gamma} \) from
a regression of quality realizations for vintage-2010 $\delta_j$ on $Z_{j,2010}$ (i.e. characteristics in year 2010), the resulting $\hat{\gamma}_{2010}$ can be applied to characteristics of vintage-2011 songs to produce a prediction of the vintage-2011 songs’ qualities in 2011: $\delta_j' = Z_{j,2011} \hat{\gamma}_{2010}$ that only uses information available prior to release.

A second complication is that the songs available in 2011 include both new songs first released in 2011 as well as older songs first released in prior years but still being sold. If songs depreciate over time, then $\delta_j'$ will be lower for older songs because of their age, and not because they had lower expected quality at initial release. To circumvent that problem, we use age-specific forecasting models to construct our measures of expected quality. For instance, given that songs originally released in 2010 are one year old in 2011, we use a forecasting model for predicting their success when they are one year-old (as opposed to when they are new). To this end we use data on vintage-2009 songs in year 2010 (i.e. one year old songs). We can regress $\delta_j$ on $Z_{j,2010}$ and apply the resulting $\hat{\gamma}_{1}$ (where the subscript indicates that the coefficient corresponds to 1 year old songs) to characteristics of vintage-2010 songs to construct a prediction of the vintage-2010 songs’ qualities in 2011. We can use similar forecasting models for predicting the success of older songs in 2011, but given that our sales data begin in 2006 - and that we need prior year sales to make predictions - the earliest vintage for which we can predict quality using past sales is the 2008 vintage (when it’s 3 years old, in 2011). This has the consequence that we are well positioned to model expected quality for the 2011, 2010, 2009, and 2008 vintages based on their artists’ pre-release characteristics (as $Z$’s), along with their sales realizations in 2010 (determining which of the pre-2008 vintage songs would have been released if costs had been higher would require a different approach).

Ideally, the quality forecasting model would include all variables predictive of success that are known to investors prior to release. While there is much that we do not observe - such as the characteristics of the artist’s music and appearance - we do observe some important information. For artists who are not new, we observe past sales of their previous songs, which may be predictive of the sales of new work. We also observe the artist’s “age” (time since first release vintage) as well as the time since the last release by the artist (prior to the current release). Importantly, we also observe the identity of the label releasing the song. The data contain 13,507 different labels. Artists tend to match with different labels according to expected quality, with the “major” labels releasing artists with substantial commercial appeal.
and the independents releasing artists with more modest prospects. There is, moreover, a range of independent labels from labels such as Merge and 4AD handling well-known “indie” artists to more obscure labels. Hence, label dummies should be correlated with predictors of success that labels can observe but the econometrician cannot.

Our first task is to show that we have pre-release variables that are predictive of the success of a release (i.e. predictive of $\delta$). To this end, Table 3, column (1) reports a regression of $\delta_j$ for vintage-2010 releases in 2010 on the songs’ artists’ past sales, in years 2006-2009, along with terms in artist age and time since last release.\footnote{We use 2010 quality realizations rather than 2011 realizations because we use this for the 2011 quality prediction.} While our goal here is forecasting rather than inference about particular parameters, it is comforting that coefficients have intuitive signs. Artists with greater past sales have higher $\delta$’s. Older artists - those whose first release was longer ago - have lower sales. Artists whose last release occurred earlier have higher sales, perhaps reflecting more pent-up demand. Finally, label fixed effects are important. Their addition, in column (2), raises the year-2010 regression $R^2$ from 0.196 to 0.386. Column (3) adds a host of interactions, with the goal of flexibly explaining more variation. These include the interaction of artist age and its square with past sales and time since last release, as well as the interaction of time since last release with past sales. The inclusion of these interactions raises the regression $R^2$ to 0.390.

The regression $R^2$ using data on the 2010 $\delta$ vector is interesting, but it is not a direct measure of forecasting success in 2011. To see the fit of the forecast, we apply the coefficients in column (3) to the releases for 2011 (to predict the realized success of vintage-2011 songs in 2011). We can calculate a resulting “prediction $R^2$’’ as the square of the correlation of realized $\delta$’s with their predictions. The resulting $R^2$ measures, for regressions in columns (1)-(3) are 0.2, 0.315, and 0.316, respectively.

The last column of Table 3 provides a model for forecasting the success of songs in the year they are released. The 2.2 million songs available in the US in 2011 include 134,241 songs released in 2011, as well as another 194,419 songs originally released in 2010. To forecast the success of the 2010 releases in 2011, we need a forecasting model for predicting the success of vintage-2010 songs when they were one year old, using data available prior to their release. To this end, we estimate a model analogous to column 3 of Table 3, using data on vintage-2009 releases in 2010. When the resulting coefficients are applied to vintage-2010 releases,
we can predict their $\delta$'s for 2011. We produce analogous forecasting models going back to predicting the success of vintage-2007 songs in 2010 (which we use to forecast the success of vintage-2008 songs in 2011). These regressions are reported in Table 4. The regression $R^2$ range from 0.390 to 0.338, and the $R^2$ associated with forecasting 2011 sales of the respective vintages range from 0.316 to 0.203. When we stack the resulting forecasts of 2011 $\delta$ for songs from vintages 2008-2011, the prediction $R^2$ - the squared correlation of realized 2011 $\delta$ and the forecasts - is 0.263.

Our main interest is not in the level of welfare under the counterfactual or status quo regimes, nor in the difference in welfare between the status quo and counterfactual regimes per se. We are interested in the difference between these changes under perfect foresight and imperfect predictability, $\frac{\Delta CS_{IP}}{\Delta CS_{PF}}$, where $\Delta CS_{IP}$ is the change in welfare with the expanded choice set under imperfect prediction, and $\Delta CS_{PF}$ is the analogous change under perfect foresight. We term this expression the $\Delta CS$ ratio.

We will follow two main approaches in our counterfactual calculations, treating different sets of products as “endogenous.” First, we treat only the vintage-2011 products as endogenous, terming this the “2011 approach.” That is, we treat the pre-2011 products available in 2011 as exogenously available and omit the bottom two thirds of vintage 2011 products (according to their expected quality) in our counterfactual choice set. In a second approach, we treat all of the songs for which we have quality forecasts (vintages 2008-2011) as endogenous. Because songs depreciate over time, $\delta_j'$ will be lower for older songs because of their age, and not because they had lower expected quality at initial release. If we treat the top third of $\delta_j'$’s as the counterfactual choice set, we might systematically exclude older songs, rather than songs of lower expected quality at release. To avoid this problem, we construct the counterfactual choice set by including all pre-2008 products available in 2011 as well as the top third of $\delta_j'$’s by release vintage rather than overall. We term this the “2008-2011 approach.”

These simulations can be interpreted to represent a cost reduction that occurred starting in 2008 (in the case of the 2008-2011 approach) or 2011 (in the case of the 2011 approach). Of course, the absolute change in welfare arising from the cost reduction that expands the choice set to status quo proportions will differ according to whether the simulated cost reduction arrived for the 2008 or the 2011 vintages. But it is worth noting, again, that we are interested
in the relative change in welfare (e.g. \( \frac{\Delta CS_{IP}}{\Delta CS_{PF}} \)) and not in the absolute change.

Because of the importance of forecast quality for our results, we explore the sensitivity of results to different assumptions about forecast quality in Section 7.

### 5.3 Fixed Costs

Our estimates of fixed costs are based on estimates of the expected revenue of the last entering product. We estimate these for both the 2011 and the 2008-2011 approaches presented above. In the 2011 approach, we calculate perfect foresight status quo fixed costs as the expected (and realized) revenue of the lowest-appeal vintage 2011 product. Because the lowest revenue observed in the data for a vintage 2011 song is $1, the resulting status quo fixed cost estimate under perfect foresight is $1 (see Table 5). The analogous perfect foresight counterfactual fixed cost is estimated as the expected revenue of the last entering vintage-2011 product when all pre-2011 products are in the choice set while only the top third of vintage-2011 products (by realized quality) enter. We estimate this to be $22.01.

We estimate status quo no predictability fixed costs under the 2011 approach by calculating the average revenue to each of the vintage-2011 products when they are available alongside the earlier, exogenous products (from vintages prior to 2011). We estimate these as $1555.28. For the counterfactual no predictability fixed costs, we randomly remove two thirds of the vintage 2011 songs, then calculate the average revenue per 2011 song when, again, they are sold alongside all of the pre-2011 songs. We repeat this random exercise 5,000 times, resulting in a counterfactual fixed costs estimate of $1741.62.

We calculate the imperfect predictability status quo fixed costs using the 2011 approach by ordering the 2011 products by expected quality. We then seek an estimate of the expected revenue of the last entering vintage-2011 product when it is available alongside both the preceding vintage-2011 product and all of the pre-2011 products. Using equation (8), we estimate the status quo fixed cost as the expected revenue of the last entering product. We obtain an estimate of $3.36. We similarly estimate the counterfactual imperfect predictability fixed costs as the expected revenue of the \( k = \frac{N}{3} \) entering product, obtaining an estimate of $312.93.

As is customary in the empirical entry literature, our fixed cost estimates are derived from a
cross section of revenue data. The fixed costs produced via the 2011 approach are estimated from expected first-year song revenue. If first year revenue is proportional to lifetime revenue, then our fixed cost estimates will be proportional to the true underlying fixed costs. Given that song revenues tend to decline with the age of songs, we obtain different fixed cost estimates if we also include songs of earlier vintages.

We also estimate fixed costs under the 2008-2011 approach. The no predictability case is the most straightforward, so we describe it first. Status quo fixed costs are calculated as the average revenue to songs of vintage 2008-2011 in the year 2011, when they are marketed alongside songs with vintages before 2008. We calculate this as $858.13. Not surprisingly, this is below the fixed cost implied by the 2011 approach, since that approach is based on first-year revenue. The no predictability counterfactual fixed costs are calculated as the average revenue to a randomly chosen third of songs of vintages 2008-2011 (marketed alongside the older songs). We estimate this as $1280.47.

Under the 2008-2011 approach, we estimate the remaining fixed costs as the weighted average of vintage-specific fixed costs estimates. The example of counterfactual perfect foresight fixed costs provides a useful illustration. We can order the vintage 2008-2011 songs by realized quality within vintage. Under the counterfactual, only the top third of products from each of these vintages enters. We estimate the fixed costs associated with vintage 2008 songs in 2011 as the revenue of the vintage-2011 song at the 33\(^{rd}\)-highest percentile of quality, when the remainder of the choice set includes all pre-2008 songs as well as the top third of songs from vintages 2008-2011. We estimate analogous fixed costs associated with vintages 2009-2011, then average them according to the relative numbers of songs from vintages 2008-2011, respectively.

Using this approach we estimate status quo perfect foresight fixed costs as $1. This is as before because the last entering product from each vintage 2008-2011 in 2011 has one sale. Counterfactual perfect foresight fixed costs are $17.91. Imperfect predictability fixed costs under the status quo are $5.55, while counterfactual imperfect predictability fixed costs under the 2008-2011 approach are $234.17.

While the status quo and counterfactual fixed costs estimates are mainly inputs into our welfare calculations, they are also of some direct interest as answers to the question “how much must fixed cost have fallen to generate a tripling of entry?” The answer, under imperfect
predictability, is a factor of 42 to 93, or between one and two orders of magnitude.

6 Simulations

We now turn to evaluating the welfare benefits of tripling the choice set.

6.1 Effect of Tripling the Number of Songs on Welfare

Our main goal in this paper is comparing the welfare delivered by the long tail in production with that arising from the long tail in consumption. For example, Brynjolfsson et al. (2003) quantify the long tail benefits by comparing the consumer surplus available from the top 100,000 books to the consumer surplus delivered by access to all extant books. This exercise corresponds to our estimates of the benefits of the expanded choice set under perfect foresight. Table 6 reports our estimates of the welfare consequences of the cost reduction that raises the number of products in the choice set based on two counterfactual thought experiments: the tripling of products from vintages since 2008 (the 2008-2011 approach) and the tripling of products just for the vintage 2011 (the 2011 approach).

The degree of predictability matters substantially for the result. If producers had perfect foresight, the gains from expanding the choice set - the conventional long tail benefits - would be small. Adding just more vintage-2011 songs raises consumer surplus by $0.06 million, and adding more vintage 2008-2011 songs raises consumer surplus by $0.30 million. At the other extreme - with no predictability - the analogous counterfactual expansions of the choice set raises consumer surplus by 200 to 300 times more. That is, if it were literally true that nobody knew anything about which products would succeed, then the long tail in production would produce benefits 2-3 orders of magnitude larger than the benefits of the long tail in consumption. Results for revenue are similar.

Using our preferred imperfect predictability approach, expanding the choice set using just vintage-2011 songs raises consumer surplus by 17.2 times as much as the increase under perfect foresight. Using vintages 2008-2011, the increase is 19.16 times as much. Revenue results are quite similar.\(^\text{16}\)

\(^{16}\)We estimated the \(\Delta CS\) ratio from the 2011 model using the entire US 2011 dataset rather than just the
This is the main result of our paper: with a degree of predictability that is plausible for an innovative process understood to be uncertain (recall the industry lore containing the overstatement that “nobody knows anything”), the gain from a cost reduction that raises the number of products tested in the market is an order of magnitude higher than the conventional long tail benefit of an expanded choice set.

While our main focus is on the difference between $\Delta CS$ under imperfect predictability and perfect foresight, a few comments on the absolute size of our estimates are in order. First, the absolute size of $\Delta CS$ using the 2008-2011 approach, at almost $0.3$ million under perfect foresight and $5.7$ million under imperfect predictability, is small compared with the $1$ billion reported by Brynjolfsson et al. (2003) for books. Using our perfect foresight approach, the welfare benefits of the full choice set relative to the top 100,000 products is $10.45$ million.

We have focused thus far on the change in CS, but we can also examine the impact on full welfare, which includes the changes in CS, revenue, and fixed costs. As Table 6 shows, the relative change in total welfare (e.g. $\frac{\Delta W_{IP}}{\Delta W_{PF}}$) are similar to the relative changes in CS. In particular, expanding the choice set using just vintage-2011 songs raises total welfare by 16.09 times as much as the increase under perfect foresight. Using vintages 2008-2011, the increase is 15.23 times as much. Much of the change in total welfare arises from a reduction in the estimated fixed costs. We estimated fixed costs from the expected revenue of the last entrant, and we are hesitant to rely on our fixed cost estimates for measuring overall welfare. It seems likely that inframarginal entrants have higher fixed costs, in which case our approach - calculating total cost as $N \cdot FC$ - will underestimate the overall costs. We can view our fixed costs estimates $E [r(N)]$ as lower bounds on the fixed cost. The upper bound is the expected revenue of a $k^{th}$ entrant when all $N$ products enter: $E [r(k, N)]$. Hence, the lower bound of fixed costs is $N E [r(N)]$, while the upper bound is $\sum_{k=1}^{N} E [r(k, N)]$. The latter sum is total revenue, so if total costs equal total revenue, then welfare is consumer surplus.

7 Robustness

Our estimate of the $\Delta CS$ ratio depends on a host of underlying parameters, including the substitutability of products in the demand model ($\sigma$), the ability of investors to forecast extract employed in Aguiar et al. (2014). The resulting estimate is 20.17, allaying concerns that the result is attributable to sample composition.
quality at the time of investment \( (R^2) \), and the magnitude of the enlargement of the choice set (the share of status quo products available in the higher-cost counterfactual - one third in the default). In this section we consider the sensitivity of our estimate to these modeling decisions.

7.1 Share of Products Included in the Counterfactual Choice Set

Our baseline counterfactual is a world in which all old - and only one third of recent - products exist. It is useful to know how the ratio of interest varies for different counterfactual shares (besides one third). To this end, we redo the counterfactual involving 2011 alone, including different shares of products between 0 and 1. Figure 3 depicts the \( \Delta CS \) ratio \( (\frac{\Delta CS_{IP}}{\Delta CS_{PF}}) \) as a function of the share of 2011 products included in the counterfactual. By construction, the ratio is 1 when all products are included (when the share is 0, indicating that all products are excluded from the counterfactual). As the share rises, the ratio rises substantially, reaching 10 at a share of 0.1. The ratio is 17.2 at a share of one third (when the top third of products are included in the counterfactual). The ratio continues to rise as the share rises. We conclude that our random long tail in production is substantially larger than the conventional long tail for a wide range of choice set enlargements.

7.2 Substitution Parameter \( \sigma \)

One of the important determinants of the sensitivity of welfare to the size of the choice set is the substitution parameter \( \sigma \). Our baseline simulations use a high value of \( \sigma \) (0.817), which is conservative in the sense that it implies small welfare improvement with increases in the choice set. Of course, the result of interest is not the change in welfare per se but the ratio of changes in welfare under different expectations regimes. It is not clear (to us, anyway) a priori how different levels of substitution affect this ratio, so we undertake simulations for different values of \( \sigma \). Recall that our estimates ranged between about 0.4 and 0.8. We choose various values of \( \sigma \). Each value of \( \sigma \) gives us a new vector of product qualities \( \delta \), which we term \( \delta(\sigma) \). We then use the new \( \delta \) vector to create forecasts of expected quality. We use these to create estimates of the change in CS under imperfect predictability and perfect foresight. For these simulations we treat only 2011 songs as endogenous. Figure 4
depicts the relationship between $\sigma$ and the $\Delta CS$ ratio. Our estimate of the ratio is nearly invariant to our choice of $\sigma$. We find that the $\Delta CS$ ratio remains high for a wide range of $\sigma$ values.

Because $\sigma$ is the only estimated parameter determining $\delta$, Figure 4 also contains implicit estimates of the standard error of our $\Delta CS$ ratio estimate. That the $\Delta CS$ ratio is nearly invariant in $\sigma$ means that if we take bootstrap draws from the estimated $\sigma$ distribution, the resulting values of the $\Delta CS$ ratio would be tightly clustered. There is one complication. Our baseline estimate of $\sigma$ is 0.817 (with a standard error of 0.11). Draws from $N(0.817, 0.11)$ yield some realizations with $\sigma \geq 1$, which gives rise to a discontinuous jump in the $\Delta CS$ ratio. Putting aside this possibility (which happens 9 times in 100 draws using baseline $\sigma$), we obtain a bootstrap standard error of the $\Delta CS$ ratio of 0.026. Note further that most of our estimates of $\sigma$ in Table 1 have confidence intervals that are interior to $[0, 1]$ giving rise to a narrow range of $\Delta CS$ ratio estimates. We conclude that our estimates of the $\Delta CS$ ratios are precise.

It is of interest to know whether our basic result is robust to choice of demand models. We explore this by calculating the $\Delta CS$ ratio for the simple logit model, which is a special case of the nested logit with $\sigma = 0$. We do this not because we view logit as a plausible model but rather because we are interested in the estimate’s sensitivity to model choice. The logit estimate of the basic counterfactual, the $\Delta CS$ ratio using the 2011 approach, yields an estimate of 17.16, which is nearly identical to our basic estimate. Hence, we conclude that the effect we document is robust across a range of demand models.

7.3 Investors’ Forecasting Ability

One of the key features of the model is the extent to which investors can forecast quality at the time of investment, and we would like to investigate the sensitivity of our estimate to different abilities to forecast. In particular, the better their ability to forecast, the smaller the welfare gain under imperfect predictability relative to perfect foresight. Ideally, we would like to see beyond the veil of our ignorance to see how our forecasting ability improves as we add more variables. Of course, we have already included all of the variables available to us in our forecast. To see how our estimate would change if we had better ability to forecast, we create a new explanatory variable that is the true value of $\delta$ plus a scaled random error.
That is, define $W_j = \delta_j + sv_j$, where $s$ is a scaling variable which we control and $v$ is a standard normal error.

Then our forecasting model regresses $\delta$ on $Z$ as in Section 5.2 above, along with $W$. We begin with a large value of $s$, so that we are adding an irrelevant variable, whose coefficient will be small.\textsuperscript{17} As $s$ shrinks, $W$ acquires a significant coefficient; and our ability to predict quality improves. Each value of $s$ is thus associated with a regression $R^2$ (and a prediction $R^2$, as in Section 5.2) as well as a different value of the change in CS under imperfect predictability. When $s = 1000$, the regression $R^2$ rises from its baseline of 0.39 to 0.44; and the associated prediction $R^2$ (for vintage 2011 alone) rises from its baseline of 0.32 to 0.39. When $s = 300$, the regression $R^2$ rises to 0.71, and the associated prediction $R^2$ is 0.70. Using just the 2011 songs as endogenous, Figure 5 depicts the relationship between the $\Delta CS$ ratio and the regression $R^2$. As $R^2$ rises from its baseline value of 0.39 to 0.5, our estimate of the $\Delta CS$ ratio falls from 17.2 to about 7. When $R^2$ reaches 0.6, the $\Delta CS$ ratio falls below 5. When $R^2$ reaches 0.8, the $\Delta CS$ ratio falls below 2.

Of course we do not now know the true level of predictability of quality. We do know, however, that cultural industries are understood to be contexts in which quality predictability is challenging. To the extent that predictability is similar to what we characterize with our baseline model, the long tail in production will be much larger than the traditional long tail.

8 Conclusion

Our study has three conclusions. First, unpredictability can have a large effect on the impact of new product entry on welfare. Evaluating the benefit of new products is a central task for economics. We explore the welfare benefit arising from the new products prompted by reduced entry costs in a context in which quality is unpredictable. This unpredictability has a large effect on the benefit of new products. Given that unpredictability appears to be a common feature of new products, this idea may have wider applicability.

Second, applying this perspective to the impact of digitization on the recorded music industry yields some novel insights about the benefit of the Internet. Observers have understood the

\textsuperscript{17}We use the following values of $s$ to perform our exercise: 10000000, 5000000, 1000000, 500000, 100000, 10000, 1000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500, 450, 400, 350, 300, 250, 200, 150, 100, 50, 10, 5, 1, and 0. A value of $s = 10000000$ gives rise to our baseline $R^2$ of 0.39.
benefit of the Internet to operate through a shelf-space mechanism that we have termed the long tail in consumption. As important as this mechanism is, we propose that the long tail in production that we explore is similarly, and perhaps more, important. Reductions in entry costs allow producers to “take more draws,” and given the unpredictability of quality at the time of investment, taking more draws can generate more “winners.” Our estimates for music show that the production mechanism generates over fifteen times as much benefit as the consumption mechanism for an equal-sized increase in the number of products. Unpredictability is a generic feature of creative products such as books and movies, suggesting that the growth of new products in those categories may be producing large welfare benefits (Waldfogel, 2013a; Reimers and Waldfogel, 2013).

Finally, the results of this study provide evidence of an explicit mechanism by which the growth in new music products since Napster has raised the realized quality of music, as Waldfogel (2012) and Aguiar et al. (2014) have argued, despite the collapse of recorded music revenue.
References


Figure 1: Number of songs available and share of the population consuming, 2011.
Figure 2: Population and number of songs available, 2011.

Figure 3: ∆CS Ratio and Shares of Products Included.
Figure 4: $\Delta$CS Ratio and Substitution Parameter $\sigma$.

Figure 5: $\Delta$CS Ratio and $R^2$. 
Table 1: Demand Model Estimates (Nested Logit)†

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(2) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(3) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(4) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(5) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(6) Coef./s.e.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ln(inside share)</td>
<td>0.684***</td>
<td>0.680***</td>
<td>0.781***</td>
<td>0.675***</td>
<td>0.672***</td>
<td>0.817***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita</td>
<td>0.029***</td>
<td>0.029***</td>
<td>0.059***</td>
<td>0.020**</td>
<td>0.020***</td>
<td>0.044**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.72)</td>
<td>(0.73)</td>
<td>(2.51)</td>
<td>(0.98)</td>
<td>(0.98)</td>
<td>(3.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban population</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed broadband Internet subs.</td>
<td>-0.018</td>
<td>-0.018</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile cellular subs.</td>
<td>-0.005*</td>
<td>-0.005*</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet users</td>
<td>0.031***</td>
<td>0.031***</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument-year interactions</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covariates-year interactions</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted-R²</td>
<td>0.829</td>
<td>0.828</td>
<td>0.870</td>
<td>0.844</td>
<td>0.843</td>
<td>0.896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Obs.</td>
<td>50870037</td>
<td>50870037</td>
<td>50870037</td>
<td>50870037</td>
<td>50870037</td>
<td>50870037</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† Standard errors in parenthesis and clustered at the country level. Inside share instrumented with log(pop) in columns (1) and (3) and with log(pop) interacted with year dummies in specifications (2), (4), (5) and (6). All specifications include year dummies.

* Significant at the 10% level.
** Significant at the 5% level.
*** Significant at the 1% level.
Table 2: $\sigma$ Estimates (Nested Logit)$^\dagger$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>(1) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(2) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(3) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(4) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(5) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(6) Coef./s.e.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>0.644***</td>
<td>0.605***</td>
<td>0.876***</td>
<td>0.602***</td>
<td>0.582***</td>
<td>0.815***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.12)</td>
<td>(0.11)</td>
<td>(0.17)</td>
<td>(0.09)</td>
<td>(0.09)</td>
<td>(0.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log(Population)</td>
<td>0.684***</td>
<td>0.680***</td>
<td>0.781***</td>
<td>0.675***</td>
<td>0.672***</td>
<td>0.817***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Songs</td>
<td>0.417***</td>
<td>0.396***</td>
<td>0.457***</td>
<td>0.434***</td>
<td>0.425***</td>
<td>0.461***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log(Number of Songs)</td>
<td>0.412***</td>
<td>0.411***</td>
<td>0.450***</td>
<td>0.446***</td>
<td>0.446***</td>
<td>0.466***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.08)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Full set of covariates: $\times \times \times \checkmark \checkmark \checkmark$

Instrument-year interactions: $\times \checkmark \checkmark \times \checkmark \checkmark$

Covariates-year interactions: $\times \times \checkmark \times \times \checkmark$

$^\dagger$ Each figure in the table comes from a different estimation of equation (9) and gives the corresponding estimate of $\sigma$.

Standard errors in parenthesis and clustered at the country level.

* Significant at the 10% level.

** Significant at the 5% level.

*** Significant at the 1% level.
Table 3: Forecasting Model for New Songs in 2011†

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(2) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(3) Coef./s.e.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artist’s Age</td>
<td>-12.971***</td>
<td>-10.677***</td>
<td>-20.674***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.26)</td>
<td>(0.24)</td>
<td>(0.64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artist’s Age squared</td>
<td>0.143***</td>
<td>0.123***</td>
<td>0.310***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log(sales in 2009)</td>
<td>70.676***</td>
<td>52.129***</td>
<td>54.058***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.61)</td>
<td>(0.57)</td>
<td>(0.92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.72)</td>
<td>(0.65)</td>
<td>(1.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log(sales in 2007)</td>
<td>-1.579**</td>
<td>-2.661***</td>
<td>-6.012****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.70)</td>
<td>(0.63)</td>
<td>(1.23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log(sales in 2006)</td>
<td>5.574***</td>
<td>1.327***</td>
<td>-2.733**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.53)</td>
<td>(0.48)</td>
<td>(1.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years Since Last Release</td>
<td>10.460***</td>
<td>6.703***</td>
<td>18.480***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.45)</td>
<td>(0.41)</td>
<td>(1.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Artist</td>
<td>484.550***</td>
<td>351.116***</td>
<td>317.276***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.26)</td>
<td>(3.94)</td>
<td>(5.48)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Label fixed effects        ✓ ✓ ✓
Age interactions           ✓ × ✓
Age² interactions          ✓ × ✓
Years since last release interactions‡ ✓ × ✓

R²                        0.196 0.386 0.390
Prediction R²              0.200 0.315 0.316
No. of Obs.                156411 156411 156411

† All estimations use 2010 data and songs from vintage 2010. Interactions are made with both total past sales variables and years since last release. Forecasting R² is computed as explained in the text. Standard errors are in parenthesis.
‡ The years since last release variable is interacted with past sales, artist age and artist age squared.
* Significant at the 10% level.
** Significant at the 5% level.
*** Significant at the 1% level.
Table 4: Forecasting Models for $S$ Years Old Songs in 2011†

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(2) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(3) Coef./s.e.</th>
<th>(4) Coef./s.e.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Artist’s Age</strong></td>
<td>-20.674***</td>
<td>-20.003***</td>
<td>-18.370***</td>
<td>-12.300***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.64)</td>
<td>(0.46)</td>
<td>(0.43)</td>
<td>(0.39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Artist’s Age squared</strong></td>
<td>0.310***</td>
<td>0.300***</td>
<td>0.285***</td>
<td>0.187***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log(sales in 2009)</td>
<td>54.058***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.92)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log(sales in 2008)</td>
<td>-13.411***</td>
<td>43.285***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.06)</td>
<td>(0.72)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log(sales in 2007)</td>
<td>-6.012***</td>
<td>-3.088***</td>
<td>34.107***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.23)</td>
<td>(0.91)</td>
<td>(0.71)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.07)</td>
<td>(0.77)</td>
<td>(0.67)</td>
<td>(0.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Years Since Last Release</strong></td>
<td>18.480***</td>
<td>19.328***</td>
<td>9.039***</td>
<td>1.387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.48)</td>
<td>(1.08)</td>
<td>(1.06)</td>
<td>(1.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Artist</strong></td>
<td>317.276***</td>
<td>249.270***</td>
<td>163.953***</td>
<td>105.391***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5.48)</td>
<td>(3.85)</td>
<td>(3.62)</td>
<td>(3.31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Label fixed effects</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age interactions</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age$^2$ interactions</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years since last release interactions†</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R$^2$ | 0.390 | 0.363 | 0.339 | 0.338 |
Prediction R$^2$ | 0.316 | 0.280 | 0.258 | 0.203 |
No. of Obs. | 156411 | 229330 | 213393 | 209444 |

† All estimations use 2010 data. Specification (S) is used to predict the quality of (S-1) year old music in 2011. Interactions are made with both total past sales variables and years since last release. Standard errors in parenthesis.
‡ The years since last release variable is interacted with past sales, artist age and artist age squared.
* Significant at the 10% level.
** Significant at the 5% level.
*** Significant at the 1% level.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regime</th>
<th>PF</th>
<th>Imp Pred</th>
<th>No Pred</th>
<th>PF</th>
<th>Imp Pred</th>
<th>No Pred</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Counterfactual</td>
<td>17.91</td>
<td>234.17</td>
<td>1280.47</td>
<td>22.01</td>
<td>312.93</td>
<td>1741.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Quo</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>5.55</td>
<td>858.13</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>1555.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† All figures are in $. PF: Perfect Foresight; Imp Pred: Imperfect Predictability; No Pred: No Predictability.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Regime</th>
<th>$\Delta$CS</th>
<th>Ratio CS</th>
<th>$\Delta$Rev</th>
<th>Ratio Rev</th>
<th>$\Delta$TC.</th>
<th>Ratio TC</th>
<th>$\Delta$W</th>
<th>Ratio W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008-2011</td>
<td>Perfect Foresight</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-3.66</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2011</td>
<td>Imperfect Predictability</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>19.16</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>19.18</td>
<td>-53.42</td>
<td>14.59</td>
<td>64.85</td>
<td>15.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2011</td>
<td>No Predictability</td>
<td>64.81</td>
<td>217.44</td>
<td>65.62</td>
<td>220.19</td>
<td>317.78</td>
<td>-86.76</td>
<td>-187.35</td>
<td>-43.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Perfect Foresight</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-0.85</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Imperfect Predictability</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>17.20</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>17.21</td>
<td>-13.55</td>
<td>15.93</td>
<td>15.67</td>
<td>16.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>No Predictability</td>
<td>18.56</td>
<td>302.05</td>
<td>18.63</td>
<td>303.29</td>
<td>130.85</td>
<td>-153.84</td>
<td>-93.66</td>
<td>-96.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† All figures are in million of $. The columns labeled Ratio report the ratio between $\Delta$ in the corresponding regime and $\Delta$ in the Perfect Foresight Regime.
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European Commission
Joint Research Centre – Institute for Prospective Technological Studies

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Authors: Luis Aguiar, Joel Waldfogel

Spain: European Commission, Joint Research Centre

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Supporting legislation