# Comments on Cento Veljanovski: Pros and Cons of Counterfactuals in Competition Law

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Stockholm, 06.12.2013



### What's the paper about?

- Explains the term counterfactuals
- Gives an overview of cases
- Draws some lessons from these cases
- Main conclusions: Counterfactuals are ok in theory, but hard in practice
  - Question: What do we do?
  - Veljanovski's advise: Direct application



### The term «counterfactual»

- The paper gives a discussion of the origin and nature of the term "counterfactual"
- The paper claims that
  - counterfactuals plays no role in economics
    - Counting the word "counterfactual"
  - "...economists who have written on the subject (...) seem to treat counterfactuals as integral to the economic and effectbased approach to competition law e.g. Geradin and Girgenson (2012). Yet nothing could be further from the truth."
  - Counterfactual reasoning can be found in economics, but hardly part of mainstream economics
- The paper admits that the concept of counterfactuals occurs in econometrics



## Counterfactuals in the past and in the future

- Counterfactuals
  - Ex post: Hypothetical past
    - typically in assessing anticompetitive agreements
  - Ex ante: Forward-looking
    - typically in merger cases
- Status quo is also a counterfactual choice
  - The paper argues for an direct approach in effectbased cases.
    - Status quo as counterfactual?



### Lessons from the cases

- 1. What kind of cases require counterfactuals
  - Most useful in assessing anticompetitive agreements and in merger cases.
- 2. How to establish the counterfactuals
  - Convincing story
  - Use different sources/proofs to support the story (internal documents, statement from the parties involved, statement from competitors etc)
  - Complex economic theory is challenging
- 3. The number of counterfactuals
  - No problem if the result don't depend on the which counterfactual we assume
  - Challenging if the result depend on the assumed counterfactual
- 4. The failing firm argument
  - Burden of proof vs the standard of proof



### Conclusions

- Useful paper
  - Gives an overview of previous cases
  - Lessons from cases are good
  - Stimulating the debate
- But:
  - I would prefer to focus on how to improve the use of counterfactuals
  - Can't solve the challenges with counterfactuals by ignoring the problem

