

The Long Arc Behind Internet Economics: Five Rules of Thumb

By Shane Greenstein For GENI meeting, March 3, 2008

Prologue



- Thanks for giving me the opportunity to speak with you.
- Happy to hear feedback. All comments welcome

Motivating question



- If a set of very talented researchers had the opportunity – and funding – to redesign the Internet (or the infrastructure under an advanced data network), using recent past as a guide, what should they do and why?
- Scholarly interest:
- emergence of new commercial communications network governed by a new (?) set of principles.
- What long run economic factors shaped value creation during development of commercial Internet?
 - Raise questions. Bring a different perspective.

Explaining talk's title



- Organize the talk around "rules of thumb", not economic "principles". Why?
 - I will summarize a lot of economic thinking.
 - Not a precise science. One big example (and several small ones) from which to infer generalities.
 - Eternal truths > Rules of thumb > Yogi Berra
- Also cognizant of Spenser Silver's warning:
 - "If I had thought about it, I wouldn't have done the experiment. The literature was full of examples that said you can't do this."
 - If you believe you can change the world with your research, just go for it and please ignore me.

Five rules of thumb



- Limits to the breadth of Moore's law motivates much invention.
- New functionality diffuses quickly when it gets the platform economics right.
- Capital deepening differs from investment to encourage participation.
- Working prototypes catalyze commercial response.
- Market-oriented experimentation shapes and reshapes priorities.

Outline



Limits to the breadth of Moore's law motivate much invention.

- Platform economics
- Capital deepening/participation
- Working prototypes
- Market oriented experimentation

Moore's law as a basic and familiar place to start



- What is Moore's Law? Observation about technical improvement in past *and* a forecast for coordinating actions in near future.
- Enables new valuable opportunities.
 - For same cost... performance increase at exponential rate → cost of achieving prior performance declines at exponential rate
 - Range of capabilities by affordable device continues
 → "new range" = "new mass market capability."
- Moore meant it only for ICs. What does it have to do w/networks?

Historical experience suggests a broad construction of metaphor

- Range of hardware experiences similar trend
 - Memory devices, display screens, data switches, data transmission lines, sensors, etc. and so on.
 - Can reasonably expect it to continue.
- But *does not* hold for *all* complementary inputs into frontier networking.
 - New opportunities, but not uniformly for all inputs.
 - Human ability to learn new software languages.
 - Software coding for new applications taking advantage of new hardware capabilities.
 - Last mile delivery/sensor devices.

Response: Clever inventive activity.



- Economize on expensive input (e.g., humans).
 - By "automating" as much as (cheaply) possible.
- Specialize expensive device to high value use.
 - E.g., Distinct access technologies for distinct uses, including multiple wire-line & wireless modes.
- Redeploy existing capital to new purposes.
 - E.g., Instead of building delivery mechanism from scratch, invent the phone modem – a cheap way to repurpose existing telephone system for new use – and design TCP/IP to run over it.
- In general, "compromise" on an ideal, but make progress in some way.

More responses (continued)

- Share inventions among costly inputs.
 - Reduce costs of imitation or multi-site deployment of inventive software (e.g., shareware).
 - Develop means to aid disclosure of new discovery while still crediting inventors (e.g., the RFC).
 - Mandate compatibility across components (e.g., DOD TCP/IP compatibility requirements), reducing need to reinvent building blocks.
- Expect similar inventiveness w/GENI...
 - Leave open question of how that will be done institutionally...

Open questions as Moore's Law continues



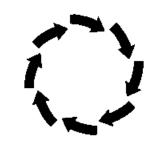
- GENI research rethinks the compromises of prior eras and address scarcity of new era?
- One idea: Introduce pricing for scarce goods.
 - Accessing network expensive (e.g., for video or for multi-sensor networks)... make users reveal urgency of their send/receive. Let packets "bid" for priority.
 - If transient scarcity in transit capacity... rethink protocols for real-time identification and resolution of scarcity through prices localized to place/time.
- In networks operator's attention is scarce...
 - Rethink protocols that bring info to operator's attention...

Outline



- Moore's law
- New functionality diffuses quickly when it gets the platform economics right.
- Capital deepening/participation
- Working prototypes
- Market oriented experimentation

Diffusion of new invention and platform economics



- Success at GENI will encounter platforms...
- Platform = standard bundle of components that users employ together for services.
 - Is the Internet a platform? (Yes. No. Probably.)
 - VERY short answer: Internet has standard bundle... but...also an unprecedented governance structure.
- Platform economics focuses on emergence (or not) of fragmentation & governance:
 - Fragmentation: large or small set of bundles which users have in common, around which build services.
 - Governance (aka platform leadership): Predictable
 rules/processes for changing standard bundle.

Fragmentation tends not to occur in use of network infrastructure

Because scale has advantages.

- Scale allows users/developers to share in scarce resources, inventive tools, fixed costs.
- Scale aggregates capabilities. Easier to *add-on* new capability to existing platform (to expand scope & suit new niche demand) than start from scratch.
- More participation enables more potential communication, which is more valuable for users.
- Commercial computing platforms tend to be identified with firm taking leadership.

• IBM 360/370, DEC VAX, Wintel, dial-up AOL.

Platforms can fragment b/c...

- Why not one dominant platform? Somebody always unhappy w/dominant platform.
 - Once dominant platform starts can be hard to stop, but range of scope leaves some niches unfulfilled.
 - Some users want to employ the technology for different purposes and they are willing to pay for it (e.g., very high end computing boxes)
 - User/developers have strong opinions about design choices & options (e.g., Unix design wars).
- Commercial sponsors have strong strategic incentives to differentiate from others.
 - E.g., Commercial Unix in the 1980s.

The Internet/WWW experienced curse of success

- First-gen Internet designed to make progress for users in face of long odds (Historical note: wow, it did), & scaled by accumulating uses...
 - Designed for ftp, e-mail, etc., not to prevent spam...
 - Not for the instantaneous (?!) apps my kids use it for.
 - Presumed known participants, similar research goals, absence of malevolence, lack of commerce, etc....
- WWW made possible hyper-linked commerce.
 - Designed so researchers could send graphics, etc.
 - Not payments, massive search, identity/privacy, etc.
- Gives GENI research plenty to improve.



If new platform in GENI does not respect backward compatibility...

- Opportunity to rethink the assumptions made in the effort to deploy into an installed base.
 - If every developer/user starts from scratch.
- Expect the opportunity directed at high-risk "compelling" new stuff or future "killer app".
 - Historically... new platforms succeed more often when they attract new users /w new uses... so...
 - Respecting b.c. interferes w/deploying frontier designs at peak performance. Chance to rethink.

 Sacrifice widespread participation on same platform in short run, raise costs to new adoption of "new" device or serving new niche user.

The other part of platforms: governance.



- Commercial platforms tend to have core/periphery structure (e.g., MS & Windows).
 - What does core do? Typically (1) sets rules for determining standards, (2) operates processes to alter standards, (3) establishes targets/roadmaps to coordinate developers.
 - Sometimes (4) provides tools to build apps.
 - Leadership: controls pervasive standards on which others build.
- GENI not assuming particular governance form.
 - Focus on building tools, developing new standards...
 - If something starts to succeed, this topic will arise.

GENI platform organizational model? Unlikely to be traditional.

- Traditional research: "Teams" of lone wolves.
 - Confederation of academics on same budget.
- Commercial model: "Teams" in a hierarchy.
 - Core defines layer, invents on one side, enables peripheral developments at another layer.
 - Each periphery "team" aimed at niche use.
 - Core retains control, withholds information from "unfriendly" others, provides tools to periphery.
- Likely: Mixed developer & user model.
 - Give individual credit, but accumulate advance.
 - Restricted access to code (Apache, Mozilla) or Loosely mediated interaction (Wikipedia).



If GENI follows the norms for selforganizing platforms...

- Lacks commercial core, but has a hierarchy.
 - Distribution of effort tends to self-define hierarchy. 1% who do most work, as in 1/9/90 distribution of contribution. (see. E.g., Apache, Mozilla, Wikipedia).
 - Cooperation at 1% level, but rivalry within, and mediated etiquette at, other contributor levels.
- Initially core makes (1) rules for determining standards, (2) processes to alter.
 - Initially loose about (3) roadmaps/targets, and (4) about making tools for others. The latter emerge over time if there is success.



Open questions for GENI about platforms



- Rethink infrastructure platform code to support commerce w/o strict end-to-end.
 - Micropayment infrastructure w/ & w/o full identity.
 Opt-in/out choices about privacy/identity. Who owns what about the user? Who decides? When?
 - Opt-in/out for location/nexus of sales for taxation purposes/economic measurement. Who decides?
- Experiment: ways to get emergent networks from new sets of tools/processes.
 - If the core allows to opt-in/out deeper layers?
 - Which infrastructures enable designs for large scale user-suggested improvements?

Outline



- Moore's law
- Platform economics
- Capital deepening differs from investment to encourage participation.
- Working prototypes
- Market oriented experimentation

Capital deepening distinct from investment to grow participation

- If anything succeeds, soon will face this...
- Capital deepening: Increase performance of existing processes already in use.
 - Usually with the intent/goal of enabling scale.
 - E.g., Investment that increases bandwidth of highcapacity backbone or large scale routing.
- Investment to grow participation.
 - Develop new processes or products, usually with goal/intent of motivating new users to join, or migrate activity from one niche use to the network.

 E.g., The windows-based browser (Mosaic) made hyperlink computing accessible to general user.



Why are these distinct?



- Deepening/participation often involve different actors and distinct specializations.
 - Expertise needed for invention/investment differ.
- Need each other to be prosperous.
 - Incentives to invest in one (e.g., backbone services) depends on how parties are compensated in other (e.g., access services).
 - Some scale will emerge if there will be success.
- Inherent tensions for network at boundaries.
 - What is neglected due to lack of coordination?
 - Unbalanced growth b/w parts?

Boundary & discretion. Who is responsible for what?

More inherent tensions: Scale and variety trade-offs

- Deepening for scale helps & hurts variety
 - Capital deepening → refine processes → become basis for accumulating "add-ons" → scale can become basis for a variety of new developments to address groups of specific niches.
 - Interconnected refined process impose constraints on systemic invention \rightarrow suppress variety.
- Parties w/distinct views over best use of expensive asset → conflict over refinement.

 Example: Contemporary "neutrality" fights b/w broadband carriers & content providers over control to routing/delivery.



Questions for GENI about deepening/participation.



- Question: Prior Internet grew participation through deployment of TCP/IP to wide variety of installations.
 - Many proposals for rethinking price or non-price mechanisms for routing or access have implications for governance at boundary b/w different actors.
 - Cloud computing, similar boundary issues.
 - Researchers makes choices about enabled variety.
- Even more out there: Third world user base.
 - Thin networks to grow participation in resourcepoor regions distinct from capital deepening? How do these complement?

Outline



- Moore's law
- Platform economics
- Capital deepening/participation
- Working prototypes catalyze commercial response.
- Market oriented experimentation

Working prototypes



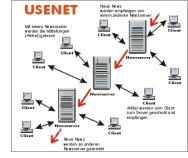
- Any success will generate a working prototype...
- Working prototype: a tangible demonstration of a frontier process or design.
 - Show theoretical concept in workable solution.
 - E.g., "running code" beats "prospective solution."
- Why important to complex technologies?
 - Identify solutions to bottleneck issues.
 - Reduce uncertainty about viability of proposal.
 - Sharpen estimates about design trade-offs.
 - Satisfy impatient user/vendor who wants *workable* now instead of promise about *better* tomorrow.
 - Aids forecasting.

A broad understanding of design/value of a prototype



- More than merely technical prototypes.
 - Also value in illustrating a workable new process or institution for enabling new activity (e.g., CIX).
 - Building bandwagons of use/improvement around technology or standards (e.g., SMTP, WWW).
- Prototypes can be especially catalytic for non-research participants.
 - Regulatory actors hesitate in absence of illustration (e.g., FCC has little incentive to take risks).
 - VCs hesitate (e.g., due to short time horizons).
 - Skeptical commercial managers may not "perceive the user value" (e.g., Gates and the browser).

How prototyping research shapes goals at GENI



- If some value cannot be learned until it involves regulatory actors, VCs, and skeptical commercial managers, why is GENI valuable?
 - Other actors have distinct milestones for measuring progress, distinct visions of value of opportunity, distinct capabilities for aspects of frontier.
 - They will interpret prototypes in a variety of ways...
- Inherently unpredictable response: Widely dispersed technical leadership (e.g., many orgs employ technical skilled personnel).
 - No single vision captures technical conversation.
 - (e.g., BBSs first commercial firms to deploy WWW).

Open Questions for GENI about working prototypes



- If rethinking traffic management thru time/place auctions or prioritizing & aggregating massive inform in real time...raise questions.
 - How to prototype results to show a non-technical observer? To demonstrate value?
 - How to prototype to test its macro-system properties, e.g., consequences of partially applied micro-pricing rules. (e.g., does saving cost in one place raises in another? And so on.).
- How to prototype the value from increased participation, when GENI limits participation?

- Building communities around student participation.
- Experiments with emergent social networks... among user/developers...

Outline



- Moore's law
- Platform economics
- Capital deepening/participation
- Working prototypes
- Market-oriented experimentation shapes and reshapes priorities.

Post-GENI: Mkt-oriented deployment & experimentation

- Actions to learn about value that cannot otherwise be learned in lab or w/user survey.
 - Full mkt value uncertain until this type of action.
- Different learning (illustration from 1997-98)
 - Technical features of new equipment (e.g., features of a 56K modem bank).
 - Operations for new equipment (e.g., to learn about regular peak load time/use patterns).
 - Market position (e.g., how much to charge and bundle with other services?)
 - Business organization logic (e.g., charge for complementary services or let others provide it?).

GENI is valuable for marketoriented experimentation

- Why frontier research computer science valuable. It finds its way into myriad uses.
 - Accelerates development in private R&D.
 - Fosters substitutes (e.g., 802.11 v 2G/3G).
 - Fosters complements that work together or build on one another (e.g., Mosaic browser/Apache server).
 - Fosters systems where whole greater than sum of parts (e.g., broad based electronic commerce).
- Letting a thousand flowers bloom inevitably leads to a mess.

 After solution becomes known, exploratory investment looks like waste of resources.



Open questions for GENI about experimentation



- Can pioneering work be positioned in advance of *inevitable* experimentation by commercial actors?
- First gen Internet was not sure the research would leave their small community.
- Stuff makes its way into commercial use w/big benefits (e.g., imagine the benefit if TCP/IP had made it into private use a decade earlier).
- GENI not market oriented, by design, but that does not mean not valuable for mkt actors.
- It can have a huge value by helping commercial actors rethink their own designs.

Time to cool down



Summary: Five rules of thumb

- What economic principles shape creation of value during commercialization of internet?
 - Limits to the breadth of Moore's law motivate much invention.
 - New functionality diffuses quickly when it gets the platform economics right.
 - Capital deepening differs from investment to encourage participation.
 - Working prototypes catalyze commercial response.
 - Market-oriented experimentation shapes and reshapes priorities.

Thank you

Thank you for your attention.

