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ISSN 1748-944X

The Antitrust Implications of Minimum Advertised Pricing: The Case of the U.S. Music Industry

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ABSTRACT

In May 2003, without admitting wrongdoing, music distributors and retailers settled with private plaintiffs and the Attorneys General of 43 States a civil suit regarding a conspiracy to inflate or

support prices of prerecorded music products through an industry-wide strengthening of the music distributors Minimum Advertised Price (MAP) policies. The settlement leaves as an open question the proper economic and legal standard (rule of reason versus per se) to be adopted in such cases.

MAP had both horizontal and vertical implications and may have facilitated a horizontal conspiracy between the music distributors. The MAP policies were alleged to be equivalent in effect to Retail Price Maintenance (RPM).



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The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) claimed that prices increased by approximately \$2 per CD and that consumers paid an extra \$480 million. The effectiveness of the MAP program in raising prices was due to the allencompassing nature of the advertising restrictions, the industry-wide implementation of MAP programs, the payment and significance of the advertising subsidy, and the severe penalties imposed for a MAP violation. This paper illuminates the antitrust implications of MAP policies through consideration of related practices in the United States market for music CDs. When viewed from this vantage point, MAP appears to be as pernicious as RPM.

KEYWORDS

Antitrust – Retail Price Maintenance – Minimum Advertised Price – Collusion – Cooperative Advertising - Music Industry

INTRODUCTION

In May 2003, without admitting any wrongdoing, music retailers reached a settlement agreement with private p General of 43 States regarding a conspiracy to inflate or prerecorded music products through the strengthening of Price (MAP) policies. The settlement was valued at over would benefit numerous retail CD purchasers. Historicall prices were set by the distributors on CDs whose adversubsidized by the distributor – a practice known as coop Since the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) matter was r of a consent decree without admission of fault and the psettled it leaves as an open question the proper econor (rule of reason versus per se) to be adopted in such castilluminates the antitrust implications of minimum advertise policies through consideration of related practices in the CDs.

BACKGROUND

The recording industry primarily served the markets for performances in the mid to late 1990s through the sale discs (CDs) and cassette tapes (tapes). Five major distr distributed over 85 percent of all prerecorded music in tl concentration is a result of a wave of mergers in the las century when independents were bought by major distr distributors are Warner-Elektra-Atlantic Corporation; Un Video Distribution Inc.; EMI Music Distribution, Inc.; Sony Inc.; and Bertelsmann Music Group. The major distribute numerous retailers including independent retailers, large mass merchandisers such as Target, Wal-Mart and K-Ma and consumer electronics stores such as Circuit City and sold music to sub-distributors or rack-jobbers, which supnot serviced directly by the distributors. Over this perioc store business became increasingly concentrated due to bankruptcies and the expansion of mass merchandisers firms controlling 46.8 percent of record store sales in 19 Bureau, 2000)

The competitive environment in music retailing had dram early 1990s. The major consumer electronics stores and

merchandisers expanded their music offerings and used CDs to increase store traffic and awareness. The price c electronics stores and mass merchants threatened the v music outlets causing about a dozen chains to file for ba 1,000 independent stores to close (Christman, 2001, p. in music retailing is evidenced by industry data on the p over the last decade. These data show that in the later of sales took place in record stores. The record stores's percent in 1992 and to 42.5 percent by 2000 (The Record America, 2001, p. 1). The data also show that the record part of their sales to the mass merchandisers and consustores. The share of sales for these distribution channel in the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) the "other store" category, grew from 15.6 percent in 19001.

In response to the increasingly competitive retail enviro music retailers asked distributors to strengthen MAP pol restrain price competition. The scheme is alleged to hav 1995, when the CEO of Musicland, Mr. Jack W. Euster, s presidential Keynote Address to the National Association Merchandisers (NARM) distributors and retailers:

This discussion brings us then to retailers, music company partnerships. More than e partnerships need to be tightened. Our in going to depend on proactive programs the to prevent the devaluation of CDs. As received be wary of marketers who use your productome-ons and loss leaders for other merc CV00-10781R, *O'Brien v. Time Warner*, [20] http://www.angelfire.com/biz2/savicom/Tl pp. 9 – 10).

Originally the distributors did not respond to the special However, when the distributors saw many speciality sto they responded by strengthening the existing MAP polic distributors realized that increased market power in the lead to less market power for the distributors and thus DESCRIPTION AND IMPLICATIONS OF MAP

Retail stores carry out considerable amounts of advertis have to choose which of the many products that they se their advertisements. Distributors of CDs want their pro these advertisements. In order to get their product adv will pay a fee to the retailers. This is termed co-operativ the retailers and distributors are jointly paying for the c advertisements. A condition of these co-operative adver retailer agrees not to advertise at a price below MAP in that are jointly funded.

However, historically the retailers were allowed to price operative advertisements, that is, those advertisement entirely by the retailer. The MAP policy that was questio not allow for co-op funds to retailers if prices in any adv below MAP.

Although the MAP policies of distributors technically allotheir product at whatever price they wanted, the retails communicate to consumers via media or in-store advertiwilling to sell CDs for less than the respective distributo the benefit of the revenue from cooperative advertising. loss of this revenue was considered significant from a pr Even retailers that were sceptical of the distributors' MA because the financial consequences of violating MAP we retailers could lose millions of dollars in co-op advertising adhere to the distributors' MAP policies (Christman, 199 advertising provided a cost advantage to stores receiving The MAP policy had considerable influence on price but s initially found innovative ways to circumvent MAP. For ex parts of June and July of 1996, devised a new market st MAP. It ran a campaign that advertised "every CD \$11 o fine print it stated that WEA, Sony and UNI products we City actually charged \$11 for these CDs too - as was she receipt that was faxed to Ed Christman of Billboard (Chr As the MAP policies were strengthened it became more circumvent MAP as other retail stores kept a watchful ey alleged cheating. Retailers would look for print advertis that were violating MAP and promptly send such ads to MAP policy was being violated. Even though retailers we whatever level they wanted, the potential loss of million revenue induced them to follow the more stringent MAP policies of distributors and their impact on retailers were newspaper article, which explained that most retailers t funds which effectively ended price competition for the k distributors had defended this policy, arguing that it pre the retail music business and kept smaller chains and ir business (Segal, 2000, p. 2). Mr. Euster in his Keynote A

paid entirely for the advertisement or in-store display, the

For years, wholesalers in many industries hav minimum advertised price programs to qualify have been especially effective in supporting the perceptions of their merchandise. Most music movie studios have MAP programs. These pro accomplish their goals best when the MAP price above wholesale cost as to not de-value the program store pricing as well as advertised prices and support for the entire ad on MAP compliance. we do together? (*O'Brien v. Time Warner* [200]

During the period of the alleged conspiracy, price increa demonstrated by a number of sources. Industry publica the price increases. For example, an article in Billboard & Bring Price War Cease Fire" stated, "Discounters' use of strategies is falling by the wayside as major distributors stance on minimum-advertised pricing. Thanks to the maresolve on MAP, prices of hit CDs at discount chains rose over the last month, industry observers say" (Christmar estimated that during the period of 1996-1999 when Marconsumers paid \$480 million extra for CDs. In addition to retailers, new and small firms were unable to compete & Krughoff explained: "MAP policies deny small firms the oprices to get visibility and a foothold against established competitors" (Spencer, 1993, p. 2).

Gary Arnold, VP of Marketing for Best Buy complains "the MAP is that more or less sets a price point for all merche what a retailer's cost of business is." For example, Arno

retailers' SG&A (selling, general and administrative) exp 40% of sales, whereas Best Buy's are only 13%" (Jeffre questions the wisdom of having firms with such diverge same price. The MAP policy as enforced in the CD marke an attempt to appease the speciality stores. The special primary source of revenue is the sale of CDs, did not watthe mass merchandisers and thus requested that the dienforce MAP and tighten the policy so that price compet the market.

PER SE ILLEGAL AND RULE OF REASON

The two principal laws governing antitrust in the US are and the 1914 Clayton Act. These acts are further extend Federal Trade Commission Act. When applying these Act one of two standards: the action of the defendants is consected illegal or determined under a rule of reason. Per selv and of themselves and the only defense allowed is that commit the act. Under the rule of reason the issue is who unreasonable based on its economic impact and thus in statues. Black's Law Dictionary (1990, p. 1332) defines follows:

Under the rule of reason test ... the fact fill all circumstances of the case to decide wh unreasonably restrains competition, and the plaintiff show anticompetitive effects, to competition, and not whether the pract or tortuous (*Richard Hoffman Corp. v. Integ Systems*, 610 F. Supp. 19 [1985] p. 22).

Thus, under the rule of reason, the reasonableness of tl determined on a case-by-case approach and the burder plaintiffs.

With regard to per se violations, the Supreme Court in *I Co. v. U.S* (356 U.S. 1 [1958]) stated that "there are cer practices which because of their pernicious effect on cor any redeeming virtue are conclusively presumed to be u therefore illegal without elaborate inquiring as to the pr caused or the business excuse for their use." Currently, restraints, minimum resale price maintenance, and alloc among competitions are considered illegal per se. Black' (1990, p. 1142) defines the per se doctrine as follows:

Under the "per se doctrine," if an activity intent and pernicious in its effect, a court into the reasonableness of the same befo that it is a violation of the antitrust laws. (Association of Clinical Laboratories v. Conne Inc. 324A.2d288 [1973] p. 291).

A per se rule assumes that a particular practice (i.e., pric RPM) is so detrimental to competition and generally lack terms of promoting competition that courts are not requ details of the case. The conduct is illegal per se. In othe prohibition implies that the conduct is always unreasona prohibition requires a thorough review of the potential k detrimental effects of the conduct. Here, the courts mus arguments put forth in order to decide whether the rest and therefore compatible with the Sherman Act. Hovenk

suggested that the most difficult aspect of the jurisprud is "determining when it should be followed." This is becarbaracterization is made, the legality of the practice is d inquiring into the market structure. Such a determinatio conduct can be recognized as harmful to competition an held illegal from the outset.

In *United States v. Socony Vacuum Oil Co.* (310 U.S. 150 Court declared that any combination tampering with pricengaged in an unlawful activity. Even though the memb group were in no position to control the market, to the raised, lowered or stabilized prices they would be direct free play of market forces.

MAP in this case is alleged to have stabilized prices. Hov restraint is not illegal per se unless it includes some agr price levels. In Continental T.V., Inc v. GTE Sylvania Inc (4) Court refused to extend per se illegality to vertical nonp stating that "departure from a rule of reason standard r demonstrable economic effect rather than...upon formali Court concluded that "vertical restraints had not been s 'pernicious effect on competition' and to be so lack[ing] as to justify per se illegality... Rather, we (the Court) for to stimulate inter-brand competition, 'the primary concer law'" (Handler, 1997, p. 656). Thus, the rule applied in h regarding agreements "affecting price" is much broader vertical agreements. The Music Distributors' MAP policies restrict pricing (they were allowed, albeit possibly witho reimbursement, to charge any price they wished). Yet M the advertising of prices, which directly impacted retail p retail price competition. Nevertheless, the case would h rule of reason basis (United States District Court of Main 1361, Decision and Order on Notice, Settlement Proposa and Attorneys fees, p. 30).

However, the relevant economic question is not whethe a specific price level but whether the arrangement causthan they otherwise would have been. That is, does the greatly attenuate price competition?

The Supreme Court of the United States has the final sa considered illegal per se and what is decided under rule *Company v. Khan* [1977] 522 U.S. 3). For example, in 19 ruled that maximum resale price maintenance (RPM) is r illegal per se and thus comes under the rule of reason. Fresale price maintenance is still considered illegal per se MAP was considered equivalent to RPM then it might be such a case, there would not be any need to determine actually injured competition. However, given the trend t treatment of vertical restrictions that conclusion is by no again there is the unfortunate aspect of not having a just

THE FTC COMPLAINT

In the music CDs antitrust litigation, the FTC charged the modified their MAP policies to induce retailers to charge This behavior is, at least at first blush, perplexing since that the music distributors would want retailers to charge distributors charged their "best" price because the quar retailers sell is greater at lower prices (Posner, 2001). The interest of the distributors to have low retail price increase the distributors' profits.

The FTC's actions were based on two different legal the Commission found that the more stringent MAP program constituted a vertical restraint in violation of Section 5 or rule of reason analysis. Second the Commission also for arrangements were practices that facilitate horizontal condistributors (Leary, 2000, p. 2).

The FTC contended that the MAP policy did not represer price maintenance agreement and thus was not illegal property Pitofsky stated there was no explicit agreement our view *Sharp Business Electronomics Corp. v. Sharp Ele* 717 [1998]) requires something more than a showing the some influence on price" (Pitofsky et al, 2000, p. 1). That presumption in favor of a rule of reason standard and the that standard must be justified by demonstrable econor facilitation of cartelizing. As to the facilitating practice the that:

The market structure in which the distributors' MA operated, the fact they were implemented with a stabilize prices, the significant price effects, and the compelling business justifications gave the Commbelieve that the practices materially facilitated intonduct (Leary, 2000, p. 5).

The Commission found that this MAP program exceeded by "including advertising paid for entirely by the retailer to in-store advertising, excepting only the smallest price product." The result of MAP was to stabilize retail prices prices. The FTC determined that there was "no plausible for MAP and that the mass merchandisers and consume were not "free riding" on services provided by traditiona 2000, p. 3). Free riding is the principal argument made I retailer restriction cases and exists when pre-sale service example, full service retailers that provide good pre-sale undercut by discount retailers that do not provide the p in turn, reducing the full service retailer's ability to offer case, MAP could be justified if free-riding on the part of I and consumer electronics stores was taking place becau higher margins which would support the desired pre-sal market, however, it was never established that pre-sale important. It might be argued that distributors wanted t of non-price competition among the dealers to stimulate services. For example, distributors might try to defend the basis that CDs cannot be marketed effectively unless th large CD inventory with listening stations, a deep catalc knowledgeable sales people. In other words, distributor their actions on the basis that if a distributor increases price that exceeds the cost of reselling the product, the the provision of such services.

The European Commission also investigated the vertical the five major recording companies and their retailers. I focused on allegations of resale price maintenance thro contracts with retailers where co-operative advertising linked to MAP. However, on August 20, 2001 the Europe suspended the investigation when the companies agree the practice (*EU Closes Inquiry*, 2001, p. 184).

DISTRIBUTOR'S MINIMUM ADVERTISED PRICE POLICIE PROVISIONS WHICH SUPPRESS RETAIL PRICE COMPET In the civil action in federal district court, plaintiffs focus implications of MAP. Plaintiffs alleged that similar MAP pc each of the major distributors, for the purpose of supprecompetition and consequently increasing the price of CE appear to have achieved this goal in the 1996-1997 per existing MAP policies to such a degree that retailers wer from pricing CDs independently. Industry observers clair MAP, prices of CDs at discount chains increased from \$9 month (Christman, 1996a, p.3). This was accomplished I op funds unless retailers displayed prices above MAP spendia advertisements and in-store displays including th by the retailer.

LIMITATIONS ON RETAILERS EXCEED THOSE FOUND IN POLICIES

It has been argued that the limitations placed upon reta industry exceed those found in traditional MAP policies. (2001, p.20) states, "these restrictions went beyond th programs that restricted solely the prices in the advertis the manufacturers." Music retailers were also required t distributors' MAP policies on all in-store signs and displa whether the distributor contributed to their costs. In tra advertising programs, manufacturers help dealers pay for promotions, with the condition that advertisements supmanufacturer cannot include any price advertising unles above suggested levels. Unlike the MAP policies support distributors, dealers are free to advertise price at whate when they buy their own advertising. Further, a MAP vic national or regional chain implied a loss of co-op funds for Elahi (2001, p. 21) describes the effect of the policies: " MAP policies – which was secured through significant fin effectively, eliminated the retailers' ability to communica consumers. This inability to effectively communicate disc meant that retailers had little incentive to actually sell p Before the more restrictive new MAP policies some retai price CDs to attract customers into their stores. This wa these consumers would purchase other items once they However, if the retailers were forced to advertise at MAI this inducement would not exist and there would be littl retailer to discount the price once the customer was alre

TRANSACTION PRICES ARE RELATED TO MAP PRICES

MAP directly affected CD prices by impeding retail price c consequently causing an increase in retail prices. This in logically from the following three facts. First, the distribu effectively imposed minimum prices through advertising with the loss of significant advertising subsidies for reta Second, all of the major distributors imposed similar MAI price restrictions on the key price points as noted above distributors with assistance from some retailers rigorous policies. When artificial restrictions prevent competitors information, price competition will also be restrained bec eliminate the competitive advantage obtained from lowe the increased sales that would come from advertising lc suggests that if one cannot advertise price below MAP t the reduction in revenue from anyone who would have k retailer at higher prices. When advertising below MAP pr cutting retailers would get a compensating increase in s customers came in to purchase CDs at advertised prices

Confirmation of the alleged relationship between MAP a is found in the following excerpt from Variety:

Better known in music circles by the acron system was essentially a pact between so retailers and the major label groups that sagreed-upon floor for retail CD prices. ... T from the big five was to tie the financial sigure retailers for advertising to an agreen retailers that they would not advertise be level. The strategy kept the discounters a maintaining pricing at more or less consist players (Oppelaar, 2000, pp. 1-2).

The MAP policies of distributors essentially led to all reta which thus efficiently forestalled price competition.

MAP'S EFFECT ON PROFITABILITY

The significance of MAP and its effect on pricing and prof demonstrated by the "Industry and Competitive Enviror contained in Trans World Entertainment Corporation's 1 is the annual financial report that a corporation must su States Securities and Exchange Commission. This states

During 1996, many of the major music vendors be programs such as the Minimum Advertised Pricing program to eliminate loss-leader pricing strategie programs penalize sellers that fail to comply with programs by limiting advertising support. The enformance MAP program has been successful in stabilizing prindustry. Non-traditional music retailers have sinc music and video selections and maintained less a pricing policies (Trans World, 1998, p. 5).

The profitability of retailers, as reflected in the companic values, significantly increased during the period that the expanded:

The US music chains and their wholesale s several of which have been in bankruptcy turning around as they move through the quarter. Wall Street is watching the recover music chains' stock price highlights the crit quarter. Trans World's stock price was \$3.0ctober, up from 52-week low of just over Group was up to \$6 recently from a low of December; and National Record Mart was from \$1.13 (Paige, 1997, p. 1).

The increase in the stock prices is not dispositive but it i impact that MAP is alleged to have had on prices and pro

THE COMPETITIVE EFFECTS OF ELIMINATING MAF

There was a fear in the industry that the elimination of I the price wars that existed in the recording industry in t publication stated, "Merchants privately say that the elir rekindles fears that the price wars will break out and rel unprofitability it suffered from 1994-1996, before the stradopted and enforced" (Christman, 2000a, p.1).

Robert Higgins, CEO of Trans World Entertainment Corp was a very aggressive pricing environment, the most ag seen in almost 10 years, due to the electronic superstormerchants deciding to take advantage of the FTC-mand majors' minimum-advertised-price policies" (Christman, article stated, "Like other industry players, Universal feecould break out again. In the last price war, which occur about a dozen chains filed for bankruptcy protection and independent stores closed, according to industry source p.2). This pattern of consolidation is similar to that found segments where more efficient competitors eliminated in retail establishments. It should be realized that this "creconsistent with a properly functioning market mechanism Further, elimination of MAP is consistent with current and strives to protect competition, not competitors.

THE ECONOMICS OF MAP

The economics of MAP is complicated because higher ret appear to be in the distributors' self-interest. The difference distributors' price and the retail price is the distributors' and sellers want to minimize that cost. Alternatively, a horeduces the demand for CDs and hence the distributors this perspective, it appears that it is not in the distributor promote higher prices in the retail sector (Posner, 2001, pp. 229-30).

Economic theory suggests several explanations for why nonetheless often restrict competition in the distributior (Posner, 2001, pp. 172-73). First, the distributors may k the dealers. That is, some retailers want to fix prices, as keynote address of Jack Euster, and somehow enlisted distributors to act as their agent in administering the call accomplished by the distributors' enforcement of MAP. It the success of this alleged conspiracy resulted from the were able to enlist the support of all the distributors. Pesupported this arrangement because it allowed them to prices at somewhat higher levels than they otherwise w

A second explanation (and perhaps the most plausible c distributors wanted to restrict the emergence of bilatera market for CDs. In the early nineties none of the special significant share of sales and it is likely given the level of the distributors had considerable control over the price for CDs. As some of the speciality stores began to fail, the have realized that over time Wal-Mart, Target, Best Buy have increased market power. During the time when Market about a dozen chains filed for bankruptcy and more than stores closed (Christman, 2000b, p. 5). This could event distributors facing an oligopsony (which exists when the the market). Under this market structure the distributor control over the price that they could charge retailers, who lower profits for the distributors in the long-run.

A third reason for MAP relates to the possibility that the distributor level. In this context MAP would serve as a fa to prevent cheating by the distributors since cheating w program would offer little benefit to distributors. Retaile to advertise the lower prices and expand their sales of distributors' product. Fourth, the distributors may have i margins through MAP to encourage non-price competitic

services. Perhaps CDs can be marketed more effectively catalogues, listening stations and knowledgeable sales manufacturer restrains price competition and increases marginal cost of providing distribution services without 1 services, then retailers should increase the level of non-

CONCLUSION

The facts presented above suggest that MAP had a horizortal level and may have facilitated a horizontal conspir distributors. Further, the MAP policies as implemented by industry could be considered equivalent in effect to RPM the MAP program in raising prices in the music CD marks encompassing nature of the MAP advertising restrictions all the distributors, the payment of an advertising subsipenalties imposed for a MAP violation. Further, one can conspiracy extended beyond some high-cost retailers their mark-ups and the distributors.

This case clearly shows that MAP programs can be as pe that MAP policies should be reviewed by antitrust autho their legality. Additional research is required to guide th programs. It is possible that MAP programs with less res have little antitrust impact. A key question then is can ce identified that cause MAP to be efficiency- enhancing or, characteristics make MAP comparable to RPM and theref antitrust laws (United States v. Container Corporation of A U.S. 333). MAP as practiced in the music CD industry ma benefits to consumers. The MAP programs also had both horizontal aspects. For example, it could be argued (and in the civil suit) that the distributors participated in the r can thus be considered a per se violation. As a result of increased considerably. The FTC claimed that prices incr approximately \$2 per CD and that consumers paid an ex Nevertheless, The Federal District Court of Maine specifi judged on a rule of reason basis because of the non-pri vertical restraint. Since MAP policies are agreements on advertised, not what could be charged, it is likely that the had plaintiffs satisfy the rule of reason standard. Yet MA the vantage point of music CDs, appears to have the sa Price Maintenance (RPM).

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Page contact: Paul Trimmer Last revised: Thu 6 Apr 2006