

#### The Adoption of Network Goods: The Spread of Mobile Phones in Rwanda

Daniel Björkegren

Brown University

• Facebook, Yelp, Waze, NetFlix

- Facebook, Yelp, Waze, NetFlix
- Mobile phones in developing countries:
  - 2000: 250 million

- Facebook, Yelp, Waze, NetFlix
- Mobile phones in developing countries:
  - 2000: 250 million
  - 2011: 4.5 billion

- Facebook, Yelp, Waze, NetFlix
- Mobile phones in developing countries:
  - 2000: 250 million
  - 2011: 4.5 billion
- Mobile money
- Mobile internet
- ...

#### How to attain a critical mass of users?

- Facebook, Yelp, Waze, NetFlix
- Mobile phones in developing countries:
  - 2000: 250 million
  - 2011: 4.5 billion
- Mobile money
- Mobile internet

• ...

How to attain a critical mass of users? How should industry be regulated? Benefits from adopting a network good

 $\bullet$ 

Benefits from adopting a network good



# Benefits accrue beyond adopter



# Benefits accrue beyond adopter



# Firms may not fully internalize network effects



Competitive

Benefits of expansion may spill over into competitor's network

# Firms may not fully internalize network effects



Competitive

Benefits of expansion may spill over into competitor's network



### Monopolistic

May underprovide if there are limits to price discrimination Achieving efficient adoption of network goods

Careful policies needed by both firms and governments

- 1. Substantial theoretical work
  - Rohlfs 1974, Katz and Shapiro 1986, Farrell and Saloner 1985
- 2. Little empirical work
  - Difficult to gather **data** on entire network
  - Difficult to identify network effects
  - Difficult to simulate effects of policies

# This project

Method to estimate and simulate adoption of a network good

Use 5 billion transaction records from nearly the entire Rwandan cell phone network:

- Estimate structural model of adoption
- Simulate policies

Alternate tax policies Government requirement to serve rural consumers Regulating Mobile Phones

#### Public finance opportunity:

• Contributed 7% of government revenue in sample of sub-Saharan Africa countries in 2007 (GSMA)

# Regulating Mobile Phones

#### Public finance opportunity:

• Contributed 7% of government revenue in sample of sub-Saharan Africa countries in 2007 (GSMA)

#### Expansion and univeral access:

• "Extending telecommunications services to rural and low income areas has been a paramount concern." - Mohsen Khalil, former Director of ICT at World Bank

# Revealed Network



# Revealed Network



# Revealed Network











## Empirical Approach: Value of the Network

What is the value of a link,  $\theta_{ij}$ ?

Empirical Approach: Value of the Network

What is the value of a link,  $\theta_{ij}$ ?

#### **Traditional Approach**

*i* adopts if the value exceeds the cost:

$$a_i = I( heta_{ij}a_j + \eta_i \ge cost)$$

If *i* is only linked to *j*.

But unobserved shocks  $\eta_i$  are likely correlated (Manski 1993).

# Empirical Approach: Value of the Network

What is the value of a link,  $\theta_{ij}$ ?

#### Traditional Approach

*i* adopts if the value exceeds the cost:

$$a_i = I( heta_{ij}a_j + \eta_i \ge cost)$$

If i is only linked to j.

But unobserved shocks  $\eta_i$  are likely correlated (Manski 1993).

#### My Approach

A link provides value because it enables calls:

$$\theta_{ij} = u_{ij}(p_t, \phi_t)$$

Response to usage costs identifies value of link

(Has parallels with Ryan and Tucker 2012)

# Empirical Approach

Estimate model of adoption and usage, as a function of coverage and prices

Simulate effect of three policies:

- Alternate tax policies
   Baseline taxes impose welfare costs up to 3.11 times the revenue raised
   Alternative taxes could have reduced burden on the poor
- 2. Government requirement to serve rural areas Improved welfare Benefits dispersed

Context and Data

Model

Estimation

Simulation

Application: Optimal Telecom Taxation

Application: Incentives to serve rural areas

Context and Data

Model

Estimation

Simulation

Application: Optimal Telecom Taxation

Application: Incentives to serve rural areas

Mobile phone subscriptions in developing economies:

250 million (2000)  $\rightarrow$  4.5 billion (2011)

Mobile phone subscriptions in developing economies:

250 million (2000)  $\rightarrow$  4.5 billion (2011)

- Handset prices declined
   Rwanda: \$70 (2005) → \$20 (2009)
- Regulators allowed competition

Mobile phone subscriptions in developing economies:

250 million (2000)  $\rightarrow$  4.5 billion (2011)

- Handset prices declined Rwanda: \$70 (2005) → \$20 (2009)
- Regulators allowed competition
- Operators adapted to reach poorer consumers:
  - Coverage expanded Rwanda: 60% of country (2005)  $\rightarrow$  95% (2009)
  - Calling prices reduced Rwanda: Reduced over 50% 2005-2009

# Rwandan Households

	All	With mobile phones		
	2005	2005	2010	
Fraction of households		5%	40%	_
Rural	85%	23%	75%	
Consumption per capita	\$264.81	\$925.14	\$429.77	

Source: Government Survey. Prices deflated to 2006.

# Mobile phone usage

### Adopting entails... marginal calling charges:

- Prepaid: no monthly fee
- Caller pays by the second, receiving is free

### and a high fixed cost:

Handsets sold at retail price

# Mobile phone usage

### Adopting entails... marginal calling charges:

- Prepaid: no monthly fee
- Caller pays by the second, receiving is free

#### and a high fixed cost:

• Handsets sold at retail price

#### What are phones used for?

Main purpose of last 10 calls was social for 92% of subscribers

Survey: Stork and Stork 2008

## Data

### Call Detail Records - with Nathan Eagle (Jana Inc.)

Anonymous transaction records from dominant operator, 2005 2000

Transaction	Amount	ID.From	ID.To	Tower	Timestamp
Call					
Call attempt					
SMS					

IDs map to account and handset for sender and recipient.

No other characteristics on subscribers.

5.3 billion transactions

► Industry
## Simplifications

#### Focus on domestic calls. Omit:

- SMS: data issues (16% of transaction volume)
- Missed calls

#### Call utility a proxy for total communication

Mobile Internet not in use, mobile money not yet available. Model calls between accounts. In the presence of phone sharing, model implies surplus of shared calls accrues to account owner. The Spread of Mobile Phones

Context and Data

#### Model

Estimation

Simulation

Application: Optimal Telecom Taxation

Application: Incentives to serve rural areas

Model



Model

# Adoption Decision Call Decision $Eu_{ii}(p_t, coverage_{it}, coverage_{it})$ $U_i(p_t^{handset})$ Identification: Geographical and policy Within-link changes instruments in price and coverage

Model: Call Decision

Adoption Decision

Call Decision

 $Eu_{ij}(p_t, coverage_{it}, coverage_{jt})$ 











#### 1.5m accounts 415m links





#### **Coverage** Computed from towers live at time *t*

Individual Locations Use improved Isaacman et al. (2011) clustering algorithm

#### Individual Coverage $\phi_{it}$

Kernel weighted average around each individuals' most used locations •

© 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe Image © 2013 GeoEye



#### **Coverage** Computed from towers live at time t

Individual Locations Use improved Isaacman et al. (2011) clustering algorithm

#### Individual Coverage $\phi_{it}$

Kernel weighted average around each individuals' most used locations •

© 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe Image © 2013 GeoEye

# Coverage Computed from towers live at time t

## Individual Locations

Use improved Isaacman et al. (2011) clustering algorithm

#### Individual Coverage $\phi_{it}$

Kernel weighted average around each in-

dividuals' most used locations 🕑

© 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe Image © 2013 GeoEye



## Individual Coverage: Example





Conditional on owning a handset

Each month, *i* draws a shock  $\epsilon_{ijt}$  for each contact  $j \in G_i \cap S_t$ , and chooses a total duration for that month:

$$u_{ijt} = \max_{d \ge 0} \left[ \frac{1}{\beta_{cost}} v_{ij}(d, \epsilon_{ijt}) - d \cdot c_{ijt} \right]$$

Conditional on owning a handset

Each month, *i* draws a shock  $\epsilon_{ijt}$  for each contact  $j \in G_i \cap S_t$ , and chooses a total duration for that month:

$$egin{aligned} u_{ijt} &= \max_{d \geq 0} \left[ rac{1}{eta_{cost}} oldsymbol{v}_{ij}(d, \epsilon_{ijt}) - d \cdot c_{ijt} 
ight] \ oldsymbol{v}_{ij}(d, \epsilon) &= d - rac{1}{\epsilon} \left[ rac{d^{\gamma}}{\gamma} + lpha d 
ight] \end{aligned}$$

v chosen to satisfy 8 intuitive properties.

- $\gamma$ : diminishing returns
- α: cost-dependent censoring
- $\beta_{cost}$ : price sensitivity

Conditional on owning a handset

Based on shock  $\epsilon_{ijt}$  drawn, *i* chooses a duration:

$$u_{ijt} = \max_{d \ge 0} \left[ \frac{1}{\beta_{cost}} v_{ij}(d, \epsilon_{ijt}) - d \cdot \frac{c_{ijt}}{c_{ijt}} \right]$$
$$c_{ijt} = p_t + \beta_{coverage} \phi_{it} \cdot \phi_{jt}$$

Per second cost:

- calling price p<sub>t</sub>
- hassle of obtaining coverage  $\phi \in [0,1]$



$$\underline{\epsilon}(p_t, \phi_{it}, \phi_{jt}) = \frac{1 + \alpha}{1 - \beta_{cost}(p_t - \beta_{coverage} \phi_{it} \cdot \phi_{jt})}$$

Higher shocks lead to longer total duration:

$$d_{ijt}^{*}(\epsilon) = \left[\epsilon \left(1 - \beta_{cost}(p_t - \beta_{coverage} \phi_{it} \cdot \phi_{jt})\right) - \alpha\right]$$



#### Distribution of $\epsilon$



Use mixture distribution: log  $N(\mu_{ij}, \sigma_i)$  and Bernoulli cost-independent censoring  $1 - q_i$ 

## Distribution of $\epsilon$



1. Most of density is to the left of  $\underline{\epsilon}$  (93%): Use mixture distribution: log  $N(\mu_{ij}, \sigma_i)$  and Bernoulli cost-independent censoring  $1 - q_i$ 

#### 2. Selection:

Over time, prices  $\downarrow$  and less talkative individuals subscribe Allow shock distributions to be link-specific

## Distribution of $\epsilon$



1. Most of density is to the left of  $\underline{\epsilon}$  (93%): Use mixture distribution:  $\log N(\mu_{ij}, \sigma_i)$  and Bernoulli cost-independent censoring  $1 - q_i$ 

#### 2. Selection:

Over time, prices  $\downarrow$  and less talkative individuals subscribe Allow shock distributions to be link-specific

3. Interested in expected utility  $E_t u_{ijt}(p_t, \phi_{it}, \phi_{jt})$ Assume  $\epsilon_{ijt}$  is i.i.d. over time, independent over links

#### Model: Adoption Decision



## Expected utility from communication



## Expected utility from communication



Each month owning a handset, *i* receives expected utility:

Outgoing Calls



Each month owning a handset, *i* receives expected utility:



Each month owning a handset, *i* receives expected utility:



Each month owning a handset, *i* receives expected utility:



$$Eu_{it} = \sum_{j \in G_i, x_j \leq t} \left[ E_t u_{ijt}(p_t, \phi_{it}, \phi_{jt}) + w \cdot E_t u_{jit}(p_t, \phi_{jt}, \phi_{it}) \right] + \eta_i (1 - \delta)$$

 $\begin{array}{l} G_i: \ i's \ \text{contacts} \\ \tau_j: \ j's \ \text{adoption month} \\ w \in \{0,1\}: \ \text{include utility from received calls} \\ \eta_i: \ \text{idiosyncratic benefit of having a phone} \end{array}$ 

#### Adopting a handset: an optimal stopping problem

At time *t*, *i* expects that adopting in period *x* yields utility:

$$E_t U_i^x(x_{G_i}) = \delta^x \left[ \sum_{s \ge x}^{\infty} \delta^{s-x} E u_{is}(p_s, \phi_s, x_{G_i}) - E_t p_x^{handset} \right]$$

 $\mathbf{x}_{G_i}$  expected contacts' adoption  $p_x^{handset}$ : expected handset price index from sales records

#### Adopting a handset: an optimal stopping problem

At time *t*, *i* expects that adopting in period *x* yields utility:

$$E_t U_i^x(x_{G_i}) = \delta^x \left[ \sum_{s \ge x}^{\infty} \delta^{s-x} E u_{is}(p_s, \phi_s, x_{G_i}) - E_t p_x^{handset} \right]$$

i adopts at first month  $x_i$  where adopting preferred to waiting:

$$\min_{x_i} s.t. \left[ E_{x_i} U_i^{x_i}(x_{G_i}) \geq \max_{s > x_i} E_{x_i} U_i^s(x_{G_i}) \right]$$

 $\mathbf{x}_{G_i}$  expected contacts' adoption  $p_{\times}^{handset}$ : expected handset price index from sales records

The Spread of Mobile Phones

Context and Data

Model

#### Estimation

Simulation

Application: Optimal Telecom Taxation

Application: Incentives to serve rural areas

#### Estimation

1 Call Decision Estimate shape and sensitivity parameters  $\gamma$ ,  $\alpha,~\beta_{cost},~\beta_{coverage}$ 

and shock distribution parameters (4.5 million)  $\mu_{ij}$ ,  $q_i$ ,  $\sigma_i$ .

using maximum likelihood

 $\downarrow$  compute  $E_t u_{ijt}(p_t, \phi_t)$ 

2 Adoption Decision

Back out  $\eta_i$ . Check  $\beta_{cost}$  using moment inequalities.



#### Call Model Parameter estimates

		Estimate			
Diminishing returns	γ 2.289				
Cost-dependent censoring	α 97.897				
Cost sensitivity	$\beta_{cost}$	0.200			
Coverage sensitivity	$eta_{ ext{coverage}}$	-3.845			
	N <sub>nodes</sub>	8,000			
	N <sub>links</sub>	1.3m			
	N <sub>link-months</sub>	39m			

For tractability, unified parameters estimated on 0.5% subsample of nodes and their complete set of links.

#### Estimated shock distributions

		₽JE					
Parameters:	Quantile:	0.05	0.25	0.50	0.75	0.95	Number
Fixed Effects	$\mu_{\max(x_i,x_i),\overline{\phi_{it}\phi_{it}}}$	-1.71	-1.45	-1.12	-0.65	0.00	519
	SE	0.31	0.31	0.31	0.32	0.32	
Node	$\mu_i$	1.95	3.01	3.66	4.95	6.83	1.5m
	SE	0.37	0.32	0.32	0.33	0.34	
	$\sigma_i$	0.80	1.30	1.62	1.98	2.58	1.5m
	SE	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.06	
	$q_i$	0.06	0.27	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.5m
	SE	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.00	

Structure  $\mu_{ij} = \mu_i + \mu_{\max(x_i, x_j), \overline{\phi_{it} \phi_{jt}}}$ 

 $N_{link-months} = 15$  billion

Shock distributions estimated imposing unified parameters. Node likelihoods are separable conditional on unified parameters; standard errors assume unified parameters are estimated without error.
## Estimation

1 Call Decision Estimate shape and sensitivity parameters  $\gamma$ ,  $\alpha,~\beta_{cost},~\beta_{coverage}$ 

and shock distribution parameters (4.5 million)  $\mu_{ij}$ ,  $q_i$ ,  $\sigma_i$ .

using maximum likelihood

 $\downarrow$  compute  $E_t u_{ijt}(p_t, \phi_t)$ 

2 Adoption Decision

Back out  $\eta_i$ . Check  $\beta_{cost}$  using moment inequalities.



### Handset Adoption: Revealed Preference

Observe *i* bought a handset at time  $x_i$ , not K months later:

$$\sum_{s=0}^{K-1} \delta^s \mathsf{E} \mathsf{u}_{ix_i+s}(\pmb{p}_{x_i+s},\pmb{\phi}_{x_i+s},\pmb{x}_{G_i}) + (1-\delta^K)\eta_i \geq \pmb{p}_{x_i}^{\mathsf{handset}} - \delta^K \mathsf{E}_{x_i} \pmb{p}_{x_i+K}^{\mathsf{handset}}$$

#### Handset Adoption: Revealed Preference

Observe *i* bought a handset at time  $x_i$ , not K months later:

$$\sum_{s=0}^{K-1} \delta^s \mathsf{E} \mathsf{u}_{ix_i+s}(\mathsf{p}_{x_i+s}, \phi_{x_i+s}, \mathbf{x}_{G_i}) + (1-\delta^K)\eta_i \geq \mathsf{p}_{x_i}^{handset} - \delta^K \mathsf{E}_{x_i} \mathsf{p}_{x_i+K}^{handset}$$

Similarly, at time  $x_i - K$  *i* chose to wait, so must have preferred some adoption time  $\tilde{K}$  months later:

$$\sum_{s=0}^{\tilde{K}-1} \delta^s \mathsf{E}\mathsf{u}_{i,x_i-K+s}(\mathsf{p}_{x_i-K+s},\phi_{x_i-K+s},\mathbf{x}_{G_i}) + (1-\delta^{\tilde{K}})\eta_i \leq \mathsf{p}_{x_i-K}^{handset} - \delta^{\tilde{K}} \mathsf{E}_{x_i-K}\mathsf{p}_{x_i-K+\tilde{K}}^{handset}$$

#### Handset Adoption: Revealed Preference

Observe *i* bought a handset at time  $x_i$ , not *K* months later:

$$\sum_{s=0}^{K-1} \delta^s \mathsf{E} \mathsf{u}_{\mathsf{i} \mathsf{x}_i + \mathsf{s}}(\mathsf{p}_{\mathsf{x}_i + \mathsf{s}}, \phi_{\mathsf{x}_i + \mathsf{s}}, \mathbf{x}_{G_i}) + (1 - \delta^K) \eta_i \geq \mathsf{p}_{\mathsf{x}_i}^{\mathsf{handset}} - \delta^K \mathsf{E}_{\mathsf{x}_i} \mathsf{p}_{\mathsf{x}_i + \mathsf{K}}^{\mathsf{handset}}$$

Similarly, at time  $x_i - K$  *i* chose to wait, so must have preferred some adoption time  $\tilde{K}$  months later:

$$\sum_{s=0}^{\tilde{K}-1} \delta^s \mathsf{E} \mathsf{u}_{i,x_i-K+s}(\mathsf{p}_{x_i-K+s},\phi_{x_i-K+s},\mathbf{x}_{G_i}) + (1-\delta^{\tilde{K}})\eta_i \leq \mathsf{p}_{x_i-K}^{handset} - \delta^{\tilde{K}} \mathsf{E}_{x_i-K}\mathsf{p}_{x_i-K+\tilde{K}}^{handset}$$

# Back out $[\underline{\eta}_i, \overline{\eta}_i]$ Set K = 2, $\delta = (\frac{1}{1.07})^{1/12} \sim 0.9945$ (World Bank)

Check if network value implied by call decision corresponds with that implied by adoption, using a traditional approach.

Check if network value implied by call decision corresponds with that implied by adoption, using a traditional approach.

Form adoption inequalities into moment inequalities, and instrument with:

- Incidental coverage due to interaction of topography and electric grid (similar to Yanagizawa 2014)
- Number of contacts receiving subsidized handsets

Need only be orthogonal to  $\eta_i$ , not observed usage.

Check if network value implied by call decision corresponds with that implied by adoption, using a traditional approach.

Form adoption inequalities into moment inequalities, and instrument with:

- Incidental coverage due to interaction of topography and electric grid (similar to Yanagizawa 2014)
- Number of contacts receiving subsidized handsets

Need only be orthogonal to  $\eta_i$ , not observed usage.

Implies that if recipients do not value incoming calls (w = 0): **\$1 of call utility = \$1.02-1.17 of handset price** 

Check if network value implied by call decision corresponds with that implied by adoption, using a traditional approach.

Form adoption inequalities into moment inequalities, and instrument with:

- Incidental coverage due to interaction of topography and electric grid (similar to Yanagizawa 2014)
- Number of contacts receiving subsidized handsets

Need only be orthogonal to  $\eta_i$ , not observed usage.

Implies that if recipients do not value incoming calls (w = 0): **\$1 of call utility = \$1.02-1.17 of handset price** 

If recipients also receive the surplus from incoming calls (w = 1): \$1 of call utility = \$0.27-0.31 of handset price

The Spread of Mobile Phones

Context and Data

Model

Estimation

Simulation

Application: Optimal Telecom Taxation

Application: Incentives to serve rural areas

# Adoption Equilibrium

Compute new equilibrium based on change to the environment.

# Adoption Equilibrium

Compute new equilibrium based on change to the environment.

- Over 1 million interconnected adoption decisions
- Usage decisions across 415 million links

Compute new equilibrium based on change to the environment.

**Equilibrium**  $\Gamma(\eta)$ : Each *i* adopts at min  $x_i s.t. [E_{x_i} U_i^{x_i}(\mathbf{x}_{G_i}) \ge \max_{s > x_i} E_{x_i} U_i^s(\mathbf{x}_{G_i})]$  Compute new equilibrium based on change to the environment.

Equilibrium  $\Gamma(\eta)$ :

Each *i* adopts at min  $x_i s.t. [E_{x_i} U_i^{x_i}(\boldsymbol{x}_{G_i}) \ge \max_{s > x_i} E_{x_i} U_i^s(\boldsymbol{x}_{G_i})]$ 

- Apart from constant forecast error (in  $\eta_i$ ), anticipates:
  - Contacts' adoption dates **x**<sub>G<sub>i</sub></sub>
  - Changes in call prices and coverage
  - Forecasts handset prices to follow deterministic trend

Compute new equilibrium based on change to the environment.

Equilibrium  $\Gamma(\eta)$ :

Each *i* adopts at min  $x_i s.t. [E_{x_i} U_i^{x_i}(\boldsymbol{x}_{G_i}) \ge \max_{s > x_i} E_{x_i} U_i^s(\boldsymbol{x}_{G_i})]$ 

- Apart from constant forecast error (in  $\eta_i$ ), anticipates:
  - Contacts' adoption dates **x**<sub>G<sub>i</sub></sub>
  - Changes in call prices and coverage
  - Forecasts handset prices to follow deterministic trend
- May not condition strategy on actions of others

## Simulation Method: Iterated Best Response

- 1. Propose a candidate adoption path  $x^0$
- Allow each individual to optimize their decision, holding fixed the adoption path of others:<sup>1</sup>
  x<sub>i</sub><sup>k+1</sup> = min t s.t. [U<sub>i</sub><sup>t</sup>(x<sub>Gi</sub><sup>k</sup>) ≥ max<sub>s>t</sub> E<sub>t</sub>U<sub>i</sub><sup>s</sup>(x<sub>Gi</sub><sup>k</sup>)]

3. Iterate until the equilibrium converges:  $x_i^{k+1} = x_i^k$  for all *i* 

# Multiple Equilibria

For each individual, back out types  $[\underline{\eta}_i, \overline{\eta}_i]$  consistent with adoption choice.

# Multiple Equilibria

For each individual, back out types  $[\underline{\eta}_i, \overline{\eta}_i]$  consistent with adoption choice.

Obtain a set of equilibria  $\Gamma(\eta)$  due to uncertainty in  $\eta$  and coordination.

# Multiple Equilibria

For each individual, back out types  $[\underline{\eta}_i, \overline{\eta}_i]$  consistent with adoption choice.

Obtain a set of equilibria  $\Gamma(\eta)$  due to uncertainty in  $\eta$  and coordination.

Game has strategic complements; equilibria form a lattice. Individual bounds  $[\underline{\eta}_i, \overline{\eta}_i]$  and bounds on expectations  $\mathbf{x}^0 \in [0, \overline{T}]^N$  imply bounds on set of equilibria:

 $\underline{\Gamma}(\underline{\eta}) \leq \overline{\Gamma}(\eta) \leq \overline{\Gamma}(\overline{\eta})$ 

(Topkis 1978, Milgrom and Shannon 1994)



Simulation Fit



Simulation Fit



Total welfare benefit [\$474m, \$530m] Split among operator (35%, gross), government (14%), and consumers (51%, net)

Details Results

The Spread of Mobile Phones

Context and Data

Model

Estimation

Simulation

Application: Optimal Telecom Taxation

Application: Incentives to serve rural areas

## How, and how much, to tax?

#### Average Taxes in sub-Saharan Africa (2007):

- 31% on handsets (48% in Rwanda)
- 20% on airtime (23% in Rwanda)
- Network equipment
- Corporate taxes and spectrum fees

## How, and how much, to tax?

#### Average Taxes in sub-Saharan Africa (2007):

- 31% on handsets (48% in Rwanda)
- 20% on airtime (23% in Rwanda)
- Network equipment
- Corporate taxes and spectrum fees

#### Countries removing handset tax:

- Kenya (2009-2013)
- Rwanda (2010)
- Senegal (2009)

# How, and how much, to tax?

#### Average Taxes in sub-Saharan Africa (2007):

- 31% on handsets (48% in Rwanda)
- 20% on airtime (23% in Rwanda)
- Network equipment
- Corporate taxes and spectrum fees

#### Countries removing handset tax:

- Kenya (2009-2013)
- Rwanda (2010)
- Senegal (2009)

#### Theoretically:

• How does incidence overlap with network effect?

# Simulating Alternative Taxation

Conservative estimate:

- People outside the data may adopt sooner
- Assume complete passthrough of airtime taxes (no passthrough shown in paper)

Avg. Welfare Cost

Tax	Revenue (\$m)		Consumer	per Dollar of
Handset	Telecom	Government	Surplus (\$m)	Public Funds
Baseline: 48%	[165, 187]	[65, 73]	[244, 270]	
Impact of removal				
Total Effect	15, 17	-12, -12	21, 21	\$2.94, 3.11

Avg. Welfare Cost

Tax	Revenue (\$m)		Consumer	per Dollar of
Handset	Telecom	Government	Surplus (\$m)	Public Funds
Baseline: 48%	[165, 187]	[65, 73]	[244, 270]	
Impact of removal				
Total Effect	15, 17	-12, -12	21, 21	\$2.94, 3.11
proximal effect	7, 7	-14, -16	10, 10	\$1.22, 1.06
ripple effects	8, 11	2, 3	10, 11	

\_

Avg. Welfare Cost

Tax	Revenue (\$m)		Consumer	per Dollar of
Handset	Telecom	Government	Surplus (\$m)	Public Funds
Baseline: 48%	[165, 187]	[65, 73]	[244, 270]	
Impact of removal				
Total Effect	15, 17	-12, -12	21, 21	\$2.94, 3.11
proximal effect	7,7	-14, -16	10, 10	\$1.22, 1.06
ripple effects	8, 11	2, 3	10, 11	

- Estimates of MCF in sub-Saharan Africa \$1.21 (1.37 Rwanda), Auriol and Warlters 2012
- Network effects account up to 61% of revenue effect

Tax Regime		Reven	Consumer		
Handset	Usage	Sample Split	Telecom	Government	Surplus (\$m)
Baseline					
48%	23%	All	[165, 187]	[65, 73]	[244, 270]
		Above Q60 usage	[140, 160]	[47, 54]	[238, 264]
		Below Q60 usage	[25, 27]	[18, 19]	[6, 6]

Tax Regime		Reven	Consumer		
Handset	Usage	Sample Split	Telecom	Government	Surplus (\$m)
Baseline					
48%	23%	All	[165, 187]	[65, 73]	[244, 270]
		Above Q60 usage	[140, 160]	[47, 54]	[238, 264]
		Below Q60 usage	[25, 27]	[18, 19]	[6, 6]
Impact of	changing ta	axation			
0%	23%	All	15, 17	-12, -12	21, 21
		Above Q60 usage	12, 15	-2, -1	17, 18
		Below Q60 usage	3, 2	-10, -11	4, 3

Tax Regime		Reven	Consumer		
Handset	Usage	Sample Split	Telecom	Government	Surplus (\$m)
Baseline					
48%	23%	All	[165, 187]	[65, 73]	[244, 270]
		Above Q60 usage	[140, 160]	[47, 54]	[238, 264]
		Below Q60 usage	[25, 27]	[18, 19]	[6, 6]
Impact of	f changing t	axation			
0%	23%	All	15, 17	-12, -12	21, 21
		Above Q60 usage	12, 15	-2, -1	17, 18
		Below Q60 usage	3, 2	-10, -11	4, 3
0%	30%	All	-5, -6	2.75, 4.18	1, -1
		Above Q60 usage	-5, -5	11, 13	-1, -3
		Below Q60 usage	0, -1	-8, -8	2, 2

## Toward an optimal tax

- Marginal users bear a large portion of handset taxes
- Encouraging network adoption:
  - Can shift to marginal usage taxes
  - Can tax initial adoptions that allow access to a new network (e.g., smartphones) lower than upgrades

The Spread of Mobile Phones

Context and Data

Model

Estimation

Simulation

Application: Optimal Telecom Taxation

Application: Incentives to serve rural areas

# Cost of expanding towers



Number of Towers

# Optimal coverage



Number of Towers

Private returns from coverage may differ


Effect of policy depends on shape of welfare and revenue



Number of Towers

#### Univeral Access Policies



Number of Towers

#### Counterfactual: Coverage in Absence of Regulation



Number of Towers

## Counterfactual: Coverage in Absence of Regulation



## Counterfactual: Coverage in Absence of Regulation



## Peel back tower construction (based on realized revenue)



## Peel back tower construction (based on realized revenue)



- Don't build the 10 lowest revenue rural towers (11%)
- Save \$271,356 in annualized build and operation costs

# Difference in final coverage

January 2009



#### Revenue (million \$)

Baseline with expansion[165.06, 187.39]Effect of expansion0.09, 0.11

Revenue	(million	\$)
---------	----------	-----

Baseline with expansion	[165.06, 187.39]
Effect of expansion	0.09, 0.11

Expansion cost	0.27	
Profit	\$-178,634; -166,231	

Revenue (million \$)	
Baseline with expansion	[165.06, 187.39]
Effect of expansion	0.09, 0.11
Expansion cost	0.27
Profit	\$-178,634; -166,231

Consumer Surplus (million	\$)	
Baseline	[243.55,	269.79]
Effect of expansion	0.36,	0.37

Revenue (million \$)	
Baseline with expansion	[165.06, 187.39]
Effect of expansion	0.09, 0.11
Expansion cost	0.27
Profit	\$-178.634: -166.231

Consumer Surplus (million	\$)	
Baseline	[243.55,	269.79]
Effect of expansion	0.36,	0.37

Government Revenue (million	1\$)	
Baseline	[65.29,	73.08]

Effect of expansion 0.03, 0.03

Net welfare effect \$209,734; 236,365

	All Nodes	Nodes in area	Nodes in areas where coverage	
		affected	unaffected	
Ν	1.5m	82,523	1.42m	
Effect (million \$)				
Revenue	0.09, 0.11	0.02, 0.02	0.07, 0.08	
Consumer Surplus	0.36, 0.37	0.08, 0.08	0.28, 0.29	
Gov Revenue	0.03, 0.03	0.01, 0.01	0.02, 0.03	

	All Nodes	Nodes in are	Nodes in areas where coverage	
		affected	unaffected	
Ν	1.5m	82,523	1.42m	
Effect (million \$)				
Revenue	0.09, 0.11	0.02, 0.02	0.07, 0.08	
Consumer Surplus	0.36, 0.37	0.08, 0.08	0.28, 0.29	
Gov Revenue	0.03, 0.03	0.01, 0.01	0.02, 0.03	

## The Spread of Mobile Phones

Method to estimate and simulate adoption of a network good

Use data from nearly the entire Rwandan cell phone network:

• Estimate structural model of adoption as a function of each individual's social network, coverage, and prices

#### Simulate policies

Alternate tax policies

Government requirement to serve rural consumers: improved welfare

# Appendix

#### Telecom in Rwanda

Population 11m



## Telecom in Rwanda

Population 11m



#### Telecom in Rwanda

Population 11m



#### Back to context

#### Coverage expanded





2009

► Back to context

Back to counterfactual

## Rwanda is hilly





Makes it cheaper to build towers in certain locations



Generates differential costs of serving nearby areas



Generates differential costs of serving nearby areas



Use variation in coverage that would arise from building hypothetical towers along entire electric line.

▶ Back to model

#### Instrument: incidental coverage from electric lines



Back to model

## Functional form of utility: properties

$$u_{ijt}(d,\epsilon) = v_{ij}(d,\epsilon) - c \cdot d$$

- 1. Cost is separable across contacts
- 2. Zero duration yields zero utility
- 3. Diminishing returns to duration
- 4. For some values of  $\epsilon$ , calls are placed
- 5. Even if calls were free, you wouldn't talk forever
- 6. Changing the cost affects the extensive decision to call
- 7. Changing the cost of a call affects longer calls more than shorter calls
- 8. There is an analytic, one to one mapping between  $d^*$  and  $\epsilon$
- 9. Relationships with higher information flows provide higher utility

Back to model

#### Functional form of utility

$${m \mathsf{v}_{ij}}({m d},\epsilon) = {m d} - rac{1}{\epsilon} \left[ rac{{m d}^\gamma}{\gamma} + lpha {m d} 
ight]$$



#### Individual location *I*<sub>i</sub> Algorithm-Isaacman et al. 2011

© 2013 Cnes /Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe Image © 2013 CeoEve

Back



#### Individual location $l_i$ Algorithm Isaacman et al. 2011

Consider all towers i used

Back

© 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe Image © 2013 GeoEye



#### Individual location $I_i$ Algorithm Isaacman et al. 2011

Consider all towers *i* used
 Rank by days used

🕨 Back 🎽

© 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe Image © 2013 GeoEye



#### Individual location $I_i$ Algorithm Isaacman et al. 2011

- L. Consider all towers *i* used
- Rank by days used
- 3. Cluster into nearby groups
- 4. Compute centroid of each cluster

🖌 🕨 Back

© 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe Image © 2013 GeoEye

0



#### Individual location $I_i$ Algorithm Isaacman et al. 2011

- L. Consider all towers *i* used
- Rank by days used
- 3. Cluster into nearby groups
- 4. Compute centroid of each cluster

🗧 🕨 Back

© 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe Image © 2013 GeoEye



#### Coverage $\phi_{1,2005}$ Estimated from viewshed of towers live at time t.

▶ Back

© 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe Image © 2013 GeoEye

6



#### Coverage $\phi_{1,2008}$ Estimated from viewshed of towers live at time *t*.

<u> 3008</u>

Back

© 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe Image © 2013 GeoEye
11/15/2003

## Coverage $\phi_{1,2008}$ Estimated from viewshed of towers live at time *t*.

Back

" I a put with a population

10

Image © 2013 GeoEye © 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe



## Coverage $\phi_{I,2005}$ Estimated from viewshed of towers live at time t.

Back

2565 m

0

Image © 2013 GeoEye © 2013 Cnes/Spot Image Image © 2013 TerraMetrics Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe

