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Seller Reputation

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Seller Reputation

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Abstract

Seller reputation is an important asset because buyers often choose sellers on the basis of their reputation. This is particularly true when the quality of the good or service transacted is hard to measure and the parties cannot perfectly contract on the outcome of the transaction. As a consequence, the seller will be mindful of building and maintaining a good reputation through the information that buyers have about the seller, including previous transactions and the reports of other buyers.

We introduce a unifying framework that embeds a number of different approaches to seller reputation, incorporating both hidden information and hidden action. We use this framework to stress that the way in which consumers learn affects both behavior and outcomes. In particular, the extent to which information is generated and socially aggregated determines the efficiency of markets.

After reviewing these theoretical building blocks we discuss several applications and empirical concerns. We highlight that the environment in which a transaction is embedded can help determine whether the transaction will occur and how parties will behave. Institutions, ranging from the design of online markets to norms in a community, can be understood as ensuring that concerns for reputation lead to more efficient outcomes. Similarly, the desire to affect consumer beliefs regarding the firm's incentives can help us understand strategic firm decisions that seem unrelated to the particular transactions they wish to promote.

We conclude by considering slightly different models of reputation that lie beyond the scope of our framework, briefly reviewing the somewhat sparse empirical literature, and highlighting and suggesting future directions for research.

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Most economic transactions are described by one party procuring goods or services from another party, either through monetary exchange, barter or the promise of future reciprocation. The most naive model of economic exchange assumes that the qualities and characteristics of these transactions are well known and understood by the parties involved, and that markets will clear to allocate the goods and services to those who value them the most. This approach — albeit useful in generating some building blocks of economic analysis — is often inadequate to describe many realistic situations of exchange. Common examples include mundane transactions in which a person buys a bottle of wine with unknown quality, a firm who hires an employee with unknown talent, or on a larger scale, a government who procures a weapons system with unknown properties in the battlefield.

In Akerlof's (1970) classic article *The Market for Lemons*, it is shown that this kind of uncertainty can hinder the operation of markets to the possible extreme of markets failing to operate despite obvious gains from trade. That is, in the face of inherent quality uncertainty market failures will prohibit efficient exchange. This uncertainty can

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stem from two possible sources that are two central pillars of what is now referred to as "the economics of information."

First, quality uncertainty may be a result of *unobserved primi*tives that determine the quality of the good or service in the spirit of Akerlof's "adverse selection." As an example, consider a company that wishes to procure consulting services. If this skill of the employees in the consulting firm will determine the quality of the transaction then uncertainty over the employees skill may deter the company from paying a fee that would be adequate to engage the consulting firm. This is true even though both the company and the consulting firm would benefit from establishing the relationship.

Second, quality uncertainty may be a result of *unobserved actions* that determines the quality of the good or service, what is known now as "moral hazard." Using the example above, if the company can gather information and screen the skills of different consulting firms but cannot monitor the consultants' productive effort, then the company may fear that the hired consultants will shirk on their job, and the transaction may therefore be avoided altogether. Of course, both hidden information and hidden action might be present simultaneously.¹

Still, despite the existence of such problems in the marketplace, the exchange of extremely complex goods and services, with performance measures that are hard to describe or monitor, is commonplace. The question posed is then, what are the remedies that foster exchange in these hazardous market environments? One such remedy is the introduction of contingent contracts. Obviously, if the consultant's effort can be contracted upon, then a contract of the form "you will be paid if you work adequately and you will not be paid if you shirk" will solve the moral hazard problem. Similarly, if skills can be later verified then a contract of the form "you will get a base pay commensurate with a low skill consultant, and a bonus if it turns out that you are a high skilled consultant" will offer the consultant in the consulting firm adequate reward, while shielding the company from overpaying for low skilled consultants.

¹Interestingly, adding hidden information may either mitigate or exacerbate the problems created by hidden action. We explore some of these issues in detail later.

When such remedies are unavailable or prohibitively costly, then the information and beliefs that the buyers have about sellers will play a crucial role in determining whether a transaction takes place and the efficiency of trade. Such information and beliefs about the seller's skill and behavior, which we refer to as the seller's "reputation," are a consequence of many things. These include direct observations on past performance, experience with other sellers, reports from third parties, actions that the seller may undertake outside of the transaction, and numerous other factors for which we attempt to provide a taxonomy.

Specifically, focussing first on information conveyed by past transactions, we distinguish between three cases as follows.

Pure Hidden Information (Section 3): In this case a seller has no active control over the outcome of the transaction, but sellers vary in their innate ability, or "type." For example, a consultant may be more or less smart, affecting his ability to deliver; a chef may have talent in creating exciting recipes, or may not. As potential buyers observe the output produced by such sellers, they effectively learn over time about the seller's innate skill, and hence we also refer to this situation as "pure learning." In this case the seller's reputation is the buyer's belief about the seller's skill, or type.² As a somewhat amusing, yet concrete example, consider the movie *Gigli*. The quality of the movie is now fixed. Neither of the authors has seen this movie to date. In deciding not to watch it, we have beliefs about how much we would enjoy sitting through it based on reports of others (such as the reviewers and trusted friends) who have watched it and reported their (largely negative) experiences. Generally for movies (though possibly not for *Giqli*) some viewers would expect to enjoy it and others not, and so the movie's "reputation" can be seen as the probability with which an audience member would enjoy it.

Pure Hidden Action (Section 4): In this case there is only one "type" of seller, but this seller has active control over the outcome of the

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 $^{^2}$ Including a discussion of learning in a review of reputation is a somewhat idiosyncratic choice, but while the formal literatures have largely been quite separate, in application at least there is an important and obvious connection between how a buyer learns and a seller's desire to affect what she learns.

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transaction, and his actions within the transaction are not contractible. For example, a consultant may work hard or slack off; a chef/owner of a restaurant may use expensive fresh and high quality ingredients or instead choose to purchase cheap ones. The hidden action qualifier is that our buyer cannot observe the sellers behavior, and hence must try to infer what the seller will do. As a consequence, in this case, reputation is not about learning some underlying trait of the seller, but instead reflects the buyer's belief about the seller's equilibrium behavior.

Mixed Models (Section 5): This more realistic setting includes both hidden information and hidden action where sellers vary in their type and they can unobservably affect the outcome of the transaction. For example, a consultant's ability to successfully improve the company's performance depends on both his unobserved skill and the unobserved effort that he takes; the quality of a meal depends on both the chef's skill and the choices he makes about what kind of ingredients to purchase. In this case the "reputation" is the buyer's belief about the seller's type as well as the equilibrium behavior of the different types of sellers. Hence, in this more realistic setting, reputation includes both a belief about underlying traits and about anticipated equilibrium behavior.

The pure hidden-information approach rests on the idea that there is some underlying truth about sellers that is not manipulable, and buyers are using past performance to learn about this truth. Hence, the method of analysis incorporates learning by buyers as outcomes are revealed. In contrast, the pure moral hazard approach rests on the premise of repeated games with the idea that "what goes around, comes around." That is, if buyers and sellers interact time and time again, then inadequate behavior on part of the sellers can be punished by retaliatory behavior of the buyers: if some seller acts to deliberately cheat some buyer, then the buyers at large can stop interacting with this seller, assuming that information about his behavior is easily accessible. This "carrot and stick" approach is the basic model of a repeated game with complete information. In it, a seller sells repeatedly to one, or many buyers, and the outcome of each transaction is observed by all the participants. The seller has short run incentives to shirk on quality, but will refrain from shirking if long run incentives to perform well are in place. These incentives are typically provided using the standard trigger (or bootstrap) equilibrium, often referred to as a "reputational equilibrium." The mechanism at work is the celebrated "folk theorem."

It is worth noting that the hidden information and mixed-model approaches still incorporate part of the underlying logic of "what goes around, comes around." However, it is not so much based on the notion of a retaliatory punishment, but instead through beliefs that follow a rather appealing process. Following bad outcomes buyers will update their beliefs to accommodate the higher likelihood that poor quality is persistent, and thus will beware of sellers who provided poor quality in the past.

We will begin our review by exploring these three different models for what determines the outcome of a transaction. A few key lessons will emerge from these building blocks, which shed light on four factors that are key in determining the extent to which reputation acts effectively in leading to efficient trade. Specifically, these are: (a) the extent of uncertainty about the seller; (b) the rate at which buyers learn from outcomes, including, for example, the rate of information diffusion among buyers; (c) the seller's discount factor, or value of future interactions; and (d) characteristics of demand that determine how sensitive buyers are to reputation.

We then turn in Sections 6–11 to applications and extensions of these building block ideas. First, we discuss how exogenous institutions — ranging from the existence of markets for reputations, the design of an electronic marketplace with built-in feedback mechanisms, to social norms in a community — affect how well reputational concerns work in achieving efficient market outcomes. In addition to institutions which are exogenous from the perspective of an individual buyer or seller, we discuss actions outside of transactions that the seller might take to influence his reputation or the way that his reputation evolves. Furthermore, the discussion highlights that when discussing "reputation" in the context of a particular application, a researcher must take care in thinking through precisely the question of "reputation for what."

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We conclude our review by raising concerns not adequately captured by our basic models, as well as the difficulty in applying some of the theoretical exercises to empirical scrutiny. Specifically, we briefly introduce and discuss a recent literature on "reputation for experts" where in contrast to the discussion above, even following a transaction, the outcome may be hard to classify as "good news" or "bad news," and so a seller may be tempted to undertake actions to satisfy the buyer's expectations regardless of the extent to which this is the right outcome from an efficiency perspective. We discuss implications of having multiple dimensions of skills or ability and multi-dimensional reputations. We also briefly highlight that while the bulk of the literature has focused on "vertical" (quality) aspects or the extent to which a seller is "good," a seller may also take actions to affect "horizontal" reputation or buyers beliefs about the extent to which the seller will match their tastes.

Any survey will be incomplete, and this one reflects our overlapping interests in this topic, as well as our personal judgment on where the boundaries of this topic lie. In this regard, it is worth highlighting that there are a number of other recent reviews. In particular, Cripps (2006) provides a short but useful survey on building block models, Mailath and Samuelson (2006) provide a detailed treatment, and Macleod (2007) provides a complimentary survey that highlights a contractual interpretation of reputation and the interaction between formal contracts and reputation effects.

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