### **Trust and Reputation Systems**

Michael Luca Harvard Business School

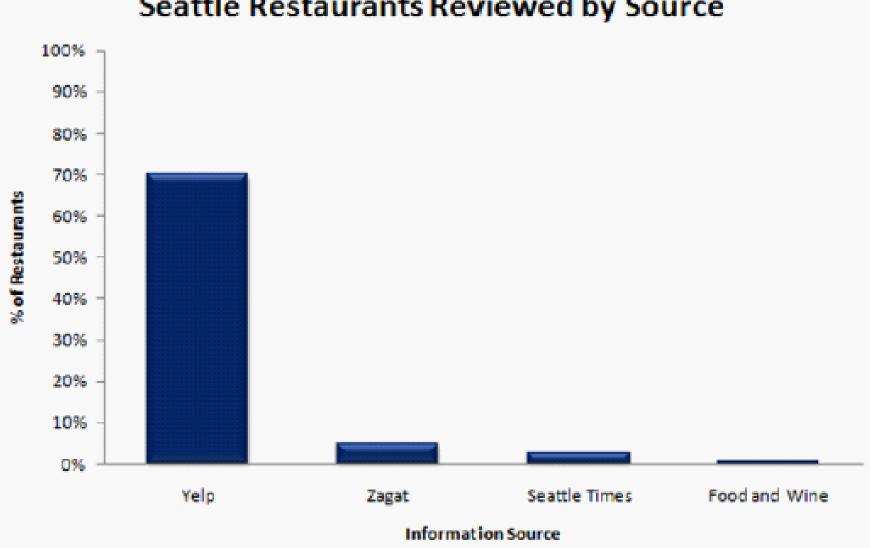
### **Review Platforms**



## **Online Marketplaces**

• Transactions increasingly moving online





#### Seattle Restaurants Reviewed by Source

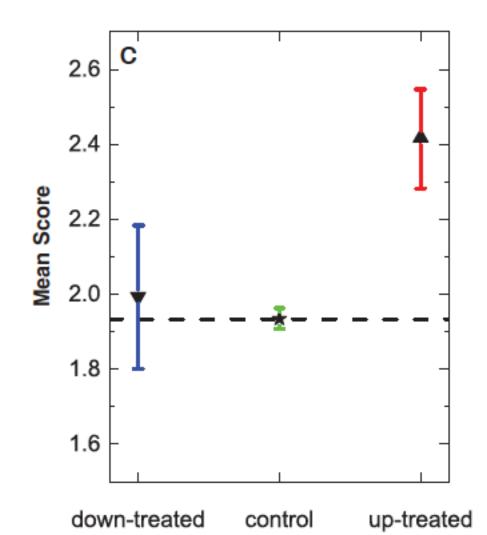
### Impact of online reviews

- Reviews impact demand
  - Online markets (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006 books on Amazon and Barnes & Nobel, Resnick et al 2006 – postcards on eBay)
  - Offline markets (Luca 2011, Anderson and Magruder 2012, Ghose 2012)
- But less so for branded places (Luca 2011)
- Market effects (many open questions):
  - Product differentiation (Li and Hitt 2010)
  - Welfare effects (Lewis and Zervas 2016)

### Social influence

- News aggregator (similar to Reddit)
- Randomly upvoted or downvoted stories
- Looked at total vote scores (upvotes-downvotes)

#### Social influence



### Reddit



LIVE SUPPORT we use PayPal

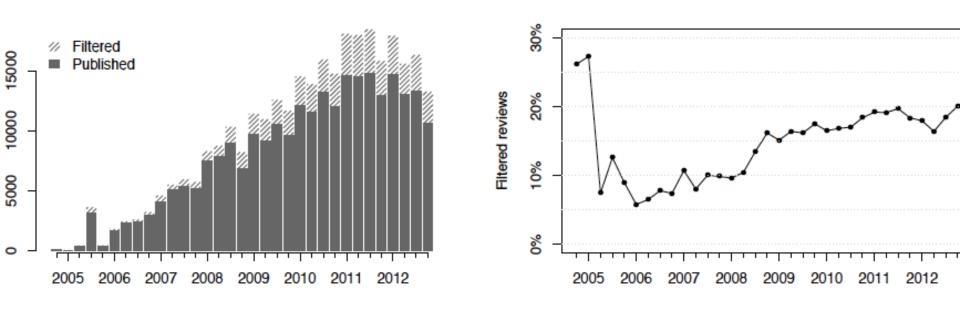


#### **BUY REDDIT UPVOTES FROM A TRUSTED PROVIDER**

100% Manual. 100% Real Upvotes.

TRIAL	STARTER	REGULAR	PROFESSIONAL MOST ORDERED	BUSINESS	AGENCY
25 UPVOTES	<b>50 UPVOTES</b>	100 UPVOTES (NEW)		500 UPVOTES	1000 UPVOTES
Different Accounts & IPs	Different Accounts & IPs	Different Accounts & IPs	200 UPVOTES	<ul> <li>Different Accounts &amp; IPs</li> </ul>	Different Accounts & IPs

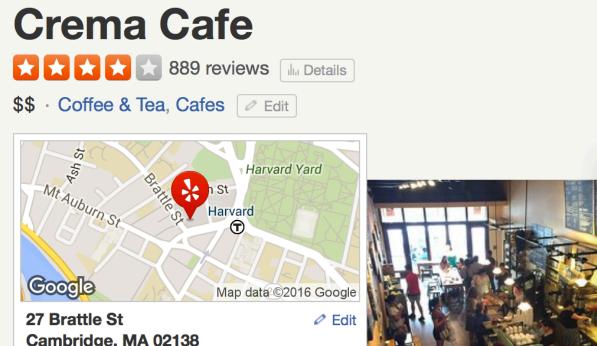
#### Boston Yelp reviews over time



#### Biases to online reviews

- Selection bias (Hitt and Li 2008, Masterov et al 2015)
- Fake reviews (Luca and Zervas 2016; Mayzlin, Dover, and Chevalier 2014)
- Reciprocal reviewing (Bolton, Greiner, Ockenfels 2013; Fradkin, Grewal, Holtz, Pearson 2014)
- Herding (Muchnik et al 2013; Dai, Jin, Lee, Luca 2013)
- Grade inflation (Horton and Golden 2015)

#### How to improve quality?







While viewing company's grades on their profile, you'll notice that member reviews are organized into two columns. The **Recent** column shows the average grade a provider has earned over the past 3 years in a category. The **All** column averages all the grades a service provider has received across all service categories.

We decided to use this 3 year window after surveying our members; this time frame encompasses the most relevant information, but also is a fair reflection of a provider's recent body of work. Learn how to <u>view all reviews</u>.

rades & Reviews	in Plumbing (905)		•
8	Recent	All	
Overall	A	Α	
Price	В	Α	
Quality			Angies list

#### La La Land



#### TOMATOMETER 🚱



Average Rating: 8.6/10 Reviews Counted: 332 Fresh: 309 Rotten: 23 All Critics | Top Critics

Critics Consensus: La La Land breathes new life into a bygone genre with thrillingly assured direction, powerful performances, and an irresistible excess of heart.

#### AUDIENCE SCORE 🚱



Average Rating: 4.2/5 User Ratings: 56,392

Dai, Jin, Lee, Luca:

- Need restrictive assumptions for arithmetic averages to be optimal
- Given a stock of reviews, and model of reviewing, can derive weights / adjustments to reviews
- In ours:
  - Reviewers get noisy signal of quality
  - Preferences: (differentially) care about expressing themselves and reporting best estimate of the truth, given prior reviews
  - Some reviewers more stringent (negative) then others
  - Some reviewers better guessers of the truth than others
  - Restaurants: quality follows random walk
  - Structurally estimate weights

### The incentive problem

- Amazon Vine
- Yelp Elite

•

. . .

- TripAdvisor Top Contributor
- Review of the day

### A call from Handy

- Wanted to have better reviews.
- Want people to be indifferent between providers
- What should they do?

#### Some thought experiments:

- Should Amazon allow non-verified reviews?
- Should TripAdvisor require names?
- Should Airbnb show hosts each rating?

	1-5 star Ratings?	Text Required?	Sub-ratings (e.g., Atmosphere)?	Opinion Attributes (e.g. Good for Groups)?	Photos/Video?	Reviewer purchase required?	Reviewers use Real Name?	Reviewers reputation/profile?
yelp 🤽	ightarrow	ightarrow	0	ightarrow	$\bigcirc$	0	$\overline{}$	
Temathes	$\overline{}$	0	0	0	0	0	$\overline{}$	$\overline{}$
tripadvisor*	ightarrow	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$		$\bigcirc$	$\overline{}$	$\overline{}$	
Angieš list	$\overline{}$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	0	$\overline{}$	$\overline{}$
Google		0	0		$\bigcirc$	0	$\overline{}$	$\overline{}$
facebook		0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0	ightarrow	
amazon			0	0	$\bigcirc$	$\overline{}$	$\overline{}$	$\overline{}$
ebay	0	0	0	0	0	•	0	
Expedia					$\bigcirc$		$\overline{}$	0
🔕 airbnb					0	•		
UBER		0		0	0			
App Store		0	0	0	0	•	0	0

#### And now for something completely different...



# Level of anonymity

- Early platforms arms length transactions – eBay, Amazon, Priceline
- Less discrimination (Scott Morton and Zettelmeyer 2003)
- But, over time...

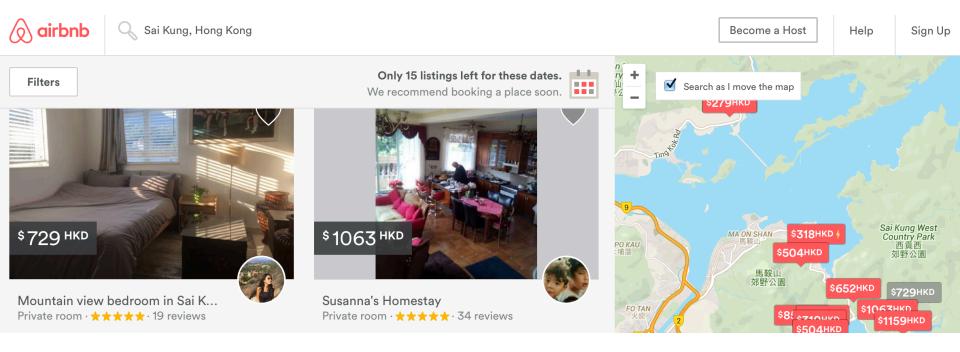


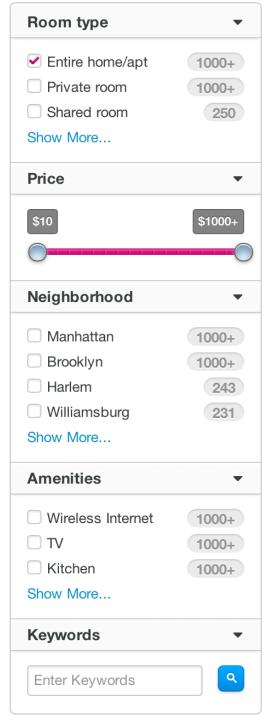
- Short-term rental marketplace
  - Roughly 2 million active listings
  - Compare to Marriott (roughly 500,000)
- Total 40 million guests
- \$900 million revenue per year
- \$25 billion valuation
- 20% of NYC listings!



- Hosts
  - Posts a room or apartment
  - Can rent out entire property or a room
  - Sets a price
  - Can accept or reject guests
- Guests
  - Search for room or apartment
- Airbnb
  - Allows hosts and guests to find each other
  - Allows hosts and guests to build reputation
  - Facilitates payment

### Searching on Airbnb





Smoking Allowed
Pets Allowed
TV
Cable TV
Internet
Wireless Internet
Air Conditioning
Heating
Elevator in Building
Handicap Accessible
Pool
Kitchen

244	Free parking on premise	405
288	Doorman	343
1000+	🗌 Gym	229
1000+	🗌 Hot Tub	137
1000+	Indoor Fireplace	140
1000+	Buzzer/Wireless Intercom	1000+
1000+	Breakfast	245
1000+	Eamily/Kid Friendly	817
786	Suitable for Events	255
321	Washer	972
65	Dryer	950
1000+		

### **Booking at Airbnb**





#### Mountain view bedroom in Sai Kung

Sai Kung , New territory, Hong Kong  $\Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow (19)$ 







 Check in
 Check out
 Guests

 03/18/2016
 03/20/2016
 1

# Suppose you're HUD

 You have a hunch that there's discrimination on Airbnb

### But Airbnb disagrees

"I can assure you that the incidents where you've been declined by hosts has absolutely nothing to do with your race or ethnicity."

 response from Airbnb to a guest who claimed to be declined due to his race.

### How would you confirm your suspicion?

- At Airbnb?
- If Airbnb won't cooperate?

## Here's what we did:

- Randomly draw 6,400 properties with listed availability eight weeks out.
- Send message inquiring about availability, varying only name.
- No pictures.
- For a weekend 2 months away.
- Track:
  - Response (Yes, no, maybe).
  - Host and listing characteristics.
  - Whether room ultimately filled.

### **Treatment Names**

Allison	Brad
Anne	Brent
Kristen	Brett
Laurie	Greg
Meredith	Todd
Lakisha	Darnell
Latonya	Jamal
Latoya	Jermaine
Tamika	Rasheed
Tanisha	Tyrone

- Treatments: African-American and White sounding names
- Drawn from Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004)
- Based on birth certificates 1974-1979 in MA
- Vetted through survey.

### Sample Cities

- LA
- Washington, DC
- St Louis
- Dallas
- Baltimore

### Here's what we found:

- Guests with distinctively African-American names are accepted roughly 16% less often than those with distinctively white names.
- Persistent discrimination:
  - Black and white hosts
  - Experienced and new hosts
  - Shared and separate properties
  - Expensive and cheap properties
  - Diverse and homogenous neighborhoods

# More findings...

- Host who rejects has ~35% chance of finding another guest; expected revenue loss of ~ \$60
- Experimental behavior mirrors observational patterns.
  - Driven by hosts who have never had an African-American guest.

### Some context

- Suppose we ran on Priceline or Orbitz
- As market designer or choice architect! -Airbnb makes important choices about what information to give, and when and how to provide it

### Airbnb's response

- Hired AG Eric Holder and others
- Created task force to propose solutions

## Now, you're on the task force...

• What would you propose?

# The (32 page) report

- Plan to increase number of properties that use "instant booking"
- Make people acknowledge discrimination policy
- Help people find alternative lodging after being rejected due to discrimination

# Takeaways on market design

- Online marketplaces are changing the world...
- ... but market design challenges abound well beyond pricing, etc.
- Seemingly innocuous design choices may have unintended consequences.
- Goal: Maximize value of reputation system while minimizing unintended consequences.

Thank you!