

ADVERTISING AND COMPETITION IN THE ETHICAL PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY: THE CASE OF ANTIHYPERTENSIVE DRUGS*

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ABSTRACT

This paper uses data on the majority of name-brand antihypertensive drugs marketed in the United States during 1988-93 to test the hypothesis that advertising decreases the price elasticity of demand in the pharmaceutical industry. This is the first study to directly estimate the effects of drug product promotion on the price elasticity of demand in this industry. We find strong evidence of an advertising effect. In particular, detailing efforts (the salient means for product promotion in this industry) systematically lower price sensitivity. Given the inverse relationship between elasticity of demand and price, it is likely that consumers pay higher prices as a result of the advertising that occurs in this industry. Our findings are thus consistent with Hurwitz and Caves, who find evidence that advertising inhibits entry into this market but in contrast to earlier research that found no anticompetitive effect.

THE competitive effect of advertising is a classic and controversial topic in applied industrial organization. Whether product promotion lowers price elasticity of demand and increases price has important implications for legislative restrictions on advertising, antitrust litigation, and other legal procedures. Although the issue remains unresolved, a growing body of evidence suggests that the effects of advertising hinge on the nature of advertising and information conditions in the market. At one extreme, price advertising in markets where consumers can easily observe quality is likely to promote competition. In such cases, the consumer need only choose the cheapest product for a desired quality level. Empirical evidence generally supports the hypothesis that price advertising promotes competition even in markets where consumers are somewhat uncertain about quality.¹ In contrast, non-

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¹ John A. Rizzo & Richard J. Zeckhauser, Advertising and the Price, Quantity, and Quality of Primary Care Physician Services, 27 J. Hum. Resources 381 (1992).

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vertising may limit competition by differentiating products and increasing brand loyalty.² Paper investigates how advertising affects competition in the pharmaceuticals. Pharmaceutical products are heavily promoted. Promotional expenditures often amount to 20–30 percent of sales.³ Available evidence on the competitive effects of pharmaceutical advertising is limited and inconclusive, however. Existing studies have tested for competitive effects by studying the relationship between advertising and entry in the pharmaceutical industry, pooling data across different pharmaceutical markets. And Salkever⁴ point out that no study has estimated the effects of advertising on the price elasticity of demand for pharmaceuticals, noting that an important direction for further research.

Present study seeks to bridge this gap in the literature and contribute to advertising/competition debate as it pertains to the pharmaceutical industry. Using a market-specific data set that includes a cross section and time series of most branded antihypertensive drugs in the United States, we examine the effects of pharmaceutical promotional efforts on the price elasticity of demand. The antihypertensive drug market is dominated by brand-name products, the vast majority of which continue to enjoy patent protection. In studying this large drug market, it is natural to focus on the competitive effects of product promotion on brand-name pharmaceuticals. We examine the direct effects of promotional efforts on the demand for antihypertensive drug products.

Hypertension afflicts some 61 million Americans,⁵ a disproportionate share of whom are elderly, African American, or poor.⁶ Estimates indicate that costs associated with hypertension amounted to \$14.8 billion in 1992, of which \$3.0 billion were costs incurred for antihypertensive drug

Understanding the competitive effects of drug product promotion has important implications for legislation governing the marketing practices of drug companies. Consumers typically have less generous insurance coverage for prescribed medicines than for other forms of health care.⁸ If advertising lowers price sensitivity and raises price in this industry, a substantial share of the nation's population may suffer adverse consequences.

Evidence of an anticompetitive effect would lend support to arguments by some members of the medical profession who call for stricter legal restrictions on drug-marketing practices.⁹ On the other hand, if advertising increases physician and patient awareness and compliance with treatment regimens, consumers may benefit. Whether product promotion increases or decreases consumer welfare remains an empirical issue and a focus of this study.

The conventional wisdom holds that drug purchasers are rather price insensitive. However, it remains unclear whether this pattern reflects an inherent price insensitivity of the key decision makers in drug selection—physicians—or product promotion efforts on the part of pharmaceutical manufacturers. There is good reason to believe that physicians are insensitive to price. For example, Scherer states, “[P]hysicians tend to be risk averse, insensitive to cost, and creatures of habit, prescribing drugs by brand name even when much less expensive generic substitutes exist.”¹⁰ Temin¹¹ echoes these sentiments, noting that physicians often lack good information on the comparative risks and benefits of alternative treatments. As a result, the choice is on the basis of customary prescribing behavior in the community, a practice that may also serve to limit malpractice exposure.

While these arguments are quite plausible, only a direct test of the determinants of own price elasticity of demand can discern the extent to which price insensitivity reflects exogenous physician decisions or the influence of pharmaceutical firms' promotional efforts. Our findings support the latter interpretation. In the absence of product promotion, we estimate that de-

are adequately controlled. See Norman M. Kaplan, Treatment of Hypertension: Drug Therapy, in *Clinical Hypertension* (Norman M. Kaplan ed. 1990).

⁸ Evidence from the National Medical Expenditure Survey indicates that less than half of outpatient prescribed medicines were covered by third-party payers. This coverage is substantially below that for expenses related to hospital or physician services. See Beth Hahn & Doris Lefkowitz, Annual Expenses and Sources of Payment for Health Care Services (AHCPR Pub. No. 93-0007, National Medical Expenditure Survey Research Findings 14, 1992).

⁹ J. Frederick Brodsky, Letter to the Editor, 327 *New Eng. J. Med.* 1687 (1992).

¹⁰ F. Michael Scherer, Pricing, Profits, and Technological Progress in the Pharmaceutical Industry, 7 *J. Econ. Persp.* 97 (1993).

¹¹ Peter Temin, *Taking Your Medicine: Drug Regulation in the United States* (1980).

4. and John A. Rizzo & Richard J. Zeckhauser, Advertising and Entry: The Case of Pharmaceutical Services, 98 *J. Pol. Econ.* 476 (1990).

A. Hurwitz & Richard E. Caves, Persuasion or Information? Promotion and the Brand Name and Generic Pharmaceuticals, 31 *J. Law & Econ.* 299 (1988).

5. G. Frank & David S. Salkever, Pricing, Patent Loss and the Market for Pharmaceuticals, 59 *S. Econ. J.* 165 (1992).

6. P. Dustan *et al.*, Report of the Task Force on the Availability of Cardiovascular Drugs to the Medically Indigent, 85 *Circulation* 849 (1992).

7. A. and National Institutes of Health, The Fifth Report of the Joint National Committee on Detection, Evaluation, and Treatment of High Blood Pressure (1992).
8. Total and nursing home services accounted for \$4.4 billion, physician and nursing services for \$5.1 billion, and lost productivity due to disability for \$2.3 billion (see Dustan *et al.* note 5, for further details). Even with these large expenditures, a majority of hypertensive patients in the United States are not being adequately managed with diet, exercise, and pharmaceutical treatment. Currently, less than 50 percent of hypertensive patients

sponds quite elastically to changes in price. Product promotion lowers responsiveness significantly, however. These results are consistent with those of Hurwitz and Caves,¹² who find an anticompetitive effect of advertising on entry but in contrast to other work, which reports either inelastic results or a procompetitive effect.

The remainder of this paper is divided into five sections. Section I briefly reviews existing evidence from economic and medical research on the effects of pharmaceutical product promotion. The conceptual framework and empirical specification are described in Section II. Data and variables are discussed in Section III, and the results presented in Section IV. Section V summarizes the findings and their policy implications.

I. PREVIOUS WORK

As noted earlier, existing work on the competitive effects of pharmaceutical advertising is limited. However, information is available from two sources. First, microeconomic studies have examined advertising effects using pharmaceutical industry data. Second, medical researchers have investigated physician responses to promotional efforts by pharmaceutical companies.

A. Microeconomic Studies

Existing microeconomic research on the competitive effects of pharmaceutical advertising has focused on the relationship between advertising promotions and one source of competition, namely, new product introductions. A negative relationship between advertising and new product introductions has been interpreted as evidence that advertising inhibits competition. The results of these studies have yielded conflicting evidence. Vernon¹³ found no statistically significant relationship between advertising and new product introductions, while Telser et al.¹⁴ report a positive effect of advertising on entry. Telser also finds a positive relationship between advertising and new product entry. In contrast, more recent work reports an anticompetitive advertising effect. Thus, using a sample of 56 observations from 29 different

¹² Hurwitz & Caves, *supra* note 3.

¹³ M. Vernon, Concentration, Promotion, and Market Share Stability in the Pharmaceutical Industry, 19 J. Indus. Econ. 246 (1971).

¹⁴ G. Telser et al., The Theory of Supply with Applications to the Ethical Pharmaceutical Industry, 18 J. Law & Econ. 449 (1975).

¹⁵ B. Leffler, Persuasion or Information? The Economics of Prescription Drug Advertising, 24 J. Law & Econ. 45 (1980).

drug markets, Hurwitz and Caves¹⁶ found that sales-promotion outlays helped preserve incumbents' market shares vis-à-vis entrants, suggesting that advertising limits competition.

B. Medical Research

At least since the 1961 Senate hearings on anticompetitive behavior in the pharmaceutical industry, pharmaceutical promotions have been suspected of influencing the prescribing behavior of physicians. A Senate report issued at that time charged that such efforts induced physicians to prescribe wasteful and even dangerous drugs.¹⁷ Subsequent research on physician prescribing behavior supports the notion that pharmaceutical advertising affects prescribing patterns. For example, Avorn, Chen, and Hartley¹⁸ report that physician beliefs about specific drugs more closely resemble advertising claims than actual measures of the drug's performance. Several studies on the basis of self-reported data from physicians also suggest that physician prescribing behavior is affected by drug promotional efforts.¹⁹

More recently, Chren and Landefeld²⁰ studied the effects of physician contact with drug companies on actual prescribing behavior. Their study was conducted in a university hospital setting. It examined whether physician interactions with drug companies affected the likelihood that the physician would request that a drug be added to the hospital's formulary. The study found that several measures of physician involvement with drug companies affected physician requests that drugs be added to the hospital formulary. Rather disturbingly, more than one-half of the new drugs requested

¹⁶ See Hurwitz & Caves, *supra* note 3. See also William S. Comanor, The Political Economy of the Pharmaceutical Industry, 24 J. Econ. Literature 1178 (1986), for a review of the literature on the competitive effects of advertising in the pharmaceutical industry.

¹⁷ Senate Subcomm. on Antitrust and Monopoly, 87th Cong., 1st Sess., Report of the Study of Administered Prices in the Drug Industry (1961).

¹⁸ Jerry Avorn, Milton Chen, & Robert Hartley, Scientific vs. Commercial Sources of Influence on the Prescribing Behaviors of Physicians, 73 Am. J. Med. 4 (1982).

¹⁹ See Nicole Lurie et al., Pharmaceutical Sales Representatives in Academic Medical Centers: Interaction with Faculty and House Staff, 5 J. Gen. Internal Med. 240 (1990); W. Paul McKinney et al., Attitudes of Internal Medicine Faculty and Residents toward Professional Interaction with Pharmaceutical Sales Representatives, 264 JAMA 1693 (1990); Marjorie A. Bowman, The Impact of Drug Company Funding on the Content of Continuing Medical Education, 6 Mobius 66 (1986); Marjorie A. Bowman & David L. Pearle, Changes in Drug Prescribing Patterns Related to Commercial Company Funding of Continuing Medical Education, 8 J. Continuing Educ. Health Prof. 13 (1988); and James P. Orfowski & Leon Wateska, The Effects of Pharmaceutical Firm Enticements on Physician Prescribing Patterns, 102 Chest 270 (1992).

²⁰ Mary-Margaret Chren & C. Seth Landefeld, Physicians' Behavior and Their Interactions with Drug Companies, 271 JAMA 684 (1994).

should be considered differentiated competitors within the same overall market.

Within each class of drugs, the individual products are also differentiated (although they are clearly more substitutable than across major classes). That is, although the individual products may be quite similar in either chemical composition or pharmacokinetic action, there are nonetheless differences across them that may make one more suitable than another in any particular situation or that might lead a physician to prefer one product over another.²³

The demand for antihypertensive drug i in period t , q_{it} , is a function of its price, p_{it} , the detailing efforts by the drug company, D_{it} , and other factors summarized by the vector X_{it} that include competitor prices and detailing efforts, the length of time the drug has been on the market, and other product-specific factors. Thus, we write demand as

$$q_{it} = q_{it}(p_{it}, D_{it}, X_{it}), \quad (1)$$

where

$$\partial q_{it} / \partial p_{it} < 0$$

and

$$\partial q_{it} / \partial D_{it} > 0.$$

In the empirical analysis, we test the hypothesis that

$$\partial^2 q_{it} / \partial p_{it} \partial D_{it} > 0;$$

that is, we test whether detailing lowers the responsiveness of sales to price.

We further posit that the accumulated stock of past detailing efforts follows a perpetual inventory process. Thus, we define the detailing stock at the beginning of the year as follows:

$$D_{it}^B = \rho D_{i,t-1}^B + d_{i,t-1}^B \quad (2)$$

²³ The literature on generic product introductions clearly demonstrates that even when faced with a new product that the FDA has deemed to be bioequivalent, many physicians continue to prescribe the original name-brand product. See, for example, Hurwitz & Caves, *supra* note 3; and Frank & Salkever, *supra* note 4. See also Zvi Griliches & Iain Cockburn, *Generics and New Goods in Pharmaceutical Price Indexes*, 84 *Am. Econ. Rev.* 1213 (1994). For the brand-name drugs examined in our study, the FDA and U.S. Patents Office in fact have deemed that most of them are distinct products, even within classes (for example, within the class of calcium channel blockers), arguing that they have sufficiently different chemical compositions to avoid the existing patents of their rivals. Further evidence that these drugs are viewed as differentiated products is that the FDA requires each brand-named drug to undergo a complete battery of clinical trial studies of safety and efficacy prior to approval.

le or no therapeutic advantage over comparable drugs already on the market.²¹

C. Summary

Empirical studies yield conflicting evidence on the competitive effect of drug product promotion. And as noted earlier, no economic study has examined the effect of drug product promotion on the price of demand. Although evidence from the medical literature suggests that drug product promotion does influence prescribing behavior, most studies have been descriptive in nature and/or confined to a single health care organization. Hence, further microeconomic testing of the competitive effects of drug product promotion appears warranted.

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A. The Theoretical Model

This section considers the effects of advertising and promotion on the demand for antihypertensive drug products. We view the antihypertensive market as having differentiated products. Within the group of drugs used to treat hypertension, there are several major classes including angiotensin-converting enzyme (ACE) inhibitors, calcium channel blockers, beta blockers, other antihypertensive products (composed of adrenergic stimulants, and alpha/beta adrenergic blockers), and combination therapies. Although each of these drugs has been effective in controlling blood pressure, there are important subgroups for whom certain of these drugs are contraindicated. For example, ACE inhibitors are contraindicated in populations suffering from asthma or while ACE inhibitors are contraindicated for pregnant women. Some groups appear to respond better to certain types of drugs than others. As Kaplan notes, "An elderly, obese, black woman will respond better to a diuretic than to a beta blocker or an ACEI (ACE inhibitor), physically active, white man would likely respond well to an alpha-blocker or an ACEI. In general, black patients with a diuretic (but) less well with a beta blocker or an ACEI. . . . The demographic features, the presence of one or more comorbid disease features can provide a rational reason to choose or avoid a particular drug."²² Thus, the broad classes of antihypertensive drugs

²¹ Landefeld, *in id.*, employed therapeutic ratings from the Food and Drug Administration, *supra* note 7, at 248-49.

$\rho < 1$ reflects the real depreciation of the accumulated stock and $d_{i,t-1}$ is the flow of detailing expenditures during the period deflated by the Consumer Price Index.

That sales depend on the stock of advertising goes back to the work of Nerlove and Arrow.²⁴ In the context of the pharmaceutical there are several reasons to believe that the effects of detailing over time. First, consumers must obtain a prescription from a doctor before purchasing the product. Because of the many drugs on the market, the uncertainty surrounding the precise side effects of each, it is not surprising for any one physician to be informed fully about the relative benefits and disadvantages of all products. As a result, physicians describing patterns," whereby as they become more familiar with a particular drug, they tend to prescribe it more often. Thus, promotional activities taken in one period that encourage physicians to gain experience with a particular drug are likely to have lasting effects. Second, the products we examine are used to treat chronic conditions. After a patient starts taking a product and the dosage is adjusted, he is unlikely to switch to another product unless significant side effects emerge. As a result, if promotional activities encourage patients to start using a product in one period, sales are likely to extend into the future.

The time span of the data (1988–93), in many instances the production function had already been on the market for several years prior to our observation in our data set. In these cases, it is necessary to construct a stock for the beginning of 1988. One would, of course, like to collect and additional data on the annual flows of detailing expenditures from the first introduction of the drug, but this was not possible. As a result, we construct the initial stock under the assumption that the flow of detailing expenditures were constant (in real terms) over the life of the drug. Thus, knowing that the drug has been on the market for T years prior to 1988, we define the beginning-of-period stock

$$D_{i,88}^p = \sum_{t=0}^{T-1} \rho^t d_{i,88}, \quad t = 0 \text{ to } T - 1. \quad (3)$$

where $d_{i,88}$ is a drug that has already been on the market since 1983, we define the beginning period detailing stock in 1988 as

$$D_{i,88}^p = (1 + \rho + \rho^2 + \rho^3 + \rho^4) d_{i,88}. \quad (4)$$

Arrow & Kenneth J. Arrow, Optimal Advertising Policy under Dynamic Conditions, *Econometrica* 129 (1962).

Empirically, we found that the model was not particularly sensitive to the value chosen for ρ . In part this is due to the short time period examined and the way the initial detailing stock was constructed.²⁵

Preliminary analysis also indicated significant differences between the effects of current detailing flows and the detailing stocks—with the former having a much stronger effect on the elasticity of demand. Thus, rather than force a common effect through the model, we enter the current flow and beginning-of-period stocks separately into the model.

B. Empirical Specification

Although the underlying theory of demand helps determine which variables should be included in the model, it provides little guidance in selecting the appropriate functional form. In the process of conducting this study, several alternative functional forms were examined. Specifically, we examined constant elasticity, Trans-log, and log-linear functional forms. In addition, we estimated a Box-Cox functional form, allowing the form parameter to vary from zero to one. Overall, the qualitative results were robust to these alternative specifications, and the regression fits did not appreciably change. Some forms did, however, exhibit multicollinearity problems.

On the basis of this preliminary analysis of the data, we settled on a functional form that is log-linear in prices, quantities, and detailing stocks and flows

$$\ln q_i = \alpha_0 + (\alpha_1 + \alpha_2 \ln d_i + \alpha_3 \ln D_i) \ln p_i + \alpha_4 \ln d_i + \alpha_5 \ln d_i^2 + \alpha_6 \ln D_i + \alpha_7 \ln D_i^2 + \beta X_i + \epsilon_i, \quad (5)$$

where $\ln(\)$ indicates a natural logarithm and time subscripts have been suppressed for notational convenience. If $\alpha_2 > 0$, detailing flows lower the price elasticity of demand. If $\alpha_3 > 0$, then the detailing stock lowers the price elasticity of demand. These are the salient hypotheses tested in Section IV. This focus on the own price elasticity of demand is predicated on the well-known first-order profit-maximizing condition for firms facing a downward sloping demand curve, in which the price-cost margin is inversely proportional to the absolute value of the price elasticity of demand.

In addition to allowing detailing to affect the price elasticity of demand (and hence product price), we also allow it to have a direct effect on the quantity demanded through the parameters α_4 – α_7 . The competitive implications of these parameters are more difficult to interpret, since increased product usage could arguably be appropriate or inappropriate, depending on

²⁵ I selected a value for ρ of 0.70, which yielded the best-fitting model. However, the results were not sensitive to alternative values.

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