

United Airlines and the transformation of global aviation

Hubert Horan
Northwestern University
Kellogg School of Management
Evanston, 16 May 2013

Radical consolidation since 2004: biggest changes in aviation history

Total Domestic USA	1991	1999	2005	2013
Concentration-top 4	67%	63%	58%	87%
# Competitors (>4%)	8	8	8	4
Total North Atlantic	1991	1999	2005	2013
Concentration-top 3	35%	47%	47%	97%
# Competitors (>2%)	15	11	9	3

*Did consolidation improve industry economics?
Is the industry more efficient with fewer competitors?*

Framework for understanding the biggest changes in aviation history

Total Domestic USA	1991	1999	2005	2013
Concentration-top 4	67%	63%	58%	87%
# Competitors (>4%)	8	8	8	4
Total North Atlantic	1991	1999	2005	2013
Concentration-top 3	35%	47%	47%	97%
# Competitors (>2%)	15	11	9	3

- **Industry structure/competition and efficiency/profitability**
- **Economic drivers of different airline business models**
- **US airline profitability trends since deregulation**
- **Economics and historical performance of airline mergers**
- **Airline bankruptcy process and capital restructuring**
- **Global Alliances and Intercontinental competition**
- **Antitrust reviews of merger/antitrust immunity cases**
- **Consolidation of domestic US aviation; the US-AA case**
- **Long term outlook for industry growth**

My perspective on airline competition and industry structure

Airline Responses to Deregulation and Liberalization

- Post-deregulation shakeout, 90s profit recovery
- European/Asian liberalization

Consolidation via Alliance Antitrust Immunity

- Developed original NW/KL alliance network
- Shut down multiple unprofitable alliances

Bankruptcy Restructuring

- PE, NW, HP, SR, SN, UA, US, HA, TZ, AA

Industry consolidation in the last decade

- Direct experience including cross-border mergers
- Congressional and DOT testimony
- recent Transportation Law Journal article on ATI

Any industry analysis implies a model of airline competition and growth

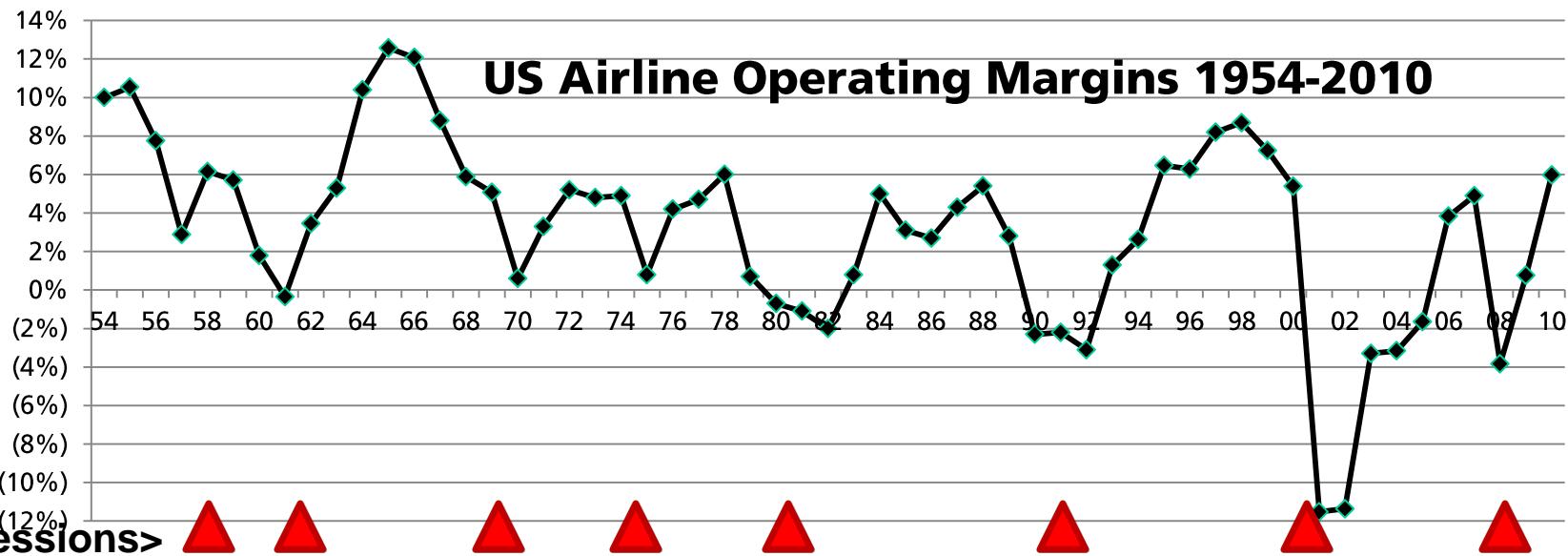
**Narrow view—
Airline financial/
competitive
success requires:**

- Industry supply/demand balance
- Only serve markets where you have a sustainable competitive advantage
- Rigorous ROI justification for capital spending

**Longer view--
Profitable
Industry growth
requires:**

- Profitable industry growth requires continuous innovation, productivity gains
- Profitable industry growth requires continuously reallocating capital to more productive uses

US airline profits historically weak, very sensitive to supply/demand shifts



Recessions >

**Strong profits
get undermined**

- 60s aircraft driven boom; went way too far
- 90s capacity discipline abandoned (dot-com era)

**3 big collapses:
overcapacity,
ignore cycles**

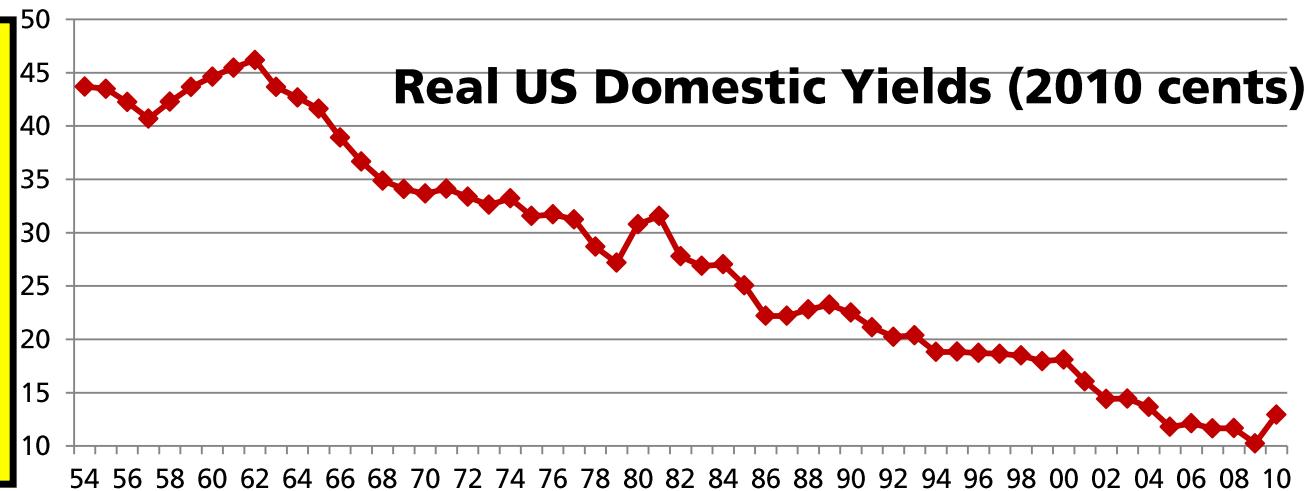
- 80s: deregulation entry boom hits recession
- 90s: hub boom/national expansion hits recession
- 00: post dot-com boom recession

Innovation→Productivity→Lower fares→Demand growth→Scale→Entry/growth

*Innovation→
Lower Fares*

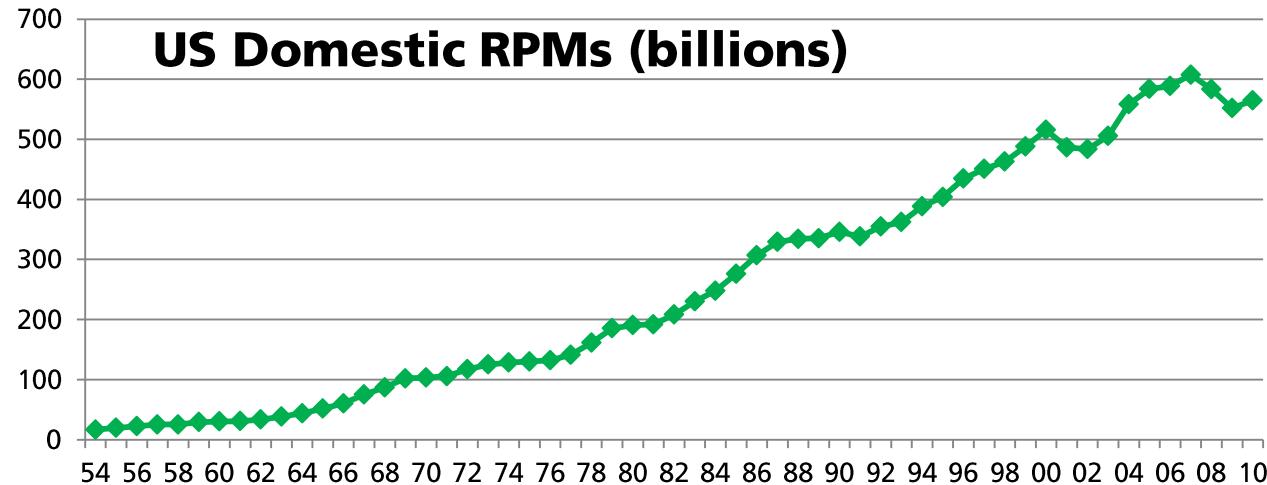
60s/70s—aircraft
technology

80s/90s—network/
business models/
IT systems



*Fares stopped
falling 10 years ago*

90s—artificial
(dot-com)growth
00s—stable/rising
fares stifle growth



Industry structure & competition driven by political/regulatory rules

SIX MAJOR CATEGORIES	
SAFETY REGULATION	Airline/Aircraft Operating authority, Maintenance oversight, Pilot and Mechanic licensing/training
CORPORATE LAW	Taxation, Financial Reporting, Corporate Governance
BANKRUPTCY LAW	Asset/Debt Restructuring, Creditor/Debtor rights
LABOR LAW	Collective Bargaining, Pension Rules
CONSUMER/COMPETITION LAW	Antitrust, Advertising Rules, Consumer Protection
ECONOMIC REGULATION	Entry/Fitness requirements, Route Authorities, Pricing Regulations, Airport Slot/GDS rules

1944 Chicago Convention
All aviation companies/rules tied strictly to nationality

postwar CAB/ IATA Cartel

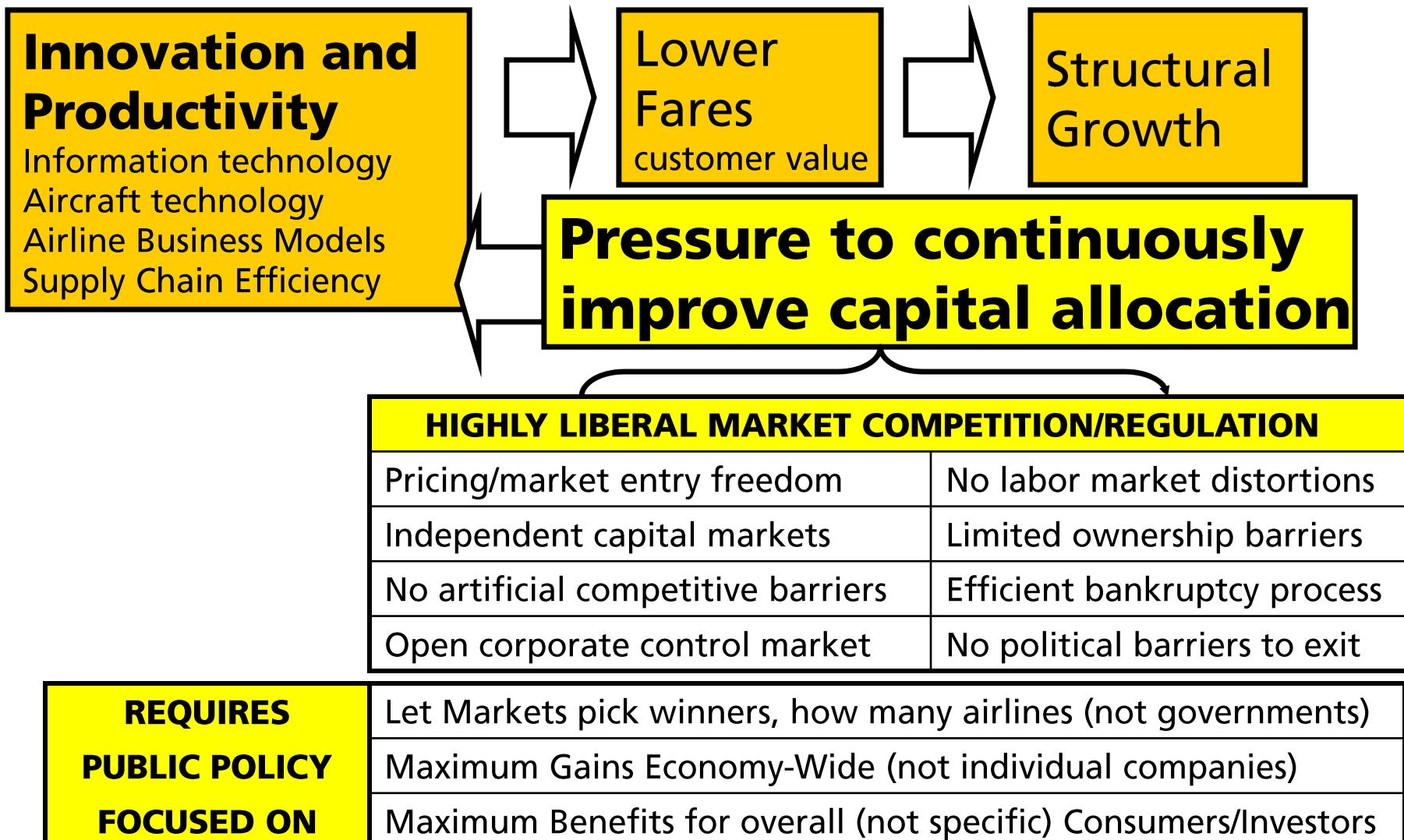
Powerful incumbents can block challenges

1978-1990s liberalization

Loosened entry, pricing rules to weaken power of incumbents

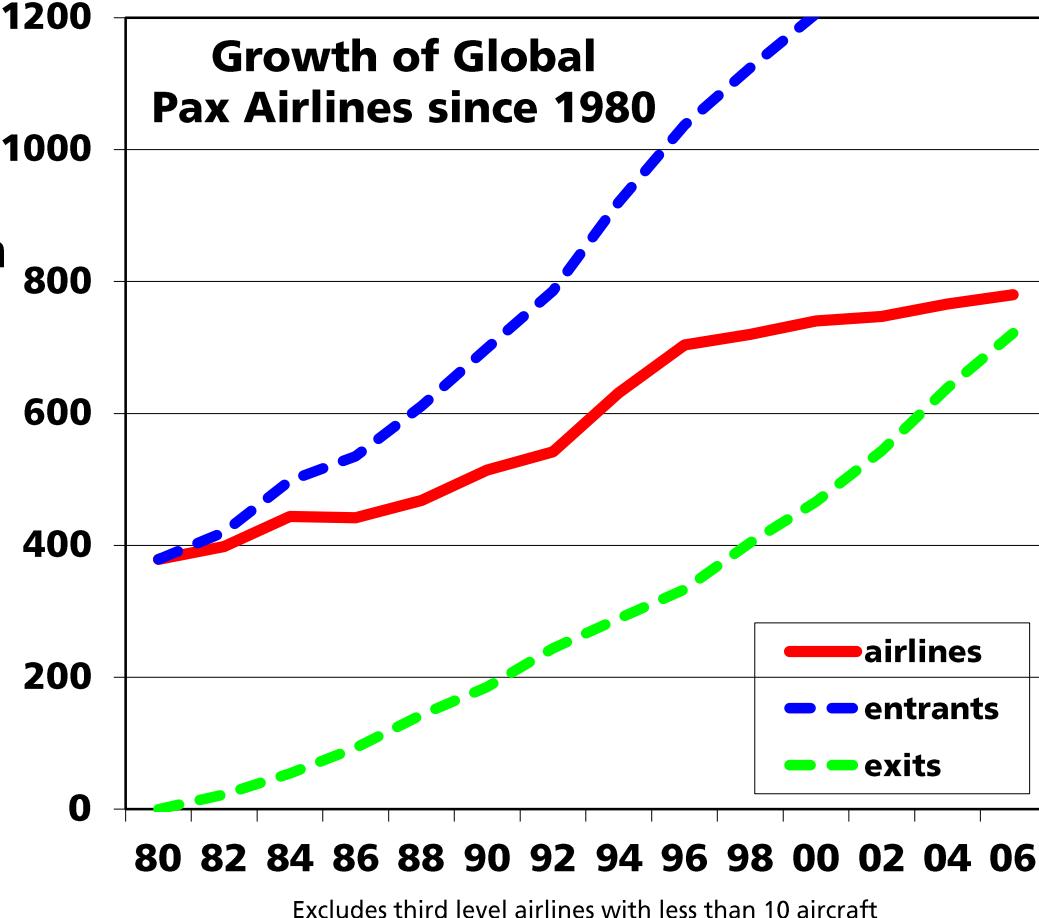
industry consolidation

“Liberal” industry structure can also drive growth, improved capital allocation

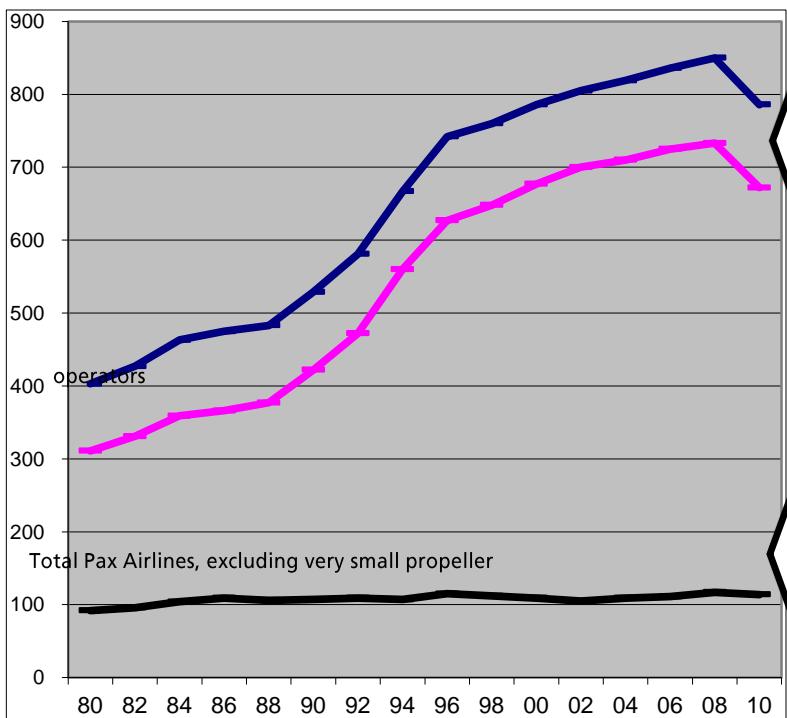
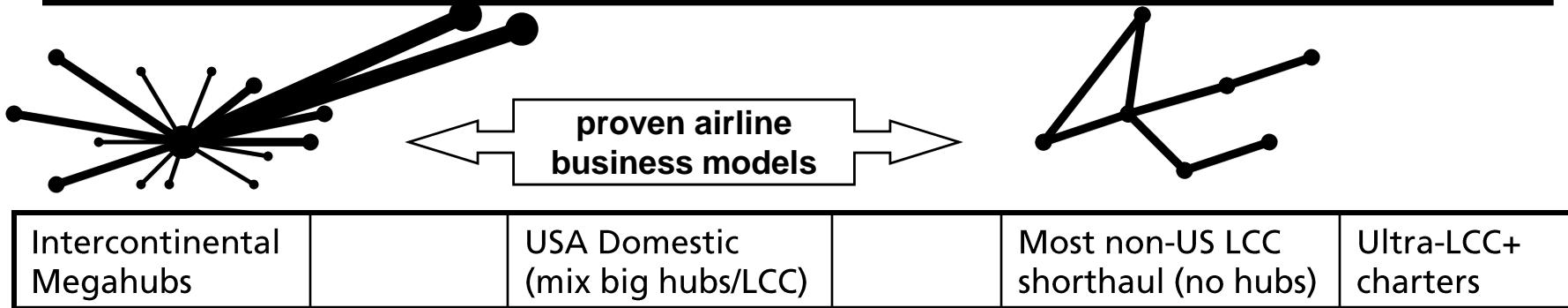


“Creative destruction” requires conflict between industry, individual stakeholders

- Profitable industry growth required failure of hundreds of companies; painful reallocations of capital assets and jobs from weak to strong
- Fundamental conflict between incumbent interests and new entrants
- Biggest industry problem throughout history: “Barriers to exit”— protections for weak managers, unproductive assets, vested interests



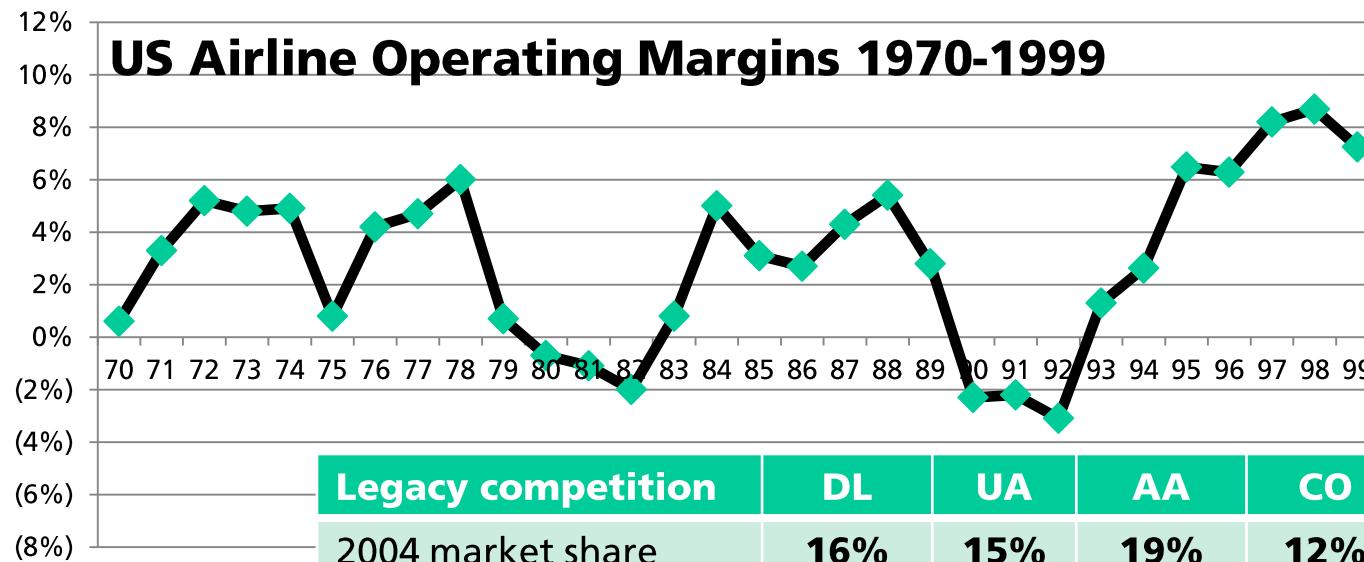
Intercon/Shorthaul: different businesses, different drivers, different competition



shorthaul sector—
(domestic/regional airlines)
Vibrant, dynamic—accounts for 100%
of industry-wide competitive growth

Intercontinental sector:
zero growth in 30 years
due to huge entry barriers
(both political, economic)

US Aviation in the 90s—strongly profitable, highly competitive



Legacy competition	DL	UA	AA	CO	NW	US+HP
2004 market share	16%	15%	19%	12%	10%	10%
Strong Megahubs	ATL	ORD	DFW MIA	EWR IAH	MSP DTW	PHL CLT
International--Strong	Atl	Atl	Lat	Atl	Atl	
--Middling		Pac	Atl		Pac	Atl

Deregulation had:

- Intensified price/ network competition
- Spurred management innovations
- Significantly increased capital market discipline
- Generated a stronger industry structure

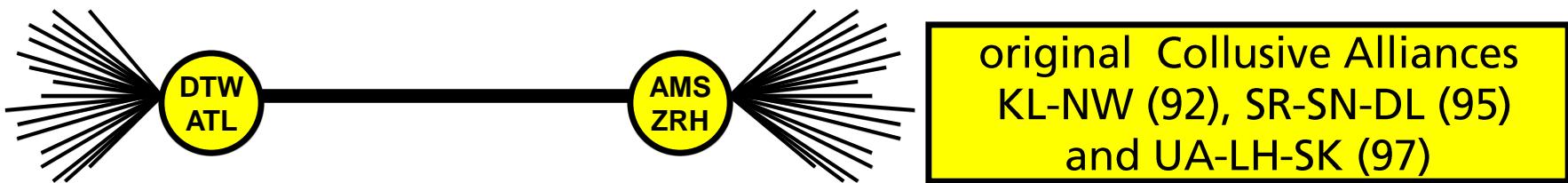
Some early 80s mergers worked but all later “scope/scale synergies” failed

80: Pan Am/National	Synergy/Scope	FAILURE —largely liquidated
82: Texas Intl/Continental	Hub consol (IAH)	FAILURE —quickly bankrupt
85: Southwest/Muse	Bankruptcy	Profitable—cheap acquisition
85: People Exp/Frontier	Synergy/Scope	FAILURE —soon bankrupt
86: TWA/Ozark	Hub consol (STL)	Profitable—Created viable hub
86: Northwest/Republic	Hub consol (MSP)	Profitable—Created viable hub
86: American/Aircal	Synergy/Scope	FAILURE —totally liquidated
87: Continental/PE/NY/FL	Synergy/Scope	FAILURE —soon bankrupt
87: Delta/Western	Synergy/Scope	FAILURE —largely liquidated
87: Continental/Eastern	Synergy/Scope	FAILURE —soon bankrupt
88: USAir/PSA	Synergy/Scope	FAILURE —largely liquidated
88: USAir/Piedmont	Synergy/Scope	FAILURE —soon bankrupt

Initial 80s mergers attempted to “fix” CAB-imposed network limitations
--only worked when merger created a viable hub (STL/MSP)

Every merger based on expanded scope/scale failed
--given failures, only one Scale/Scope merger attempted in two decades after 1988

Original mid-90s Collusive Alliances: real consumer benefits in competitive markets



- **Measurable Consumer Benefits:** Thousands of markets got online service, discount fares for the first time
- **Driven by Network Economics:** Alliance connections totally displaced traditional interline connections—not pursued outside North Atlantic where comparable network opportunities did not exist
- The North Atlantic remained robustly competitive

	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001
Concentration-total North Atlantic market (55 million annual pax)						
top 3 share	35%	42%	42%	45%	47%	47%
number of US-EU competitors with minimum departure share of 2%						
	15	15	13	13	11	11

but these network/consumer gains fully exhausted by 1999

Control battles, bankruptcy key to capital market discipline in the 90s

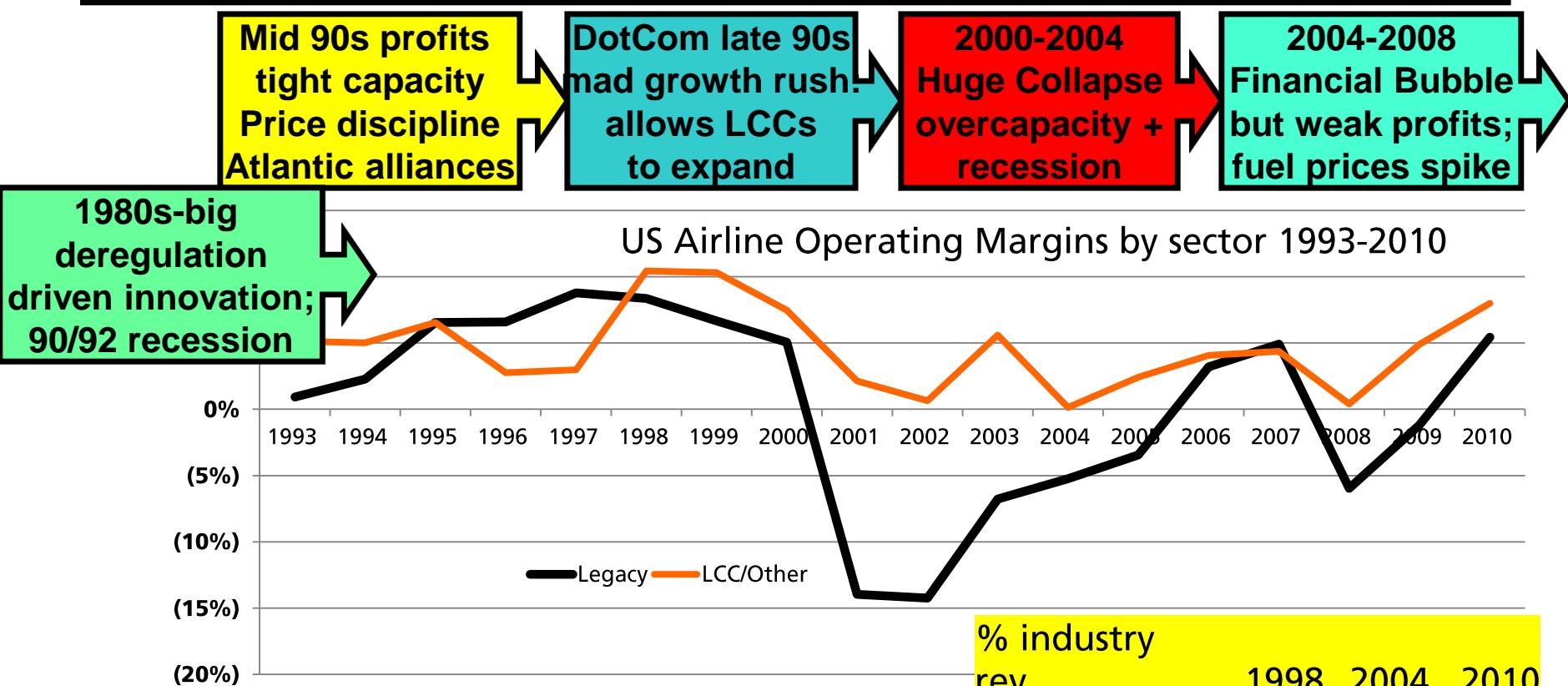
■ Fair success rate when larger incumbents challenged/replaced

	Major Capital reallocation	Major Mgmt/Control change
82: Texas Intl/Continental	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hub consol (IAH)	✗-FAIL-quickly went bankrupt
83: 1st CO bankruptcy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> major cost restructuring	✗-FAIL-No mgmt change
85: TWA-Icahn takeover	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Led to OZ merger	✗-FAIL-Weak mgmt, no new capital, no improvements after OZ
87: Texas Air (CO)-Eastern	✗-FAIL-Little integration	✗-FAIL-Weak mgmt
89: NWA-Wings takeover (92 virtual bankruptcy)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> After initial missteps led to major network restructuring	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Major change (but new mgmt entrenched; bankrupt in 2003)
90: 2nd CO bankruptcy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> After initial missteps led to major network restructuring	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Eliminated failed management
91: AWA bankruptcy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> major restructuring	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Major change
92: TWA bankruptcy	✗-FAIL-didn't fix capital	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Major change
94: United ESOP	✗-FAIL-ended Allegis but didn't improve United	✗-FAIL-Mgmt not improved
85/91: Pan Am liquidation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Assets more productive	N/A

■ Nearly 100% failure rate when big incumbents buy smaller competitors

- DL/WA, US/PS, AA/OC/TW, CO/PE/FL

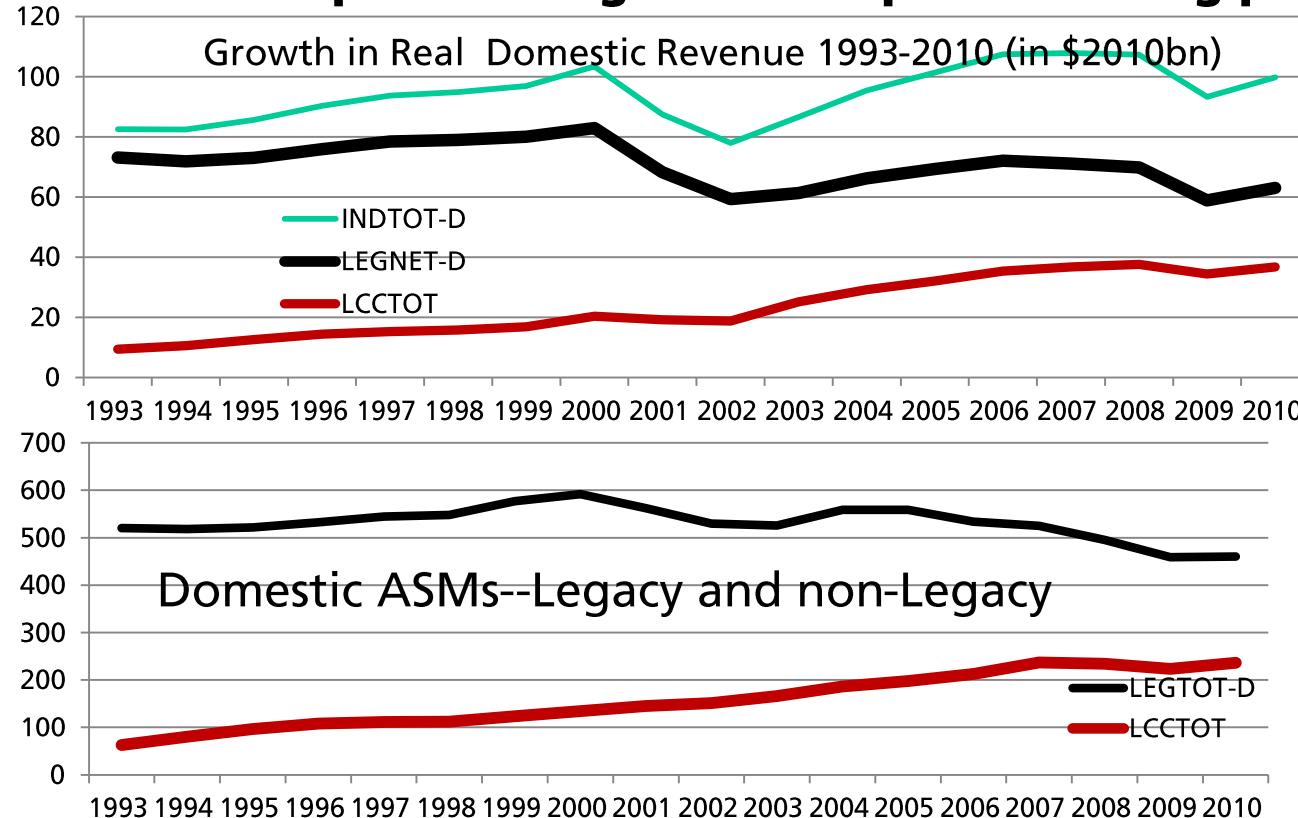
Profitable mid-90s US industry equation destroyed by Legacy mismanagement



- Dot-com bust biggest in airline history
- \$36 billion in Legacy losses 2001-2009
- Huge Legacy market share losses to LCCs

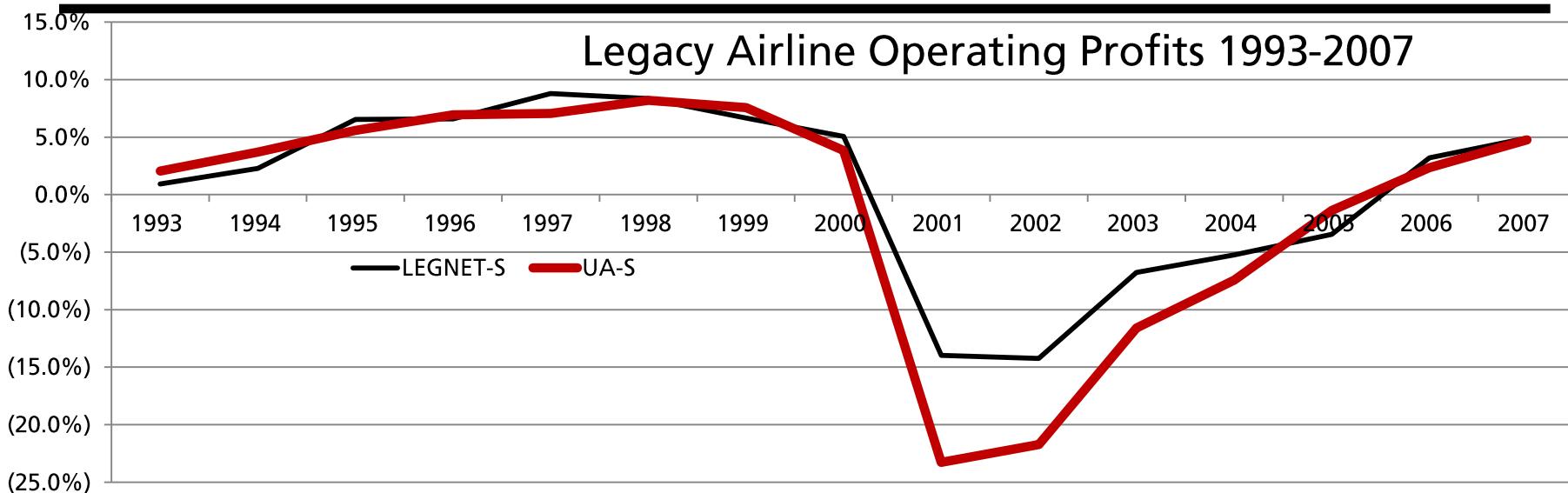
Legacy collapse—ignored supply/demand, competitive advantage, need for ROC

- Legacy revenue base way down, but no capacity cuts until 2007
- Legacies assumed profitable growth despite declining productivity



**Overcapacity—fleet hasn't recovered cost of capital since the 90s
--problem is too many planes/ASMs—not too many airlines**

United's 2002 collapse: obvious problems readily addressed in bankruptcy



- **UAL hugely valuable--absolutely no risk of liquidation**
 - Strongest network in industry, huge customer base and brand
- **Liquidity, balance sheet problems due to unprofitable expansion**
- **Short term (self-inflicted) damages from failed ESOP**
 - Chapter 11 ideal for asset restructuring, contract concessions
- **Poor management, network/financial underperformance**
 - Continental merger plan addressed management, fleet and network
 - Creditor interest in competing reorganization plan

United spent over 3 years in bankruptcy avoiding solutions for these problems

Tilton—total warfare to keep exclusive management control

- \$1 billion for lawyers/consultants
- Senior management team stayed in place
- Claimed UA would liquidate if Tilton lost exclusive control of reorganization process

Court—blocked competitive bids, basic creditor rights

- Blocked CO merger; Creditor economic rights effectively transferred to Tilton

PBGC wouldn't fight pension termination

- After extensive lobbying from Tilton
- Huge taxpayer liability

Indefensible plan but Pilots, Boeing blocked other creditors

- Tilton plan assumed suspension of laws of supply/demand, permanently cheaper fuel but maintained unprofitable flying and included new aircraft order

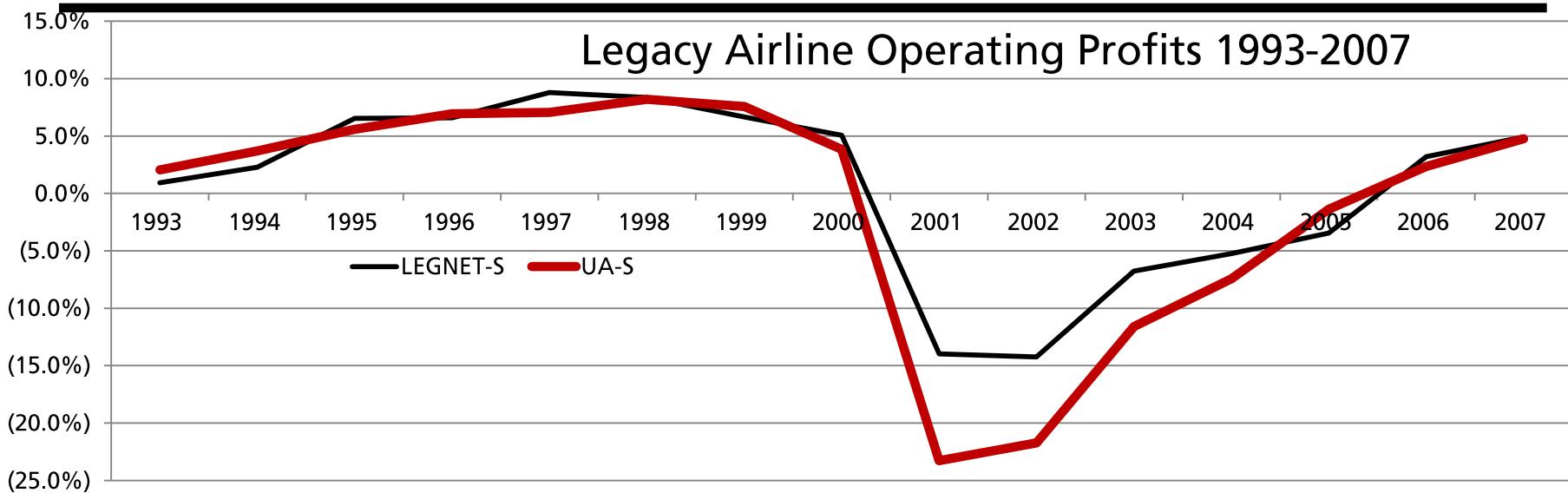
Surrendered huge value to JPMorgan

- Future value of frequent flyer credit card used for financing to protect Tilton control

Transforming industry competition— step 1--United's bankruptcy

	Historic	21st Century
<i>Chapter 11 process objective</i>	Redeploy capital, change strategy/management in order to maximize creditor recovery	Block competing bids and challenges to existing business practices in order to protect incumbent owners/managers
<i>Capital market discipline</i>	Bankruptcy focus on new sources of at-risk capital, competitive bidding	Creditor access to competing independent bids preempted by short term financing
<i>Reorganization planning focus</i>	Reorganization plans must identify and address causes of collapse, demonstrate greater productivity and returns on investment	Same operations, competitive approach as before— zero-sum wealth transfer from labor/suppliers to company owners
<i>Justification for major creditor cramdowns</i>	Only when absolutely required for successful reorganization	Wherever managers assert it is necessary

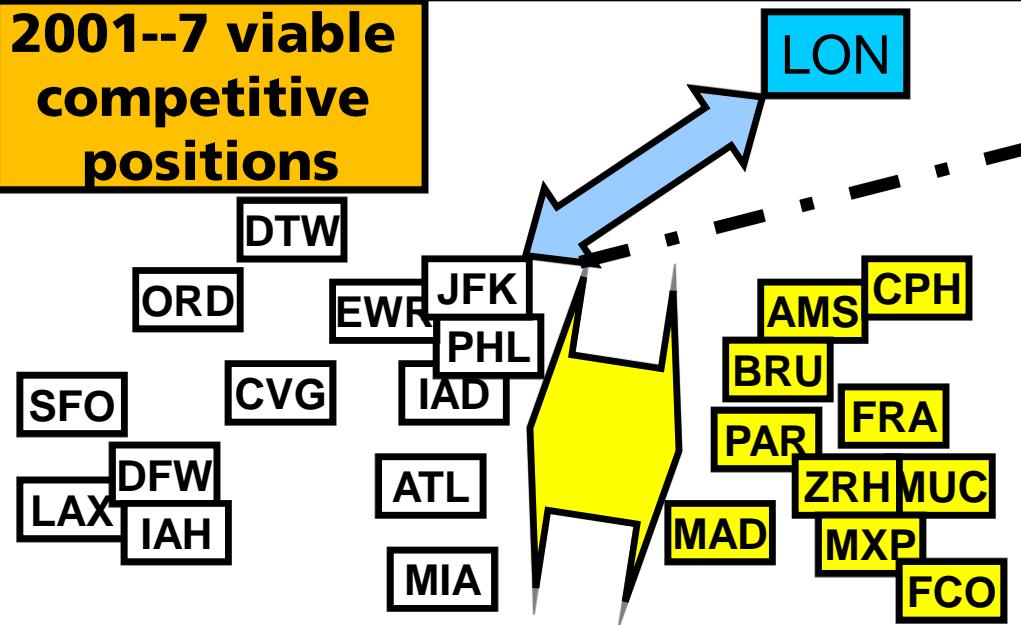
United's weak reorganization plan depressed industry earnings for years



- **United's draconian labor cuts did not produce promised profits**
- **Excess capacity depressed RASM, profits industry wide**
 - Greatly worsened excess supply of high-cost regional jets
 - Weak industry profits despite huge financial bubble
- **But United's plan served as template for all following bankruptcies including Delta, Northwest, USAirways and American**
 - Incumbent management protected, little change to business practices
 - Labor cramdowns far greater than required for successful reorganization

In late 90s, North Atlantic was both highly profitable and strongly competitive

2001-7 viable competitive positions

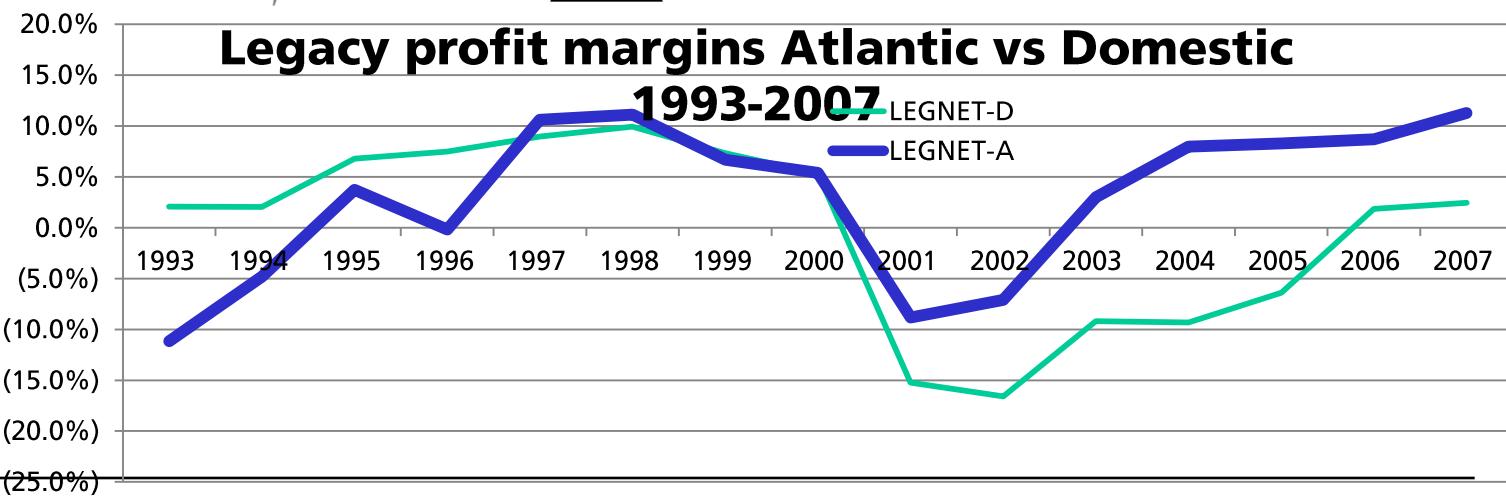


4 Hub-to-Hub positions with Collusive alliances

--NW/KL(AMS)—DL/AF(CDG)
--UA/LH(FRA)—AA/SR(ZRH)

3 non-alliance positions with Megahubs in largest markets
--CO @EWR, --BA @LHR
US@PHL

North Atlantic already strongly Profitable



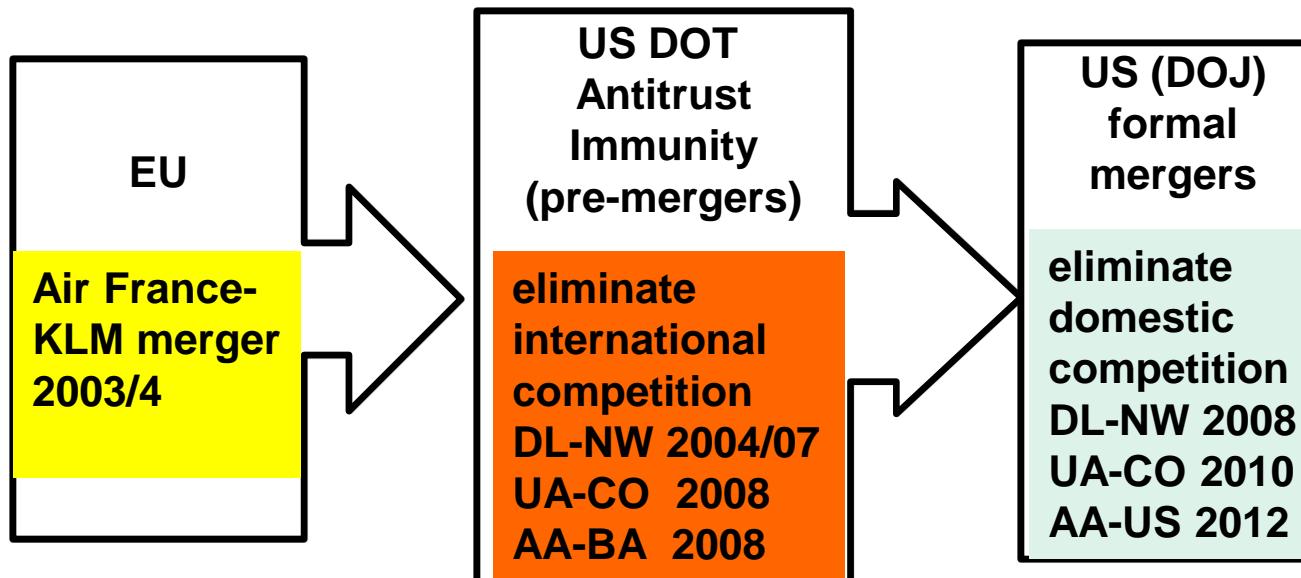
“Industry Consolidation” misinformation PR campaign led by United’s Glenn Tilton

Inevitable trend towards industry consolidation	Industry growing for decades “Trend” just biggest Atlantic carriers
Industry consolidation driven by market forces	All from government actions; Capital markets not interested
Consolidation OK—lots of competition remains	<u>shorthaul</u> competitive; Intercon always stagnant/getting and worse
Consolidation justified by big scale/scope synergies	No previous merger found synergies; United isn’t too small to compete
ATI always drives lower consumer fares	No verifiable evidence of <u>any</u> consumer benefits since 1999
Alliances create FF and other consumer benefits	Branded alliance benefits falsely attributed to Collusive Alliances

There has been no independent (regulatory, media, academic) scrutiny of these “Industry Consolidation” claims

North Atlantic Cartel triggered in Europe; United led charge in North America

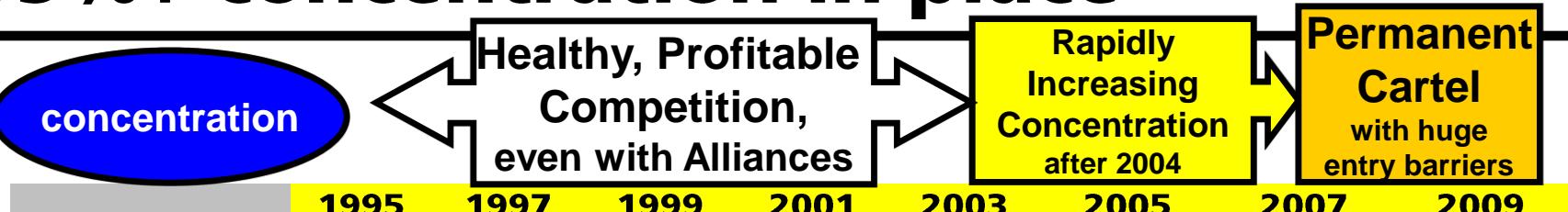
- 2002--EU aviation policy shifted from liberal competition to governmentally managed LH/AF duopoly
- 2004 AF/KL merger eliminated meaningful price competition in EU-intercontinental markets
- United led PR drive and orchestrated sequence of DOT Antitrust Immunity cases and follow on US mergers



All recent Star/Skyteam/Oneworld ATI depended on DOT's disregard for the law

- **DOT disobeyed Clayton Act requirement for market power test**
 - No analysis of any pricing data, entry barrier or market contestability evidence
- **DOT ignored legal requirement for objective evidence—DOJ said DOT merely “copy/pasted” Star applicants unsubstantiated claims**
- **Willful DOT regulatory fraud to justify “public benefits”—rule that eliminating competition automatically cuts consumer fares 15-25%**
 - “Double Marginalization” rule—sole basis for every Star/Skyteam/Oneworld ATI grant—fabrication of a United consultant hired by Glenn Tilton
 - Falsely claims connecting fares fall \$200-300 every time ATI granted (regardless of market condition)—no actual evidence of ATI consumer benefits since 1999
 - DOT falsely claimed UA consultant paper was settled view of economics profession, thus “rule” allows DOT to ignore any contradictory empirical evidence on prices
- **Newest DOT regulatory fraud—“metal neutrality” designed to extend collusion to large overlapping nonstop O&Ds**
 - Rule created by same UA consultant who fabricated “Double Marginalization”

Huge risk to consumers once Cartel, 95%+ concentration in place



Concentration levels of US-Continental Europe market (40 million annual pax)

top 3 share	47%	55%	56%	61%	67%	85%	88%	97%
-------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Concentration levels of total North Atlantic market (55 million annual pax)

top 3 share	42%	45%	47%	47%	54%	68%	66%	97%
-------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

number of total North Atlantic competitors with minimum departure share of 2%

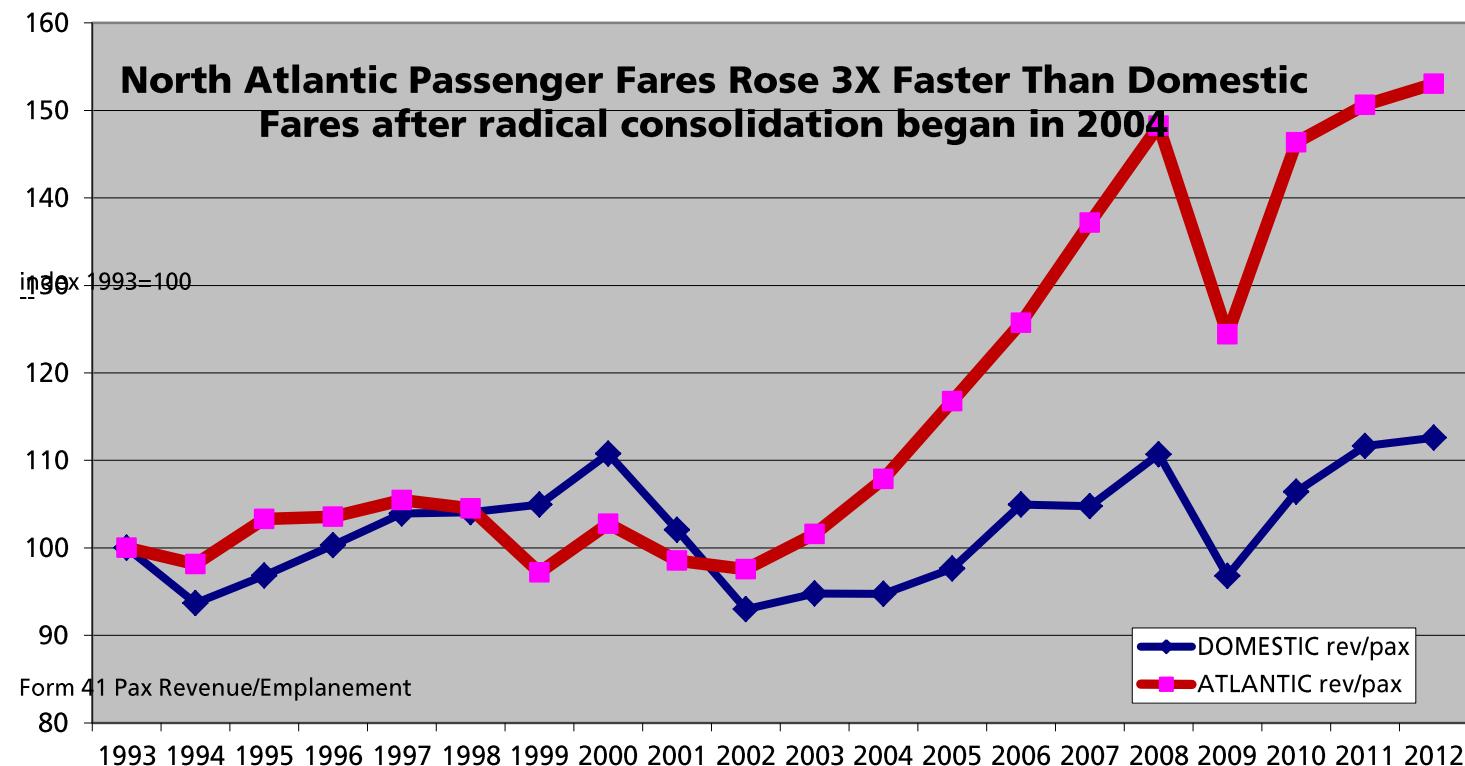
	13	13	11	11	9	7	6	3
--	----	----	----	----	---	---	---	---



Cartel with 95% share

- Power to drive prices up across the entire North Atlantic
- Oligopoly power to make capacity/service cuts
 - cuts airline costs; consumers won't have a choice
- Market "Uncontestable"—zero potential that future new entry could discipline anti-competitive Cartel abuse
- Price gouging, oligopoly schedules, creates large pool of artificial, anti-competitive profits for Cartel members

Post-2004 Consolidation created huge anti-competitive market power



North Atlantic	1991	2001	2011
Concentration-top 3	51%	47%	98%
# Competitors (>2%)	15	11	3

Goal is Cartelization of Intercontinental aviation worldwide

Pacific:
Sham US-Japan
“Open Skies”

- Unlike original 90s “Open Skies” designed to massively reduce competition, facilitate subsidies, slot rules and other distortions

Delta
Northwest
United
Continental
USAirways
American
TWA
Finnair
Austrian
SAS
Alitalia
Swiss
LOT

Air France
KLM
Lufthansa
British Air
Iberia
Brussels
Air Canada
Aer Lingus
Virgin
TAP
CSA
Turkish
BMI

26
trans-
Atlantic
carriers

LH-led
Collusive
Alliance

AF-led
Collusive
Alliance

BA-led
Collusive
Alliance

26
trans-
Pacific
carriers

Delta
Northwest
United
Continental
American
Hawaiian
Cathay Pac
Air China
China East
China South
Hainan
Air Canada
Philippines

Singapore
Thai
Malaysian
JAL
ANA
Korean
Asiana
China
EVA
Qantas
Air NZ
V Australia
Air Pacific

worldwide:
artificial market
power is key

- Cartel using its control of longhaul access to the huge EU/US markets

Transforming industry competition— step 2—Intercontinental Cartelization

	1980s/90s	21 st Century
<i>Who determines number of Intercontinental airlines?</i>	<i>Winners/losers should be determined by consumers, investors</i>	Competition should be governmentally managed
<i>Level of competition vs consolidation</i>	Maximization of consumer welfare	Protection of large, politically organized incumbents
<i>Key drivers of competitive success</i>	Efficiency, service quality, network	Rent extraction tied to control of alliance franchise; political influence
<i>Purpose of “Open Skies”</i>	Opening longhaul markets to new competitive entry	Massive reductions in competition

Transforming industry competition— step 3—Cartelizing US Aviation

*Atlantic ATI meant only 3 of 6 Legacy carriers could survive;
huge anti-competitive destruction of competition & corporate value*

- Legacy network airlines can't survive without North Atlantic; DOT ATI rulings gave huge franchise value for 3 companies; totally destroyed the long-term value of the other 3
- NW forced to sell itself to DL at near-liquidation value
- CO could not survive, but had leverage for better merger terms
- AA bankruptcy plan assumed cheap US acquisition
- Legacy precedent led to elimination of LCC competition (WN/FL)

Big efficiency reduction—capital assets moved to less efficient uses

- “Market forces” did not drive changes—totally due to powerful incumbents petitioning government for reduced competition

Few anti-competitive pricing impacts until permanent oligopoly secure

- “TBTF” airlines—huge barriers to exit, no possibility of new entry

AMR's bankruptcy Nov 2011-Aug 2013

- **2011 AMR Bankruptcy plan identical to 2002 UAL approach**
 - Labor exclusively to blame; labor cramdowns drove all P&L improvements
 - Assumed exclusive control of reorganization process
 - Absolute protection for incumbent managers, existing strategies
 - Massive new fleet investment despite losses, industry supply/demand issues
 - Intention to acquire US post-bankruptcy
- **AMR plan collapsed almost immediately; US merger plan in place in March 2012**
 - Suggests UAL Tilton plan would have also collapsed if challenged
 - Bankruptcy process took another 16 months
- **US-led merger finalizes Cartel, but better outlook than AA-led**
 - Stronger focus on supply/demand, competitive advantage, capital allocation
- **Process illustrates critical flaw in industry Cartelization process**

Counter-revolution vs liberal competition-biggest change in aviation history

- Not just radical consolidation—complete reversal of economic thinking behind deregulation

Total Domestic USA	1991	1999	2005	2013
Concentration-top 4	67%	63%	58%	87%
# Competitors (>4%)	8	8	8	4
Total North Atlantic	1991	1999	2005	2013
Concentration-top 3	35%	47%	47%	97%
# Competitors (>2%)	15	11	9	3

- Critical role of United Airlines and Glenn Tilton

- Managing laws/regulations as a political process
- Attacking entire legal framework (antitrust, bankruptcy, labor law) purporting to represent the “public” interest
- Focus on wealth transfer and rent extraction
- Undermine external discipline of capital markets

Counter-revolution against the drivers of capital allocation and growth

