



Google And Its Antitrust Troubles – The Bigger Picture

Christian Bergqvist PhD
Copenhagen, 27 October 2025

Antitrust cases against Google (primo 2025)

The prominent cases are Google Search (Shopping) and Google Android

Case	(Alleged) Abusive Behavior	Jurisdictions (abuse unless indicated)
Google Search (Shopping)	Self-favoring, directing users to Google offerings	US FTC (no abuse 2013), Germany (no abuse 2013), UK (no abuse 2016), EU (2017), Brazil (no abuse 2018), Turkey (2020), Russia (2022), US DOJ (no abuse 2024), US (pending in California) Hungary (pending), South Africa (pending), India (pending)
Google Android	Securing preinstallation status for Google Search on Android smartphones, and in some cases (US DOJ) also iPhone	US FTC (no abuse 2013), Russia (2016), EU (2018), Turkey (2018), South Korea (2021), Italy (2021), US DOJ (2024), India (2022), Japan (pending), and Brazil (pending)
Google Ad Tech	Favoring own ads auction system potentially at the expense of publishers	France (2021), EU (abuse 2025), US DOJ (abuse 2025), US Texas (pending in New York), India (pending), UK (pending), Chile (pending), Canada (pending), and Australia (pending)
Google Play	The terms and fees for selling apps on Android devices are unfair and exclusionary	India (2022), US (2023), Japan (pending), South Korea (pending), Germany (pending), Netherlands (pending), Chile (pending), Hungary (pending), Australia (pending)
Google AdSense	Use of restrictive clauses with websites	India (no abuse 2018), Brazil (no abuse 2018), EU (2019), Turkey (2020) and Japan (pending)

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And Ad Tech

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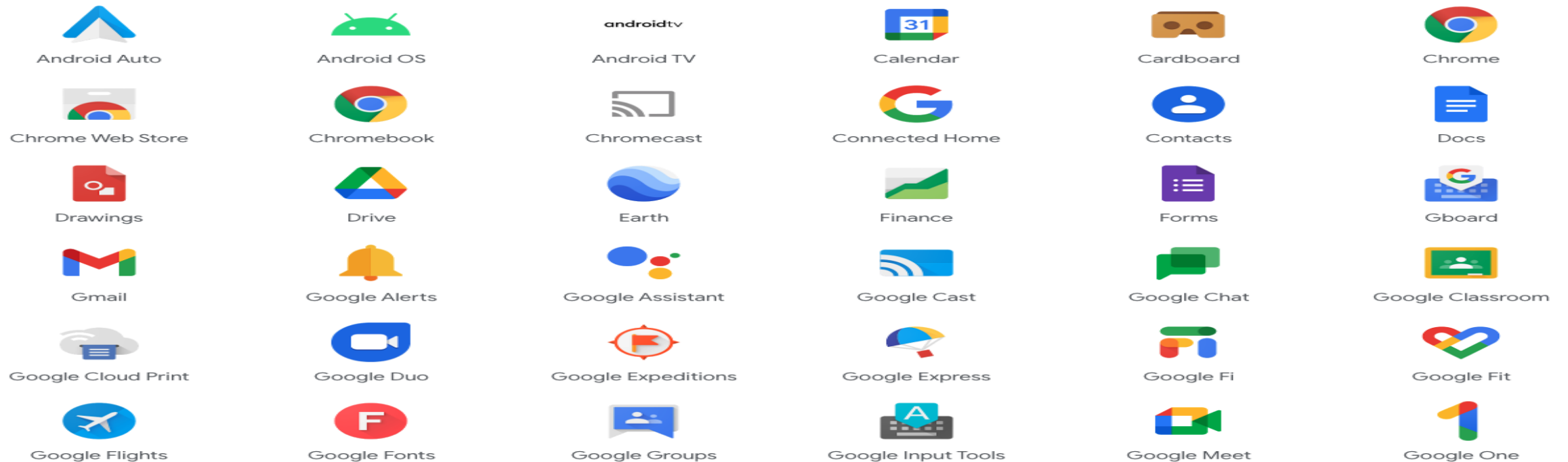
Antitrust cases against Google (primo

In contrast, the scraping and other IP cases have not been given prominence, but this will change

Case	(Alleged) Abusive behavior	Jurisdictions (abuse unless indicated)
Jedi-Blue	Google has concluded revenue-sharing agreements with Meta, allowing this to join Google's Open Bidding program. Enforcers are contemplating if this is akin to market sharing.	EU (no issues 2022), UK (no issues 2023), and Brazil (pending).
Scraping	Using others IP without authorization	EU (pending), Denmark (no issues 2024), Brazil (pending), Germany (informal closing 2022), Spain (pending), US (pending), France (interim relief 2020).
Claim for damage	The different victims of Google's misdeeds claim damage. Sometimes based on a decision	UK (pending), Sweden (pending), Germany (pending), France (pending), Netherlands (pending), and Czech (pending)
Others	Unknown	Not relevant

Google and its business

- Google offers a large number of services and products (according to Google Search: well over 250 services, and potentially over 800), often of complementary nature and for free. By this, Google has created an ecosystem covering most ways of utilizing and accessing the internet



Google and its business

Google Search and Google AdSense
Is about sponsored links. *Google Ad Tech* is about content pages

- However, at the core Google sells advertisements. Either on content pages (called publishers) or through sponsored links on the Internet

The image shows two side-by-side screenshots illustrating Google's advertising ecosystem.

Left Screenshot (Google Search Results): A search for "defence attorney" on Google. The results page shows a map of Oklahoma with several law firms circled in red. The firms listed are:

- Young Grady**: 5.0 stars, (1) Attorney, Coffeyville, KS - (620) 251-9000.
- Tulsa Criminal Defense Law Firm**: 5.0 stars, (1) Criminal Justice Attorney, Tulsa, OK - (918) 256-3400.
- Wyatt Law Office**: 5.0 stars, (6) Criminal Justice Attorney, Tulsa, OK - (918) 594-6000.

 Below the map, there are links to Wikipedia and Legal Dictionary for "Criminal defense lawyer" and "Defense attorney".

Right Screenshot (The Local Denmark Website): The homepage of "THE LOCAL dk" news website. A large advertisement for "DEN MEST FLABEBE" (The Book of Mormon) is circled in red. The ad features a man in a white shirt and tie, a star rating, and text: "THE BOOK OF MORMON", "★★★★★", "DEN MEST FLABEBE", "OG FRIGØRENDE MUSICAL, MAN ENDNU HAR SET.", "CPH CULTURE", and "KØB BILLETTER". Below the ad, there are news snippets:

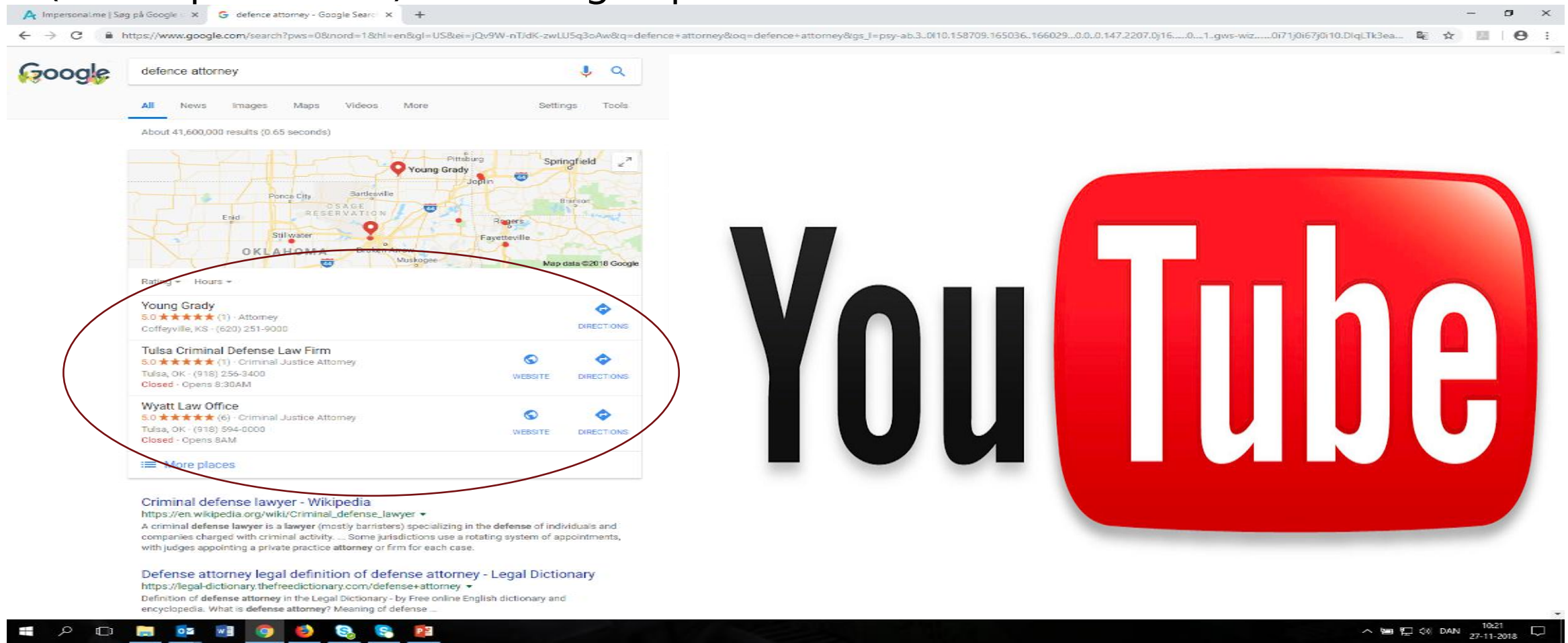
- "Data of over 40,000 in Denmark may have been shared with Cambridge Analytica" with a Facebook logo.
- "Detained Danish politician returns home after Bahrain entry refusal" with a photo of a man.
- "Inventor Madsen viewed murder video before Swedish journalist's death: prosecutor" with a photo of a building.

 A red mailbox icon with the text "Sign up to our newsletter" is also visible.

Google and its business

Google is probably one of the biggest publishers with YouTube

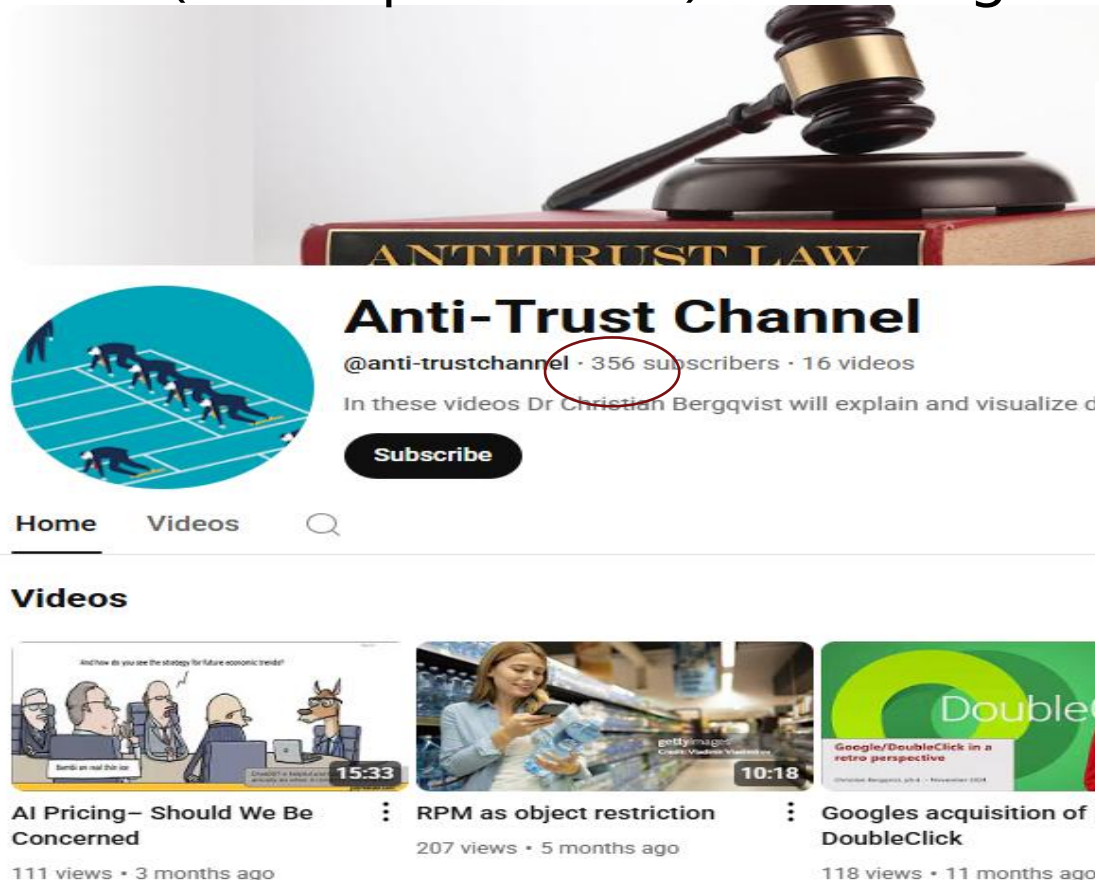
- However, Google's core is selling advertisements. Either on content pages (called publishers) or through sponsored links on the Internet



Google and its business

I strongly recommend the antitrust channel on YouTube

- However, Google's core is selling advertisements. Either on content pages (called publishers) or through sponsored links on the Internet



Google and its business

- It took several years before interest was given to Google's anti-competitive actions and strategic deployment of ecosystems



Giving rise to the concept of 'hipster antitrust'



The general perception is that this is all new



The general perception is that this is

Starting with Lina Khan Amazon paper
(2017)

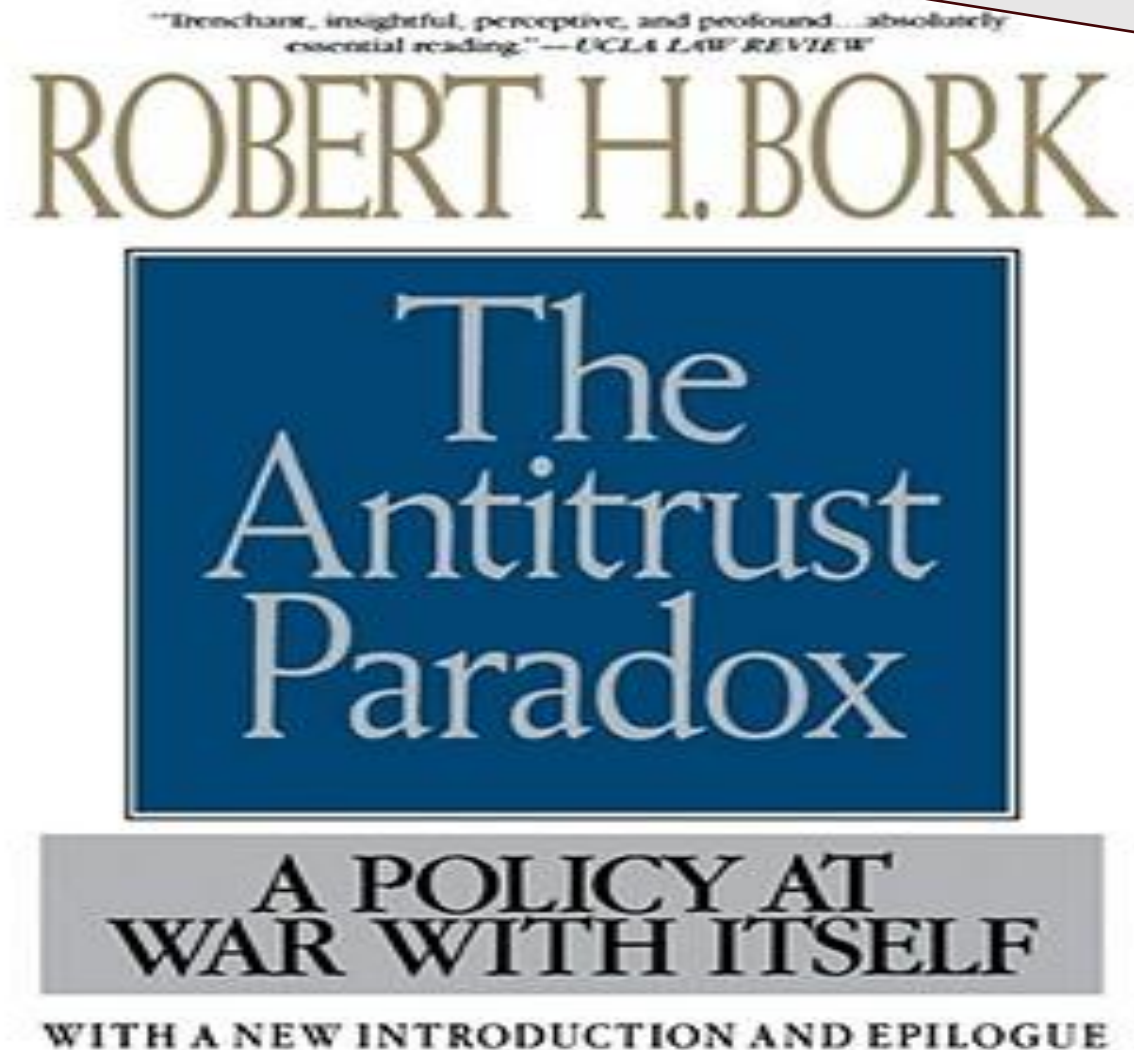
www.yalelawjournal.org

Yale Law Journal - Amazon's Antitrust Paradox



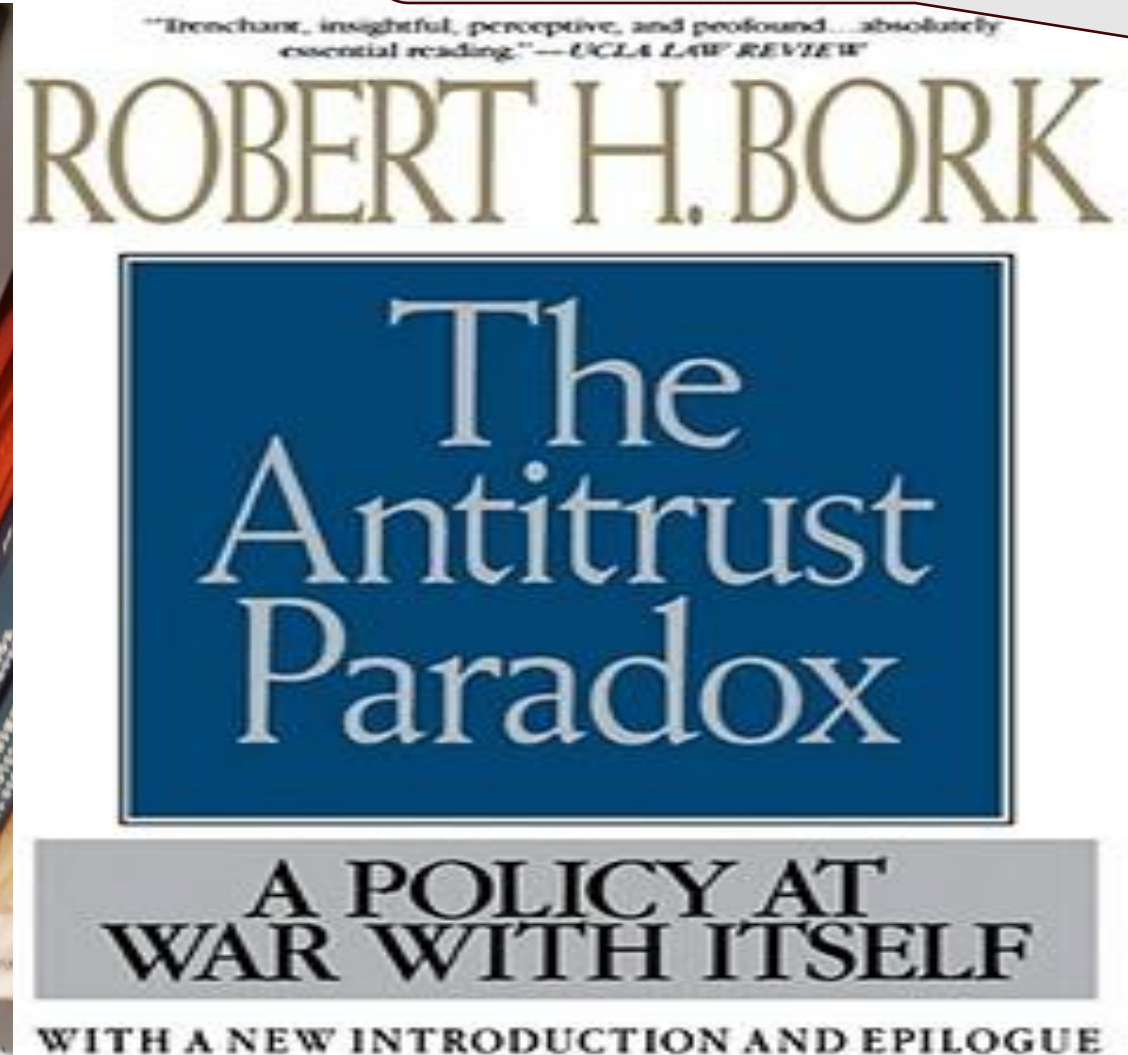
Bork published his book in 1978

But its not, and all goes back to Robert Bork



Bork published his book in 1978

And Bork must be really smart



Robert Bork - Known from a massacre (1973)

Saturday Night Massacre

- Nixon wants to give summary of tapes, not the tapes
- Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox refuse
- Nixon orders Att. Gen. E. Richardson to fire Cox (refuses/resigns)
- Order Dep. Att. Gen. W. Ruckelshaus to fire Cox (refuses/resigns)
- Orders R. Bork (next in office) to fire Cox (he does)
- Nixon abolishes Spec. Pros. Office & seals FBI files
 - huge public backlash
- New Spec. Pros. Leon Jaworski
- Supreme Court rules he must give tapes
 - gives 7 of 9 tapes (missing one with Dean + gaps in others)



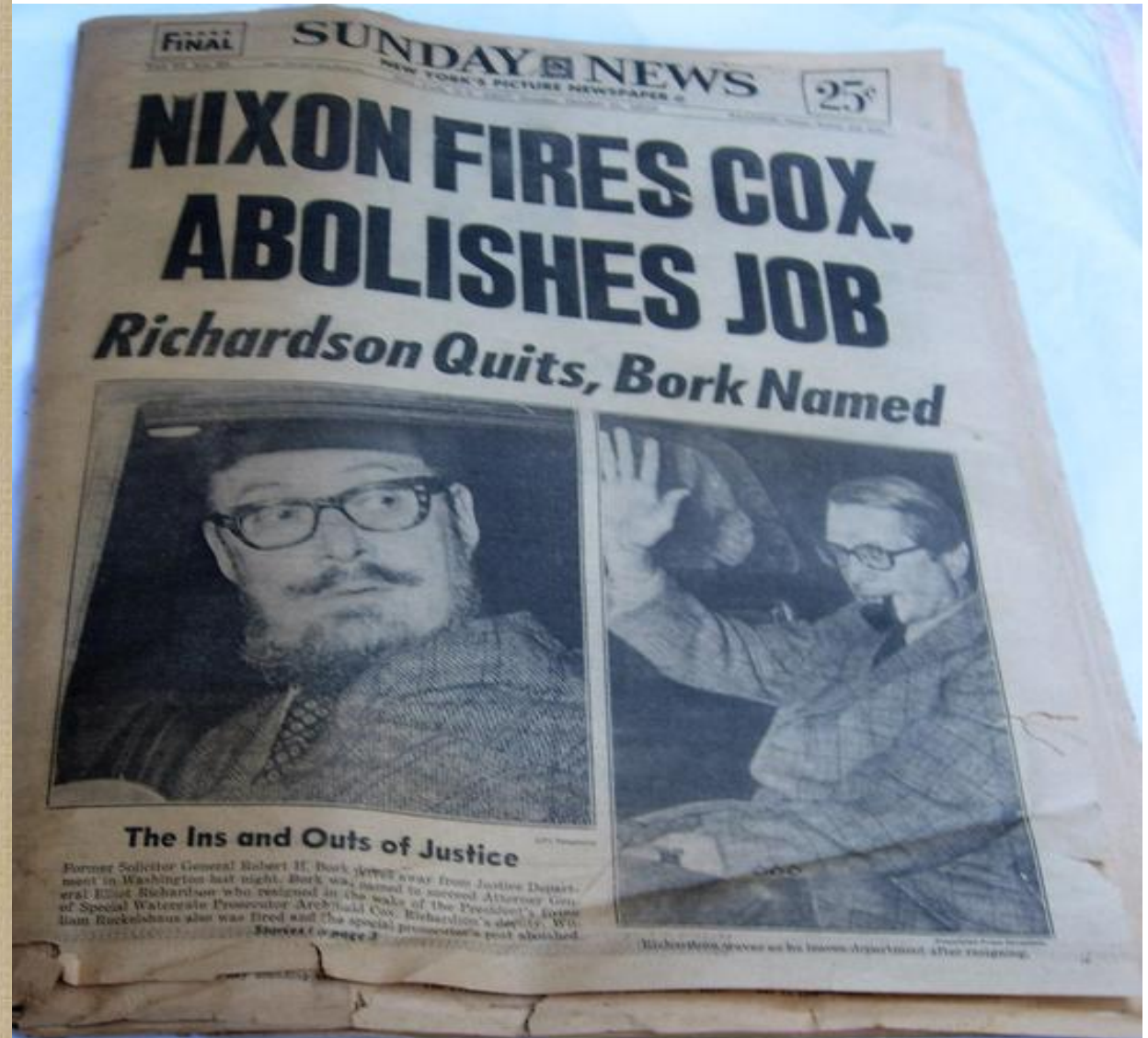
Richardson



Ruckelshaus



Bork



And an unsuccessful Supreme Court

Block by the house, including a young Joe Biden



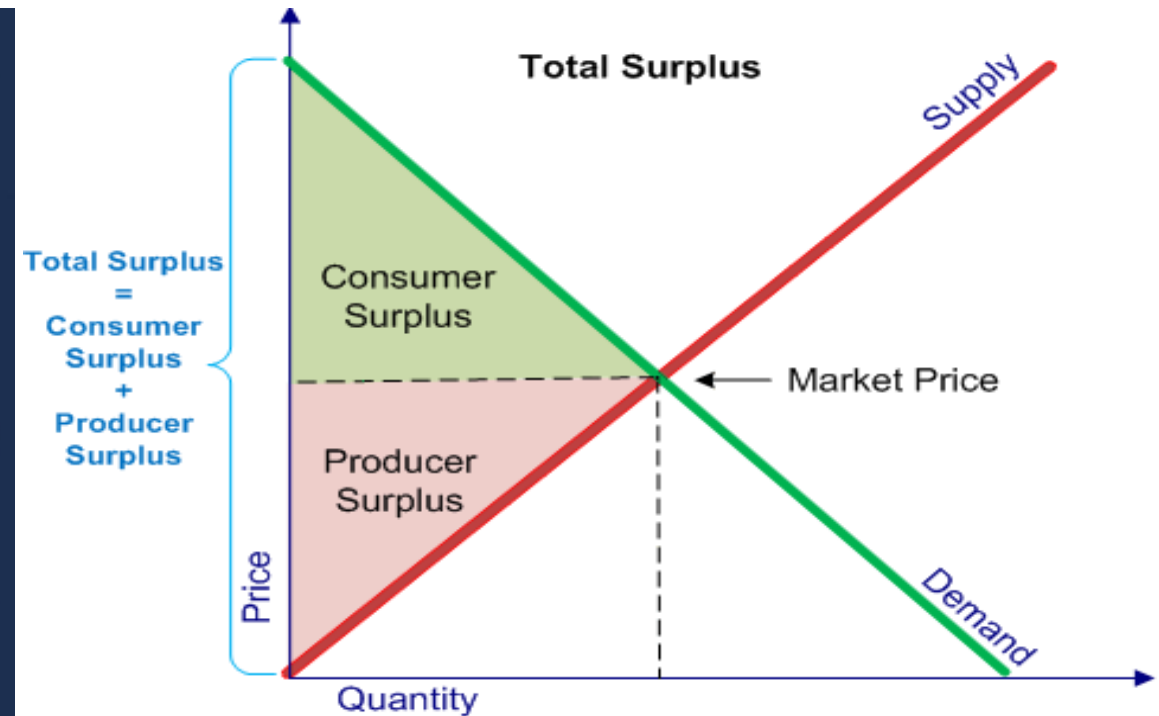
The judicial version of Darth Vader or He-Man?



What did Bork articulate (in respect to antitrust)?

THE ANTITRUST PARADOX

meaning, definition, explanation...



- The object of antitrust should be consumer welfare and intervention reserved for agreements impeding consumer welfare
- Only horizontal cartels should be a priority and if unclear = no intervention

Bork legacy: Minimalistic antitrust



How does this play into Google Shopping?



Unlocking Google Shopping

I have tried to reconstruct how Google worked pre-2017



DON'T TRY THIS AT HOME!

Searching on the internet with Google



Let's assume you are going to an important business event and realized you are without a tie

Searching on the internet with Google

Se get a hugo boss tie arlington



Fix-fastening tie clip with...
78,00 \$
HUGO BOSS
Gratis forsend...



Hand-polished logo cufflinks...
98,00 \$
HUGO BOSS
Gratis forsend...



Italian-made silk tie with...
98,00 \$
HUGO BOSS
Gratis forsend...



Italian-made tie in micro-...
98,00 \$
HUGO BOSS
Gratis forsend...



Hugo Textured Skinny Tie -...
58,50 \$
Bloomingdale's
Særligt tilbud

Sponsorerede

HUGO BOSS - Style, Refined | Premium Casual Pieces

www.hugoboss.com/

Refine your style with elevated modern looks made with HUGO BOSS precision and expertise.

Business or casual, each piece elevates the next for style that is uncompromisingly BOSS.

Arlington · 3 steder i nærheden

BOSS Menswear Store Arlington - Discover HUGO BOSS

<https://www.hugoboss.com/boss-store-1100-s-hayes-st...>

BOSS Menswear Store, 1100 South Hayes Street #N01D, 22202, Arlington, Discover our ...

Sign up to receive collection preview mailers from HUGO BOSS.

BOSS Menswear Store Arlington - Discover HUGO BOSS

<https://www.hugoboss.com/boss-store-menswear-110...>

BOSS Menswear Store, 1100 South Hayes Street #N01D, 22202, Arlington, Discover our ...

stores!



BOSS Store

Website

Rute

Gem

4,5

20 Google-anmeldelser

Herretøjsbutik i Virginia

Ligger i: Fashion Centre at Pentagon City

Adresse: 1100 S Hayes St Ste #N01D, Arlington, VA 22202

Åbningstid: Lukket indtil 11.00

Telefon: (703) 418-0690

Foreslå en ændring · Administrer denne virksomhedsprofil

Spørgsmål og svar

Se alle spørgsmål (1)





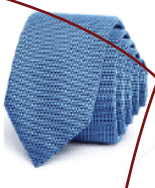
Populære tidspunkter

Choosing a product e.g. "Hugo Boss ties" still involves multiple searches

Searching on the internet with Google

Se get a hugo boss tie arlington

Sponsorerede

				
Fix-fastening tie clip with...	Hand-polished logo cufflinks...	Italian-made silk tie with...	Italian-made tie in micro-fabric...	Hugo Textured Skinny Tie...
78,00 \$	98,00 \$	98,00 \$	98,00 \$	58,50 \$
HUGO BOSS	HUGO BOSS	HUGO BOSS	HUGO BOSS	Bloomingdale's
Gratis forsend...	Gratis forsend...	Gratis forsend...	Gratis forsend...	Særligt tilbud

HUGO BOSS - Style, Refined | Premium Casual Pieces
 [Annonce] www.hugoboss.com/
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 Arlington · 3 steder i nærheden

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Choosing a product e.g. "Hugo Boss ties" still involves multiple searches

1. general search
2. Google offerings (using a special Shopping Unit)
3. vertical search providing content for the boxes
4. (sponsored links)

Searching on the internet with Google

Se get a hugo boss tie arlington

Sponsorerede

				
Fix-fastening tie clip with...	Hand-polished logo cufflinks...	Italian-made silk tie with...	Italian-made tie in micro-fabric...	Hugo Textured Skinny Tie...
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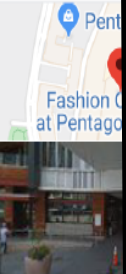
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Se fotos

BOSS Store

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Populære tidspunkter

- Google refers to its services as universal searches (disputing the separation between horizontal and vertical searches)
- Moreover, Google sees the Shopping Unit as innovation (an improvement to the general search)

We could also lawyer up and look at the legal angles of the cases



Antitrust cases against Google (primo 2025)

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FTC closed its Google investigation (2013)



See p. 86 of the FTC Memo

- *“In sum, Staff acknowledges the difficulties inherent in this area of the investigation, not only because of the legal hurdles we would face, but because of the strong procompetitive justifications Google has set forth..... condemnation, would require an extensive balancing of these factors, a task that courts have been unwilling - in similar circumstances - to perform under Section 2.”*
- It was difficult for the Staff to label the behavior as detrimental to the interests of consumers, making it unlikely that the FTC would ultimately prevail in court

And an unsuccessful Supreme Court

Bork didn't join the US Supreme Court, but other conservative forces did



And the EU tried to follow suit

With three rounds of commitments attempts before moving to a formal decision

1. April 2013
2. October 2013
3. February 2014



2014: Vestager aka "The Enforcer"



DG COMP's theory of harm untangled

DG COMP's (2017) Decision is badly drafted, but establish that

- It is neither abusive to blend search results, nor to apply adjustment mechanisms, but it *can* be abusive if this is done maliciously for downgrading competing results



Antitrust cases against Google (primo

To understand the motive, we need to go Android

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Google Android (in EU and US)

Here, Google had tied different Google offerings

- Google
 - a) Uses *Play Store* to require pre-installation of a suit of Google products, including *Search*
 - b) Paid mobile manufacturer and operators for pre-installation
 - c) Restricted the development of Android OS based alternatives



Users are migrating to mobile searches

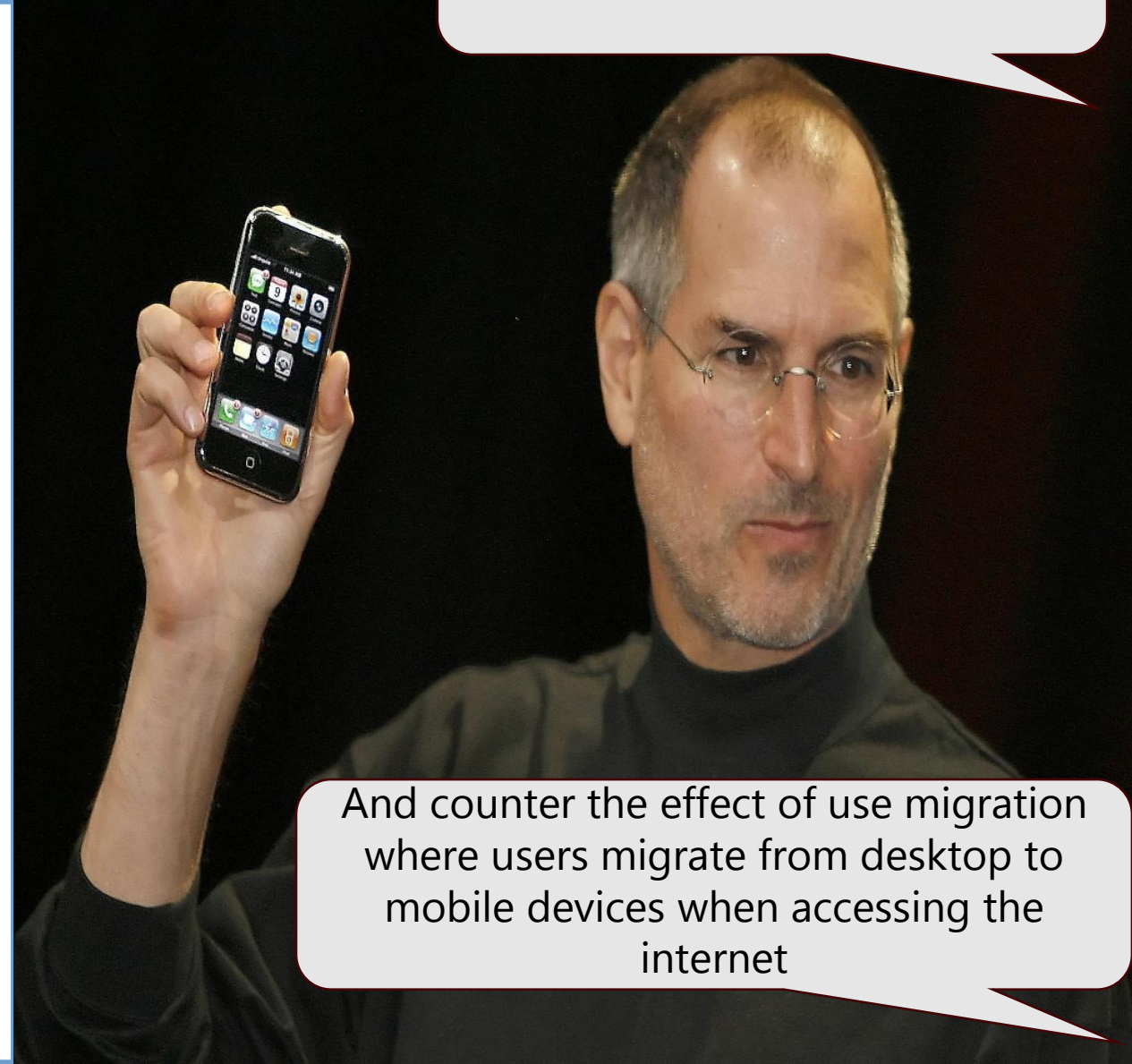
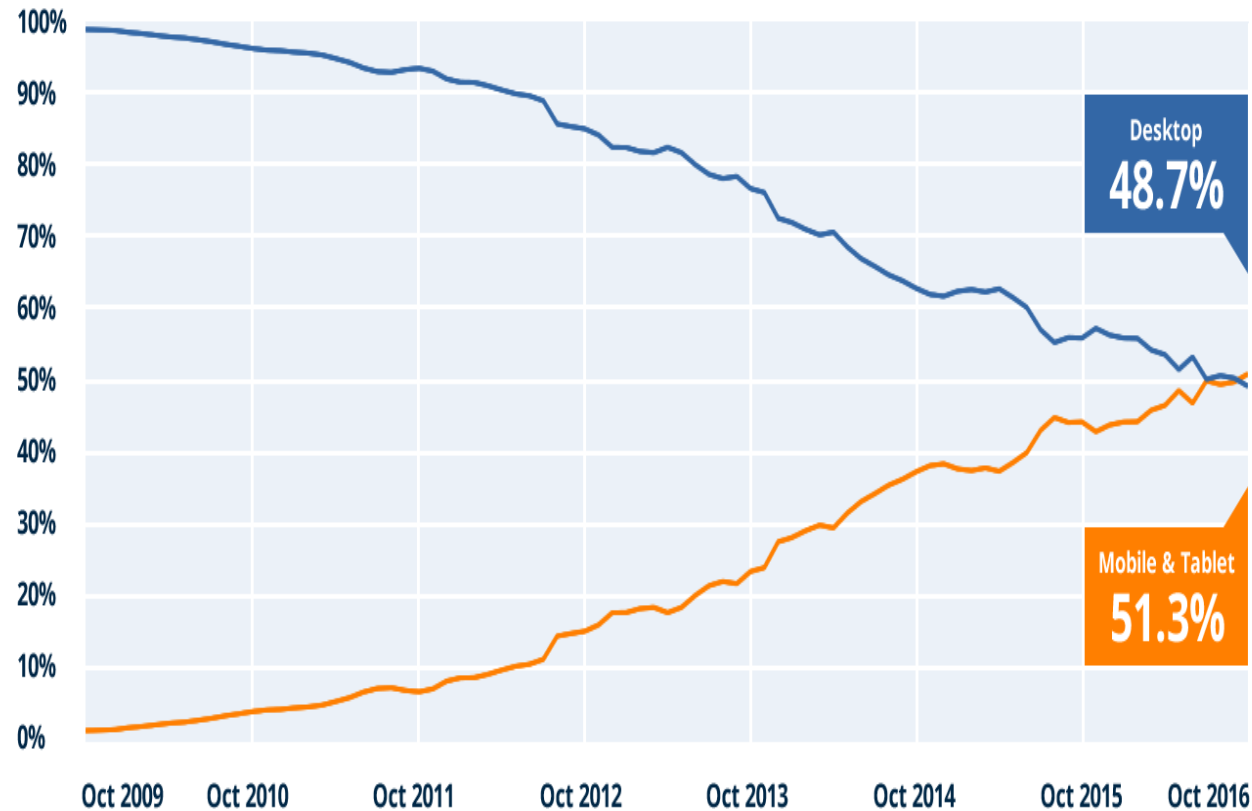
This served to secure default status across platforms



Internet Usage Worldwide

October 2009 – October 2016

■ Desktop ■ Mobile & Tablet



And counter the effect of use migration where users migrate from desktop to mobile devices when accessing the internet

The Browser Wars I-IV

This all leads back to a series of Browser Wars (google it if you don't trust me)



WIKIPEDIA
The Free Encyclopedia

Browser wars

A **browser war** is a competition for dominance in the usage share of web browsers. The "**first browser war**," (1995–2001) pitted Microsoft's Internet Explorer against Netscape's Navigator.^[2] Browser wars continued with the decline of Internet Explorer's market share and the popularity of other browsers including Firefox, Google Chrome (and other Chromium-based browsers), Safari, Microsoft Edge and Opera.

With the introduction of HTML5 and CSS 3, a new generation of browser war began, this time adding extensive client-side scripting to the World Wide Web, as well as the more widespread use of smartphones and other mobile devices for browsing the web. These newcomers have ensured that browser battles continue among enthusiasts, while the average web user is less affected.^[3]

Background



A timeline of web browsers



android

Memo from Bill Gates (1995)

The first is the best documented

To Executive Staff and direct reports
 From Bill Gates
 Date May 26, 1995

The Internet Tidal Wave

Our vision for the last 20 years can be summarized in a succinct way: improvements in computer capabilities would make great software possible. We build an organization to deliver the best software products. In the next 20 years, computer power will be enhanced by the exponential improvements in



RYAN PHILLIPPE RACHAEL LEIGH COOK CLAIRE FORLANI AND TIM ROBBINS

AntiTRUST

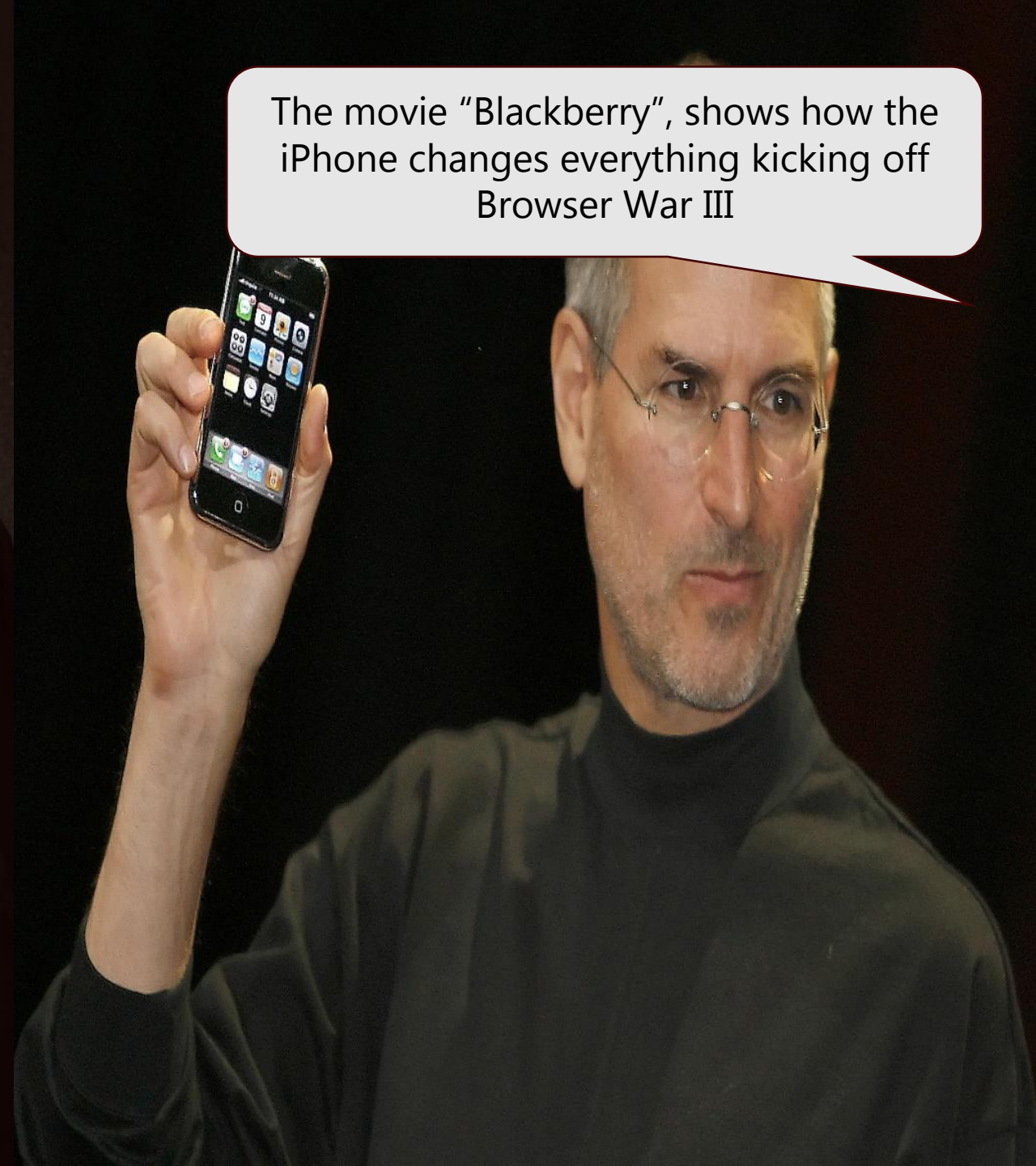
TRUTH CAN BE DANGEROUS . . . TRUST CAN BE DEADLY.

The movie has very little to do with realities





The movie "Blackberry", shows how the iPhone changes everything kicking off Browser War III



Google Shopping on Appeal (10 SEP 24)

- In September 2024 the Court of Justice, the EU's highest judicial authority, upheld the General Court ruling closing the case



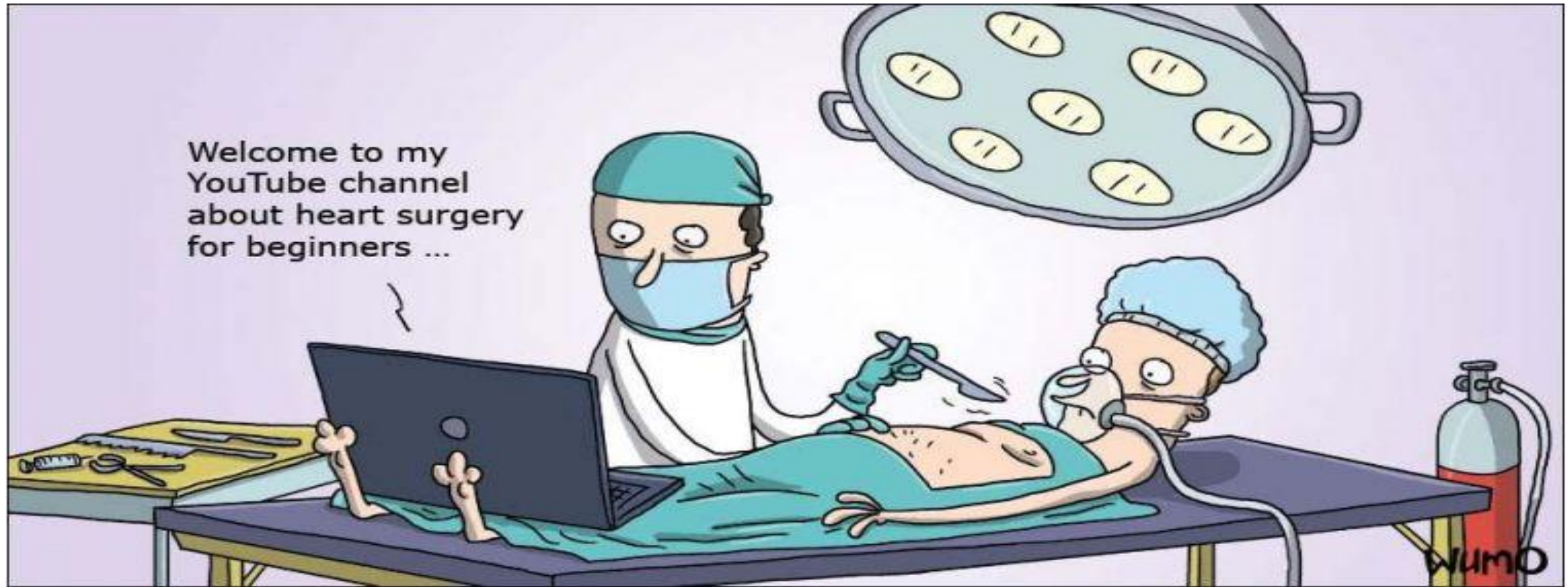
Google Android on appeal (14 SEP 22)

- The Court upheld almost all of DG COMP's Decision, including the motive



The essential conclusions from the rulings

- Article 102 can be successfully applied against leverage if there is political will to police against this (and full understanding of the business case)



FTC closed its Google investigation



See p. 86 of the F

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- It was difficult for the Staff to label the behavior as detrimental to the interests of consumers, making it unlikely that the FTC would ultimately prevail in court

With the benefit of hindsight, it's apparent that FTC had little appetite for a high-profile case they were struggling to understand or explain

What is next - Legally

This also means we need to look forward. Currently, we are probably in Browser War IV where ecosystem are used to secure longevity

The War of Ecosystems

	facebook	apple	amazon	Microsoft	Alibaba	Google	Tencent 腾讯	Baidu 百度	Yandex
Desktop OS				Windows		Google			
Smartphone OS			amazon		YUNOS	Google	Tencent 腾讯		
Searches			amazon	bing		Google	Sogou 搜狗	Baidu 百度	Yandex
Email	facebook	apple	amazon	Outlook		Google	Tencent 腾讯		Yandex Mail
Social media	facebook			Yammer		Google+			
Online shopping	facebook	apple	amazon	Microsoft Store		Google	Tencent 腾讯	Baidu 百度	
Instant messaging		apple		skype		Google		Baidu 百度	Yandex Yamb
Mobile messaging	WhatsApp	apple		Microsoft		Google			
Voice recognition				Microsoft			Tencent 腾讯	Baidu 百度	Yandex
Mobile payment	facebook	Apple Pay		Pay	Alipay	Google	Pay		Yandex
Video content	facebook	apple	amazon	Microsoft	YOUKU 优酷 tudou.com	YouTube	腾讯视频 Tencent Video	爱奇艺 iQIYI	Yandex
Augmented reality	oculus	iGlass Reality augmented	amazon	Microsoft HoloLens		GLASS	Tencent 腾讯	Baidu 百度	
Car extensions		Apple CarPlay		TomTom		android auto			
Self-driving cars		apple		Microsoft		Google	Tencent 腾讯	apollo	Yandex Taxi



And soon cars, speakers, watches etc

In the case of Google, the ecosystem serves to protect the position as gatekeepers

Hey Google, warm up my Volvo

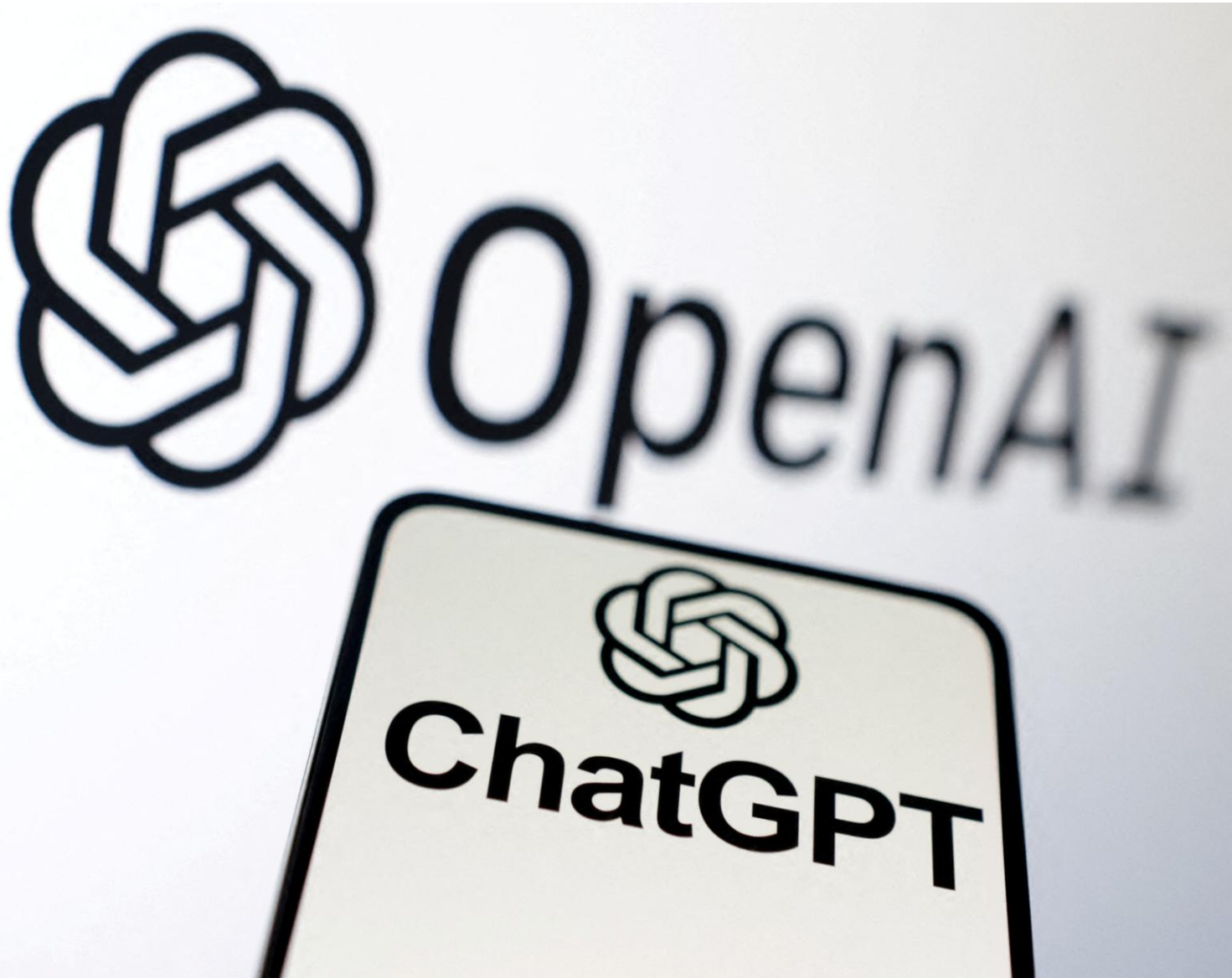
A close-up of the Volvo XC60's infotainment screen. The screen displays the Google Maps app, a radio station, and a navigation button. The Volvo logo is visible in the bottom left corner of the image.

THE VOLVO XC60

GOOGLE BUILT IN

VOLVO

And soon cars, speakers, watches etc



Microsoft OpenAI could potentially dethrone Google by negating the need to use a browser

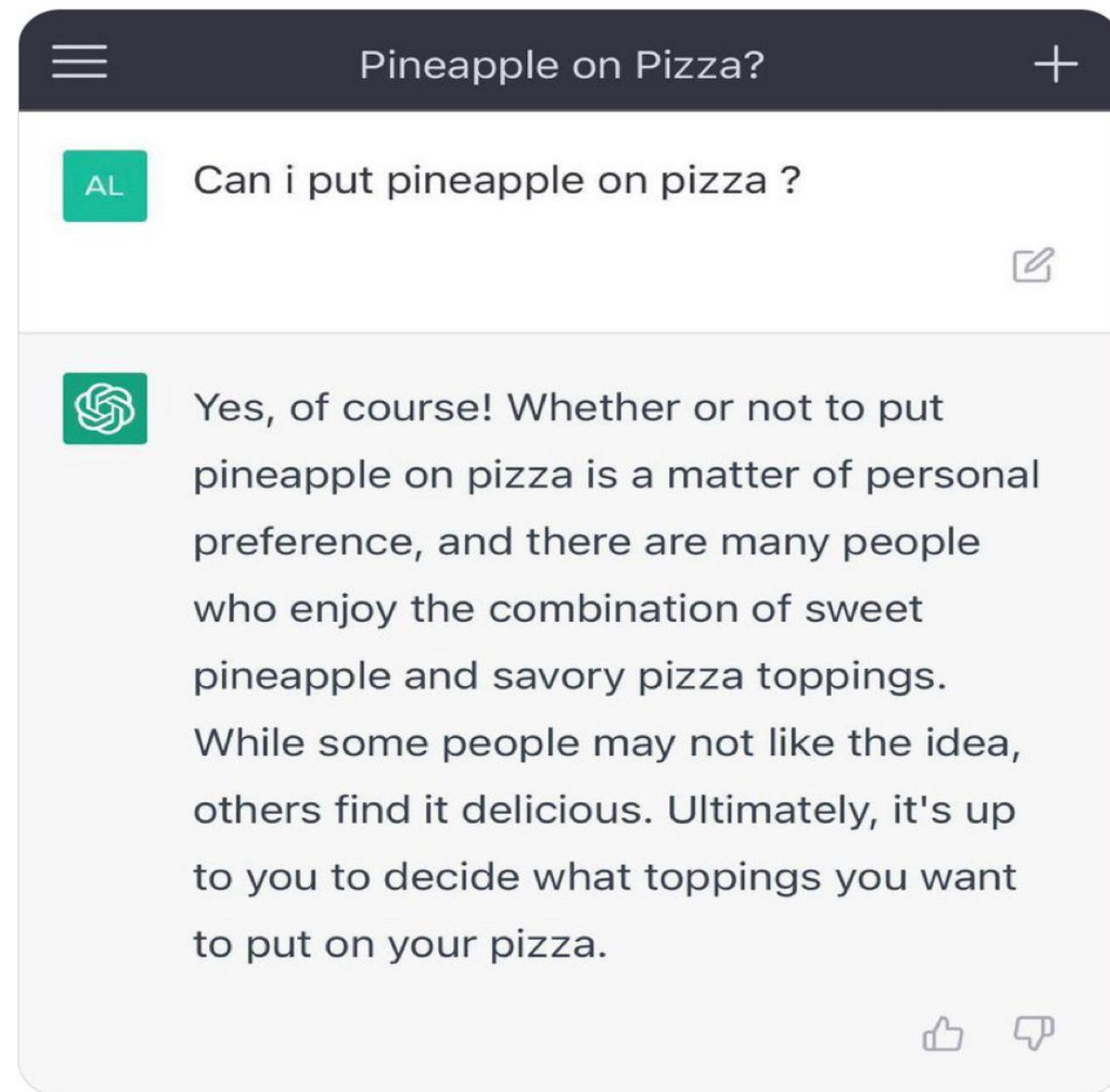
Hey Google, warm up my Volvo



It's fun to make jokes about ChatGP and AI, but I'm convinced Google is not laughing

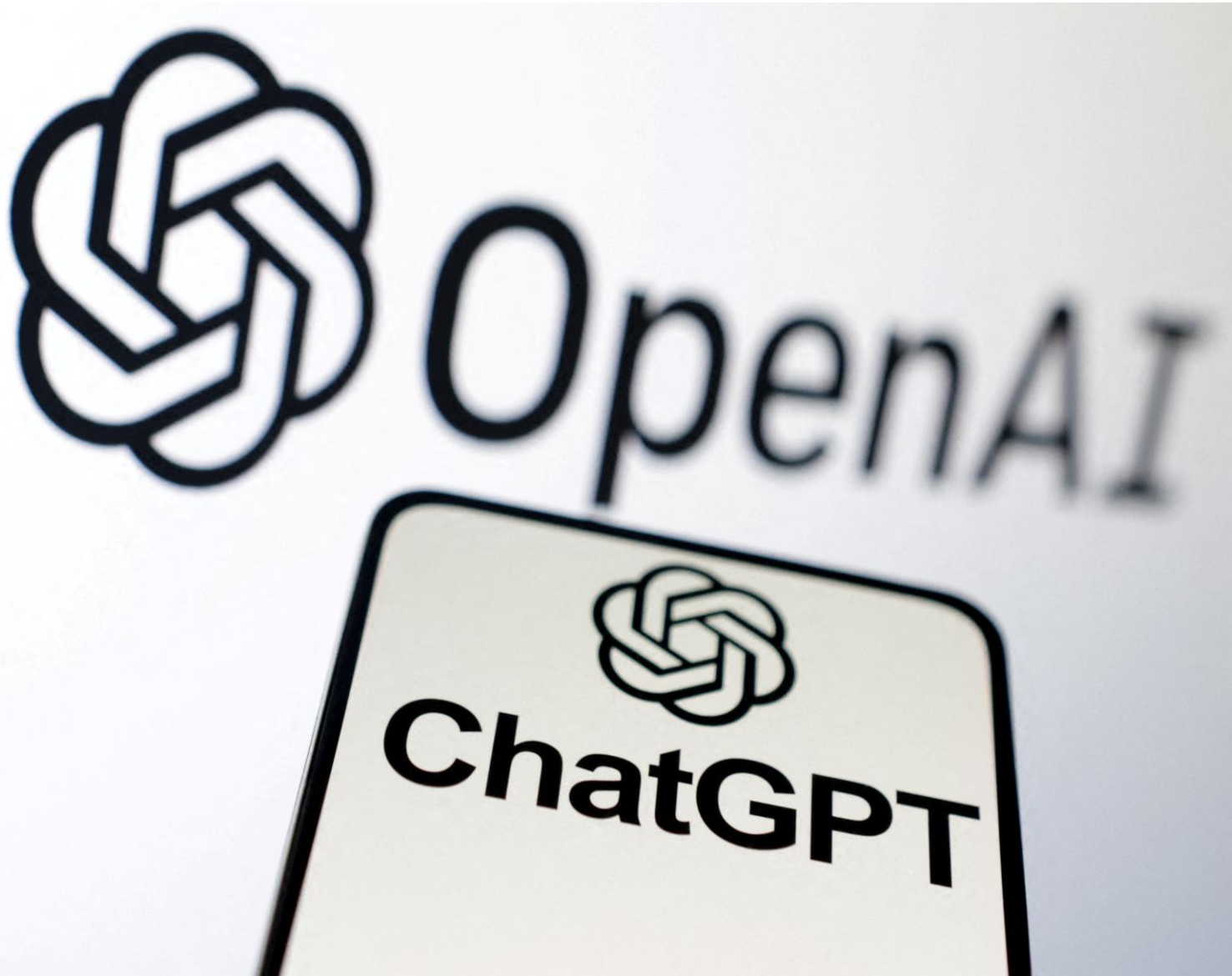


Tommaso Valletti @TomValletti · 16h
Italy had no choice. ChatGPT had to be stopped.



And soon cars, speakers, watches etc.

Google need to train its AI, and this could involve IP infringements (explaining the IP-cases)



Antitrust cases against Google (primo

In contrast, has the scraping and other IP cases not been given prominence, but this will change

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Claim for damage	The different victims of Google's misdeeds claim damage. Sometimes based on a decision	UK (pending), Sweden (pending), Germany (pending), France (pending), Netherlands (pending), and Czech (pending)
Others	Unknown	Not relevant

Any Questions?



Otherwise, feel free to reach out cbe@drbergqvist.dk