

## Jens Prüfer

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### CURRENT POSITIONS

Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Tilburg University, 2018-  
Academic Director, MSc Economics program, Tilburg School of Economics and Management, 2016-  
Research Fellow, CentER for Economic Research, Tilburg University, 2006-  
Senior Member, Tilburg Law and Economics Center (TILEC), 2006-

### PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Assistant Professor (tenured), Department of Economics, Tilburg University, 2015-2018  
Assistant Professor (tenured), Department of Management, Tilburg University, 2012-2014  
Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Tilburg University, 2006-2012  
Post-Doctoral Fellow, Goethe University Frankfurt, 2005-2006  
Research Assistant, Goethe University Frankfurt, 2003-2005,  
Project: “Pricing and Revenue Models on the Internet“, sponsored by the German Federal  
Ministry of Education and Research  
Lecturer, University of Applied Sciences (FH) Pforzheim, FH Nürtingen, University of Cooperative  
Education (BA) Stuttgart, 2002-2003

### RESEARCH & TEACHING INTERESTS

Primary: Institutional & Organizational Economics, Law & Economics  
Secondary: Applied Microeconomics, Industrial Organization, Economics of Innovation and  
Datafication

### EDUCATION

Ph.D., Goethe University Frankfurt (Economics), Germany, 2005  
Title: “Essays on Organisational Design in Networks”  
Committee: Uwe Walz (Chair), Matthias Blonski, Alfons Weichenrieder, Christian Laux  
Diplom-Volkswirt (M.Sc. equivalent), University of Tübingen, Germany, 2001  
Minor subject: Chinese Studies  
Visiting student, National University of Singapore, 1998-1999

### ACADEMIC VISITS

MIT, March 2011  
University of Michigan, June 2009 & March 2011

### PUBLICATIONS

“Faithful Strategies: How Religion Shapes Nonprofit Management” (with Lapo Filistrucchi),  
*Management Science*, 2019, 65(1), 188-208.  
“Trusting Privacy in the Cloud,” *Information Economics and Policy*, 2018, 45, 52-67.  
“Religion, Moral Attitudes, and Economic Behavior” (with Isadora Kirchmaier and Stefan T.  
Trautmann), *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 2018, 148, 282-300.  
“Firms, Nonprofits, and Cooperatives: A Theory of Organizational Choice” (with Patrick Herbst),  
*Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, 2016, 87(3), 315-343.  
“Business Associations and Private Ordering,” *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, 2016,  
32(2), 306-358.

- “Trade Associations, Lobbying, and Endogenous Institutions” (with Maria Larraín), *Journal of Legal Analysis*, 2015, 7(2), 467-516.
- “On the Evolution of Collective Enforcement Institutions: Communities and Courts” (with Scott E. Masten), *Journal of Legal Studies*, 43(2), 2014, 359-400.
- “How to Govern the Cloud?” *IEEE CloudCom 2013*, DOI 10.1109/CloudCom.2013.100, 33-38.
- “Academic Faculty Governance and Recruitment Decisions” (with Uwe Walz), *Public Choice*, 155(3), 2013, 507-529.
- “Democracy, Populism, and (Un)bounded Rationality” (with Johannes Binswanger), *European Journal of Political Economy*, 2012, doi: 10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2012.02.002.
- “Search Engine Competition with Network Externalities” (with Cédric Argenton), *Journal of Competition Law & Economics*, 8(1), 2012, 73–105.
- “Competition and Mergers among Nonprofits,” *Journal of Competition Law & Economics*, 7(1), 2011, 69–92.
- “An Auction Market for Journal Articles” (with David Zetland), *Public Choice*, 145, 2010, 379-403.
- “Interconnection and Competition among Asymmetric Networks in the Internet Backbone Market” (with Eric Jahn), *Information Economics and Policy*, 20 (3), 2008, 243-256.
- “Dark Clouds over the Internet?” (with Eric Jahn), *Telecommunications Policy*, 31, 2007, 144–154.

**OTHER PUBLICATIONS (non-peer reviewed)**

- "Mandated data sharing is a necessity in specific sectors" (with Inge Graef), *Economisch Statistische Berichten*, 103 (4763), 2018, 298-301.
- "Data Science for Institutional and Organizational Economics" (with Patricia Prüfer), in: *A Research Agenda for New Institutional Economics*, Claude Ménard and Mary M. Shirley (eds.), Edward Elgar Publishers, 2018, forthcoming.

**WORKING PAPERS**

- “Data Science for the Entrepreneurial (Research) Process” (with Patricia Prüfer), 2018, *Revise & Resubmit*.
- “Consumers’ Privacy Choices in the Era of Big Data” (with Sebastian Dengler); TILEC Discussion Paper No. 2018-014.
- “Competing with Big Data” (with Christoph Schottmüller); TILEC Discussion Paper No. 2017-006, CentER Discussion Paper No. 2017-007.
- “Innovation Contests”; an earlier version was distributed under the title “Semi-Public Competitions”, CentER Discussion Paper, No. 2009-33, TILEC Discussion Paper, No. 2008-023.

**WORK IN PROGRESS**

- “News Platforms, Voter Manipulation, and Democracy” (with Freek van Gils and Wieland Müller)
- “Governance and Competition of Standard Setting Organizations” (with Maria Larraín Aylwin)
- “Classification Through Thick and Thin: Permissive Norms and Strict Laws” (with Gillian Hadfield and Vatsalya Srivastava)
- “Clash of Classification Institutions” (with Gillian Hadfield and Vatsalya Srivastava)
- “Believing in Making a Difference” (with Xu YiLong)
- “Public Hospitals are More Effective but Private Hospitals are More Efficient” (with Lapo Filistrucchi)
- “General and Specialized Courts: Objectivity vs. Expertise in Adjudication” (with Scott Masten)

**TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

- “University Teaching Qualification” (BKO), awarded by Tilburg University, 2014
- Undergraduate:*
- Religion and Economics: Tilburg, 2016-2018
  - Industrial Organization: Tilburg, 2013-2015
  - Microeconomics for International Business Administration: Tilburg, 2009-11
  - Economics for Business Studies: Tilburg, 2007-09
  - Microeconomic Theory: FH Pforzheim, BA Stuttgart, 2003
  - Principles of Economics: FH Pforzheim, 2002-03

Theory of Monetary Policy: FH Nürtingen, 2002-03

*Graduate:*

Innovation and Networks: Tilburg, 2016-2018

Competition and Innovation: Tilburg, 2015

Organizational Economics (PhD): Tilburg, 2012-18

Economic Foundations of Strategy, Organizations, and International Business (PhD): Tilburg, 2012-16

Game Theory & Industrial Organization: Tilburg, 2006-11

Organizational Choice: Frankfurt, 2006

Organization and Competition in Networks: Frankfurt, 2006

E-Commerce Economics: MBA, FH Pforzheim, 2002-2005

*Short courses:*

Institutions & Economic Governance (PhD): MIT, 2011; University of Michigan, 2011

Order Without Law (PhD): Tilburg, 2010, 2011; ESNIE European School on New Institutional Economics, 2012

Industrial Economics for Lawyers: Tilburg, 2007

**NON-ACADEMIC PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

Consultant, Network Economy S.A., Frankfurt, 2003-2005, Innovation & Telecommunications

Founder and CEO, InterEdu.com – International Education Information Centre, Tübingen, 1999–2002

**AWARDS & GRANTS**

Research grant for project on “Democracy and Big Data,” Data Science Center Tilburg, 2017-19 (EUR 75,000).

Conference subsidy for the organization of a workshop on “Economic Governance and Social Preferences” by KNAW, the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences, 2015 (EUR 5,000).

“Governance and Competition of Standard Setting Organizations,” financed by Qualcomm Inc. as part of cooperation with TILEC (my project’s share: EUR 25,000)

Participation in EU FP7 project on “Accountability in Cloud Computing”, (FP7/2007-2013; grant agreement no: 317550 (A4Cloud). 2012-2014 (my project’s share: EUR 70,000).

“Excellent Teacher Award” for “Microeconomics for International Business Administration”, Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, Tilburg University, 2012.

“Excellent Teacher Award” for “Game Theory and Industrial Organization”, Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, Tilburg University, 2011.

Conference subsidy for the organization of a workshop on “Economic Governance and Competition” by KNAW, the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences, 2010 (EUR 4,000).

“Best Bachelor Course Award 2008” for “Economics for Business Studies”, Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, Tilburg University (EUR 2,500).

“2008 Tilburg Law and Economics Center IIPC grant for TILEC members” for the project "Semi-public Contests: A new and efficient mechanism to match inventors and innovators" (EUR 10,000).

**PHD STUDENT SUPERVISION**

Freek van Gils (main supervisor, 2017-)

Vatsalya Srivastava (main supervisor, 2014-; first job: Assistant Prof at Jindal School of Government and Public Policy, Delhi)

Sebastian Dengler (main supervisor, 2017; first job: Postdoc at Tilburg Institute for Law, Technology, and Society)

Xu YiLong (second supervisor, 2017; first job: Postdoc at U Heidelberg)

María José Larraín Aylwin (main supervisor, 2011- ; first job: Chilean Comp. Law Authority (FNE))

**PHD THESIS COMMITTEES**

Panos Chasapopoulos (2018)

Branislav Hock (2017)

Mauricio Rodriguez Acosta (2016)

Miguel Carvalho (2011)

### **SOCIETAL IMPACT, POLICY ADVICE & OUTREACH**

Advisor of Dutch Economics Ministry on “Competition Policy and Online Platforms,” 2019  
Talk “Future of Data Economy” at German Ministry of Finance, Berlin, 2018  
Talk “Future of Regulation” at Network of Economic Regulators of the OECD, Paris, 2018  
Advice on “Personalization in the Digital Economy” of Dutch Competition Authority (ACM), 2018  
Roundtable on “Data Ownership and Data Access,” Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, 2018  
“Competing with Big Data” (with Christoph Schottmüller) is cited by General Secretary of Dutch Economics Ministry (in ESB, 2018) + our central policy proposal leads to a special issue on data sharing at policy journal ESB, 2018  
“Public Policy in a Data-driven Economy,” seminar at Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, 2017  
Advisory talk on competition policy in data-driven markets, Dutch Economics Ministry, 2017  
Talk “Competition policy in the digital economy: towards a new theory of harm,” Center for European Policy Studies, Brussels (with many representatives of EU Commission), 2016

### **INVITED TALKS, SEMINARS, DISCUSSIONS**

2018: “Governance of Platform Markets in the ‘Big data’ era,” Workshop at Mannheim U  
Workshop on Behavioral Industrial Organization, Tinbergen Institute, Amsterdam  
CUNEF, Research seminar, Madrid  
Tilburg Institute for Law, Technology, and Society, Research seminar

2017: Workshop on Behavioral Industrial Organization, Amsterdam (Discussant)  
NHH Bergen, Research seminar  
USC Gould School of Law, Law and Social Science Workshop, Los Angeles  
Conference on “The Economics of Data Ownership, Access and Trade,” European Commission and Toulouse School of Economics, Brussels  
University Paris-Dauphine, Governance and Regulation research seminar  
Telecom ParisTech, Research Seminar, Paris  
University of Liège, Economics research seminar

2016: “Competition policy in data-driven ecosystems,” CERRE Private Seminar, Brussels  
ETH Zürich, Law & Economics Seminar  
Data Science Center Tilburg, Research Seminar

2015: Workshop on Institutions and Organizations, UPF, Barcelona  
CLEEN Meeting, Tilburg (Discussant)  
Competition Workshop on “Platforms & Vertical Restraints”, Economics Ministry, The Hague

2014: University of Florence Economics Seminar  
University of Siena, Economics Seminar  
Private Orderings Conference, Oxford University  
A4Cloud General Meeting, Tilburg  
5<sup>th</sup> Development Economics Workshop, Tilburg (Discussant)  
CPB Seminar, Den Haag

2013: International Standardization Conference, Tilburg (Discussant)  
Institutional Challenges in Emerging Economies, SITE, Stockholm (Discussant)  
Amsterdam Center for Law and Economics Spring Workshop, University of Amsterdam  
Competition Policy and Regulation in Media and Telecommunications, Tilburg (Discussant)  
“TILTING perspectives“, Tilburg University

2012: Conference in honor of Oliver Williamson, University Paris-Dauphine  
Workshop on the economics of online search and search advertising, IDEI Toulouse, Paris  
Workshop on Privacy regulation, data-based innovation and market power, CPB and Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, The Hague  
Louvain-La-Neuve Economics Seminar

2011: DICE Research Seminar, Düsseldorf  
Workshop "Open Source, Standards and Innovation", Tilburg, 2011 (Discussant)  
Frankfurt Applied Micro Seminar  
Bonn LawEcon Workshop

- MIT Organizational Economics Seminar  
Centre for Science and Technology Studies at Leiden University  
2<sup>nd</sup> Workshop on Development Economics, Tilburg, 2011 (Discussant)  
University Paris Ouest Nanterre Economics Seminar
- 2010: Tinbergen Institute, Rotterdam  
Max Planck Institute, Bonn
- 2009: CPB Den Haag  
Workshop on Competition Policy and Regulation in Media Markets, Tilburg (Discussant)  
IIOC Conference, Boston (Discussant)
- 2008: University of Strathclyde Economics Seminar, Glasgow  
Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University  
Searle Center, Northwestern University (Research Roundtable Participant)  
University of Groningen Economics Seminar
- 2007: Dutch Healthcare Authority (NZa)  
ISNIE conference, Reykjavik (Discussant)  
Competition Workshop on Nonprofits, Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs (Discussant)  
Lund University Economics Seminar  
CPB Den Haag Seminar
- 2006-2016: Tilburg University: Economics, TILEC, Management, and Data Science Center Seminars
- 2005: University of Copenhagen Economics Seminar  
ISNIE conference, Barcelona (Discussant)  
University of Konstanz Economics Seminar  
ZEW ICT Conference (Discussant)
- 2004-2006: Goethe University Frankfurt

#### **REFEREED CONFERENCES**

- “News Platforms, Voter Manipulation, and Political Outcomes”  
*Media Economics Workshop, Salento (Italy), 2018*
- “Understanding Classification Institutions”  
*Society for Institutional & Organizational Economics, HEC Montreal, 2018*
- “A Clash of Classification Institutions”  
*4<sup>th</sup> Workshop on Relational Contracts, U Chicago, 2018*  
*Association for the Study of Religion, Economics, and Culture (ASREC), Chapman U, 2018*  
*The Life & Legacy of Douglass North: Celebrating the 25th Anniversary of North's Nobel Prize in Economics, Mercatus Center, George Mason U, 2018*  
*Society for Institutional & Organizational Economics, Columbia U, NYC, 2017*
- “Competing with Big Data”  
*European Economic Association, Cologne, 2018*  
*ZEW Conference on Information and Communication Technologies, Mannheim, 2017*  
*European Association for Research in Industrial Economics (EARIE), Maastricht, 2017*  
*Standing Group on Regulatory Governance of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Tilburg, 2016*  
*Society for Institutional & Organizational Economics, Sciences Po, Paris, 2016*
- “Religion & Moral Attitudes”  
*Society for Institutional & Organizational Economics, Sciences Po, Paris, 2016*
- “Consumers’ Privacy Choices in the Era of Big Data”  
*14th ZEW Conference on Information and Communication Technologies, Mannheim, 2016*  
*Workshop "Industrial Organization in the Digital Economy", Louvain-la-Neuve, 2016*  
*International Society for New Institutional Economics (ISNIE), Harvard U, 2015*  
*9th Competition Law and Economics European Network (CLEEN) Workshop, 2015*
- “Believing in Making a Difference”  
*International Society for New Institutional Economics (ISNIE), Harvard U, 2015*
- “Trusting Privacy in the Cloud”  
*International Society for New Institutional Economics (ISNIE), Duke U, 2014*  
*Conference on "Norms Actions and Games," King's College, London, 2014*

- “Business Associations, Lobbying, and Endogenous Institutions”  
*Social Norms and Institutions, Ascona, 2015*  
*Italian Economic Association, Trento, 2014*  
*International Society for New Institutional Economics (ISNIE), Duke U, 2014*  
*European Association for Research in Industrial Economics (EARIE), Milan, 2014*
- “How to Govern the Cloud?”  
*2013 IEEE International Conference on Cloud Computing Technology and Science (CloudCom 2013), Bristol*
- “Nonprofits are not alike: The Role of Catholic and Protestant Affiliation”  
*European Economic Association (EEA), Gothenburg, 2013*  
*International Society for New Institutional Economics (ISNIE), Florence, 2013*
- “Courts within and without Communities: Objectivity versus Expertise in Adjudication”  
*ISNIE session at the ASSA meetings, San Diego, 2013*
- “Business Associations and Private Ordering”  
*Econometric Society (ESEM), Gothenburg, 2013*  
*ISNIE session at the ASSA meetings, Chicago, 2012*
- “Search Engine Competition with Network Externalities”  
*Econometric Society (ESEM), Oslo, 2011, International Society for New Institutional Economics (ISNIE), Stanford, 2011, 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference on Internet Search and Innovation, Searle Center, Northwestern University, 2011*
- “On the Evolution of Collective Enforcement Institutions: Communities and Courts”  
*American Law and Economics Association (ALEA), Stanford, 2012, International Industrial Organization Conference (IIOC), 2012, Arlington, American Economic Association (AEA), Chicago, 2012, Verein für Socialpolitik, Frankfurt, 2011, International Society for New Institutional Economics (ISNIE), Stanford, 2011, Workshop on Development Economics, Tilburg, 2010*
- “Semi-Public Competitions”  
*Verein für Socialpolitik, Kiel, 2010, Conference “Information, Communication and Competition”, Amsterdam, 2010, Royal Economic Society, Surrey, 2010, Workshop “Innovation, Intellectual Property & Competition Policy”, Tilburg, 2009, European Association for Research in Industrial Economics (EARIE), Ljubljana, 2009, Econometric Society, Barcelona, 2009, International Industrial Organization Conference (IIOC), Boston, 2009, International Society for New Institutional Economics, Berkeley, 2009*
- “Democracy, Populism, and (Un)bounded Rationality”  
*European Economic Association (EEA), Barcelona, 2009, Workshop “Incentives, Efficiency & Redistribution in Public Econ”, Bonn, 2009, International Society for New Institutional Economics, Berkeley, 2009, American Economic Association, San Francisco, 2009*
- “An Auction Market for Journal Articles”  
*Verein für Socialpolitik, Kiel, 2010, European Economic Association, Milan, 2008, International Society for New Institutional Economics, Toronto, 2008*
- “Competition and Mergers among Nonprofits”  
*German Economic Association of Business Administration, Augsburg, 2008, Econometric Society, Milan, 2008, Workshop on the Law and Economics of Competition Policy, Bonn, 2007, Workshop on Competition Theory and Policy, ZEW, Mannheim, 2007, European Association for Research in Industrial Economics, Valencia, 2007, International Society for New Institutional Economics, Reykjavik, 2007*
- “Firms, Nonprofits, and Cooperatives: A Theory of Organizational Choice”  
*American Economic Association, Chicago, 2007, German Economic Association of Business Administration, Bielefeld, 2006, European Economic Association, Vienna, 2006, European Association for Research in Industrial Economics, Amsterdam, 2006, International Society for New Institutional Economics, Barcelona, 2005, Verein für Socialpolitik, Bonn, 2005*
- “How Does Clubs’ Organizational Design Affect Competition Among Clubs?”  
*International Society for New Institutional Economics, Boulder (Colorado), 2006, Verein für Socialpolitik, Bayreuth, 2006, European Association for Research in Industrial Economics, Amsterdam, 2006, European Economic Association, Vienna, 2006*

“Interconnection and Competition among Asymmetric Networks in the Internet Backbone Market”

*ZEW Workshop on Internet Policy, Mannheim, 2006, European Association for Research in Industrial Economics, Porto, 2005, Verein für Socialpolitik, Bonn, 2005, European Economic Association, Amsterdam, 2005, ZEW ICT Conference, Mannheim, 2005, Conference on Applied Infrastructure Research, DIW and TU Berlin, 2004*

“Why do Developers and Firms Contribute to the Production of Open Source Software?”

*ZEW ICT Conference, Mannheim, 2004*

## **REVIEWING**

American Economic Journal: Microeconomics, Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics, B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy, Communications & Strategies, Econometrica, Economica, European Journal of Political Economy, Information Economics and Policy, International Journal of Industrial Organization, Journal of Comparative Economics, Journal of Competition Law & Economics, Journal of Development Economics, Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization, Journal of Economics & Management Strategy, Journal of Empirical Legal Studies, Journal of Health Economics, Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics, Journal of Law, Economics & Organization, Journal of Public Economic Theory, Labour Economics, Netnomics, Public Choice, RAND Journal of Economics, Review of Economic Studies, Review of Network Economics, Telecommunications Policy, Voluntary Sector Review

## **CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION, SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION**

*SIOE Editor*: in charge of contents at and structure of SIOE.org (Society for Institutional & Organizational Economics), 2014-

*Organizer* of TILEC-GovReg Workshop on “Governance of Big Data and AI: Economic, Legal, and Political Challenges” (Keynotes: Ruben Durante (U Pompeu Fabra), Viktor Mayer-Schönberger (Oxford), Molly Roberts (UC San Diego)), 2019

Society for Institutional & Organizational Economics annual conference, HEC Montreal 2018:  
*Program Executive Committee Member*

*Organizer* of TILEC-GovReg Workshop on “Economic Governance of Data-driven Markets” (Keynotes: Yochai Benkler (Harvard), Paul Seabright (Toulouse), Joshua Tucker (NYU), Marshall van Alstyne (Boston U)), 2017

*Organizer* of TILEC Workshop on “Economic Governance and Social Preferences” (Keynotes: Roland Bénabou (Princeton), Simon Gächter (Nottingham), Avner Greif (Stanford), Mark Ramseyer (Harvard)), 2015

International Society for New Institutional Economics annual conference, Harvard University, 2015:  
*Program Committee Member*

International Society for New Institutional Economics annual conference, Duke University, 2014:  
*Program Committee Member*

Workshop on “Economics of Security in the Cloud,” CloudCom 2013, Bristol: *Program Committee Member*

*Organizer* of TILEC Workshop on “Economic Governance and Organizations” (Keynotes: Luis Garicano (LSE), Henry Smith (Harvard), Henry Hansmann (Yale), Guido Tabellini (Bocconi)), 2013

International Society for New Institutional Economics annual conference, Florence, 2013: *Program Committee Member*

*Organizer* of session at AEA meetings 2012 (Chicago) on “Legal and Economic Foundations of Organization” (Papers by Gillian Hadfield/Barry Weingast, Steve Tadelis/Oliver Williamson, Benjamin Hermalin/Michael Katz, Scott Masten/Jens Prüfer)

*Organizer* of TILEC Workshop on “Economic Governance and Competition: The Pros and Cons of Private Ordering in the Shadow of the Law” (Keynotes: Lisa Bernstein (Chicago), Avinash Dixit (Princeton), Robert Gibbons (MIT), Bentley MacLeod (Columbia)), 2010

## **DEPARTMENTAL & FACULTY SERVICE**

Academic Director, MSc in Economics, Tilburg University, 2016-

Head of Recruitment Committee (TILEC: “Economic Governance of Data-driven Markets”), 2017/18

Education Coordinator Microeconomics, CentER Graduate School, Tilburg University, 2011-2016  
Host of TILEC visitor Peter Leeson, George Mason University, 2010  
Member of Job Market Committee (Department of Economics), 2008-09  
IO Reading Group, Organizer, 2007-2009  
Host of TILEC visitor Dean Williamson, U.S. Department of Justice, 2008  
Host of TILEC visitor Scott Masten, University of Michigan, 2007  
Member of Advice Committee Reform Bachelor Programme in Economics, 2007  
Member of Job Market Committee (Department of Economics/TILEC), 2006-07  
Assistant to the Dean of Education (Goethe University Frankfurt), 2004-05

**PERSONAL**

Date of birth: May 18, 1975

Citizenship: German

Married to [Patricia Prüfer](#); three children (born 2002, 2005, and 2010)