

# Government Policies (II): Market Failures

Summer 2023  
Econ S10-A, Harvard University  
Prof. Josh Abel

Textbook chapters 10 and 11

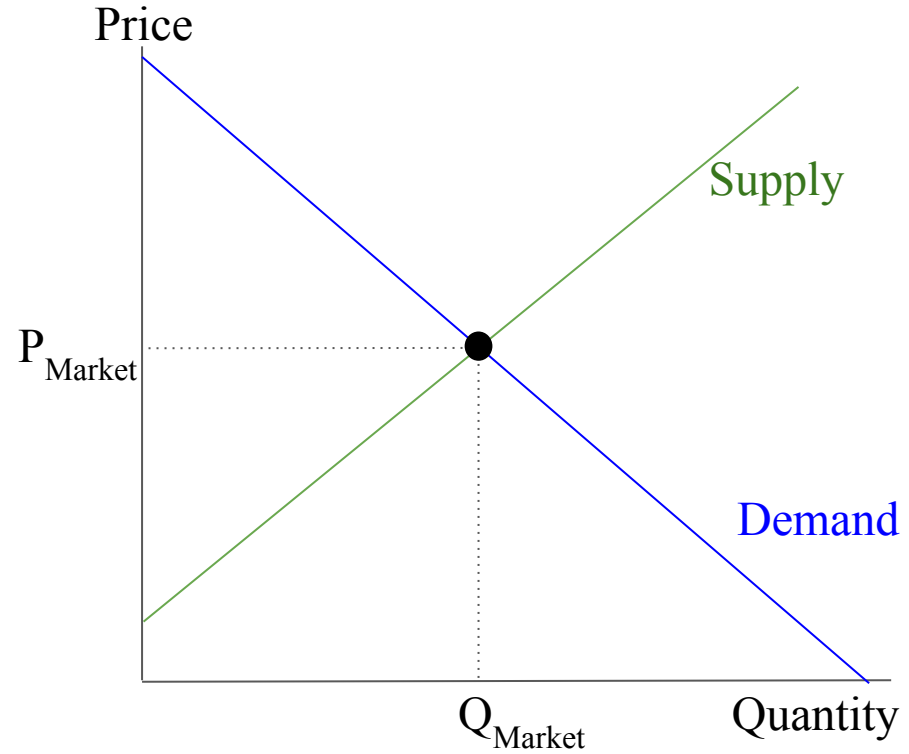
# Market Failures

- Last lecture discussed “mechanics” of policy analysis
  - How to model government intervention
  - How price controls and taxes affect price, quantity, and surplus
- Still had view that market is efficient
  - So intervention generally looked bad
- Today we study our first type of “market failure”
  - Externalities: a market transaction affects the well-being of someone not involved
  - This will allow for policy to improve market functioning
- Will study additional market failures throughout the semester
  - Market power (e.g. monopoly)
  - Asymmetric information
  - Consumer irrationality

# Externalities

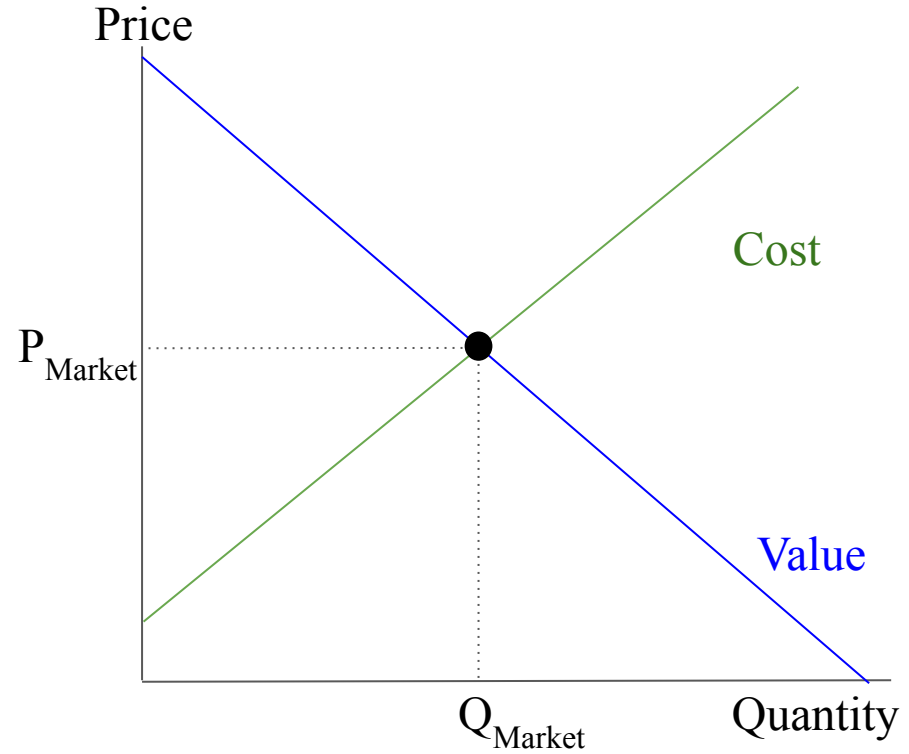
# Externalities

- Supply and Demand embody values, costs



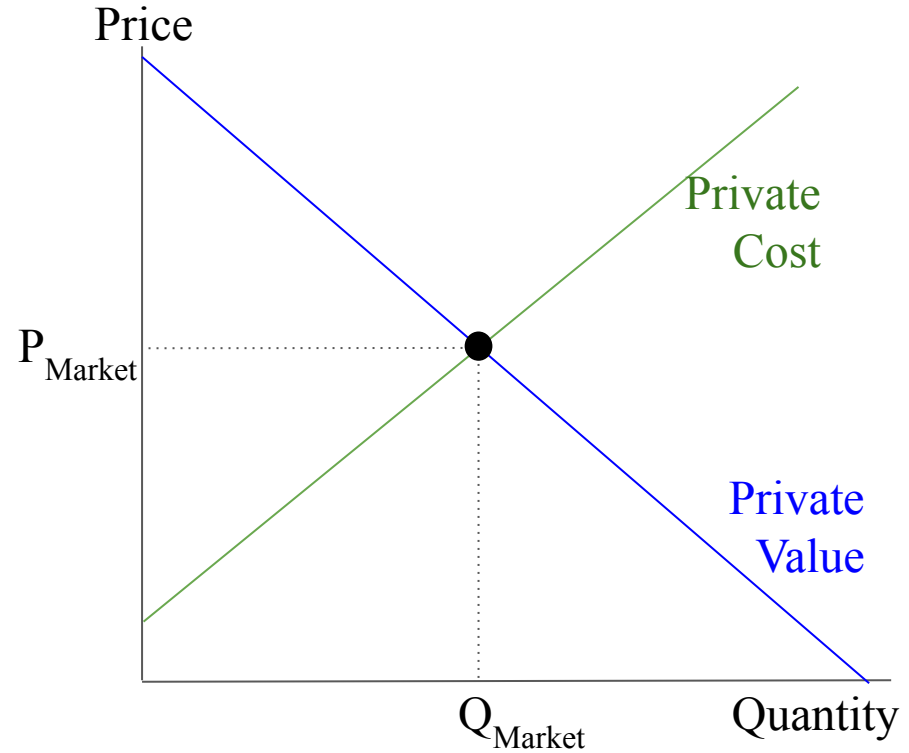
# Externalities

- Supply and Demand embody values, costs



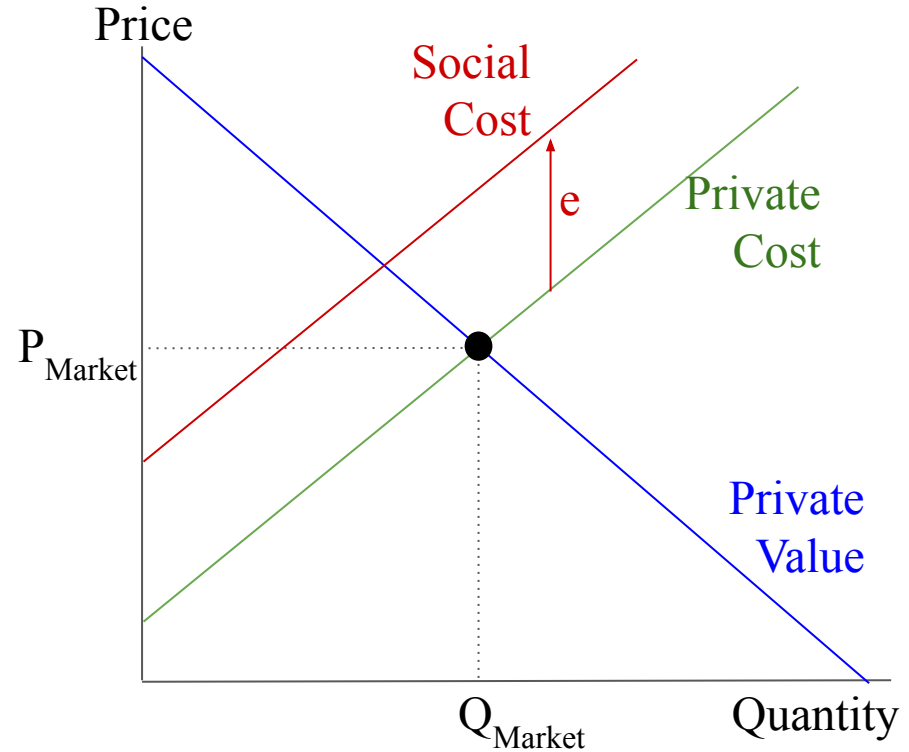
# Externalities

- Supply and Demand embody values, costs
  - But they are *private* values and costs



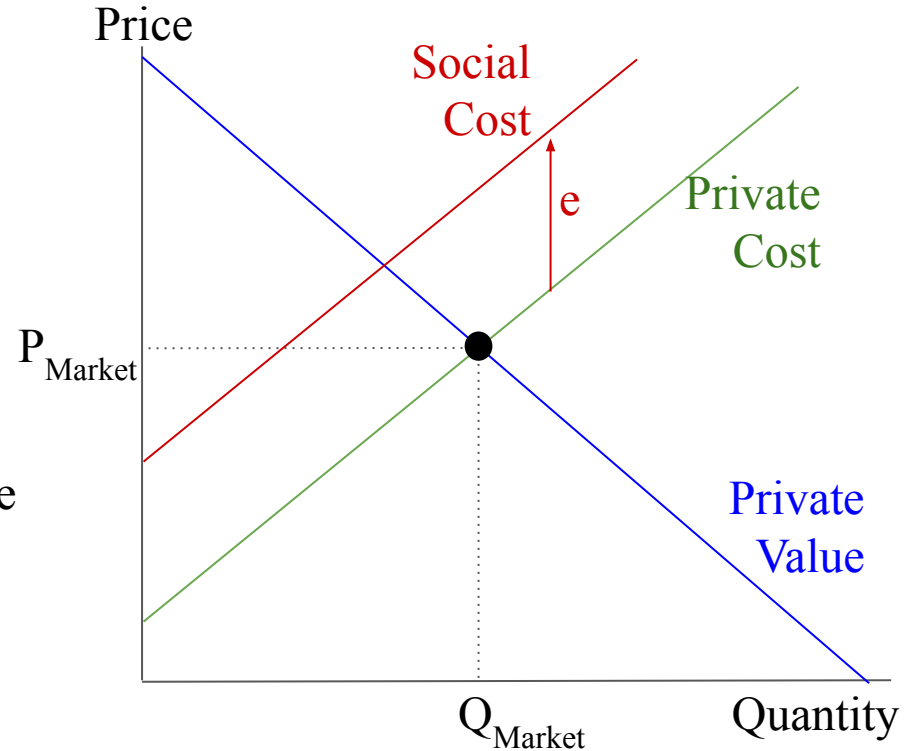
# Externalities

- Supply and Demand embody values, costs
  - But they are *private* values and costs
- Gas has additional pollution costs to society
  - A negative externality
- How does the externality affect P and Q?



# Externalities

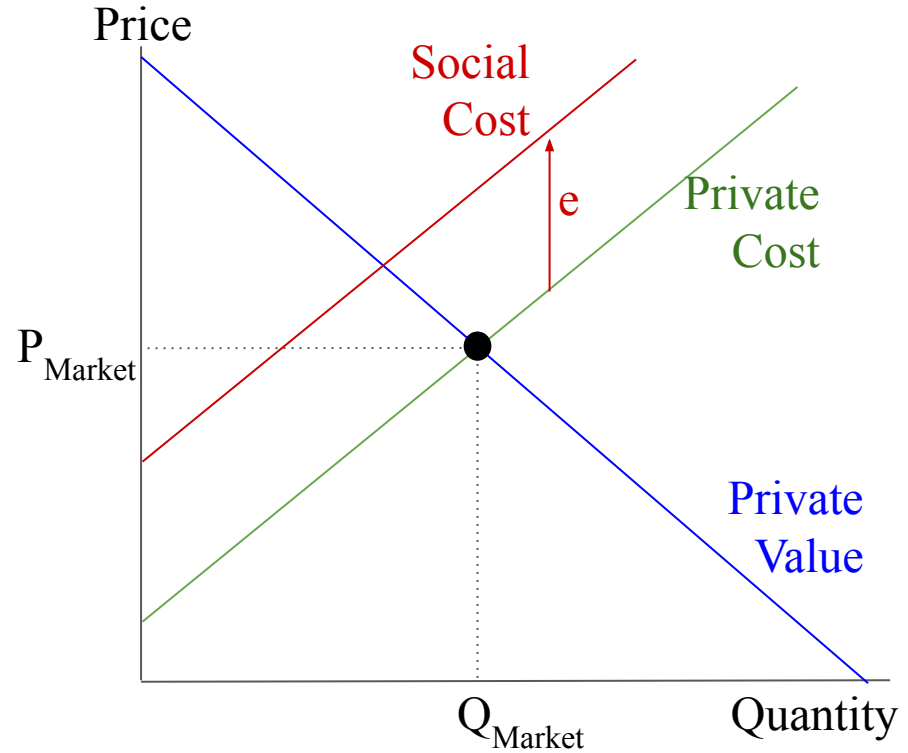
- Supply and Demand embody values, costs
  - But they are *private* values and costs
- Gas has additional pollution costs to society
  - A negative externality
- How does the externality affect P and Q?
  - It doesn't – that's the whole point!
  - Market outcome is determined by private actors based on private incentives





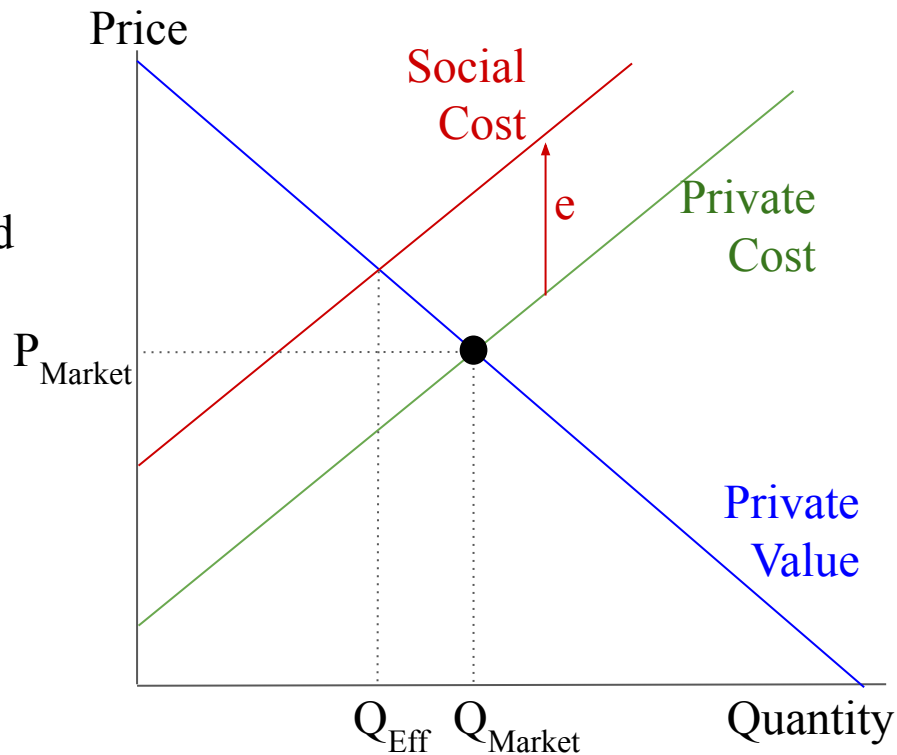
# Externalities and Efficiency

- What is the efficient level of  $Q$  here?



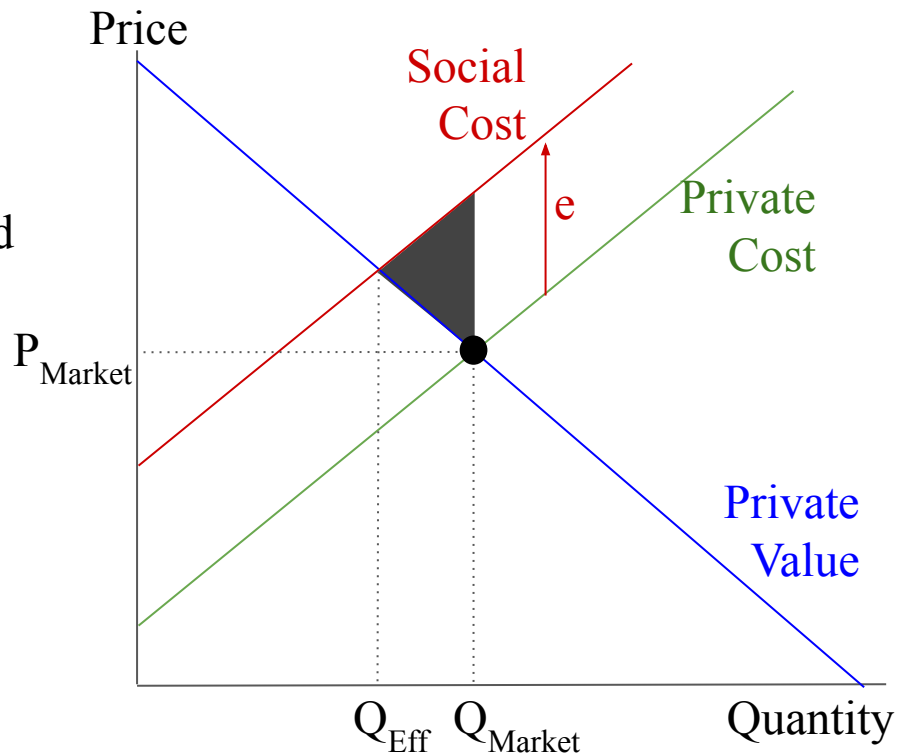
# Externalities and Efficiency

- What is the efficient level of  $Q$  here?
- It is below the market quantity
  - Market ignores part of the social cost and therefore overproduces



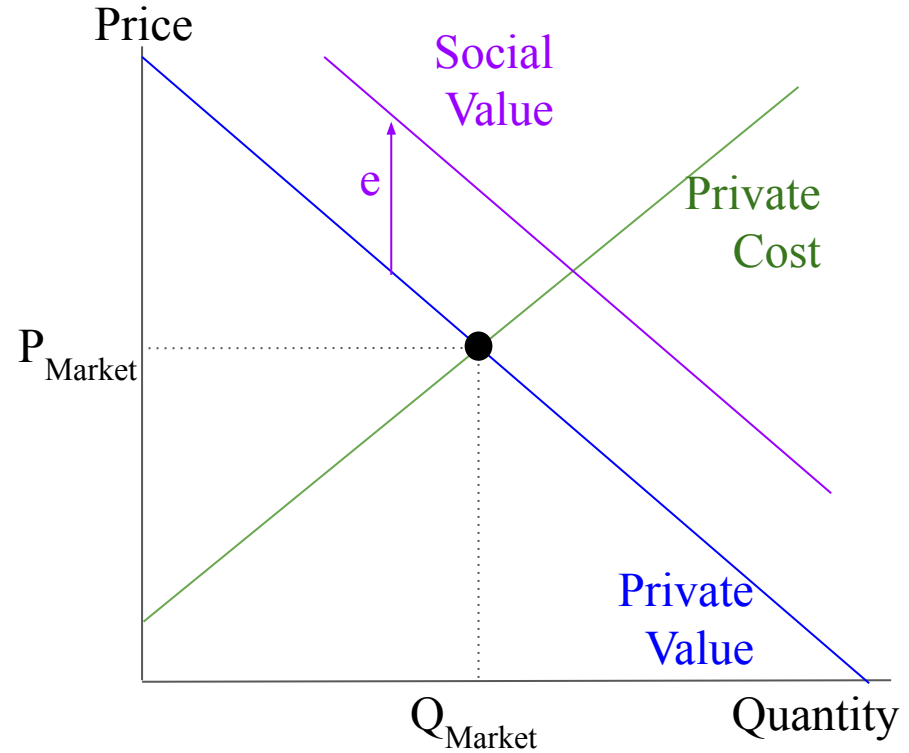
# Externalities and Efficiency

- What is the efficient level of  $Q$  here?
- It is below the market quantity
  - Market ignores part of the social cost and therefore overproduces
- Creates DWL
  - Units with private value just above cost
  - Small surplus is outweighed by external social costs



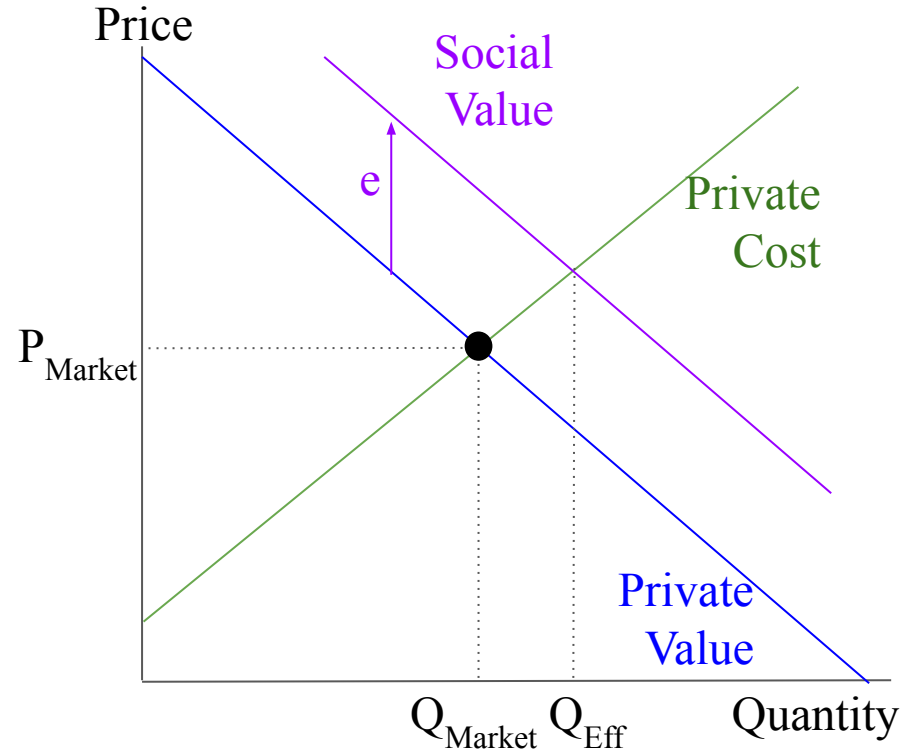
# Positive Externalities

- Some activities *benefit* other people
  - Exterior home maintenance



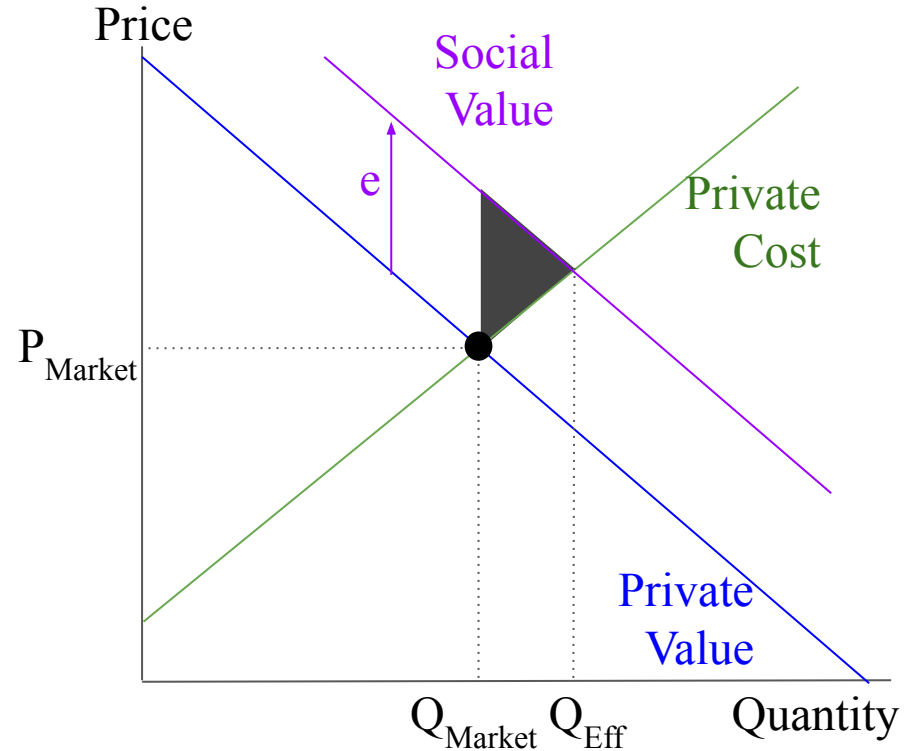
# Positive Externalities

- Some activities *benefit* other people
  - Exterior home maintenance
- Market under-provides the activity
  - People don't incorporate the benefits to their neighbors from mowing the lawn



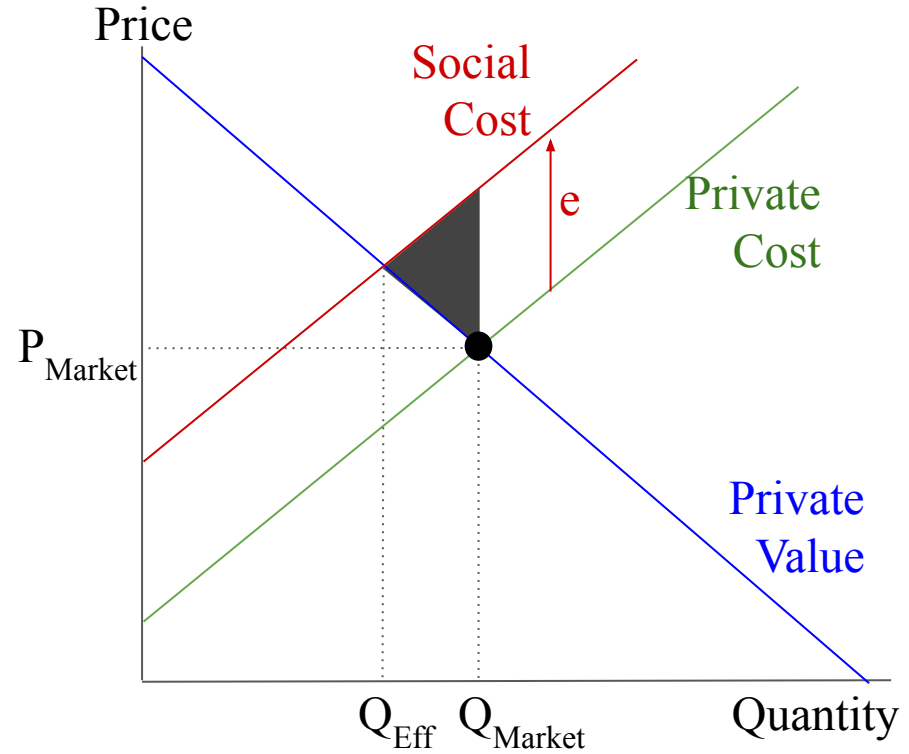
# Positive Externalities

- Some activities *benefit* other people
  - Exterior home maintenance
- Market under-provides the activity
  - People don't incorporate the benefits to their neighbors from mowing the lawn
- Again, DWL
  - Some mowing with social value above cost is not done
  - Mower bears all cost, only gets some of the benefit



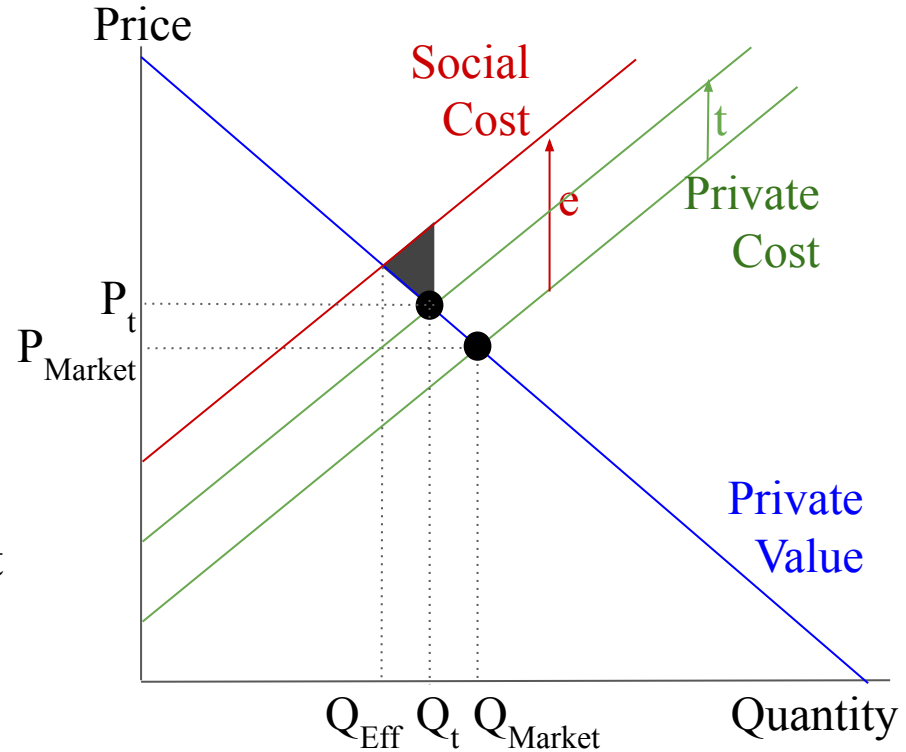
# Pigouvian Tax

- Market is over-producing



# Pigouvian Tax

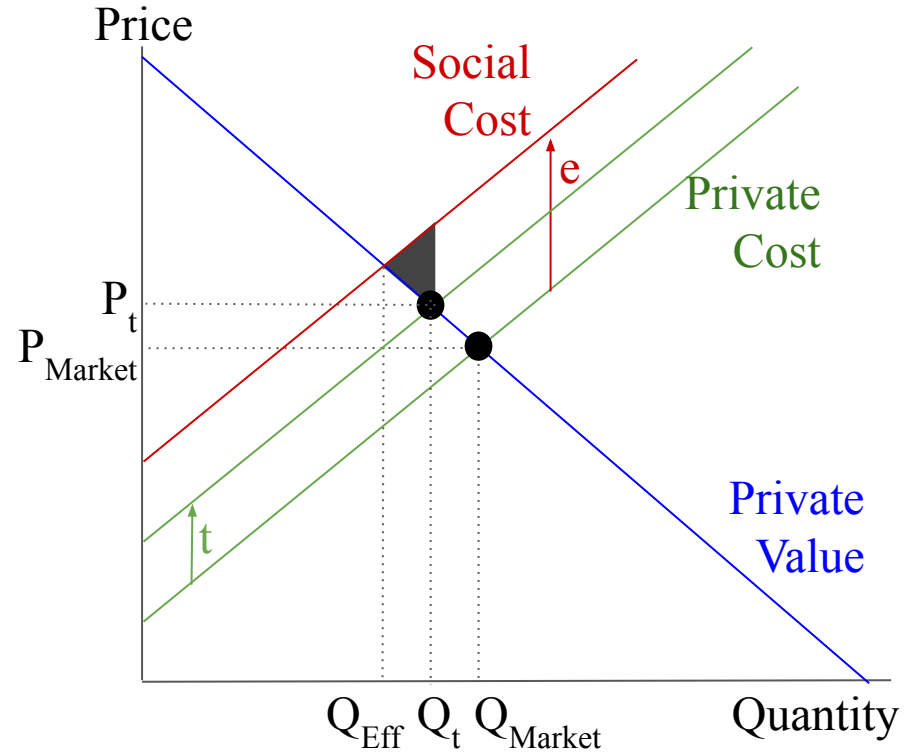
- Market is over-producing
- A tax will decrease quantity
  - And DWL!
- Raised the private cost, so it's closer to the social cost
  - Gets agents to act more in line with society's interests
  - Price comes closer to reflecting true cost
  - Known as Pigouvian Tax





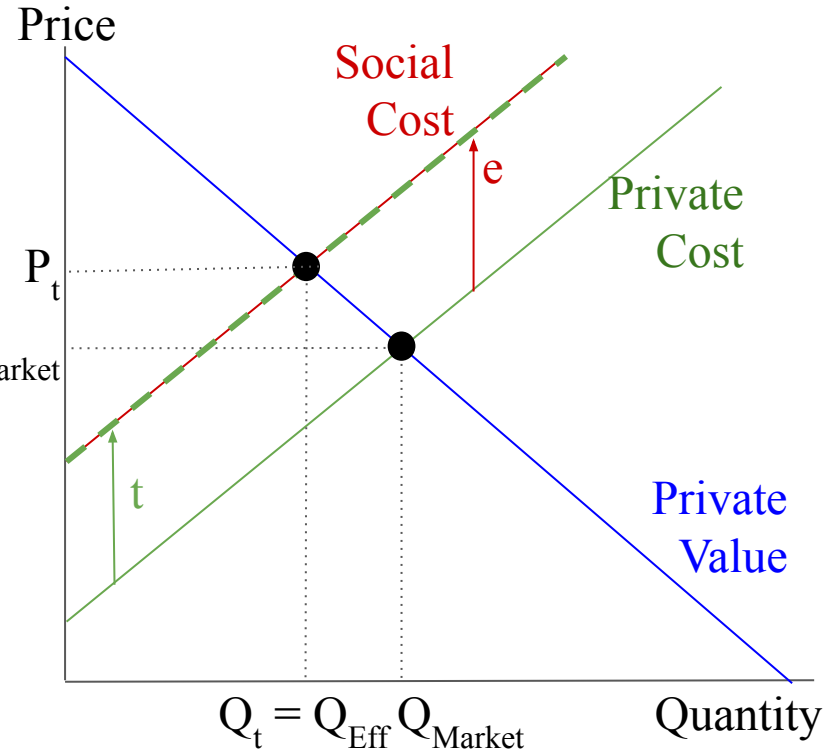
# Optimal Pigouvian Tax

- How can we choose  $t$  to achieve efficiency?



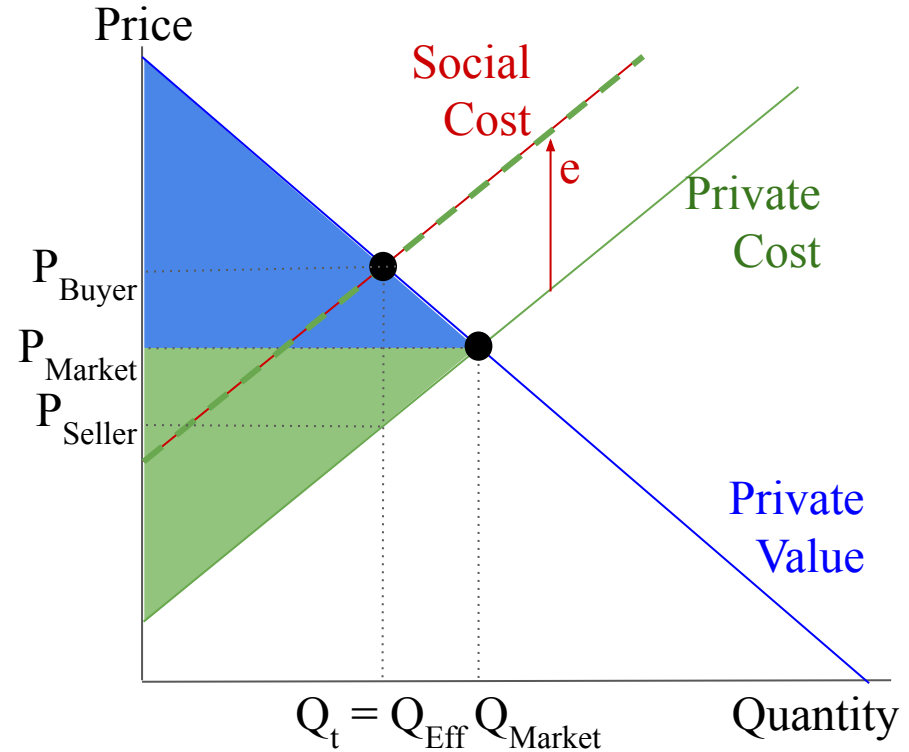
# Optimal Pigouvian Tax

- How can we choose  $t$  to achieve efficiency?
  - $t = e$
- Make private agents feel the full cost of their activity
- The market will no longer produce the harmful units with cost above value



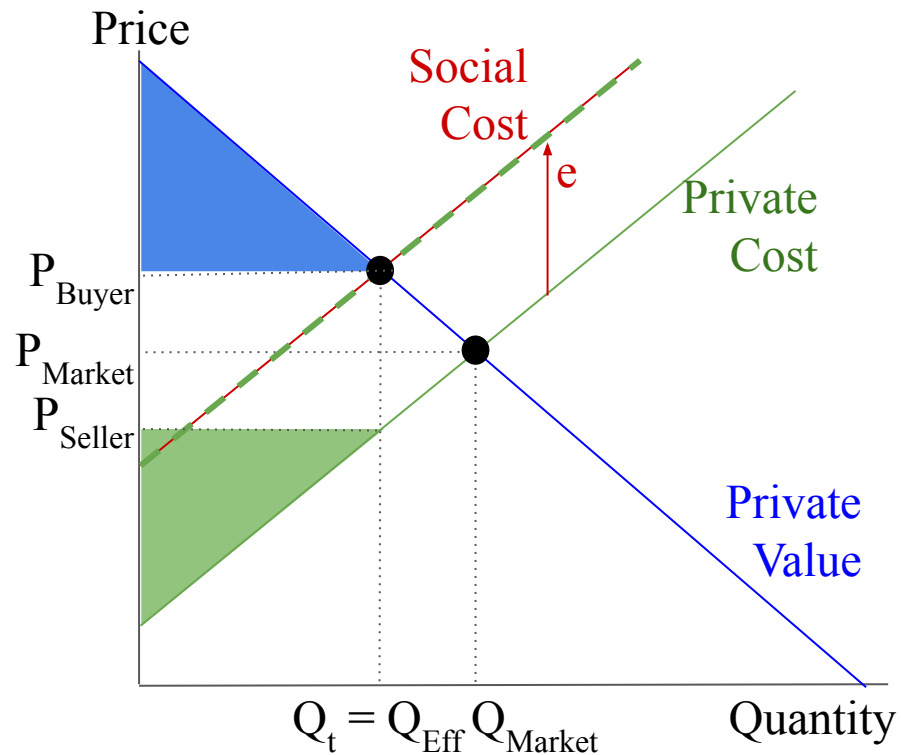
# Optimal Pigouvian Tax (2)

- Reduces Producer and Consumer Surplus



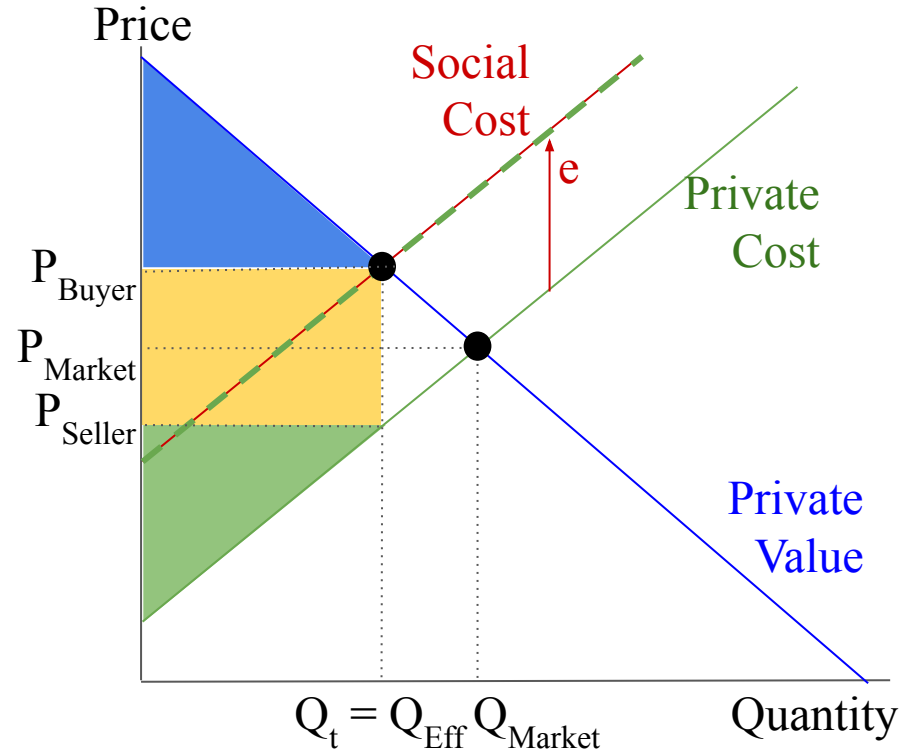
# Optimal Pigouvian Tax (2)

- Reduces Producer and Consumer Surplus



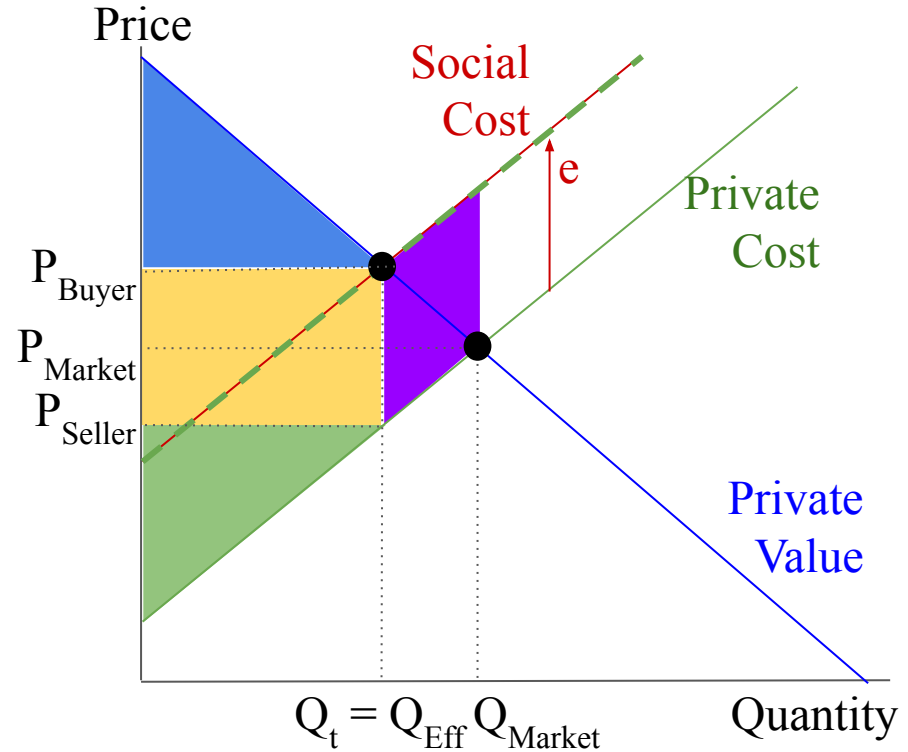
# Optimal Pigouvian Tax (2)

- Reduces Producer and Consumer Surplus
- Raises tax revenue



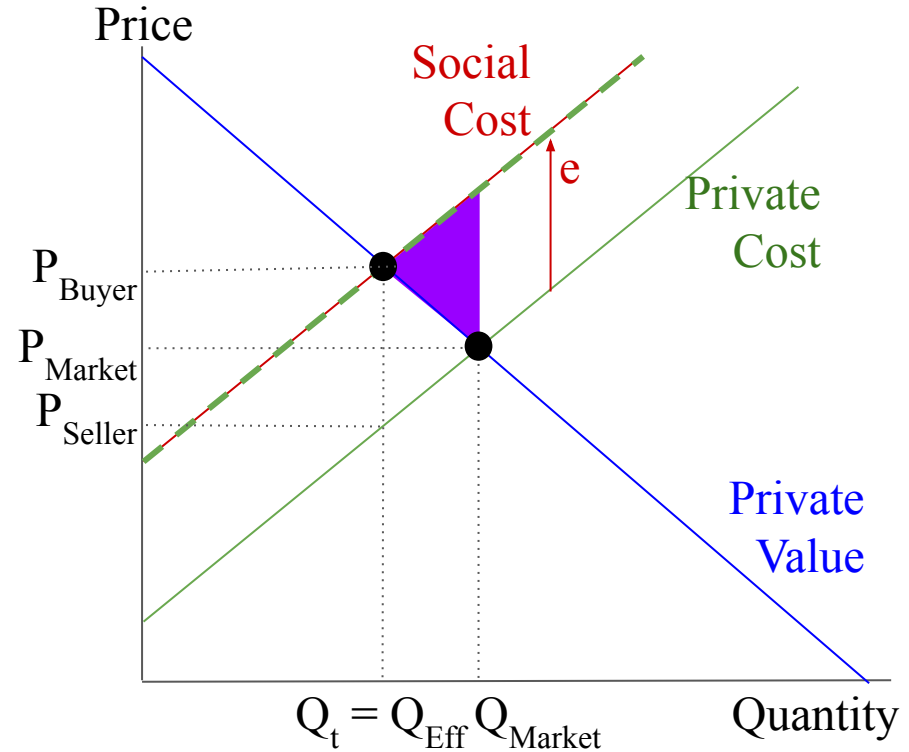
# Optimal Pigouvian Tax (2)

- Reduces Producer and Consumer Surplus
- Raises tax revenue
- Reduces external cost



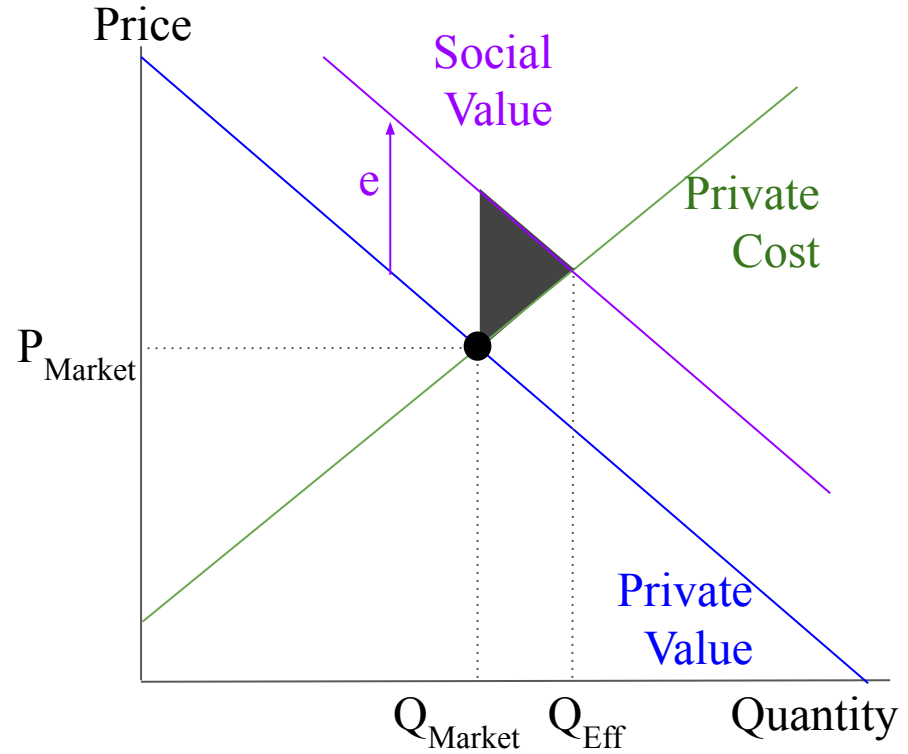
# Optimal Pigouvian Tax (2)

- Reduces Producer and Consumer Surplus
- Raises tax revenue
- Reduces external cost
- Overall net benefit



# Positive Externalities (2)

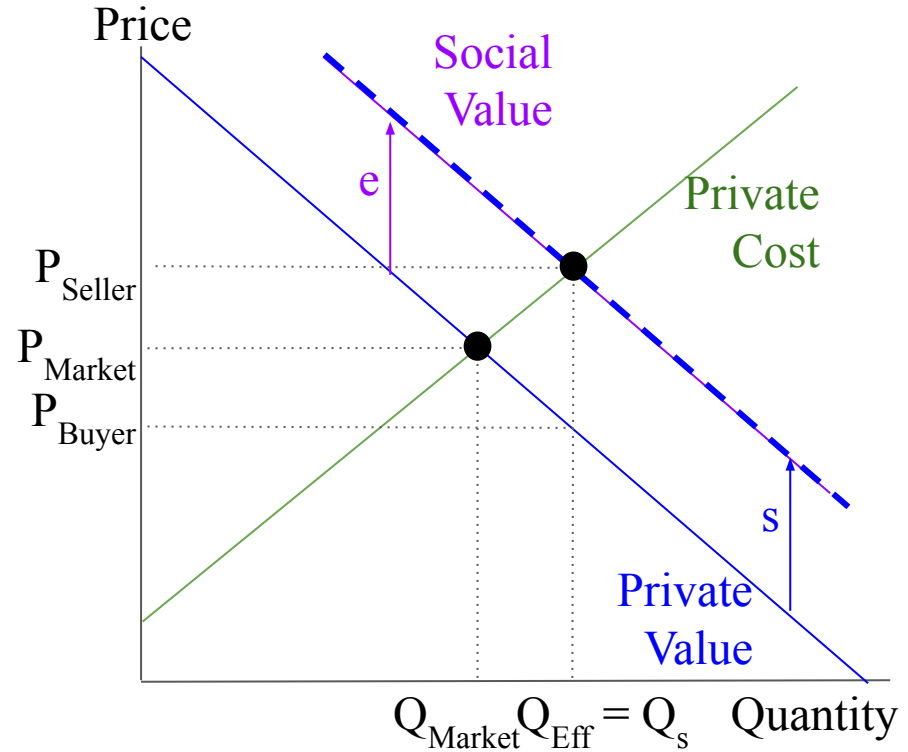
- How can government help?





# Positive Externalities (2)

- How can government help?
  - Set subsidy  $s = e$
  - Aligns private value with social value and gets market to produce extra



# Internalizing the Externality

- Pigouvian taxation works by getting agents to “internalize the externality”
  - They still only care about private benefits/costs!
  - But the tax aligns those with the social benefits/costs
  - Pursuit of private interests maximizes social well-being
    - The Invisible Hand needs some help sometimes

# Public Goods

# Public Goods

- Consider national defense, the protection of society from foreign adversaries
- Protecting me doesn't detract from the military's ability to protect you (non-rival)
- The military can't protect me without simultaneously protecting you (non-excludable)
- National defense is an example of a Public Good (non-rival and non-excludable)
- In some sense, it's a good with an externality on steroids
  - If I protect the country, I only get a small portion of the benefit – most goes to others
- Based on our theory of externalities, will the private market be efficient on national defense?

# Public Goods

- Consider national defense, the protection of society from foreign adversaries
- Protecting me doesn't detract from the military's ability to protect you (non-rival)
- The military can't protect me without simultaneously protecting you (non-excludable)
- National defense is an example of a Public Good (non-rival and non-excludable)
- In some sense, it's a good with an externality on steroids
  - If I protect the country, I only get a small portion of the benefit – most goes to others
- Based on our theory of externalities, will the private market be efficient on national defense?
  - No: there is a positive externality, so it will be under-provided
- Public Goods are instances where externalities are so extreme that economists recommend that the government just provide the good directly, rather than try to nudge the market

# Optimal Public Good Provision

- A Public Good should be provided if and only if the *sum* of WTPs exceeds the cost
- Consider putting a street lamp that costs \$100 on a dead-end street with 2 neighbors
  - Neighbor A values it at \$60
  - Neighbor B values it at \$80
    - This street lamp should be built, because the value (\$60+\$80) exceeds cost (\$100)
- Consider a new missile defense system that costs \$10 trillion
  - Each of the country's 400 million residents values its protection at \$1,000
  - It should not be built, because its value (\$400 billion) is below its cost (\$10 trillion)

# Eliciting Values

- Optimal Public Good provision on the previous slide seemed easy
- But the problem is that it's **very** difficult to know how much these things are valued
- You can't just ask!
- Consider the following approach:
  - “Tell me how much you value the good...”
  - “...I will then add up the values given by all people...”
  - “...If the total value exceeds the cost, we'll provide the Public Good...”
  - “...And everyone will pay an equal share of the cost.”

# Eliciting Values

- Optimal Public Good provision on the previous slide seemed easy
- But the problem is that it's **very** difficult to know how much these things are valued
- You can't just ask!
- Consider the following approach:
  - “Tell me how much you value the good...”
  - “...I will then add up the values given by all people...”
  - “...If the total value exceeds the cost, we'll provide the Public Good...”
  - “...And everyone will pay an equal share of the cost.”
- People who value it above the average cost will have incentive to overstate their value ( $\infty$ )
- People who value it below the average cost will have incentive to understate their value ( $-\infty$ )



# Eliciting Values

- Optimal Public Good provision on the previous slide seemed easy
- But the problem is that it's **very** difficult to know how much these things are valued
- You can't just ask!
- Consider the following approach:
  - “Tell me how much you value the good...”
  - “...I will then add up the values given by all people...”
  - “...If the total value exceeds the cost, we'll provide the Public Good...”
  - “...And everyone will pay *in proportion to their stated value.*”

# Eliciting Values

- Optimal Public Good provision on the previous slide seemed easy
- But the problem is that it's **very** difficult to know how much these things are valued
- You can't just ask!
- Consider the following approach:
  - “Tell me how much you value the good...”
  - “...I will then add up the values given by all people...”
  - “...If the total value exceeds the cost, we'll provide the Public Good...”
  - “...And everyone will pay *in proportion to their stated value.*”
- People will have incentive to understate their value
  - Free Rider Problem: I want to use it but I don't want to pay for it.

# Eliciting Values

- Optimal Public Good provision on the previous slide seemed easy
- But the problem is that it's **very** difficult to know how much these things are valued
- You can't just ask!
- Consider the following approach:
  - “Tell me how much you value the good...”
  - “...I will then add up the values given by all people...”
  - “...If the total value exceeds the cost, we'll provide the Public Good...”
  - “...And everyone will pay *in proportion to their stated value.*”
- People will have incentive to understate their value
  - Free Rider Problem: I want to use it but I don't want to pay for it.
- Inability to charge a price for use unravels all the great things we've learned about markets
- All of this makes Public Goods provision very difficult, with a measure of guesswork

# The Coase Theorem

# An Externality

- Suppose I like to use my fireplace.
  - I value nights by the fire at \$60, and it costs me \$10 to light and tend the fire.
- Your house is down-wind from me. When I light a fire, your property fills with smoke.
  - The smoke causes you \$100 of frustration.
  - We fight a lot because of it.
  - The fire affects you, but you had no say in the decision to light it.
    - Externality
- The fire will happen, because my private benefit (\$60) exceeds my private cost (\$10)
- The fire is inefficient, because the social benefit (\$60) is less than the social cost (\$10+\$100)



# Private Solutions

- The market failed.
- But before devising an intrusive government policy, let's consider a private solution.
- Suppose you have the right to a smokeless property
  - If I light a fire, you can sue me for \$100
  - Now the private cost (\$10+\$100) exceeds the private benefit (\$60)
  - No fire: efficient
- Giving you property rights solved the problem.
- What if I had the rights instead? I have the right to light a fire, and you have to deal with it.

# Private Solutions

- The market failed.
- But before devising an intrusive government policy, let's consider a private solution.
- Suppose you have the right to a smokeless property
  - If I light a fire, you can sue me for \$100
  - Now the private cost ( $\$10 + \$100$ ) exceeds the private benefit ( $\$60$ )
  - No fire: efficient
- Giving you property rights solved the problem.
- What if I had the rights instead? I have the right to light a fire, and you have to deal with it.
  - You can pay me \$51 to not light the fire
  - Now the private (opportunity) cost ( $\$10 + \$51$ ) exceeds the private benefit ( $\$60$ )
  - No fire: efficient

# The Coase Theorem

- The externality only caused the market to fail because property rights were unclear
- Once the property right is defined, the efficient outcome can occur
- Remarkably, the efficient outcome occurs regardless of who gets the rights!
  - Known as the “Coase Theorem”
- Privately, we care who gets the property rights...
  - If I get them, you have to pay me \$51
  - If you get them, you don't
- ...but from a social efficiency perspective, it is irrelevant
- Government only needs to define property rights and have a legal system to enforce them
- Better approach than just banning fires (or not)
  - Have to choose the right option!
  - Easier to just assign property rights and let the private parties sort it out



# The Limits of Property Rights

- Suppose a power plant pollutes a local river
  - This saves them \$100 compared to proper disposal of waste
  - It causes \$1 of harm to each of the town's 200 residents
- Further suppose the property right is given to the power plant

# The Limits of Property Rights

- Suppose a power plant pollutes a local river
  - This saves them \$100 compared to proper disposal of waste
  - It causes \$1 of harm to each of the town's 200 residents
- Further suppose the property right is given to the power plant
- Coase Theorem predicts that residents should pay off power plant to keep river clean

# The Limits of Property Rights

- Suppose a power plant pollutes a local river
  - This saves them \$100 compared to proper disposal of waste
  - It causes \$1 of harm to each of the town's 200 residents
- Further suppose the property right is given to the power plant
- Coase Theorem predicts that residents should pay off power plant to keep river clean
- But no individual resident has a strong incentive to organize this
  - High Transaction Costs of organizing may prevent gains from trade
  - Property rights may fail to generate an efficient outcome

# Climate Change

- All sorts of activities we all engage in contribute to climate change
- When I drove into school, I emitted greenhouse gases, to all of our detriment
- But this occurs in a complicated, difficult-to-measure way
  - Hard to say exactly what the property rights are that we need to define
- Also unclear who needs to negotiate with who to get all of this sorted out.
  - Very expensive and cumbersome process
  - High Transaction Costs!
- For some externalities, private solutions are unlikely to work
- Government interventions can be much more effective

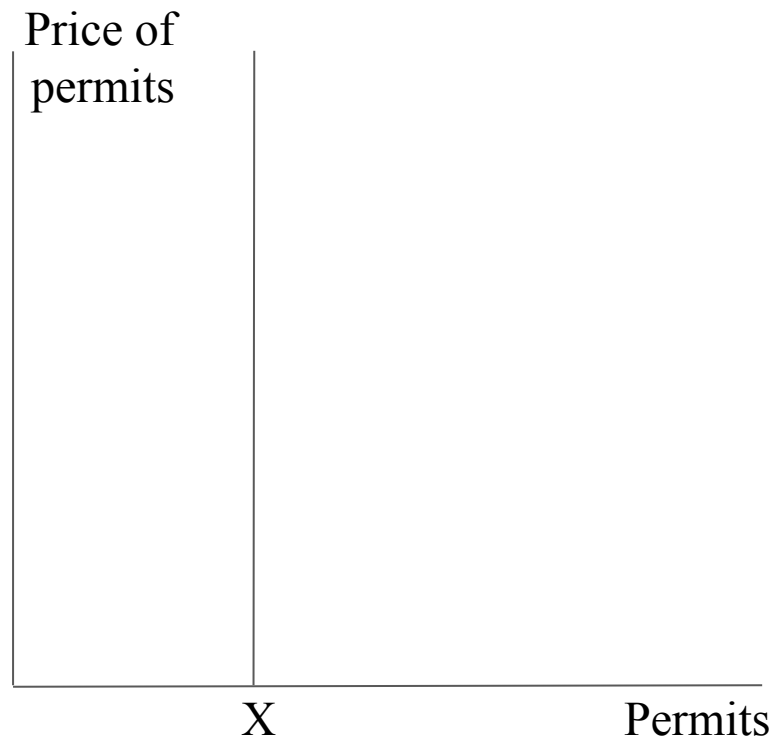
# Externality Application: Cap-and-Trade

# Targeting Quantity

- In some scenarios with externalities, you may have a sense of what quantity you want
  - E.g. Greenhouse gas emissions
- But it can be very hard to know what level to set the Pigouvian tax at to achieve it
  - After all, we don't actually see Supply and Demand curves in the real world
- An alternative is known as “Cap-and-Trade”

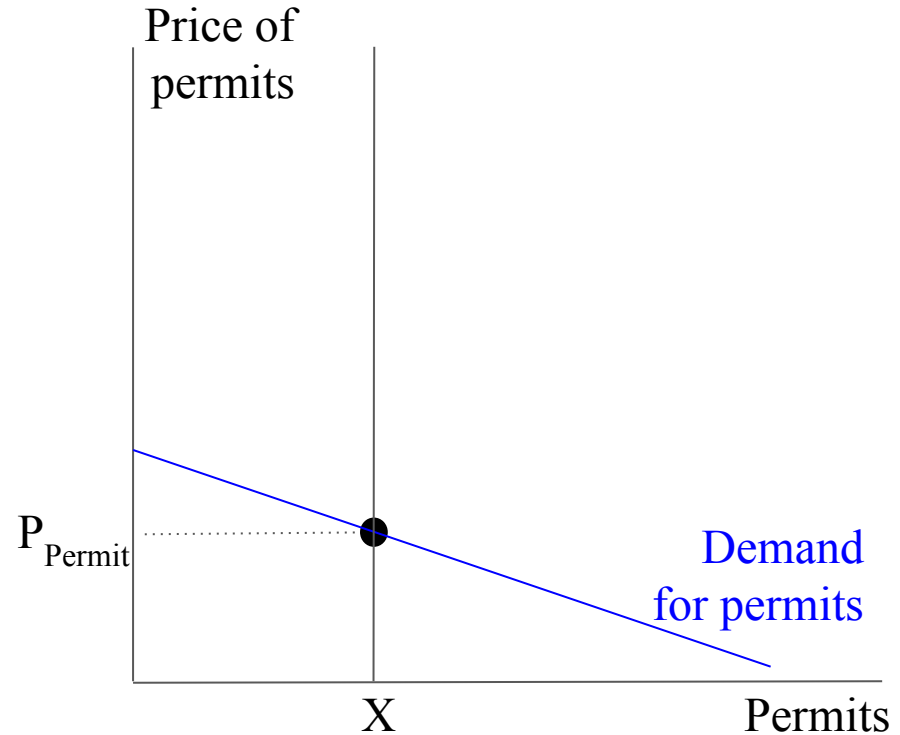
# Auction for Emissions Permits

- Suppose we think  $X$  emissions of  $\text{CO}_2$  is acceptable (i.e. will “cap” emissions at  $X$ )
- Government auctions off  $X$  permits
  - Each permit allows you to omit 1 unit of  $\text{CO}_2$



# Auction for Emissions Permits

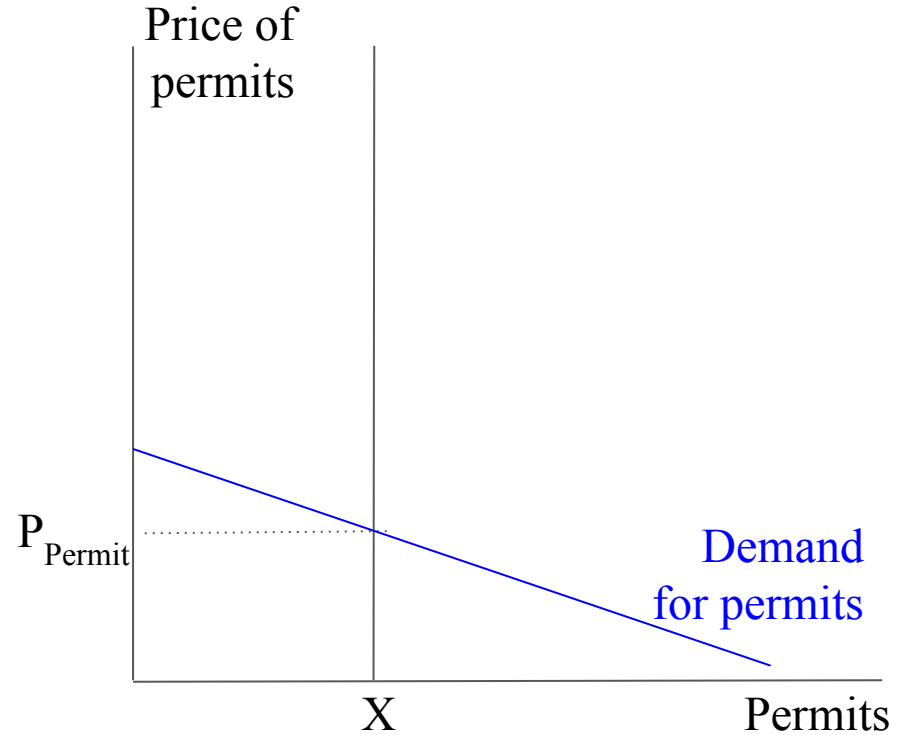
- Suppose we think  $X$  emissions of  $\text{CO}_2$  is acceptable (i.e. will “cap” emissions at  $X$ )
- Government auctions off  $X$  permits
  - Each permit allows you to omit 1 unit of  $\text{CO}_2$
- Demand for permits will determine the price





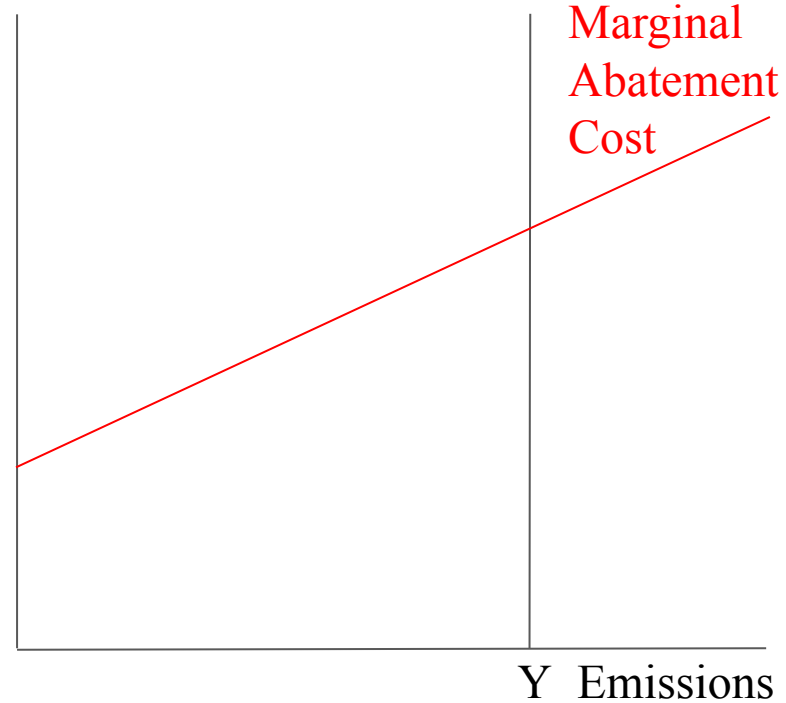
# Auction for Emissions Permits

- Suppose we think  $X$  emissions of  $\text{CO}_2$  is acceptable
- Government auctions off  $X$  permits
  - Each permit allows you to omit 1 unit of  $\text{CO}_2$
- Demand for permits will determine the price
- But where does Demand come from?



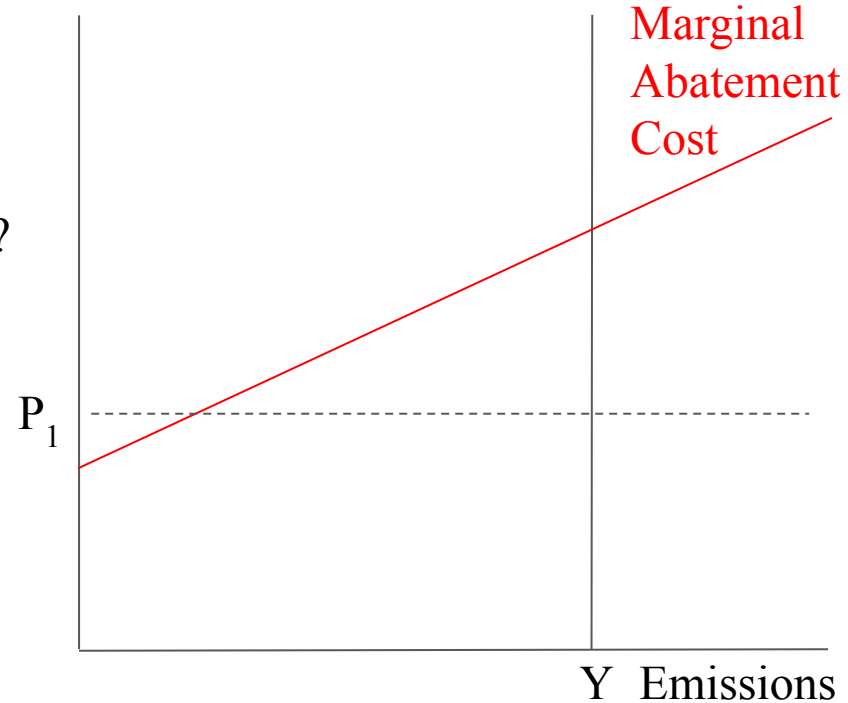
# Abatement Costs

- Consider a firm that plans to emit  $Y$  units of  $\text{CO}_2$
- It can install carbon-capture technology to avoid emitting, but it is costly



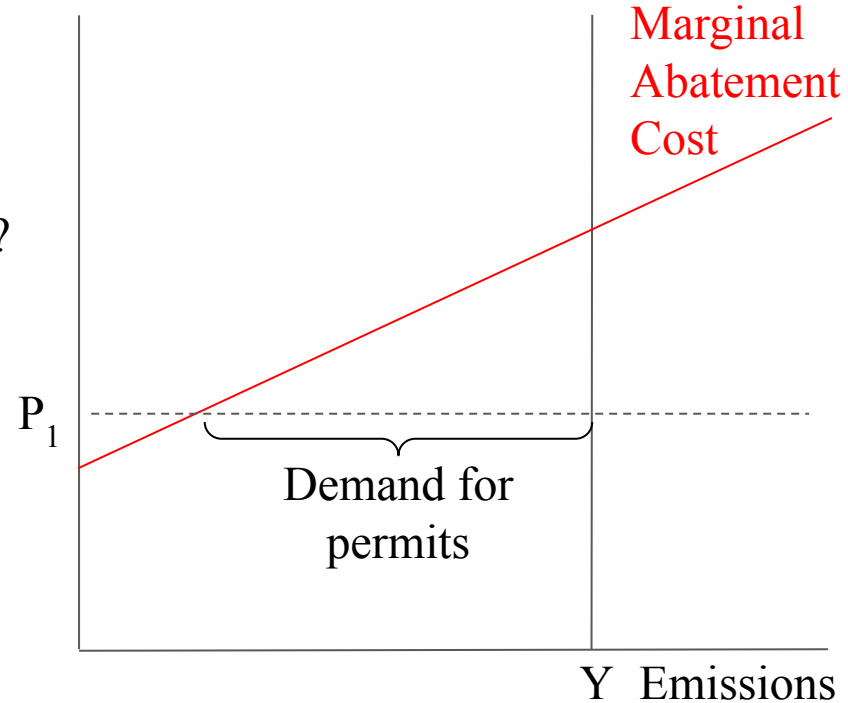
# Abatement Costs

- Consider a firm that plans to emit  $Y$
- It can install carbon-capture technology to avoid emitting, but it is costly
- Suppose permits were available at price  $P_1$ 
  - How many permits would the firm demand?



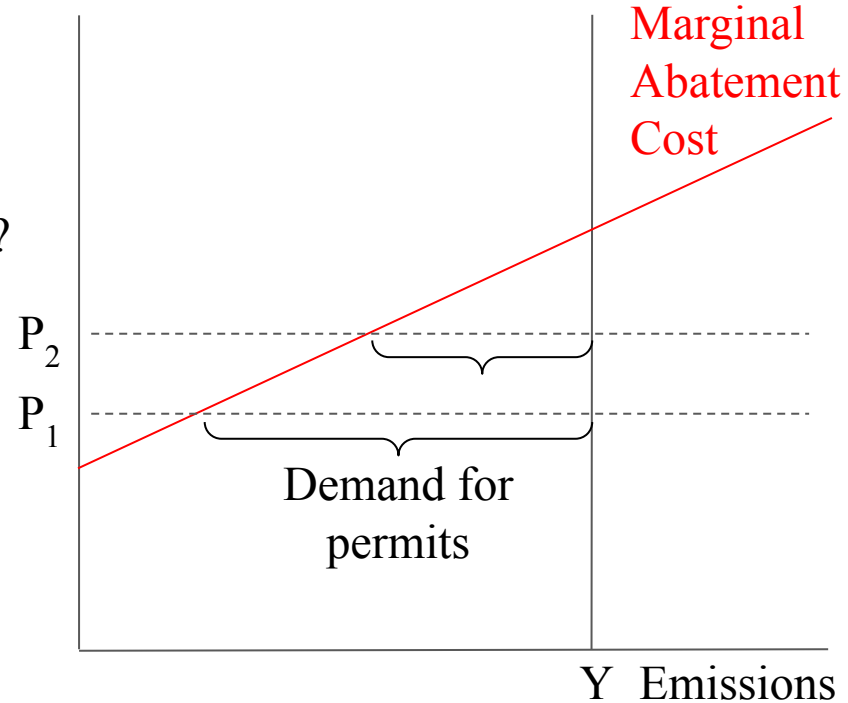
# Abatement Costs

- Consider a firm that plans to emit  $Y$
- It can install carbon-capture technology to avoid emitting, but it is costly
- Suppose permits were available at price  $P_1$ 
  - How many permits would the firm demand?



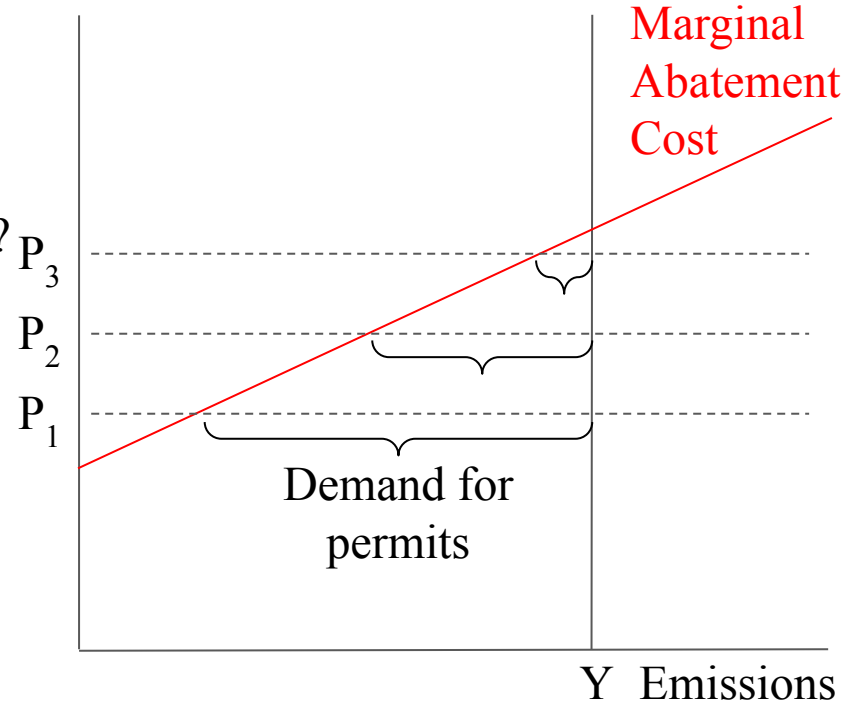
# Abatement Costs

- Consider a firm that plans to emit  $Y$
- It can install carbon-capture technology to avoid emitting, but it is costly
- Suppose permits were available at price  $P_1$ 
  - How many permits would the firm demand?
- And  $P_2 \dots$



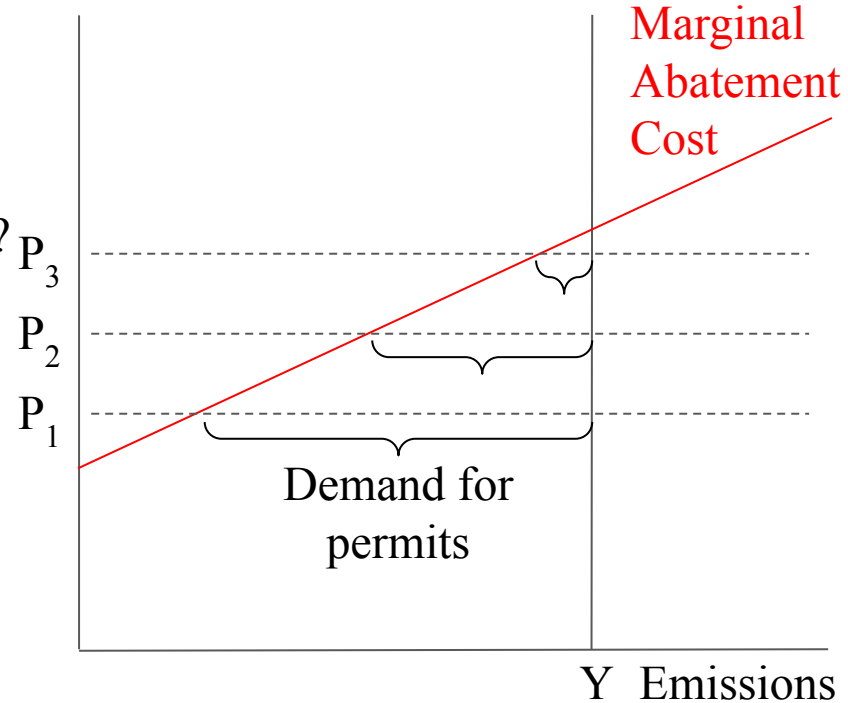
# Abatement Costs

- Consider a firm that plans to emit  $Y$
- It can install carbon-capture technology to avoid emitting, but it is costly
- Suppose permits were available at price  $P_1$ 
  - How many permits would the firm demand?
- And  $P_2 \dots$
- And  $P_3 \dots$



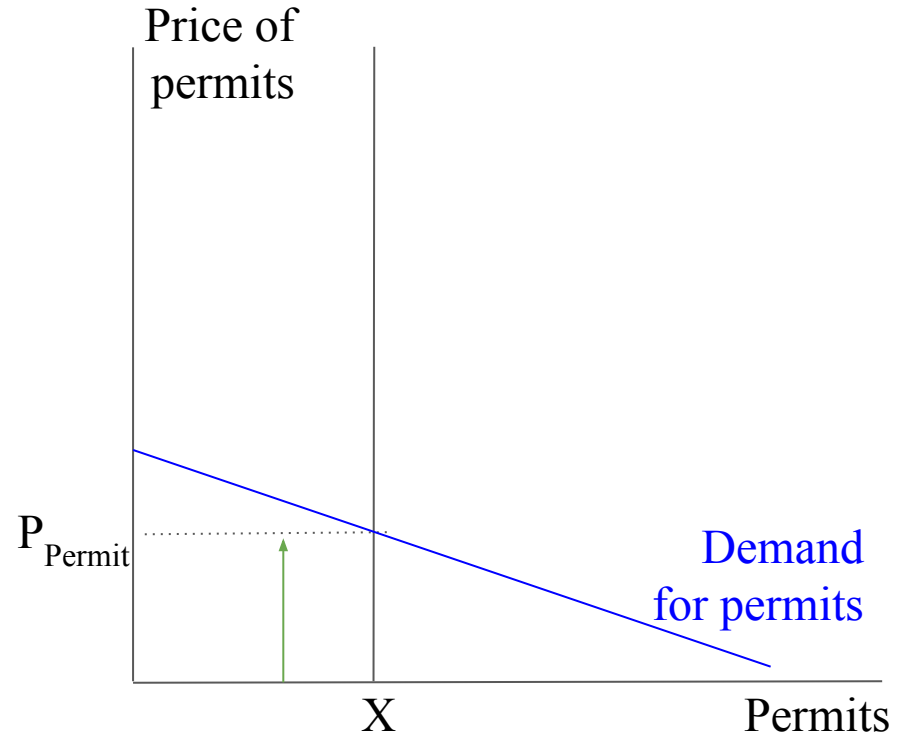
# Abatement Costs

- Consider a firm that plans to emit  $Y$
- It can install carbon-capture technology to avoid emitting, but it is costly
- Suppose permits were available at price  $P_1$ 
  - How many permits would the firm demand?
- And  $P_2 \dots$
- And  $P_3 \dots$
- Downward-sloping Demand for permits
- On the margin, abatement cost is equal to the price of a permit



# Back to the Auction

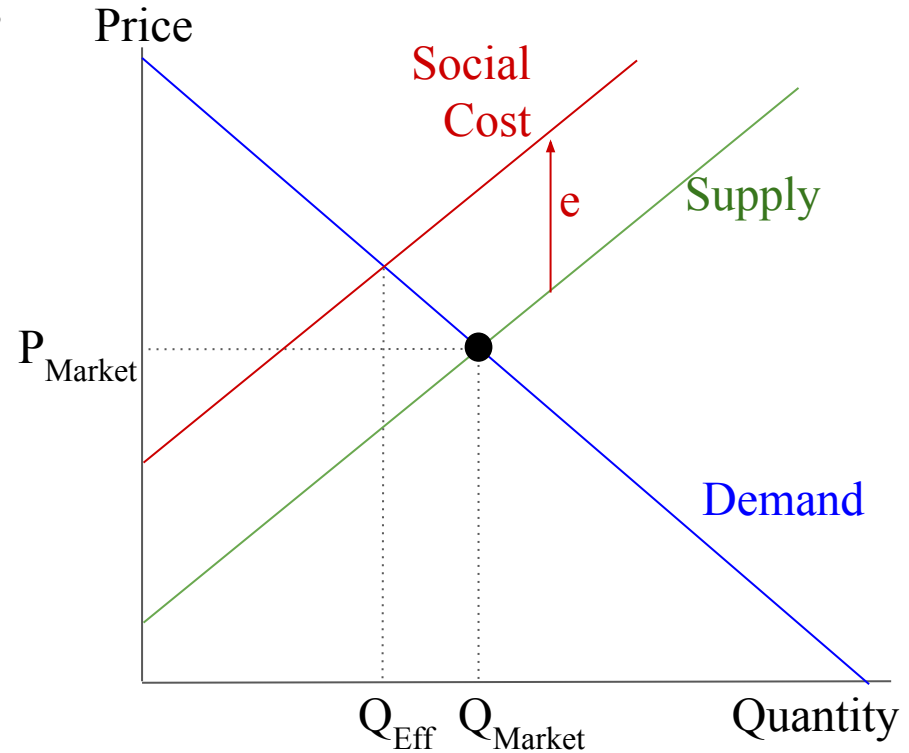
- Auction will set price equal to cost of abating marginal unit of CO<sub>2</sub>
- This is essentially a tax on production that generates emissions
  - “If you want to produce, pay  $P_{\text{Permit}}$ ”





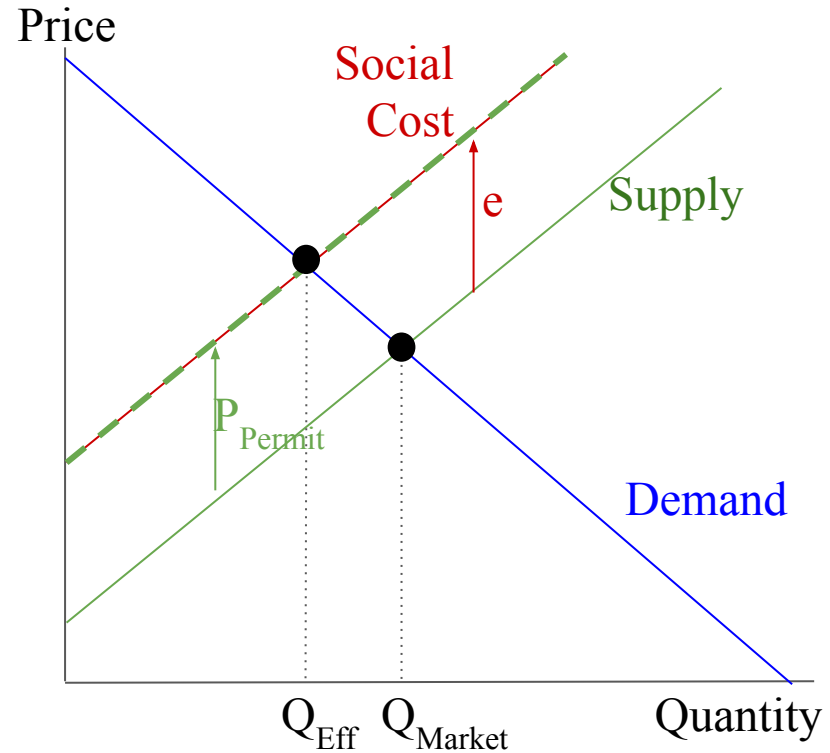
# Back to the Auction

- Auction will set price equal to cost of abating marginal unit of CO<sub>2</sub>
- This is essentially a tax on production that generates emissions
  - “If you want to produce, pay  $P_{\text{Permit}}$ ”



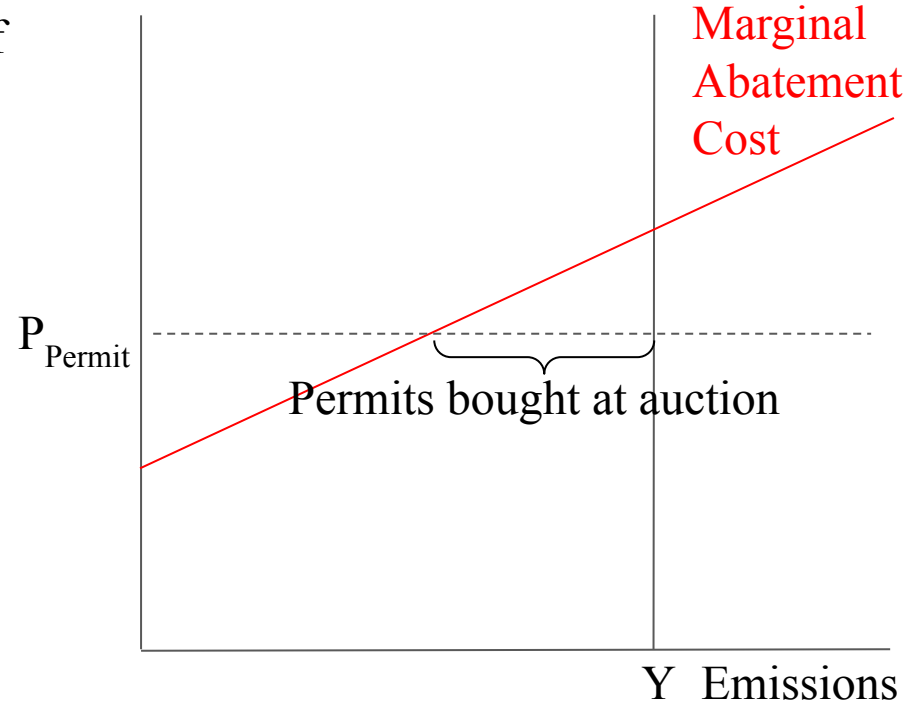
# Back to the Auction

- Auction will set price equal to cost of abating marginal unit of  $\text{CO}_2$
- This is essentially a tax on production that generates emissions
  - “If you want to produce, pay  $P_{\text{Permit}}$ ”
- Supply Curve shifts up, reducing quantity
- At the optimum,  $P_{\text{Permit}} = e$
- Marginal abatement cost = externality
  - Cost of abating one more emission ( $P_{\text{Permit}}$ ) equals the cost of not abating it ( $e$ )
  - Only if  $X$  is chosen correctly will this happen



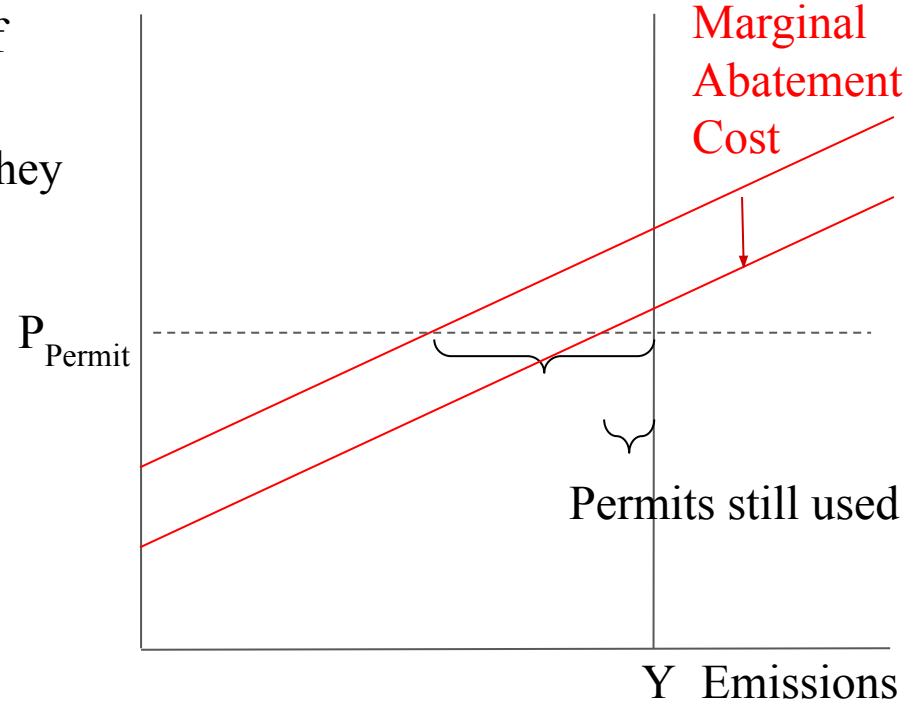
# Trading the Permits

- Return to our example firm
- Given the  $P_{\text{Permit}}$  they use a certain amount of permits



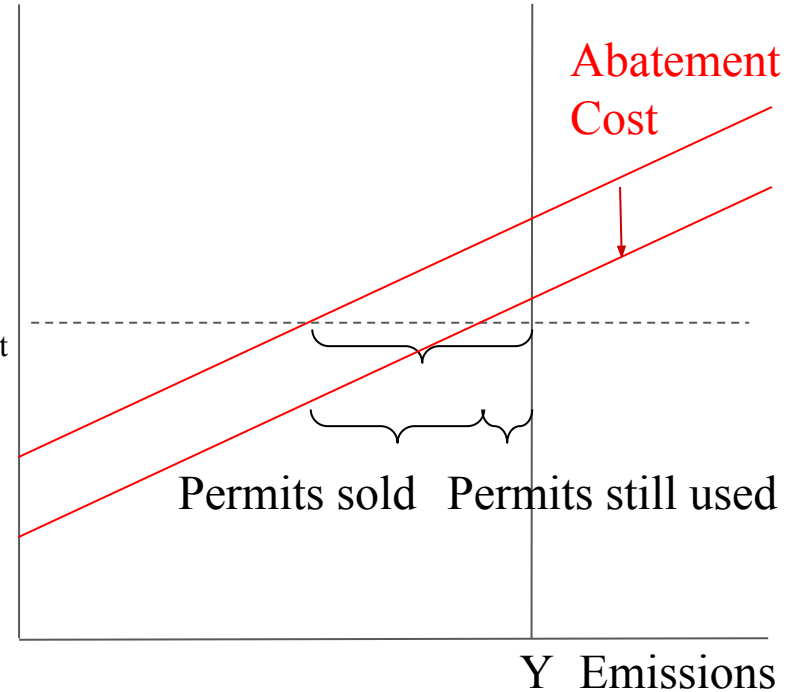
# Trading the Permits

- Return to our example firm
- Given the  $P_{\text{Permit}}$  they use a certain amount of permits
- If they improve their abatement technology, they do not need as many permits



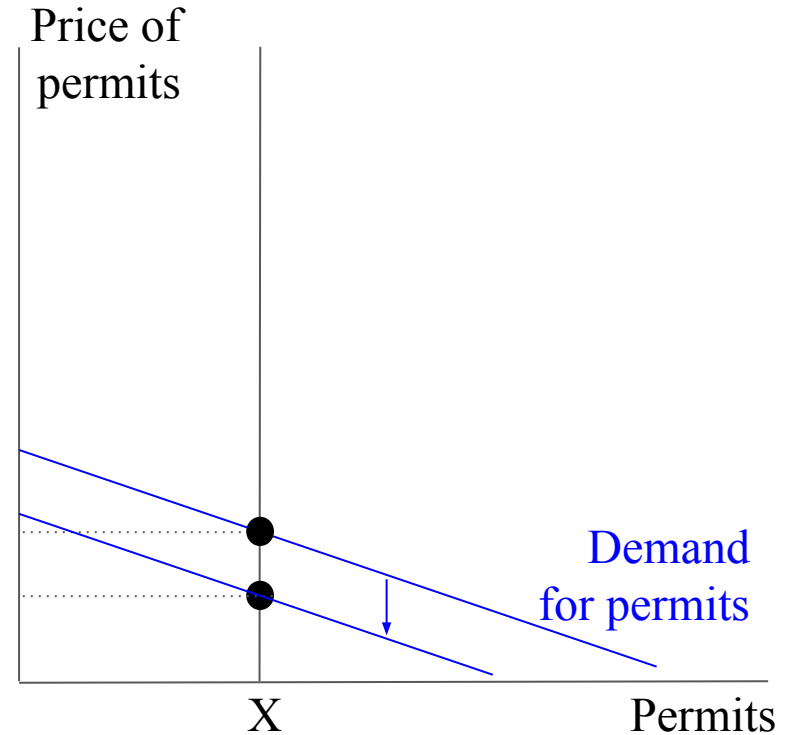
# Trading the Permits

- Return to our example firm
- Given the  $P_{\text{Permit}}$  they use a certain amount of permits
- If they improve their abatement technology, they do not need as many permits
- It can now sell the remainder!
  - Money made from sale more than swamps  $P_{\text{Permit}}$  the cost of abating those units
- So Cap-and-trade maintains the incentive to innovate clean technology



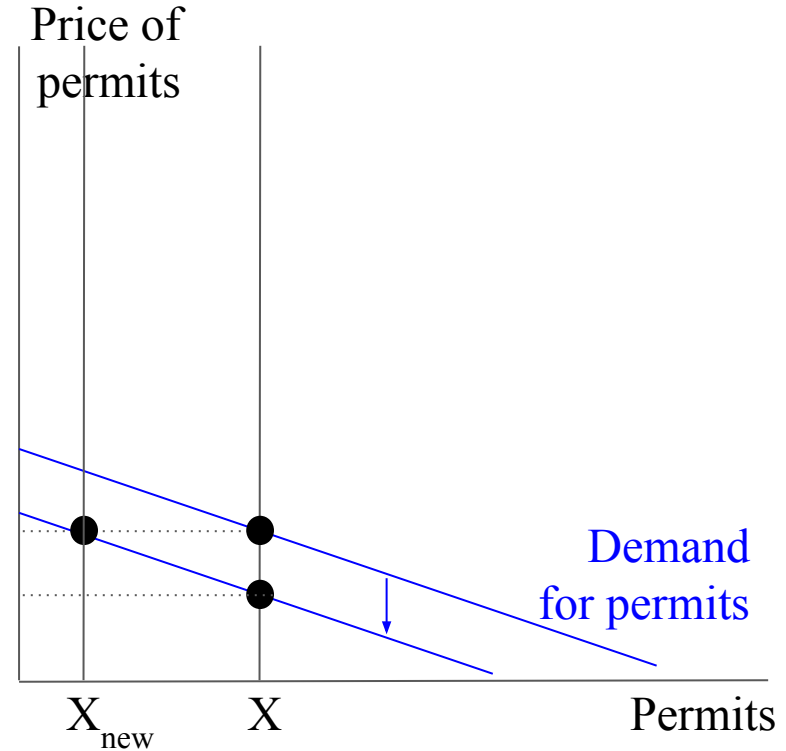
# Removing Permits

- As firms get better at abating pollution,  $P_{\text{Permit}}$  will fall
- This signals to the government that abatement costs are low...
  - $P_{\text{Permit}} < \text{externality}$



# Removing Permits

- As firms get better at abating pollution,  $P_{\text{Permit}}$  will fall
- This signals to the government that abatement costs are low...
  - $P_{\text{Permit}} < \text{externality}$
- And it makes sense to restrict emissions even further
  - $P_{\text{Permit}} = \text{externality}$



# Cap-and-Trade vs. Pigouvian Tax

- Cap-and-Trade seems very different from Pigouvian Tax, but is in fact deeply similar
  - Both force market participants to bear additional cost, more in line with Social Cost
    - Internalize the externality
  - Both, therefore, incentivize the development of clean technology
  - If you know the externality and the Supply and Demand curves, you can get the efficient outcome with either approach
- Cap-and-Trade is preferable if you know the quantity you want and/or really do not want uncertainty on quantity
  - Pick the X (cap) you want, but price of permits could end up being very high
- Pigouvian Tax is preferable if you want to make sure you don't end up with very high price
  - Pick a tax you find “reasonable,” but it may not reduce emissions as much as you want