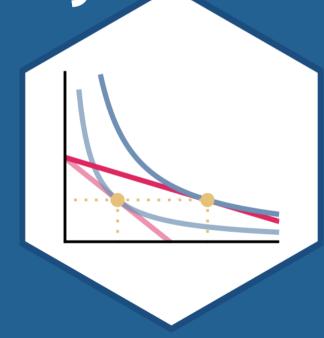
3.5 — Introduction to Political Economy

ECON 306 • Microeconomic Analysis • Spring 2023 Ryan Safner

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## **Outline**

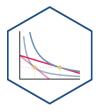


Policies That Raise Transaction Costs & Prevent Equilibrium

An Example: Some Economic Impacts of Covid

**Making Fair Comparison** 

#### Welfare Economics, Reminder

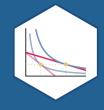


#### • Markets are great when:

- 1. They are **Competitive**: many buyers and many sellers
- They reach equilibrium (prices are free to adjust): absence of transactions costs or policies preventing prices from adjusting to meet supply and demand
- 3. There are no externalities<sup>†</sup>: costs & benefits are fully internalized by the parties to transactions
- Market failure: if these conditions are not met
  - May be role for governments, other institutions, or entrepreneurs to fix

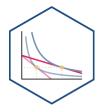


† Or public goods, or asymmetric information. But I treat these as special cases of more common externalities.

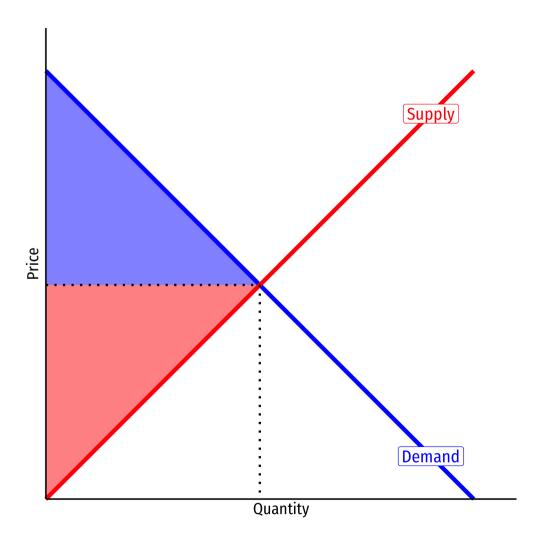


# Policies That Raise Transaction Costs & Prevent Equilibrium

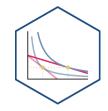
#### **Dis-equilibrated Markets**



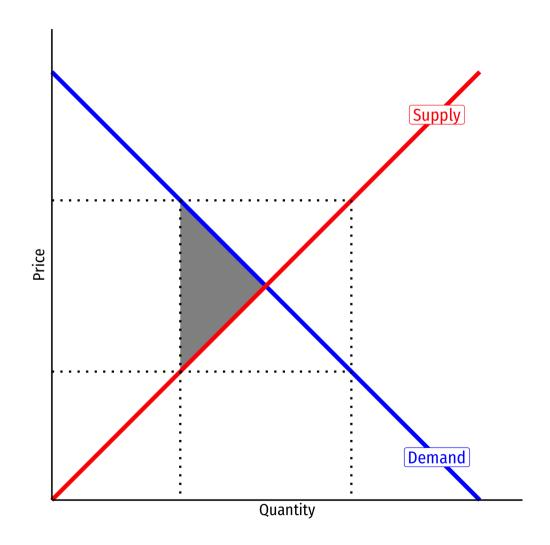
- The **static benefits** of markets all come from markets **being in** *equilibrium* (<u>class 3.3</u>):
  - allocative efficiency (CS+PS)
  - Pareto efficiency
  - productive efficiency
- But don't forget the dynamic benefits of markets as a discovery process! (class 3.4)
  - discovery of better allocations of resources
  - creation & elimination of profit opportunities
  - entrepreneurship & innovation



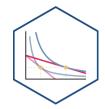
#### **Dis-equilibrated Markets**



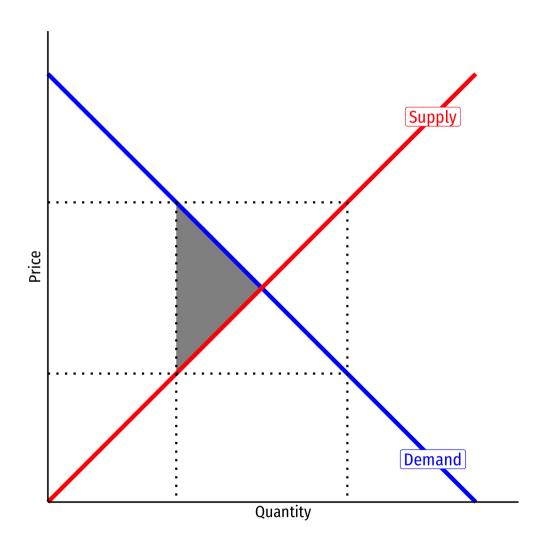
- To *reach* equilibrium, market prices need to be able to adjust
  - $\circ$  **Shortage**  $(Q_s < Q_d)$ : price needs to rise
  - $\circ$  **Surplus**  $(Q_s > Q_d)$ : price needs to fall
- There are *unrealized* gains from trade that exist in disequilibrium (shaded)
  - Buyers & sellers both can be made better off if they can adjust the price



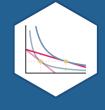
#### **Dis-equilibrated Markets**



- If market prices are prevented from adjusting, shortage/surplus becomes permanent
- Lost CS and/or PS: Deadweight loss (DWL)
  - **inefficiency** created by (permanent) diseq.
- Various government policies can prevent markets from equilibrating & create DWL:
  - Price regulations (price ceiling like rent control, price floor like minimum wage)
  - Taxes, subsidies, tariffs, quotas<sup>†</sup>
  - These should have been covered in Principles (see my slides on taxation from ECON 410)

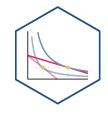


<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> Some may be necessary (taxes fund government), but create market inefficiencies.



# An Example: Some Economic Impacts of Covid

#### An Example: Some Economic Impacts of Covid

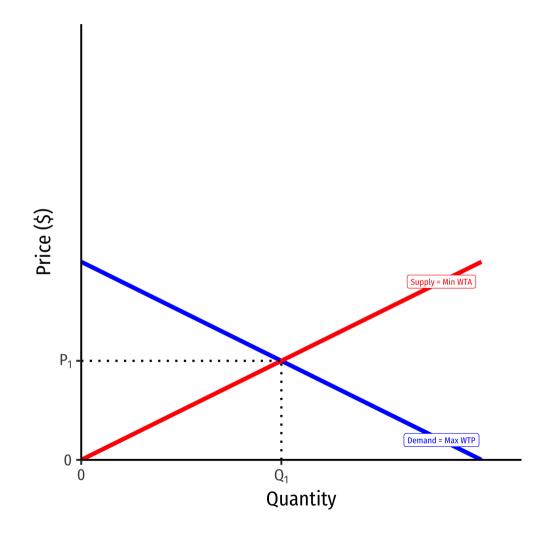


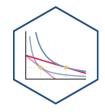


- Where did all of the ... go?
  - Toilet paper
  - Hand sanitizer
  - Masks
  - o PPE
  - Ventilators
- Three major issues:
  - price elasticity of supply
  - price gouging laws
  - restrictions & regulations on supply

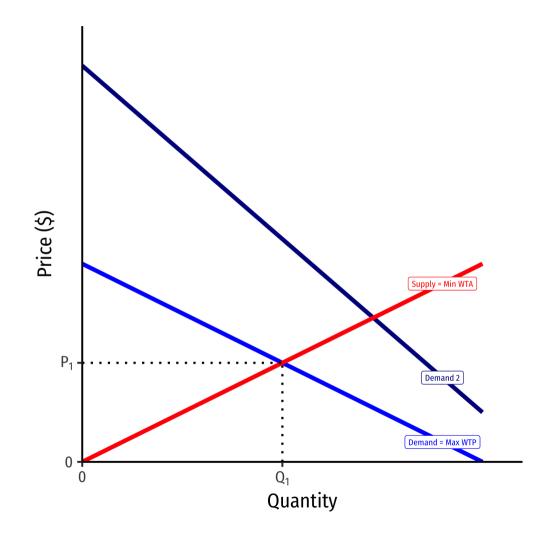
The toilet paper aisle of my Giant grocery store, March 2020

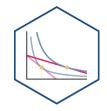
ullet Consider a market for a good in equilibrium,  $P_1$ 



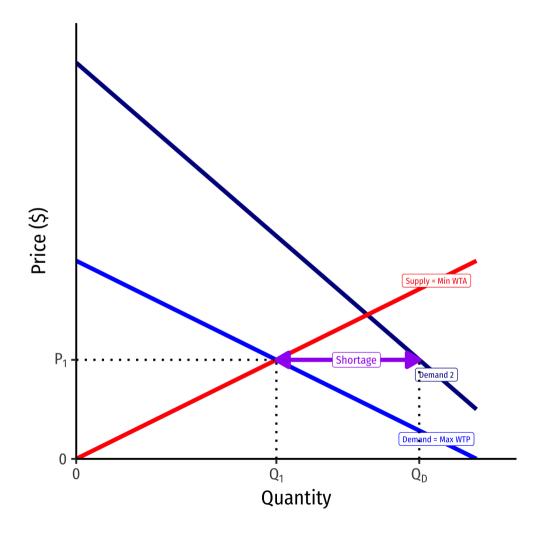


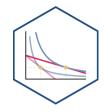
- More individuals want to buy more of the good at *every* price
- Demand *increases*, becomes *less elastic*



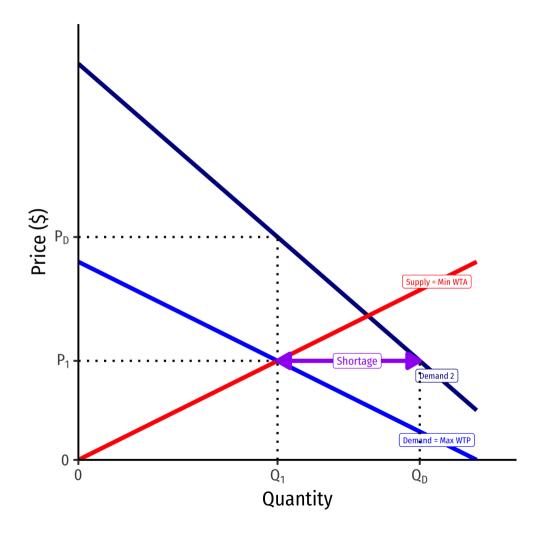


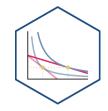
- More individuals want to buy more of the good at *every* price
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- At the original market price, a shortage!  $(q_D>q_S)$



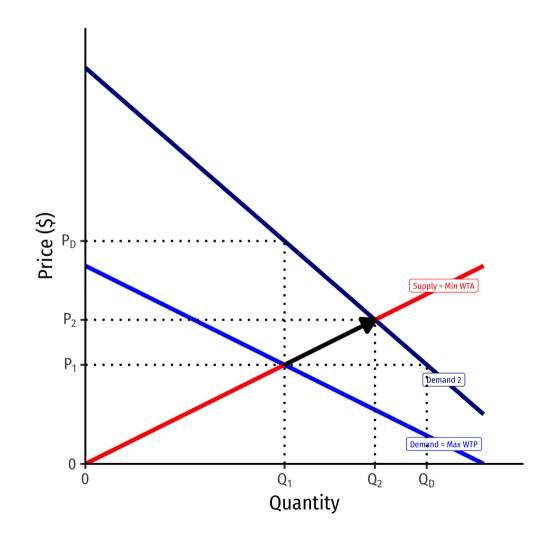


- More individuals want to buy more of the good at every price
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- Sellers are supplying  $Q_1$ , but some buyers willing to pay more for  $Q_1$

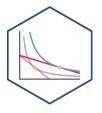




- More individuals want to buy more of the good at every price
- Demand *increases*, becomes *less elastic*
- At the original market price, a shortage!  $(q_D>q_S)$
- Sellers are supplying  $Q_1$ , but some buyers willing to pay more for  $Q_1$
- Buyers raise bids, inducing sellers to sell more
- Reach new equilibrium with:
  - $\circ$  higher market-clearing price  $(P_2)$
  - $\circ$  larger market-clearing q. exchanged  $(Q_2)$



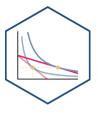
#### **One Possibility: Inelastic Supply**

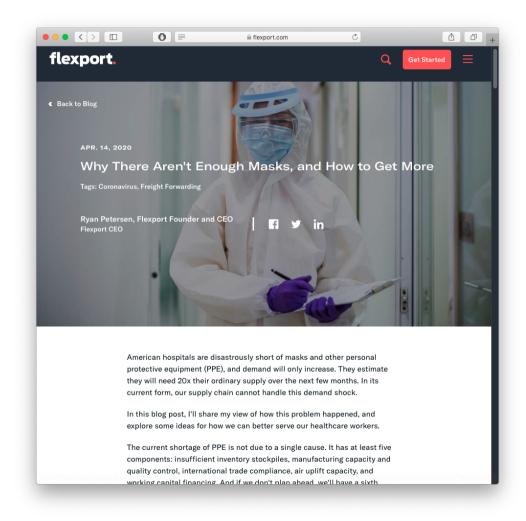


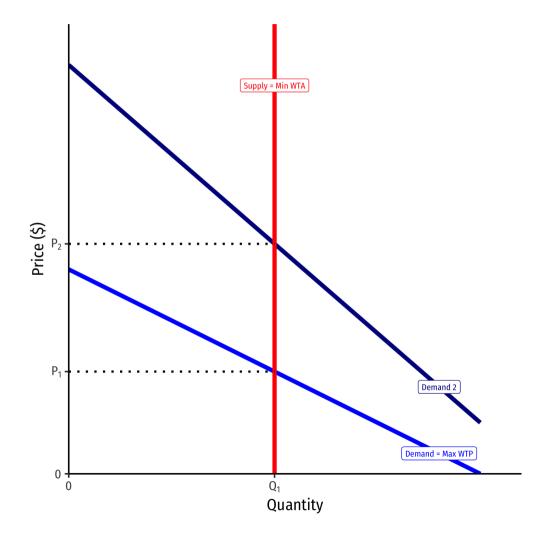
- It might that supply is very *inelastic* 
  - Here: perfectly inelastic (for convenience)
- Suppliers can't produce and sell more units even if they want to at very high price demanded
  - sudden shock to inventories (short run)
  - rising production costs
  - government regulations & restrictions
- Thus, the new high price is an equilibrium that will persist for a while
  - no "inefficiency," just a fixed supply of goods we cannot easily change

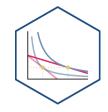


#### **One Possibility: Inelastic Supply**

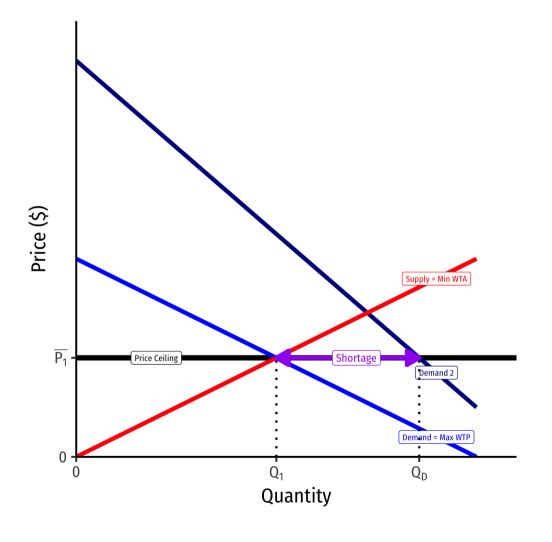


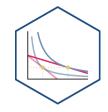




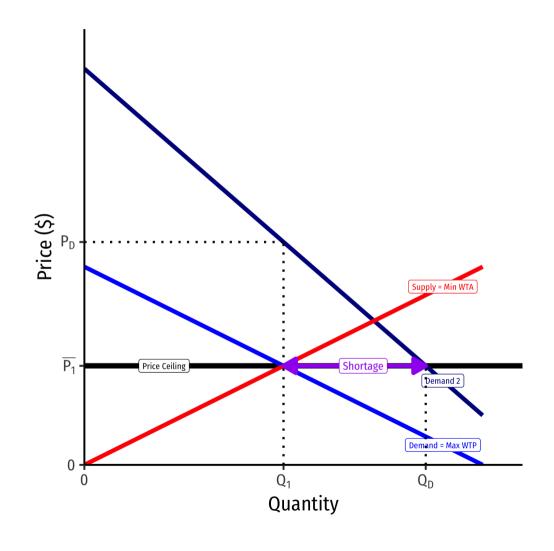


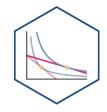
- Additionally, government has anti-price-gouging laws, a price ceiling at the original price,  $P_1$
- $Q_d > Q_s$ : excess demand, a shortage!
- ullet Sellers will not supply more than  $Q_1$  at price  $ar{P}_1$



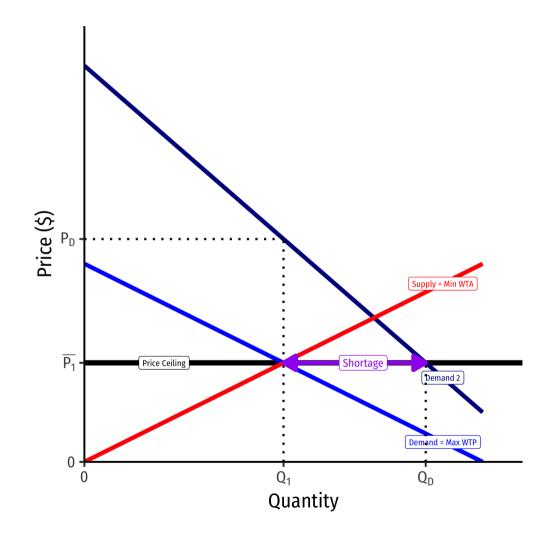


- Additionally, government has anti-price-gouging laws, a price ceiling at the original price,  $P_1$
- $Q_d > Q_s$ : excess demand, a shortage!
- ullet Sellers will not supply more than  $Q_1$  at price  $ar{P}_1$
- ullet For  $Q_1$  units, buyers are willing to pay  $P_D!$

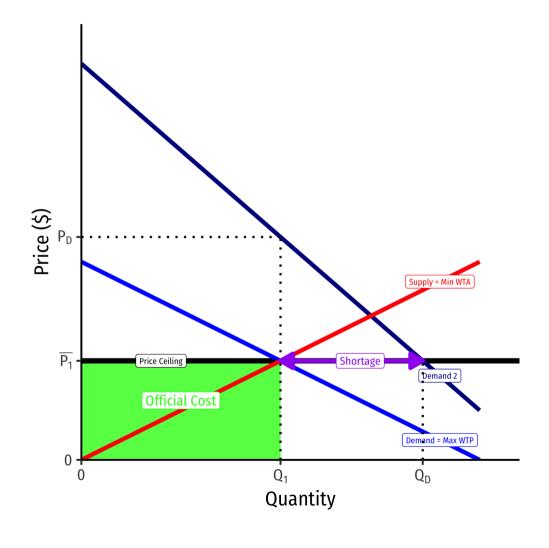


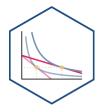


- ullet If prices were allowed to adjust: buyers would bid higher prices to get the scarce  $Q_s$  goods
- Sellers would respond to rising willingness to pay, and produce and sell more
- But the price is not allowed to rise above  $\bar{P}_1!$

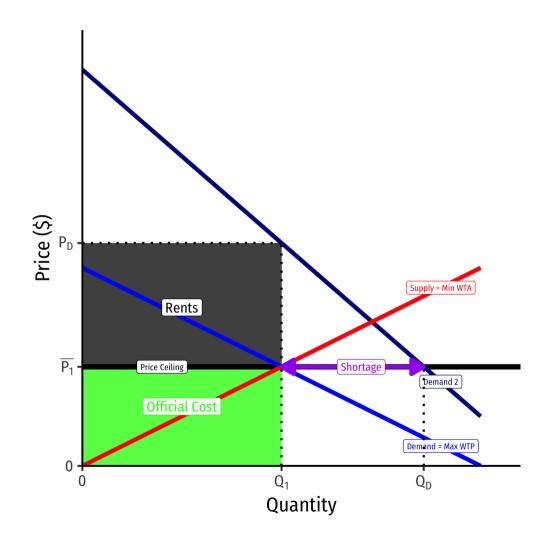


• Official price is  $\overline{P_1}$ , sellers gain monetary revenues

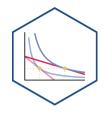


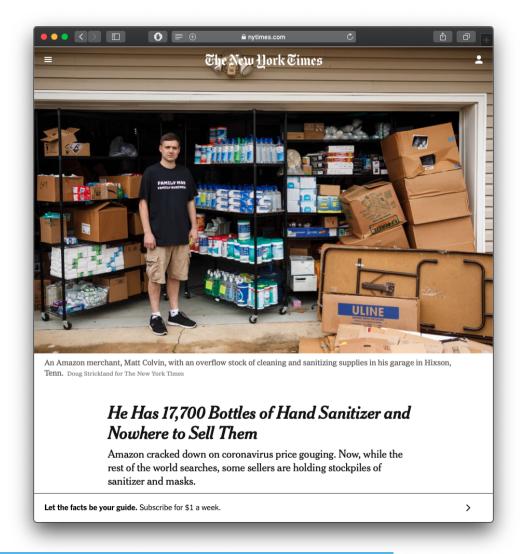


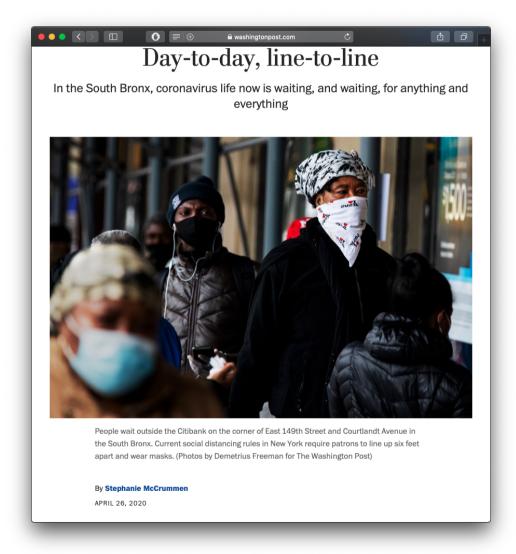
- Official price is  $\overline{P_1}$ , sellers gain monetary revenues
- ullet Competition exists between buyers to obtain scarce  $Q_s$  goods
  - $\circ$  Buyers willing to pay  $P_D$  unofficially
- Goods are distributed by non-market means:
  - Queuing
  - Black markets
  - Political connections, favors, corruption
- **Economic rents**: excess returns (above opp. cost) to those who own the scarce goods



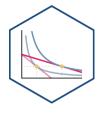
#### **Forms of Rents**







# (Temporarily) Raising Prices Can Solve the Shortage

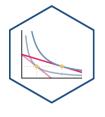


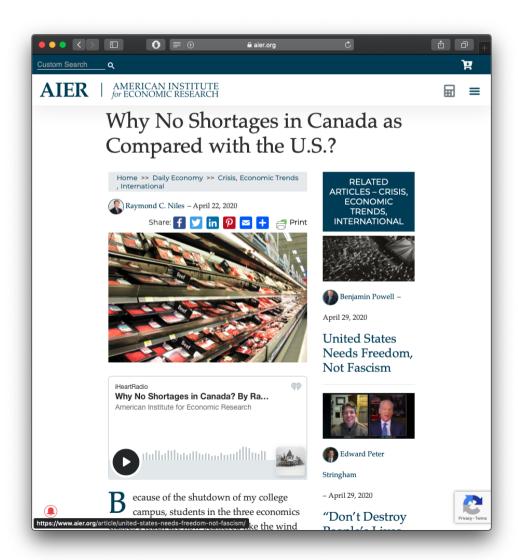


#### A relatively high price:

- Conveys information: good is relatively scarce
- Creates incentives for:
  - Buyers: conserve use of this good, seek substitites
  - Sellers: produce more of this good
  - Entrepreneurs: find substitutes and innovations to satisfy this unmet need

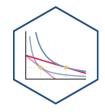
# (Temporarily) Raising Prices Can Solve the Shortage



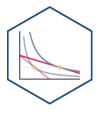


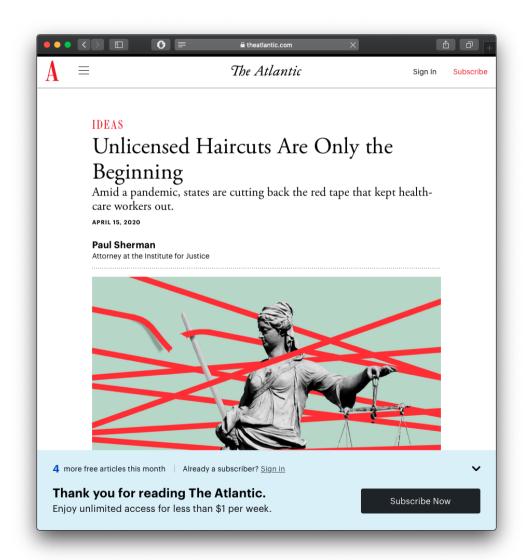
"The *Canadian National Post*, citing the Canadian Food Inspection Agency, says that 'There are no shortages or disruptions to [food] production, importation or export,' and that 'the shelves remain stocked.' ... 'A price surge as a result of natural market forces is not something that is regulated by Canadian competition laws or otherwise. Canada's competition laws generally don't interfere with the free market.' ... Canadians will have enough food to eat. But it will be more expensive.

# (Temporarily) Raising Prices Can Solve the Shortage

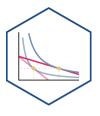


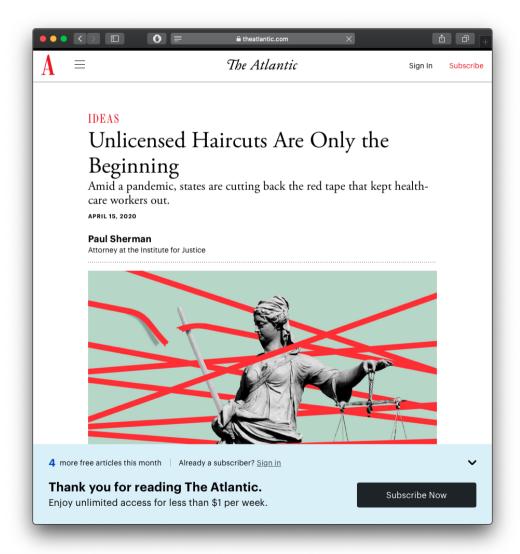






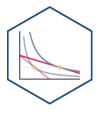
"As the nation's economy and health-care system struggle to adjust to the pandemic, more and more states are reexamining some of their oldest occupational and business regulations—rules that, although couched as protecting consumers, do far more to limit competition...While some states have ordered their occupational-licensing boards to speed up the licensure of new health-care practitioners, others...are granting immediate licensing reciprocity to any practitioner licensed in any state...Even Florida, which has long jealously guarded its occupational-licensing regime to prevent semiretired snowbirds from poaching on the locals' turf, [is] allowing out-of-state health-care providers to practice telemedicine in the state without a licanca

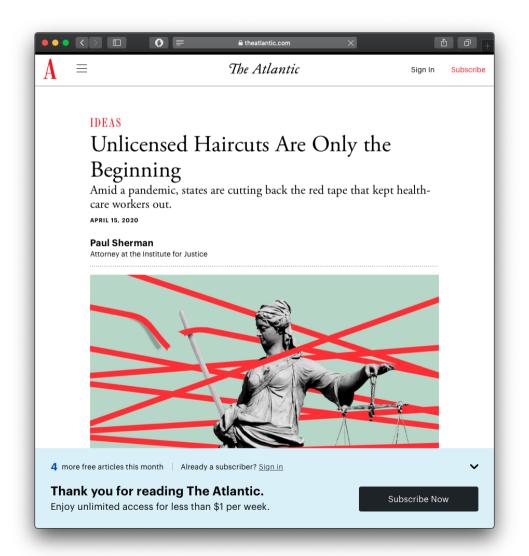




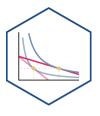
"Illinois has waived licensure fees for retired medical practitioners who wish to resume practice.

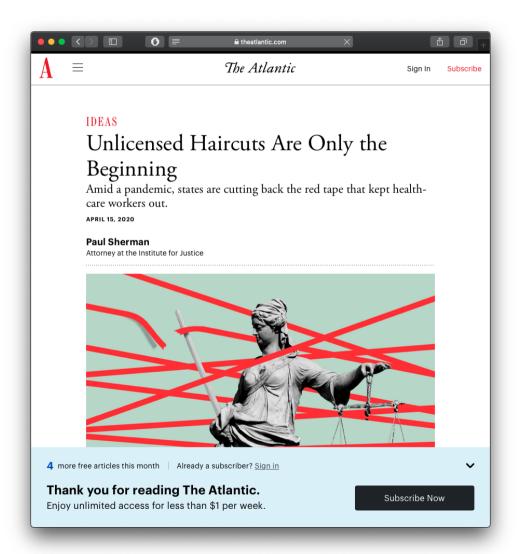
Oklahoma and Massachusetts have eliminated restrictions that required doctors to have a preexisting doctor-patient relationship before they could offer telemedicine services."



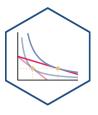


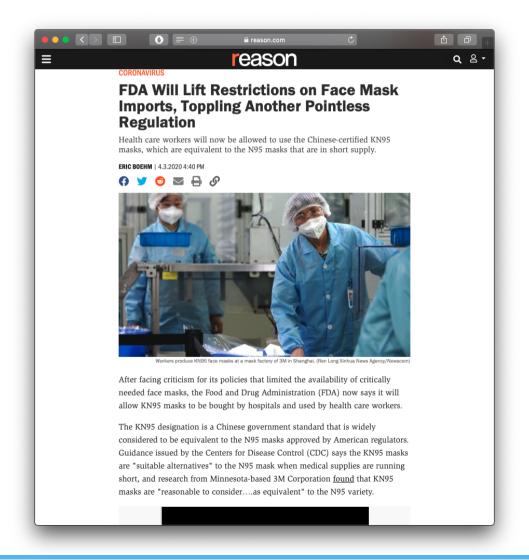
"Also being reexamined are state certificate-of-need, or CON, laws. A product of 1970s-era economic regulation, CON laws require health-care providers to prove that new services are "needed" before they may purchase certain large equipment, open new or expanded facilities, or—as is crucial now—offer home health-care services. Often, these laws give an effective veto power to existing medical providers, allowing them to torpedo new competition for their own benefit...Basic economics predicts that competition reduces prices for consumers, and occupational licensing works directly to stifle competition."

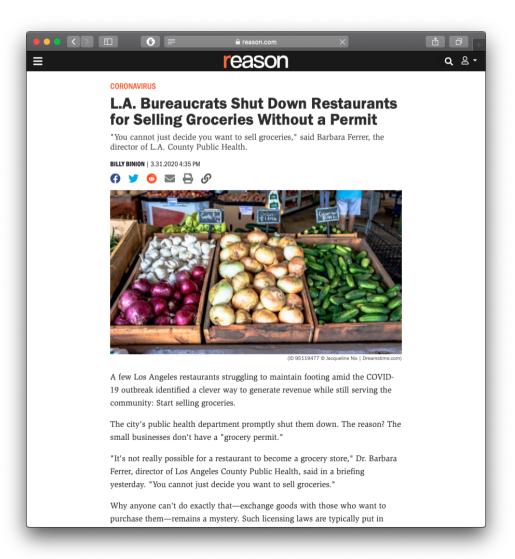


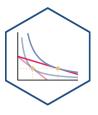


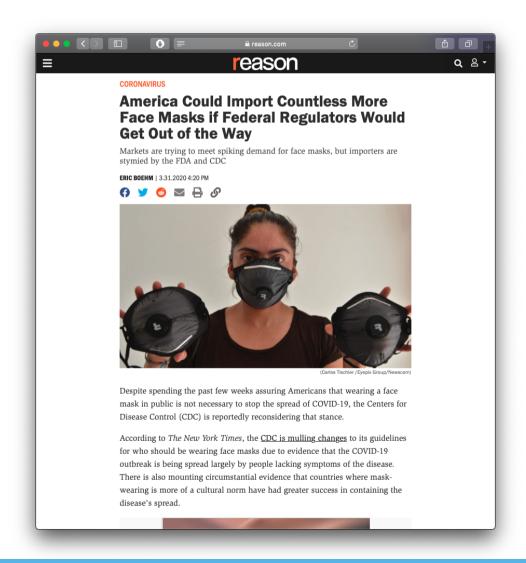
"The University of Minnesota economist Morris Kleiner, a leading researcher on occupational licensing, estimates that licensing costs consumers nearly \$200 billion annually. This might be justifiable if licensing produced substantial improvements in quality, yet most research has failed to find a connection between licensure and service quality or safety."



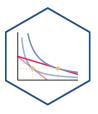


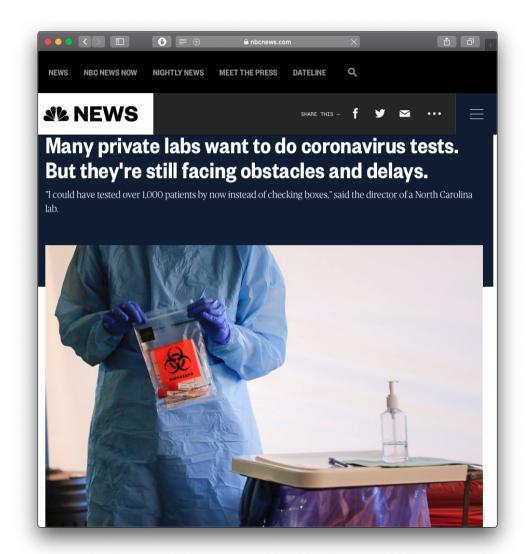


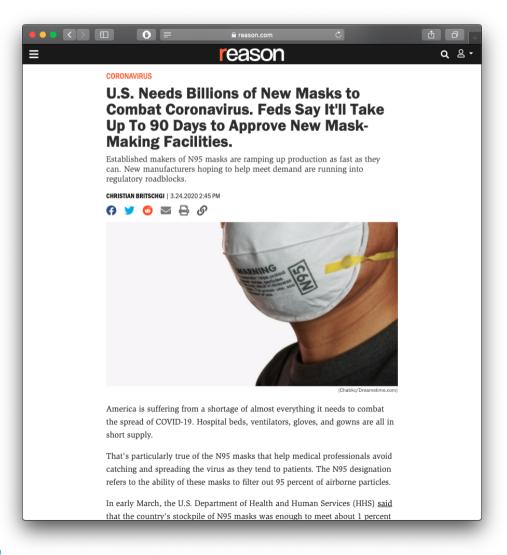


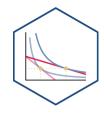


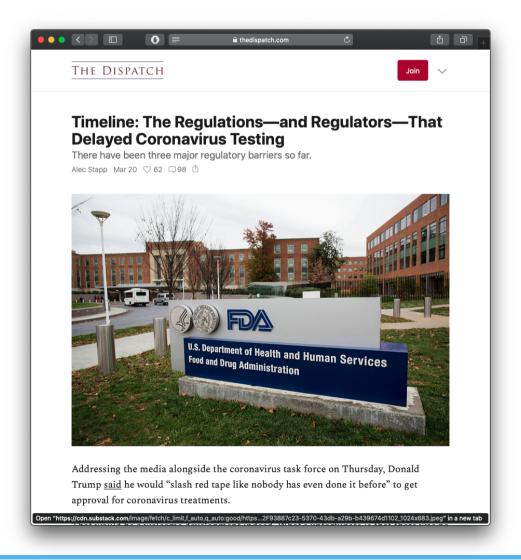




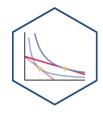


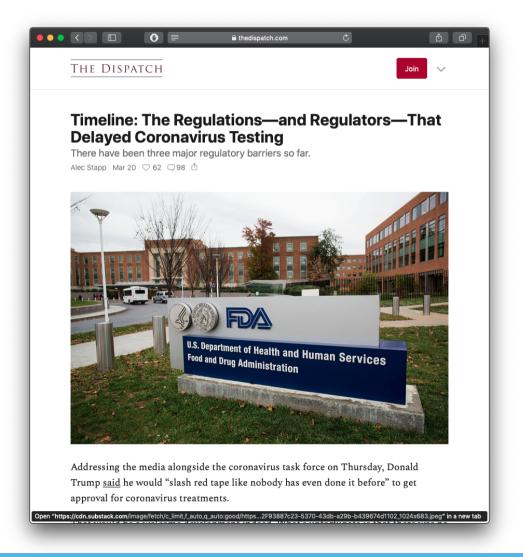




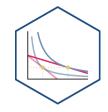


How did the U.S. government only manage to produce a fraction as many testing kits as its peer countries? There have been three major regulatory barriers so far to scaling up testing by public labs and private companies: 1) obtaining an Emergency Use Authorization (EUA); 2) being certified to perform high-complexity testing consistent with requirements under Clinical Laboratory Improvement Amendments (CLIA);...

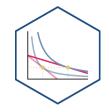


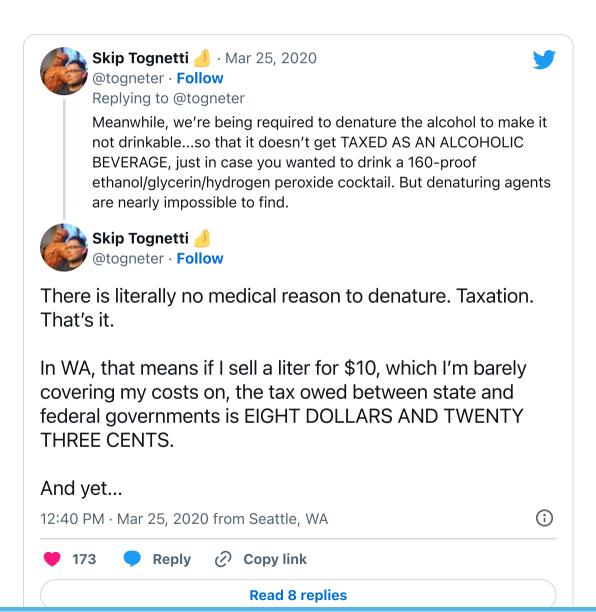


...and 3) complying with the Health Insurance
Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) Privacy
Rule and the Common Rule related to the protection
of human research subjects. On the demand side,
narrow restrictions on who qualified for testing
prevented the U.S. from adequately using what
capacity it did have.





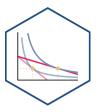






# **Making Fair Comparisons**

### **Government Failure & Market Failure**

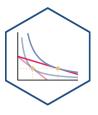


- We've talked about market failure under certain conditions
- However there is also government failure
  - corruption, rent-seeking, voter ignorance, voter irrationality, special interest groups, regulatory capture
- So stop comparing ideal institutions in theory and see how they work in practice
- Learn more in my <u>Public Economics</u> course





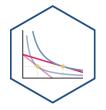
### **Economic Theory** *Assumes* **Good Institutions**



- Markets & price theory: how consumers & producers specialize, produce, & exchange within given, well-functioning markets (& politics)
- Assumes existence of "good" economic & political institutions that facilitate market exchange
  - low transaction costs
  - clear and enforced property rights
  - rule of law
  - contract enforcement
  - capable, high-capacity, non-corrupt government
  - dispute resolution



### **Two Fundamental Problems of Political Economy**

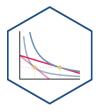


• All societies face two fundamental problems, which institutions emerge (or are created) to address:

**The Knowledge Problem**: How to coordinate the *tacit*, *fragmented* knowledge of opportunities and conditions *dispersed* across millions of individuals (and accessible to none in total) in order to maximize the ability of individuals to achieve their goals

**The Incentives Problem**: How to structure incentives that individuals face in a way that maximizes cooperative behavior (voluntary exchange and association) and minimizes non-cooperative behavior (cheating, opportunism, exploitation, violence, rent-seeking)

### **Robust Political Economy**



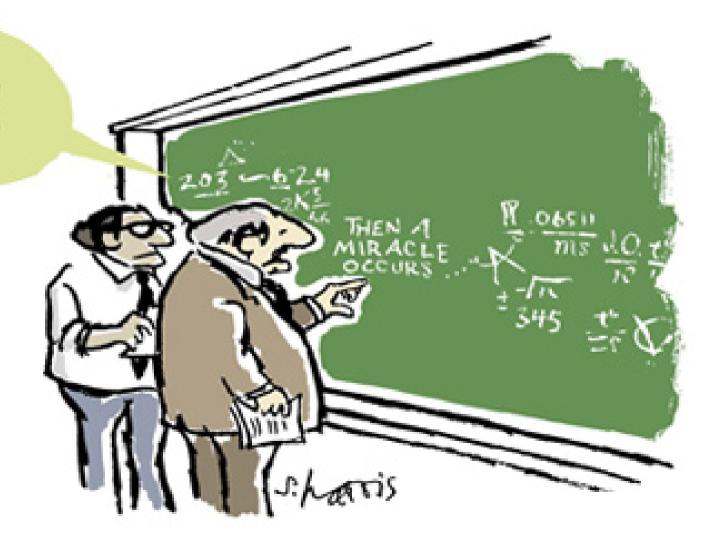
- No system is perfect
- We need to find arrangements that are robust to knowledge & incentive problems
- Easy (unpersuasive) case: perfect information & pure benevolence
  - every system works *in theory!*
- Hard (persuasive) case: uncertainty & selfish behavior
  - what works best *in practice*?
- Treat people as they are: sometimes good, bad, smart, stupid, opportunistic, altruistic, depending on the institutions they face!



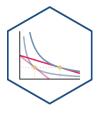
### **Robust Political Economy**

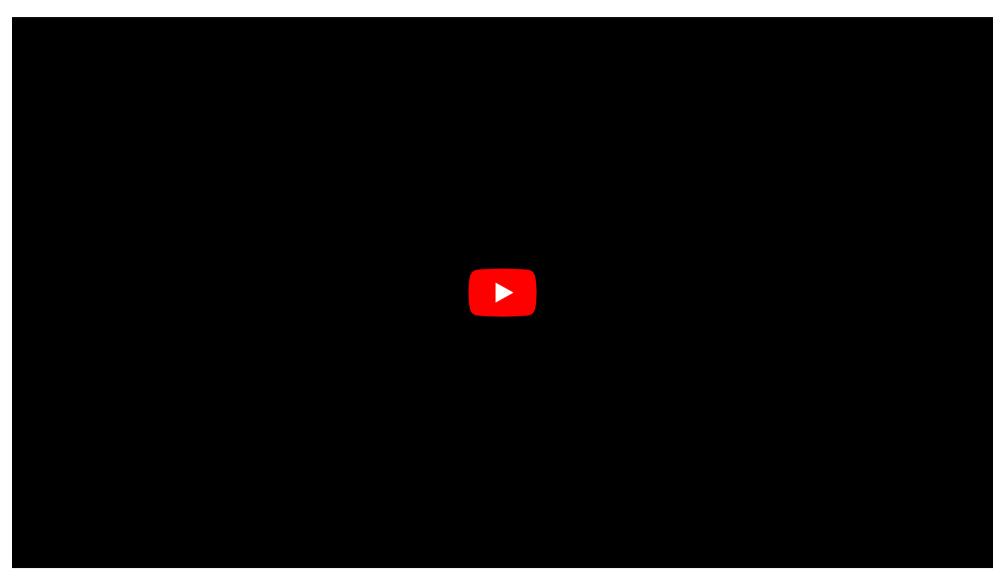


SHOULD BE MORE SPECIFIC HERE IN STEP TWO

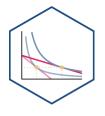


## **A Bad Argument for Markets**



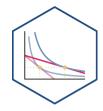


## A Better, Comparative, Argument for Markets





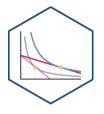
### **Robust Political Economy**



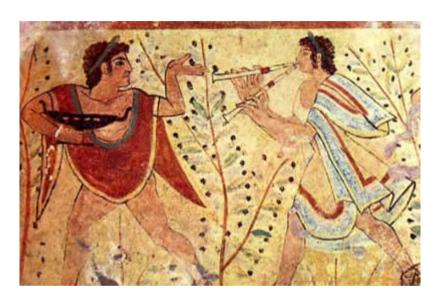
- People often recommend optimal policies as if they could be installed by a benevolent dictator
  - A dispassionate ruler with total control, perfect information, and selfless incentives to implement optimal policy
  - ∘ A "1st-best solution"
- In reality, 1<sup>st</sup>-best policies are distorted by the knowledge problem, the incentives problem, and politics
  - Real world: 2<sup>nd</sup>-to-*n*<sup>th</sup>-best outcomes



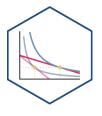
### **Comparative Institutional Analysis**

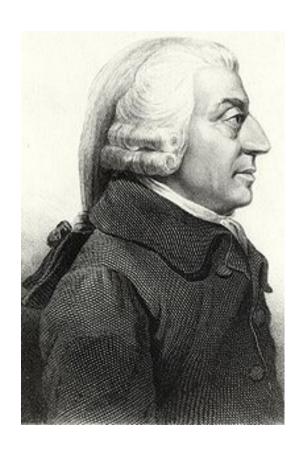


- Compare imperfections of *feasible* and *relevant* alternative systems
  - The "Nirvana Fallacy": comparing an imperfect system in reality with an ideal system in theory
- Economics: *think on the margin!* 
  - One system's "failure" does not automatically imply another will be "successful"!
  - Real world requires tradeoffs
  - "economics puts parameters on people's utopias"
  - "compared to what?"



### **Institutions: Operationalizing Adam Smith**





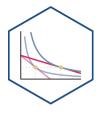
"[Though] he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention...By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it," (Book IV, Chapter 2.9).

Smith, Adam, 1776, *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* 

**Adam Smith** 

1723-1790

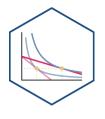
## Self-Interest Doesn't Always Benefit Society

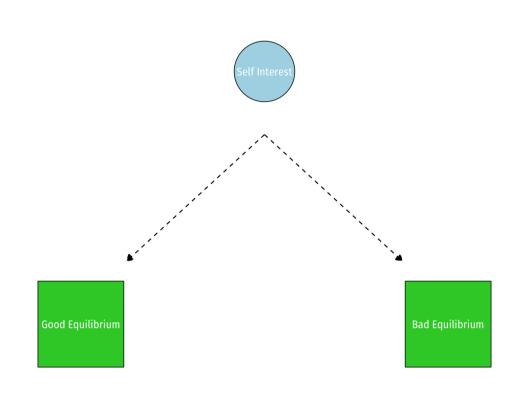






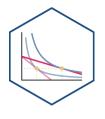
### **Institutions: Operationalizing Adam Smith**

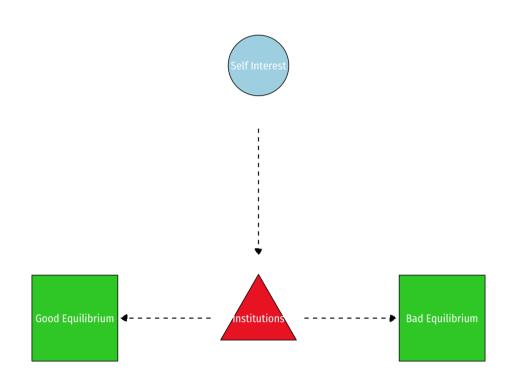




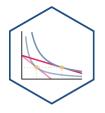
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### **Institutions: Operationalizing Adam Smith**

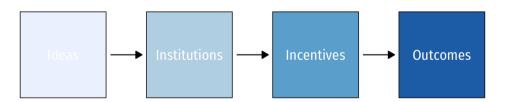


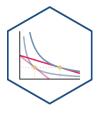


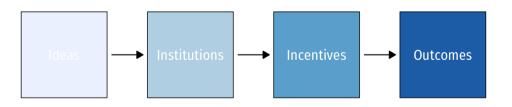
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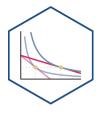
- relative level of wealth or poverty
- relative level of equality or inequality
- stability of politics, finance, macroeconomy

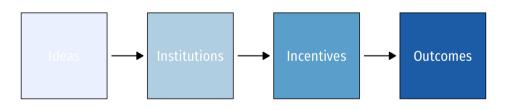




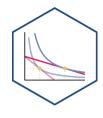


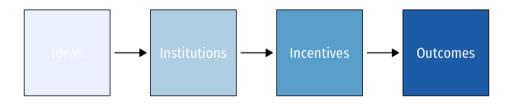
- relative level of wealth or poverty
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- ...are determined by **Incentives**:
  - relative prices or costs of various choices
  - profits and losses
  - information





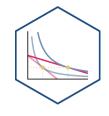
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  - (in)equality before the law or corruption
  - constraints on politics and economics

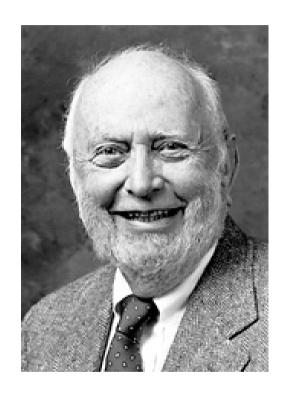




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  - information
- ...are determined by **Institutions**:
  - allocation of rights, property, & power
  - (in)equality before the law or corruption
  - constraints on politics and economics
- ...are determined by **Ideas**:
  - political and social worldview -"isms"
  - which groups (should) have status

### What are Institutions?





Douglass C. North

1920-2015

"Institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure political economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights)," (p.10)

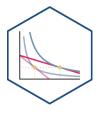
"Institutions are the rules of the game in a society," (p.1).

North, Douglass C, (1991), "Institutions," Journal of Economic Perspectives 5(1): 97-112.

North, Douglass C, (1990), Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance

**Economics Nobel 1993** 

### **Incentives are Structured by Institutions**

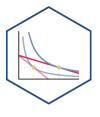




"Who needs this nail?"

"Don't worry about it! The main thing is that we immediately fulfilled the plan for nails!"

### **Institutions Channel Entrepreneurship**





William Baumol

ingenious and creative in finding ways that add to their own wealth, power, and prestige, then it is to be expected that not all of them will be overly concerned with whether an activity that achieves these goals adds...to the social product," (pp.897-898).

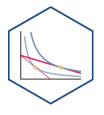
"If entrepreneurs are defined, simply, to be persons who are

"The rules of the game that determine the relative payoffs to different entrepreneurial activities do change dramatically from one time and place to another. Entrepreneurial behavior changes direction from one economy to another in a manner that corresponds to the variations in the rules of the game," (p.898).

1922-2017

Baumol, William J, (1990), "Entrepreneurship: Productive, Unproductive, and Destructive," Journal of Political Economy 98(5): 893-

### **Profit Seeking and Rent Seeking**







Profits from serving customers



**Unproductive entrepreneurship** 

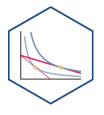
Rents from political privileges

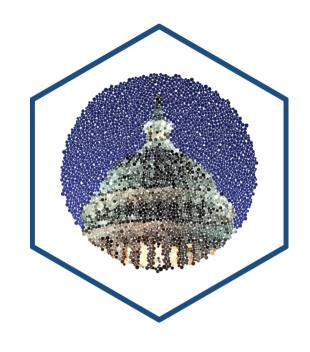


**Destructive entrepreneurship** 

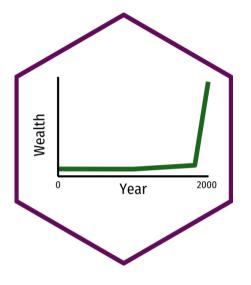
Loot from theft and violence

### **For More**





ECON 410 — Public Economics

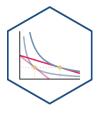


ECON 317 —
Economics of
Development



ECON 315 —
Economics of the
Law

### **A Parting Note on Political Economy**





"The first lesson of economics is scarcity: There is never enough of anything to satisfy all those who want it. The first lesson of politics is to disregard the first lesson of economics."

"There are no solutions, there are only tradeoffs."

Thomas Sowell