PURSUING THE COMMON GOOD



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Economics for the Common Good Jean Tirole Winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics

I. THE COMMON GOOD

WHAT I WROTE ECONOMICS FOR THE COMMON GOOD

- Policy work prior to Nobel
- Tipping points: (1) Nobel, (2) creeping tendancy towards populism

I should not focus on experts only. Social duty to share

- deciphering keys to understand world we (will) live in,
- my vision of economics as a moral and philosophical science.

WHAT IS THE COMMON GOOD?

Many situations where the interests of citizens, companies, states, countries diverge from the general interest

- *Citizen* who emits carbon, refuses to be vaccinated, or overconsumes antibiotics
- Business or bank that takes risks, jeopardizing the employment of its workers or the savings of its customers (or taxpayer money); that abuses its monopoly power
- *State*: excessive spending, poor education, inequality, financial crisis...
- *Country*: primacy of the national interest over interest of the world (global warming, trade wars, fiscal competition, military conflicts...)

Common feature? Individual interests trump the general interest.

AMBITION OF ECONOMICS OF THE COMMON GOOD

To align actors' concerns with the general interest. 2 instruments for that

- Persuasion
 - Encourage good citizen behavior and corporate social responsibility (CSR)
 - Design norm-based interventions (NBI) to boost awareness of the consequences of selfishness or of prevailing norm
 - But limits to what can be done by trying to change the norm: global warming (30 years of exhortations since Rio summit)



• *Incentives* are needed to put the general interest back in the center.

DEFINING THE COMMON GOOD

Thought experiment = veil of ignorance

"Abstract yourself from your attributes and your position in society, i.e. place yourself behind the veil of ignorance, and ask yourself What kind of society would you like to live in?"

- Not a La-La land
 - o incentives matter: we all react to our incentives
 - o myth of "new man" led to economic failure and authoritarian regime.

THE COMMON GOOD: SOME IMPLICATIONS

1. Economic efficiency

- solid legal framework
- fight abuses by monopolies & agreements that restrain trade
- banking regulation...
- 2. Insurance mechanisms
 - universal health coverage (market goes against solidarity)
 - equal opportunity/right to a good education
 - correction of other inequalities (e.g., gender, income, wealth)
 - protection against life mishaps

3. Societal regulation: e.g., religious/ethnic/political/sexual/etc tolerance

II. THE MORALITY OF MARKETS

Economists' Weltanschauung: "markets and incentives are key." Many market failures to be certain: Economists' caveats on incentives

- abuses of market power
- externalities
- poor information (\Rightarrow financial regulation, consumer protection...)
- poor insurance: health insurance, absence of equal opportunity, inequality (the income and wealth distributions generated by markets have no reason to fit society's moral standards)

Nonetheless, premise remains: "Markets often fail, but properly regulated, they are key to economic organization." E.g., a carbon price

Two lines of attack on markets

1. "MARKET FRAMES ETHICAL CHOICES"

Managers cannot express their social responsibility in marketplace, due to the replacement logic: "If I don't do it, someone else will anyway"

- selling weapons to dictators
- bribing officials
- being lax on opioids
- whitewashing product's shortcomings
- taking illicit drugs (athlete)...

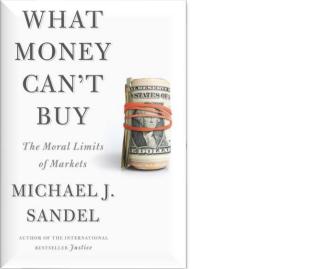
Dewatripont-Tirole: yes, but only in well-defined circumstances

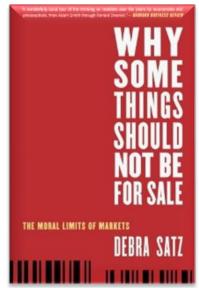
- competition lowers markups and incentive to behave unethically
- competition offers more choice to socially responsible consumers.

2. "REPUGNANT MARKETS"

Civil society, religious leaders, politicians, philosophers

Bone of contention: distrust of markets, more broadly of incentives, with rather different viewpoints, from





Sandel: What's wrong with markets?

A wide range of goods and services, including babies for adoption, surrogate motherhood, sexuality, drugs, military service, votes, and organs for transplantation, are not to be commoditized through markets, no more than friendship, admissions to elite universities or Nobel Prizes are to be bought, or genes and other life forms to be patented.

MARKETS AND MORALITY IN ECG

What's wrong with "What's wrong"

- Moral postures/feelings of revulsion are warning signals, but unreliable sources of ethical inspiration
 - moral assertions can override freedom of others (religious, sexual minorities)
- *Markets exist whether we want them or not* (prostitution, organ markets, surrogate motherhood). Issue is to regulate/prevent them if so, not to assume them away
- *"What's wrong with markets" must build on the identification of market failures and the design of proper regulations, which is a central task of economics.*



Number of repugnant markets can be analyzed in terms of concepts that are very familiar to economists:

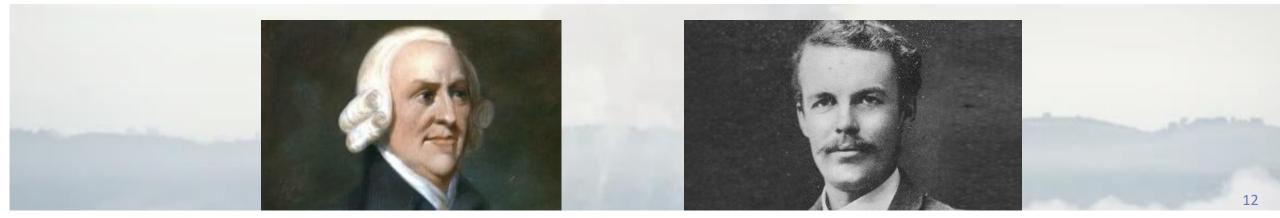
- *Externalities*: babies for adoption to highest bidder [including image externalities: dwarf-tossing, prostitution]
- Internalities (failure to stand for one's best interest):
 E.g. impulsive/myopic behaviors: voluntary slavery, organ sales, drugs
- *Non-competitive markets*: information, market power
- *Motivated beliefs,* etc



III. RESPONDING TO MARKET FAILURES

Our societies rest on two pillars

- *The invisible hand of the market* harnesses consumers' and corporations' pursuit of self-interest to the pursuit of efficiency (Smith)
- The State corrects market failures whenever externalities, internalities or asymmetric information stand in the way of efficiency and redistributes income and wealth (Pigou).



GOVERNMENT FAILURES

Dysfunctional state

- Capture by lobbies and cronyism
- Electoral incentives ⇒ pandering/electioneering (state as follower/ pollster)
- Territoriality of jurisdiction
- Time bombs (politics' time scale leads to short-termism)
 - Climate change
 - Public finances and pensions
 - Inequality
 - Education
 - R&D



The State in the 21st century

The role of independent authorities

(justice; antitrust, regulatory and industrial policy agencies; central banks)

- Politics subject to lobbying, electioneering/pandering, rulers' interests
- Independence allows more expertise-based public decision-making
- But relies on appointing independent experts (not always easy)

Modern State

- *State as regulator* (corrects market failures)
- State as enabler (infrastructure: legal framework, funding of high-risk/high-reward projects, etc.)
- *Managerial State* (SOEs: political appointees; soft budget constraint; regulator may tilt level-playing field)

IV. WHAT SHAPES THE ECONOMIC DEBATE?

What role for economists in the public debate?

- More broadly, disregard for experts
- Affects particularly fields in direct contact with society: economics, medicine & biology, climate change, evolution theory...

The role of motivated beliefs and narratives

Motivated beliefs

Believe what we want to believe

- About our future (adverse consequences of the "green growth" slogan)
- About our society: we don't want to believe/see that it is
 - unequal: organ sales, prostitution (moving prostitution elsewhere)...
 - violent (bans on *public* executions [France from 1939 through 1981]).

The economist as bearer of bad news

- Economic analysis exposes our deep values: "incentives are needed"
- Policy reframing: Motivating law and policy by overarching ethical goals such as *fairness and equity* avoids a confrontation with tell-tale signs that our morality is not necessarily what we strive to believe it is.
- [Restatement of Contracts refers to the sanctity of contract and the resulting *moral obligation* to honor one's promises (quasi-religious attitude).]

The economist as the destroyer of social norms

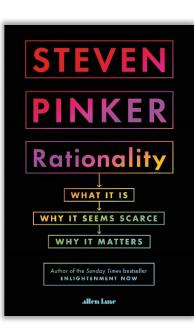
But incentives also have an expressive impact: they spill over into uncontrolled aspects of life [Bénabou-Tirole Laws and Norms]

Science-based-policy challenge: win the narratives contest

Statistical facts don't work well

- Marcel Proust (1913): "The facts of life do not penetrate to the sphere in which our beliefs are cherished" (e.g., correcting misperceptions on immigrant flows)
- Salience (car accidents vs. death from terrorist acts) and motivated beliefs often matter more than facts in shaping beliefs





Effective narratives play on several cognitive mechanisms

- *hope for a bright future* ("someone else will pay", "ecology should not be punitive"): related to anticipatory utility/motivated beliefs
- confusion between correlation and causality ("avoid going to hospital")
- using and looking for flimsy excuses for antisocial behavior ("vaccines are a hoax to make pharmaceutical companies rich")

Many anti-common-good narratives. How do we debunk them?

[Narratives can promote the common good too: Kant's formula of the universal law, fairy tales, stories supporting moral precepts, personal narrative of an immigrant, perspective taking ("transport theory") narratives about someone's plight]

Start with a narrative to engage audience, and then display facts?

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON OUR FUTURE

- Markets and competition are neither moral nor immoral per se. Duty of regulation is to correct market failures
- Good public policy requires a) understanding modern state,
 b) accounting for perceptions/cognitive biases
- To address key societal challenges/time bombs: global warming, future of labor, international cooperation, inequality, regulation, debt...,
 - o must use economics and social sciences analysis
 - \circ one deciphering key: the common good.



THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION