Contract Design

60500 characters in 9455 words on 1565 lines

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1 Introduction

1.1 lecturers

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1.2 target

how to structure deals strategically (off-topic is the legal language to implement this)

strategically read contracts

when cost-plus \rightarrow expect cost control clauses when fixed price \rightarrow expect quality control clauses

strategically write contracts

choose appropriate overall structure align incentives to reduce transactions cost

1.3 why state enforces contracts

well functioning system increases societal health as voluntary transactions enhance welfare bc seller sells only if price \geq valuation bc buyer only buys if price \leq worth worth - valuation = welfare increase

other arguments

companies do not have to prepare for other scenarios

limitations

duress, misrepresentation, fraud, uninformed decisions state must not enforce in these cases like parties benefiting by hurting others (hitman) like anticompetitive contracts (preisabsprache) like externalized cost (selling drug) like unknown interests (children, incapacitated)

enables economic growth

specialization generates value, but needs division of labour the cheaper trade, the more fragmented division possible hence the richer society gets

transaction cost

might make deal more expensive than what its worth by this, may also prevent some deals to happen need to optimize transaction cost by optimal clauses contract writers as "transaction cost engineers"

2 contractible effort

2.1 contract motivation

coordination

agreement about technicalities without conflict of interest "cheap talk" is enough (no sanctions needed to enforce) like on which street side to drive on generally like at which time to deliver so buyer/seller meet

spot transaction

immediate exchange of goods like buying an apple & paying for it at the store

sequential transactions

goods/services exchanged, potential conflict in the future like sale (need guarantees product meets expectations)

2.2 conflict of interest

ex-ante (before) and ex-post (after) incentives might be different rational choice could be to defect later on as other party knows, might prevent contract

2.2.1 solution options

use ex-ante interests to commit to value to settle potentially conflicting ex-post incentives

repeated transactions

smaller contracts / reputation systems works if payoff defect < future transactions benefit

prevent problem

agree on technical solution that prevent problem like pulling teeth of viper, smart contracts, \dots

compensation

compensate for damages
prevents problem if compensation cost higher than defection payoff

criminal sanctions

penalize injurer

prevent problem if penalty cost higher than defection payoff

2.3 value to commitment

commit tools

governance systems and institutions contracts (use formal language to clearly commit) promises (willingness to not break a promise, being honest) moral institutions (willingness to be fair to others) technical solution (like smart contracts) enforce by law, continued relationships, reputation, social sanctions

smaller commits

result in smaller temptations to break it work with milestones (smaller units of work & payment) transforms one-shot to repeated transaction

2.4 contract structure

define payoff resulting from different clause of action depends on social model, contracts, institutions, \dots

general approach

outcomes result from human interaction, constrained by institutions model behaviour to find out likely outputs motivates institutions to be constructed

model human behaviour

assumptions need to be realistic like "more money better", "less work better"

institution viewpoints

evolutionary hypothesis (existing structures exist bc they work) social engineering ("triumph of reason") piecemeal social engineering (look at existing contracts) utopian social engineering (mechanism design, game theory)

analyse existing contracts

be humble (may contain concealed wisdom) hence might not be best to simply rewrite contracts but game theory / mechanism design helps to improve

2.5 contract types

care about risk, quality and cost choose appropriate type so interests align

cost-plus

seller invoices direct cost + some profit margin fit if quality important / monitoring difficult, small companies need to control cost, to avoid expected cost overruns with cost ceiling, approval for bought products, ...

fixed price

seller invoices full cost in advance fit for large / diverse operator need to control quality, to avoid expected quality underuns with warranties, define product quality, certification

2.6 contract value

work done

seller is able to produce goods at some cost which is lower than benefit of those to buyer

risk-shifting

shift risk from risk-averse to risk-neutral party like large operator can diversify / take risk better shift risk to party controlling it like seller might has superior information about the product price rises due to the risk shifting, but worth to other party like insurance contracts

3 contractible effort examples

3.1 before/after incentives

"the farmer and the viper" (fable by aesop)

setup

viper is in a ditch, and cold / about to die farmer wants to buy the viper, but does not want to get bitten viper promises to not bite farmer takes viper home and warms it up viper bites farmer, farmer dies

trust game model

farmer/viper payoff

(1) 0/-20 not saving viper; viper dies

or (2) saving viper, then

(a) 5/5 viper does not bite farmer

(b) -20/10 viper bites farmer

hence rational choice of viper to bite

hence rational choice of farmer not to save

save the viper

need to change the game so viper does not bite any more prevent bite by taking tooth out or mouth muzzle

interpretation

at (1) interests align (viper live, farmer save) but at (a or b), conflict of interests hence need to agree at (1) to solution at (2), an agreement is impossible

3.2 conflict of interests

inventor vs VC

inventor / VS payoff (1) 1/1 not revealing idea or (2) revealing, then (a) 6/6 VC cooperates (b) -20/20 VS steals idea hence VC will steal the idea

buyer vs producer

if payment first, buyer risks low-quality product if product first, producer risks missing payment more drastic if tailored product

insurance vs customer

if house burns down, insurance does not want to pay

asymmetric information sale

when selling something other has not full information about need assurances, else transaction likely fails

conclusion

client mistrusts if no warranty given as seller has information superiority seller needs to grant warranty or else sale will no happen hence used common interest ex-ante to agree on terms which resolve different interests afterwards

3.3 value to commitment

warranty clause

seller sells only high quality goods, valuation at 60 buyer values low/high quality at 20/80, but unable to detect quality as buyer values product at 50, no sale happens by including warranty clause (pay 60 if low quality) sale happens, and surplus 20 is created (at buyer or seller)

4 moral hazard

when agents actions are unobservable need to compensate on something different than effort creates incentive issues

4.1 terminology

incentive constraint

if incentive exists to act as expected for example contingency clause motivating high effort

participation constraint

if deal has expected positive payoff for party for example payoff higher than cost of production / risk

first-best

exchange reached if everyone acts in the common interest unreachable in practice (ignores private interests of actors) first-best risk allocation when company takes all the risk is only possible if agent is honest contracts needed be in reality agents use freedom for self advantage

contracts needed be in reality agents use freedom for sen advantag

second-best

as close as possible to first-best but including private incentives hence the realistic contract actually feasible in practice lose some contractual pie to transaction cost, distortion

zero sum game

if no value created (only allocated) game-theory approach, but not always true in contracts be mutually beneficial clauses increase contractual pie

mutually beneficial term

introduce clauses where costs of p_1 < benefit for p_2 because the contractual pie increases hence can compensate other party for loss

4.2 contingency contract

payoff depending on result of project

legal remarks

by law, some contingency may apply automatically "auftragnehmer muss sorgfältig tätig sein" \Rightarrow by law required to deliver up to some quality needs not to be spelled out in legal document legal doctrine applies automatically

4.3 non-contractable effort

if effort not directly measurable contingency clause impossible

4.3.1 when missing

describability (high-effort not known in context) like travelling sales person; boss is not present observability (monitoring might not be possible) like software engineer; boss does not understand work verifiability (effort not provable in court) link employee performance; low effort might not be documented

4.3.2 alternatives

contract on signal

contingency clause on signal of effort like commission, bonus, stock options, hours worked

invest in monitoring

expand contractable contingencies to be observable invest in monitoring, specialized courts / dispute boards like cameras on construction sites, \dots

self-enforcing mechanism

reputation mechanism for repeated observable interaction helps to reduce reliance on verifiability needs observability to be useful like not extending contract if performance bad

4.4 contract on signal

4.4.1 signal types

"perfect signal"

if output deterministically on effort simply use contingency contract on signal

"stochastic signal"

if output influenced by other factors than effort signal is noisy, has some error term like general market health, colleagues in the office, ... if output reasonable influenced by effort then still useful

4.4.2 strategies

step function

payoff as soon as some signal strength reached if noise is known, can compensate all high effort equally like shifting support scheme but if noise not exactly known / error terms then may lead to changed incentives throughout the project if goal become unreachable or is already reached \Rightarrow low effort

linear

payoff scales with signal strength but if noisy, may gives different payoff to same real value

4.5 risk sharing

create value by shifting risk from risk averse to risk neutral party

4.5.1 principle

"who controls the risk should bear risk" like producer controls quality like regional firms controls regional law changes

4.5.2 risk types

risk neutral pays expected value risk averse pays less than expected value risk seeking pays less than expected value

4.5.3 assumptions

risk averse individuals assumption

decreasing marginal utility of money if low income rather than millionaire lifestyle changes more radically with same amount

prospect theory

expected payoff usually not used by individuals prefer lower but secure payoff than larger but insecure (risk-averse) prefer higher but insecure cost than lower but secure (risk-seeking) value own property higher than economic value

special case lottery participant

actively risk-seeking

bc probably only way to earn that much money

4.5.4 risk diversification

helps to reduce risk can take higher risks, but still be risk neutral

example

if owner of buildings & construction company at the same time risk of earthquake close to neutralized

law of large numbers

probability that car crashes unclear, risky but overall number of crashed cars in some area similar

4.5.5 risk taking party

less risk-averse party should take all risks

viewpoint conflicts

from risk-sharing point of view "first-best risk sharing" party which can take higher risks should bear it from incentive point of view "first-best incentives provision" party which controls risks should bear it will lose welfare through transaction cost for example manager more risk averse than employer, but controls risk

4.6 uncertain output

optimal incentive scheme not necessarily increasing in output like fast delivery is good, but do not want recklessness

uncertain signals

could be complex / non-linear use probability density functions for good/bad measurements use likelihood ratio of these curves to determine signal

mathematical foundation

derivation exists on how optimal contract c depends on input/output

if effort contractible, c independent on output if effort not contractible, c dependent on output if likelihood ratio high, then agent should be rewarded if likelihood ratio low, then signal must be higher for same reward

4.7 effort measurement

if effort contractable, then contract directly on it if effort non-contractable, then optimal contract depends on output

principle

relationship between optimal contract & output works through information content of the outcome

valuable information

information must be a signal rather than noise (like slow delivery time could just mean full streets) signal correlated to other contains no value

comparisons to other agents

do relative performance evaluation to neutralize noise like two investors in same market filter out noise

4.8 distortion

measured goals are targeted by actors if known but potential problem if real target is not measured (only proxy) "if measurement becomes a target, it ceases to be a measurement" could try to be intransparent concerning what is actually measured

output factors

relatively undistorted (like measure sales) but very much noise (why is it high / low?)

input factors

very distorted (how to measure effort?) but not much noise (can observe single person)

4.9 shifting support schemes

assume curve known for low/high efforts if supports (=ends) of distributions do not overlap then can punish where only low effort was a possible input no risks for compliant agents like claw back clause (some money not payed out at some signal)

robustness to error

harsh punishments can start as soon as no overlaps anymore but if error in expected curves then could punish good agents like incorrectly estimated market risk linear contracts perform better with errors

4.10 path dependence

effort is chosen not only once information & incentives might change over time like if goal unreachable then step function motives low effort

4.11 monitoring

output monitoring

more prone to error; increasingly when more "downstream" external factors can affect output ("noisy signal") but easy & inexpensive like measuring worked hours, ...

input monitoring

some signals very accurate like "hours worked" but might be expensive/hard to observe (supervisors, monitoring technologies)

like "working hard" is again hard to observe

distortion

monitoring might not be able to catch all it needs to agent will focus only on tested outputs possibly better to not create incentives at all like measure testing ability but not actual skill

reduce monitoring cost (becker)

make audits probabilistic & increase punishments archive same deterrence with same expected cost but limited wealth (simply cannot pay punishment) but proportionality to crime lost (morally wrong) but chilling effect (simply will not do task anymore)

but behavioural (small probabilities difficult to comprehend)

rules vs standards

fixed rules define how agents have to perform easy to enforce but distortion likely, inflexible standards define general ways how to behave by standards committees & other knowledge authorities undistorted & flexible, but vague & difficult to enforce

incentive rent-extraction tradeoff

low commission for distributor results in high profit per sale but likely results in only low effort of distributor vice-versa with high commission

4.12 probabilistic monitoring

monitor probabilistic while increasing punishment keeps same deterrence with lower monitoring cost

conflict of view

breaks with traditional view of punishment proportional to crime in favour of making it more efficient (mechanism design)

assumptions (which are likely wrong)

humans are rational with small probabilities no wealth constraints no monitoring mistakes no "honest" mistakes (need to be able to obs

no "honest" mistakes (need to be able to observe intent)

conclusion

simplifying assumptions make process look rational but recommendation not that great when relaxing them wrong assumptions introduce chilling effect which prevents trade as risk of wrong punishment too great

4.13 limited wealth changes risk behaviour

limited liability / bankruptcy (can only pay what is available) the less wealth, the lower potential downside hence higher willingness to gamble upside bc do not have to pay cost of downside asymmetry in risks and rewards distorts behaviour

willingness to game

if utility does not decrease like take money of company rather than personal reserves

prevent

input monitoring for low-wealth individuals safety monitoring capital requirements for banks mandatory insurance

5 moral hazard examples

5.1 moral hazard

firm (principal) introduces CRM to increase sales consultant (agent) is payed to help introducing it

model

consultant can choose high/low effort for high effort, cost is 100, company benefit 200 for low effort, cost is 10, company benefit 20 high effort joint gain 100, low effort gain 10

fixed fee contract proposals

(1) for fixed fee contract for 150 & low effort chosen then principal loses 130, hence no deal "participation constraint" violated (2) for fixed fee contract for 15 & low effort chosen then principal/agent both earn 5, hence contract entered

(3) contingent contract

payment as function of condition
"if high effort, then 150 payed"
principal/agent both earn 50, hence deal valid
agent agrees to constraint be else no contract

mutually beneficial term

from (2) to (3) cost of agent increased by 100-10=90 but benefit for principal increased by 200-20=180 hence contractual pie increased by 180-90 use surplus money to pay agent

5.2 non-contractable effort

performance of manager depends on effort & market condition

setur

manager spends low/high effort (10 / 100 cost) company benefit for high effort 50% for 400 (success), else 0 company benefit for low effort 5% for 400 (success), else 0 best case output is hence 0.5*400+0.5*0-100=100

fixed salary

company bears all the risks manager has no incentive any more for high effort $\,$

step function

300 bonus in case of success else 0 then manager chooses high effort hence manager expected payoff $0.5{*}300+0.5{*}0$ - 100=50 hence company expected payoff 50 best-case reached (as 100 is best-case joint surplus) (depending on bargaining power, company or manager earns more) like bonus depending on reached goals

sell shop

manager buys company for 50 then manager chooses high effort both again get expected payoff of 50 like management buyout

risk sharing

for step function; both bear risk for sell shop; agent bears all risk

risk averse manager

step function compensation valued at 30 (-20) sell shop compensation valued at 20 (-30) step function preferred by manager but joint surplus only at 80 (-20)

5.3 risk sharing

cell phone insurance by apple

able to diversify risks & enough money but user controls risks if cell phone is destroyed ⇒ insuring increases risk of damage ("moral hazard")

landlord / tenant agreements

risk neutral rich landlord values risk of loosing 100k close to expected cost risk averse low income tenant values it much higher bc of resulting lifestyle impact

insurance

risk neutral insurance
deductible (some low amount beared by the insured)
limits (max amount payed out)
co-insurance (some percentage beared by the insured)
exclusions (exclude some damages, reductions for recklessness)

mortgage crisis

combine mortgage claims in packets (risk diversification) distribute to many agents (low price \rightarrow risk neutral agents) mortgage granted if background check passed for applicants and if vehicle score > 620, then selling mortgage in the bonds possible observed more defaults > 620, bc banks skipped background checks as risk sold out, no incentive to evaluate risk (moral hazard) resolve by "skin in the game" \rightarrow banks need to keep some part many institutions bought these bonds bc AAA ratings & high interests

5.4 production / distribution risk sharing

distributor D earns 11% + expenses, rest for producer P

D high effort

through payment structure, D only incentive to cover own cost introduce monitoring through P (meaningful consulting, ...) include non-discriminatory clauses to movies produced by D (expected to be non-distorted, bc interests align)

P high efforts

P has requirements to involve key persons, minimum budget P also has exclusivity clause (no different distributions)

no-cross-collateralisation

(movies are accounted separately) prevents D taking unnecessary risks after successful movie prevents P to stop investing into films after bad movie

no sell-the-shop

pricing unclear, effort unobservable

5.5 uncertain output

truck driver delivery speed fast & intact delivery suggests good job but too fast delivery suggests reckless driving

probability density function

deliver speed curve c_{good} of good driver more to right deliver speed curve c_{bad} of bad driver more to left calculate likelihood ratio c_{good} / c_{bad} as probability density gets higher, more likely good driver

include reckless driving

curve of bad driver increases for very fast speeds again hence likelihood ratio decreases again at the end

5.6 path dependency

bridge construction

bridge designed for 5 year construction in the final phase cable & damper technology installed base payment & big bonus if some quality reached but potentially during the project goal reached or unreachable hence low/high effort incentive change

5.7 monitoring

sales company

unclear if contingency should be placed in sales or on monitoring results sales could be too noisy or monitoring too expensive

southwest airlines

employees with large profit sharing for employees efforts of single employee has no real effect (signal is noisy)

wristband amazon

allows to calculate how effective employees perform

teacher bonus

paying teachers based on PISA test results teachers will shift priorities to actually tested skills might leaves out social skills, critical thinking, ... might motivate to cheat

football

get bonus with each goal players argue over who shoots, rather than the best does

sears

commission based on repairs unnecessary repairs / disgruntled customers

salefites

commission for each windshield installed but if its broken, then had to fix for free worked well

manager pay based on accounting

managers might reduce R&D for short term benefit use stock options, claw clauses, long-term payout to combat

agency marketing

could contract to spend fixed amount on marketing specific product but distortion possible, potentially nonsense amount likely better to agree on "best effort" standard of industry

distributor

with commission-based sales difficult to balance commission with directly sold goods, distributor needs enough money to do so could add reputation / repetition system

5.8 probabilistic monitoring

rent car

forgot to pay for the gas at gas station able to pay later + potentially a fine with probabilistic monitoring, high fine / jail time required

5.9 limited wealth problem

manager bonus

manager gets bonus of 10% of companies benefit investment 1 has 50% that payoff 100, else 0

company expected = 50, manager expected = 5 investment 2 has 50% that payoff 100, else -200 company expected = -50, manager expected = 5

6 legal regimes

how background rules affect contract design courts may not enforce contract as written

6.1 tasks of contract designer

economic problem (mechanism to minimize transaction cost) legal problem (get court to enforce mechanism as intended)

6.2 consideration

to form contract consent is enough in civil law else need "consideration" (own behaviour somehow restricted) contracts without exchange potentially not enforceable could ask for small monetary amount or "good faith" but courts could also imply good faith without it being stated

6.3 contract enforcement

formation

no contract exists

requirement as specified in contract unmet (like physical signature) like amount > 500, duration > 1y need written contract (USA) like sale of land without notary (CH) like only promise exists (bc promise != contract)

defenses

contract not enforceable like misrepresentation, unconscionability like public policy

interpretation

contract means something else most legal problems happen in this area like price unreasonable for informed parties

excuses

excuses
non-performance is excused
impracticability / frustration of purpose
like rented concert avenue burning down & owner not responsible
then can not sue him for lost money

remedies

desired remedy (payoff) not available under-compensatory damages (for example for immaterial damages) like immaterial harm (band misses performance, privacy violations)

6.4 remedies

punitive

additional to compensation get punishment like additional money or material payout less common in civil law

compensatory

specific (breaching party forced to perform) substitutional (other remedy payed out)

substitutional remedy amount

expectation (as much as performance would have resulted in) calculate like promised value - received value reliance (restore pre-contract state) calculate like value before - value now + damages incurred restitution (reverse all exchanges; damages are not reimbursed) litigated damages (contract predetermined amount payed) default is expectation damages

litigated damage clauses

only enforced if not considered excessive, else "penalty clause" but what may seems excessive ex post might be reasonable ex ante convince court and/or declare explicitly in contract

6.5 courts

may not always enforce contracts such as it is written will try to interpret contract to intended meaning

invalid clauses

when unconscionable or against public policy if appearing unfair (but might only be the case ex post!)

constructive conditions

when conditions obviously depend on each other does not always has to be specified explicitly like when customer does not pay in sell contract then do not have to deliver good

understanding the deal structure (ex-ante incentives) helps to make arguments & counterarguments in litigation

legal regimes examples

substitutional remedy

serious injury on hand results in work defects doctor persuades patient for experimental hand surgery doctor promises 100% restoration of hand function but surgery went terribly wrong

values always pre-op, post-op and promised value of hand 5000/2500/10000 cost of operation 0/1000/1000pain from surgery 0/1500/1500assuming doctors experience benefit worth 2000

substitutional remedy amounts

expectation damages 10000 - 2500 = 7500reliance damages 5000 - 2500 + 1000 + 1500 = 5000restitution damages 1000 + 2000

7.2 hard to enforce

source of information is hard to determine hard to enforce liquidated damages ex-post hard to show actually incurred damages

7.3 ex-ante remedies to enable contract

inventor wants to work with VC for more success but risky bc VC could disclose idea

if inventor does not disclose idea to VC (1/1)else inventor discloses to VC

(1) if VC performs, then (6/6)

(2) or VC does not perform (-20/20)

not performing two possible outcomes

(2a) if VC simply does not perform (50% chance) (0/20)

(2b) else VC additionally discloses idea (50% chance) (-40/20) no deal bc VC will choose not to perform

contract + expectation damages

if VC simply does not perform (50% chance) (6/14)

else VC additionally discloses idea (50% chance) (6/-26)

hence VC does not perform payoff (6/-6)

deal bc VC will choose to perform

assume (2a) and (2b) not distinguishable / (2b) not quantifiable

if VC simply does not perform (50% chance) (6/14)

else VC additionally discloses idea (50% chance) (-34/14)

hence VC does not perform payoff (-14/14)

no deal bc VC will choose not to perform

assume liquidated damages of 16 or higher

court only needs to observe breach (not quantify damage) if VC simply does not perform (50% chance) (16/-4) else VC additionally discloses idea (50% chance) (-24/4) hence VC does not perform payoff (-4/4) deal bc VC will choose to perform

assume liquidated damages considered excessive

then in case (2a) only remedy of 6, hence only (6, 12) hence VC does not perform payoff (-9/9) no deal bc VC will choose not to perform

7.4 plain language vs intended meaning

beanstalk (marketing) vs AM general (hummer cars)

beanstalk markets brand gets 35% of all deals including hummer

conflict

AM general sells brand to GM motors but does not want to pay 35%

what was the mutual intent of parties at time of written contract plain language (as it was written) or would that be absurd?

plain language needs to be interpreted as how reasonable parties would have agreed to deal beanstalk is in the trademark business and hence gets commission for sales, merch, ... but not entitled to commission for sale of whole company as hardly intended in clause, as not contributed to it

counter arguments

parties did not want to clear up all cases to prevent conflicts & sign fast but possibly were aware of this potential outcome

asymmetric information

in contrast to complete information yielding efficient outcome with asymmetric information only second-best possible happens when one party knows something the other does not

8.1 phenomena

(low value) seller gets information rent or high value goods are not traded in continuous quality case, both happen at same time

allocative efficiency (good goes to party valuing it highest) extracting information rent (overpaying for good)

choosing a price

if low price, then information rent but no allocative efficiency (high quality units not sold) if high price, then allocative efficiency but information rent (low quality sold for price of high) if intermediate price both at the same time

8.2 unravelling of the market

seller can observe quality, buyer can not continuous value range $buyer\ value = seller\ value + 10$

with complete information, all goods are sold as each good is worth more to buyer than to seller

average value to seller is 50, hence average value to buyer is 60 any seller value lower than 50 will sell 50% chance of trade, average buyer value is $25 + 10 \rightarrow payoff = -7.5$ allocative inefficiency (because only 50% trade) information rent payed for (many goods value lower than 50 sold)

offer 25

same problem as offer 50 25% chance of trade, average buyer value is 12.5 + 10 \rightarrow payoff = -0.625

offer 5 (chosen by buyer)

5% chance of trade, average buyer value is $2.5 + 10 \rightarrow \text{payoff} = 0.375$

8.3 eliminating information asymmetry

costly, sometimes impossible

payoff when selling low value goods (information rent) but high quality trades will not be possible anymore

third party verification

have expert / rating systems examine good but costly & risk of collusion

require disclosure

presumes information is verifiable at some point background legal rules which enable credible communication (misrepresentation / fraud laws)

8.4 screening

when uninformed party creates contract customers will all behave the same ("pooling utility") but want to charge different prices ("differential utility")

pooling equilibrium

customers all take same contract but contractual pie smaller than it has to be due to allocative inefficiency (not all goods bought) or information rent payed (too high a price)

separating equilibrium

customers take different contracts use differently appealing aspects to sell customer types based on differential utility, design multiple types of contracts maximizes joint surplus (both low / high quality goods sold) like support service to frequent users like excessive working hours for high quality employees

8.5 signalling

when informed party creates contract good types might accept inefficient terms to signal high type like to sell warranty as a premium product seller

offer generous warranty

but creates moral hazard

expensive, but even more for low quality distortion at the top (as behaviour of top producers changes) no distortion at the bottom (low quality producers will never offer warranty)

invest in brand

costly commit to high quality (marketing, actually produce high quality) generate high brand value at customers then very costly to defect, as brand value is lost instantly

then very costly to defect, as brand value is lost instantly for unknown brand less a problem (as not much to lose anyway)

education & signalling

education more costly for low-types, hence signal for high-type hence invest in education independently if employee benefits same reasoning for low-salary internship which high-type accepts as reasonable probability afterwards for job offer in contrast to low-type which will be detected

8.6 distortion

behaviour changes suboptimally based on contract setup

with asymmetric information

can no longer fully trade in all cases (first-best unreachable) design distortion to include private incentives to make the contractual pie as large as possible might be necessary to reach optimal second-best contract

bottom vs top

top distortion when high quality goods do not trade like excessive education only to signal value bottom distortion when low quality goods do not trade like chip producer corrupting cheap chips

8.7 contract negotiation

good contractual solutions might exist but difficult to negotiate

inefficient terms

inefficiency is accepted because else negative signal might be sent like prenuptial agreement, tenant contract

default terms

when contractual incompleteness likely create default terms to replace negotiations $\,$

9 asymmetric information examples

9.1 asymmetric information

9.1.1 overlapping prices for high/low quality car

low /high quality undetectable for buyer buyer simply assumes with 50% probability if high/low quality

setup

high quality car_1 (buyer value 100, seller value 50) low quality car_2 (buyer value 50, seller value 20)

first-best

 $\begin{array}{l} \text{sell } car_1 \text{ for } 50 < \text{price} < 100 \\ \text{sell } car_2 \text{ for } 20 < \text{price} < 50 \\ \text{bargaining power determines exact price} \\ \text{all } \text{cars are sold} \end{array}$

price 20

payoff buyer 15, payoff seller 0 only low quality cars traded; 50% no trade happens

price 50

payoff buyer 25, payoff seller 30 seller of low quality car archives "information rent" of 30

9.1.2 non-overlapping prices for high/low quality car

low /high quality undetectable for buyer buyer simply assumes with 50% probability if high/low quality

setur

high quality car_1 (buyer value 100, seller value 70) low quality car_2 (buyer value 50, seller value 20)

price 20

payoff buyer 15, payoff seller 0 only low Q cars traded; 50% no trade happens

price 70

payoff buyer 5, payoff seller 25 seller of low quality car archives "information rent" of 50

9.2 unravelling markets

insurance

for high risk people (conditions, dangerous lifestyle) very valuable if single price set, unattractive to low risk people but then prices for remaining high risk people go up moral hazard problem (cost of dangerous activities sink) adverse selection problem (high risk behaves differently as low risk) \Rightarrow mandate insurance

borrower rates

good borrowers will reject bad rates banks left only with bad borrowers

9.3 screening

selling software

frequent users to which program is essential infrequent users to which program is nonessential frequent will disguise as infrequent if high price, then infrequent will leave if low price, then frequent will gain information rent

after sales service

service more valuable to frequent users than to infrequent offer high price & after sell service \rightarrow frequent have to choose this offer low price & no after sell service \rightarrow infrequent will choose this but distortion that infrequent users do not get service anymore even though it might still be efficient to provide

hire for indifferent employees

want to hire employees but can not differentiate ability if high wage, then low quality get too much information rent if low + high wage, then low quality will pretend to be high assume high types work more efficiently than low type offer high wage + excessive hours, low wage + normal hours low types pick normal hours (as rest is not doable) high types pick excessive hours (to get good wage)

other screening examples

phone company tries to sell expensive abo airline makes first class nicer, second class worse chip producer sabotages chip to sell functioning version for higher price

9.4 signalling

excessive education

as low-types much harder to finish invest in education even if non-beneficial to employer as it signals high-type person

waiving access to bankruptcy

costly for anyone, but much more to low-type company

hence good signal; without it loans might not be granted but in many cases law prevents waiving access

9.5 distortion

prenuptial agreement

both spouses have considerable assets in case of divorce, lawyers could be costly hence create contract to avoid dispute but suggesting the contract raises doubts

tenant contracts

include clauses that are invalid but if spoken about, then contract will not happen

9.6 "cover all your bases"

the more the contract covers the easier to handle in court includes already enforced legal doctrines / implicit claims like copyright, implicit trust assumptions

representation

assert something to be true in the moment to enforce, have to show it was untrue in the moment useful if sometimes fact unknown; allocates risk to claimer

warranties

give concrete warranty to outcome or effort easier enforceable in front of court

indemnify (=reimburse)

"should anything I say be untrue, I will indemnify" spell out misrepresentation law claimer will pay for damages caused by misrepresentation

10 elicitation mechanisms

how to get private values ("elicit") of other party

10.1 asset specific investment

asset which is more valuable in specific relationship than else hence not protected by the market, lower resell value like non-adaptability to other purposes / customers with high specificity, need long-term commitment for other party

10.2 buy-sell agreements

work well with equal partner (similar ownerships / financial capabilities) protect parties in case can no longer do business together

put-call provision (texas shootout)

one party proposes price p other must buy all shares or sell its own for price p in general works to buy/sell at reasonable price if A offers p, then B payoff is $abs(v_b - p)$ if A knows private value v_b , can choose unfair offering price p

unequal partners

some value might be relationship specific more valuable party can threaten to leave

10.3 auctions

take advantage of buyer's private value flat price either too high or too low

auction process

sealed bid when placing without other knowing value public auction when others learn value

${\bf revenue} \ {\bf equivalence} \ {\bf theorem}$

if bidders are risk-neutral & values independently drawn then all auctions lead to same expected revenue for seller & are efficient (person with highest value gets item) assumes "independent" value (own valuation does not depend on other's)

model

item worth some value to me others have independent, uniform distributed value 0-100

first price auction

highest bidding buys for price of highest bid bid value - value/n might lose bid, or might make profit = value/n

second price auction

highest bidding buys for price of second bid bid honestly not higher (bc maximum price want to pay) not lower (bc do want item)

split the difference scheme

highest bidding buys for price between highest/second bid bid value - value/2n

all-pay auction

all bidders pay, highest bidding gets item bid $value^N$ - $value^N/N$

common values

if value of items depends on what others value is then winners curse (winner more optimistic than all others) like IPO (bc want to sell stock later like others) like collection items (bc want to resell) like diamond sights (box full of diamonds, very short time)

defend against winners curse

take into account what others bid reevaluate / self-reflect in case own bid highest choose different mechanism (like second price auction)

collusion

likely if few participants in auction (2-4) prevent designing contract only few parties can actually take

10.4 impossibility theorem (myerson-sattlerwhaite)

if one party owns good, the other wants to buy but uncertainty about gains from trade there is not efficient way to trade

human element

in models, would never reveal true values but in real work, human element outperforms game theory parties engage in cheap talk parties reveal their values, coordinate on price face-to-face communication improves behaviour (compared to written)

11 elicitation mechanisms examples

11.1 goethe

wanted to know own value unclear bc no copyright, sales unknown, \dots

game

sends minimal price p_1 to attorney attorney receives price of publisher p_2 if $p_1 < p_2$ then no trade else trade for price p_1 and learn about p_2

publisher view

will bid private valuation as no information about goethes p_1 might understate if interested in long-term relationship

goethes view

wants to learn own market value hence better than take-it-or-leave-it offer but goethe might renegotiate with learned value

what happened

attorney told publisher what minimal price was goethe could sell, but did not learn own price resulted in big profits for publisher

later auction

received much more of the share as not all publishers colluded

12 relationship specific investments

12.1 existing vs redesigning mechanisms

redesign with rationality (auguste conte)

reteigh with rationality (auguste conte) create better society by redesigning it ("social engineering) rationally improve over naturally evolved society approach of "mechanism design" assumptions about human rationality / behaviour lead to mathematically reasoned mechanism to archive first-best / second-best

accept state of the art (edmund burke)

old institution performed reasonably well in the past hence constructing everything from scratch is dangerous underlying assumption that evolution evolves into something efficient (which is not necessarily true)

hidden wisdom (friedrich august von hayek)

presumption of hidden wisdom of institutions "fatal conceit" (einbildung) one could redesign all

piecemeal social engineering (karl popper)

iterative process; gradually improving upon state of the art small, evidence based changes archive progress without redesigning all

12.2 contract completeness

complete

condition on every possible state (if contractable) only moral hazard / adverse selection risk remains

incomplete

might not include all contractable possible states might renegotiate later if enforcement inefficient be bounded rationality (cannot predict all possible states) be transactional costs (creating contract too expensive) be non-verifiability (non-verifiable input/output) be institutional comparison (use existing as a guideline)

12.3 hold up

if non-contractable relationship-specific investment has to be made but proceeds of this have to be shared with other party like renegotiation due to changed circumstances after investment sunk introduces underinvestment (trying to reduce relationship specificness)

12.3.1 reasons

trade after production

parties (re)negotiate trade after production at point in time where investment already sunk

relationship-specific investment

investment worth more inside relationship than outside like investment specific / customized to customer like specific skills, machines, software, processes

12.3.2 prevent holdup

less sequential contracts

combine exchange / production; for example with milestone contracts like in construction contracts

write contract before "fundamental transformation"

before relationship-specific investment happens leads to first-best if investment is indeed contractable

avoid renegotiation (sign complete contract)

avoid having to negotiate after some investment sunk but very hard / impossible to write complete contract

long-term contract

enter long-term contract with other party allow investing party to prolong contract by itself

12.3.3 prevent holdup examples

improve BATNA of investing party or reduce BATNA for not investing party

${\bf fixed\ price} + {\bf specific\ performance}$

investing party is guaranteed performance but ex-post inefficient (goods produced even if inefficient) but overinvestment (as can always sell goods)

${\bf fixed\ price+expectation\ damages}$

investing party will be payed out expectation performance only produce iff price - cost > expectation damage for expectation damage = value - price hence contract breached if value < cost (which is good!) hence ex-post efficient (goods produced only if production worth) but overinvestment (goods with price - cost < expectation damages)

12.3.4 improve contract

design threat point

for investing (hence weaker) party as a BATNA / outside option like acquiring ownership of underperforming party's tool

like deciding whether to continue contract like option to increase/decrease default quantity sold like exclusivity (preventing to trade with others)

reduce sequential structure

introduce milestones with deliverables on both sides reduces one-shot character

assign bargaining power

to investing party (hence weaker) party then efficient investment (socially optimal) will occur unclear if realistic (bc of incomplete contracts/renegotiation) like take-it-or-leave-it offer, smart contracts

12.4 renegotiation

solves ex-post inefficient trade bargaining occurs with thread point in mind

coarse theorem

besides renegotiation cost, efficient allocation occurs unless personal conflicts, time pressure, strategic games

for continuous trade decisions

balance threats of max sales vs no sales by contracting in between then renegotiating with more infos

12.5 vertical integration

as way to redesign outside option / BATNA

coarse

if market good, why do firms exist \Rightarrow market needs transaction cost to trade if firms good, why not all done by same firm \Rightarrow too big firms inefficient

williamson

avoid holdup with vertical integration firms should produce specialized goods internally firms should buy standard products on the market

grossman & hart

vertical integration allows to redesign threat points (hence can easily walk away from bad negotiations) but does not solve unobservability problems

${\bf 12.6} \quad {\bf legal \ solutions}$

complete contracts avoid having to renegotiate but renegotiation offers flexibility to avoid inefficiencies

economic duress doctrine

limits that parties can exploit each other through renegotiation if nothing changed since agreeing to first contract then modifications after renegotiation can be reversed else likely that one party used unfair leverage to over-compensate damages for breaking contract might not be enough be other party unable to pay, damages non-materialistic, ...

12.7 technical solution

must be robust to error

doomsday machine

prevent attack by threatening massive retaliation not ex-post efficient (hence not negotiation proof) for threat to be credible need to build doomsday machine which excludes human intervention (and enemy knows about it)

smart-contract

might allow to exclude renegotiation might allow to assign bargaining power anonymity critical otherwise legal system could revert effects

13 relationship specific investments examples

13.1 example incomplete contract

fisher body (FB) supplies general motors (GM) FB build new factory next to GM has joint surplus 100

pro vs con

pro bc lower cost, integrate better with GM cont bc GM may capture part of surplus

no contract

with equal bargaining power, payoff 50 with cost 40, will build it (and should!) with cost 80, will not build it (but should!) hence underinvestment could occur

fisher negotiation power after plant built

threaten to withhold does not work be investment already sunk threaten to sell does not work be investment worth more inside relationship than outside

contract

predetermine price or exclusive rights but depending on market, price/quantities need to change

13.2 relationship-specific investment

fishing company

fishing company hires worker for short fishing season then processes the fish in plant with large investment shortly before fishing season, workers could renegotiate company has no choice but to increase salary, else loses investment

13.3 ex-post inefficient trade

wood table production

agree on wood table production with specific wood but wood not deliverable anymore cost for wood higher than benefit to buyer with renegotiation, both parties can benefit

13.4 assigned bargaining power

model

buyer could investment to increase value to seller seller cost is unknown until buyer made investment buyer investment can be 0/2/5.5, resulting in gains of 4/10/14 seller cost is 50% 1 else 12 for investment 0, benefit for low cost 3 else -8 for investment 2, benefit for low cost 9 else -2 for investment 5.5, benefit for low cost 13 else 2 socially optimal is investment 2 with expected benefit 2.5 but trade (ex-post) only occurs if cost lower than price

no contract (ex-post efficiency)

assume buyer has 30% bargaining power then buyers optimal investment is 0 (underinvestment) as 0.5*0.3*3 (archived price) - 0 (investment) = 0.45 assume buyer has 100% bargaining power then buyers optimal investment is 2 (socially optimal) as 0.5*(10-1) (gain - cost) - 2 (investment) = 2.5

fixed price + specific performance

assume price must be 2 (seller only produces for low cost) then buyers optimal investment is 5.5 (overinvestment) as (14-5.5) (gain - investment) - 2 (price) = 6.5

fixed price + expectation damages

assume buyer must be put in as good position as if contract performed then buyers optimal investment is 5.5 (overinvestment) as (14-5.5) (gain - investment) - p (price) = 8.5 - p

actual resolution

exclusivity & cost-plus contract but FB overstaffed to increase costs GM bought FB in the end

14 relational contracting

when able to rely on relationship & reputation in absence of formal contract

14.1 repeated cooperation

preconditions

gains from future cooperations sufficiently high people care about the future (discount rate sufficiently high) no definite end to cooperation

discount rate

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm rate} < 1 \ {\rm which} \ {\rm future} \ {\rm events} \ {\rm are} \ {\rm less} \ {\rm worth} \\ {\rm bc} \ {\rm uncertain} \ {\rm about} \ {\rm future}, \ {\rm today} \ {\rm preferred} \ {\rm to} \ {\rm tomorrow} \\ {\rm payoff} = payoff_{today} + {\rm rate} * {\rm payoff_tomorrow} + rate^2 * \\ \end{array}$

payoff_after_tomorrow ...
payoff = 1/(1-rate)
for rate 0, only today relevant

grim-trigger strategy

cooperate unless other player defects as soon as other defected, defection for ever cooperation happens for rate ≥ 0.5

tit-for-tat

mirror last action of other player if other cooperates, then cooperate if other defects, then defect

predefined end of cooperation

no cooperation in last period

but other player anticipates, hence no cooperation either unravelling (hence no cooperation at all) in practice incomplete (fail to foresee, late defection preferred) reputation & contracts as substitutes like retirement

probable end of cooperation

some future event with probability p will terminate cooperation payoff = $payoff_{today}$ + rate * (1 - p) * payoff_tomorrow + ... payoff = 1/(1-rate)(1-p)

spike of payoffs

some future event payoffs for defection will spike cooperation unsustainable

increasing payoffs in the future

in future event payoffs will increase gradually cooperation more sustainable

15 relational contracting examples

15.1 cooperation

price wars amongst gas station in vancouver after demand shock (likely some player defects) price goes up/down & is more or less chaotic then after some months, again cooperation on some high price collusion can not be contracted, hence had to relay on cooperation

15.2 reputation

diamond exchange in new york by orthodox jews much trust amongst diamond merchants defection increases reputation cost

15.3 business relationship

business partner & self both may choose to cooperate & defect

payoffs

both cooperate (1,1) both defect (0,0) one cooperates, one defects (2, -1)

one-shot

same as prisoners dilemma both will defect, anticipating defect of other party

repeated

if discount rate sufficiently high then cooperation chosen

15.4 predefined end (centipede game)

parties can choose whether to give other party some amount or not if money received, get additional reward from bank game stops if both parties have 100 received but predefined end, hence unravelling expected

in practice

5% end at the end (both get 100) 5% do not event start (as parties predict defect) rest ends up in the middle

reasons

players do not foresee 100 steps players want to delay defection

16 externalities

parties enter contract which sets them better but may hurt third parties / social welfare government imposes regulation to prevent inefficient outcome

16.1 exclusivity contract

agree on price p with firm to be dealt with agree on damages d on deals with other firm

problems

while increasing joint payoff of involved parties decreases societal welfare as market entered late by competition only after efficiency gain bigger than damages

benefit

prevent free-riding like advertisement benefiting whole industry mitigate hold-up problem like stronger partner abuses other align incentives like partner can focus on other improve certainty like knowing supply for next years

17 externalities examples

17.1 exclusive dealing

buyer can buy from incumbent (existing) or entrant firm buyer accepts exclusive dealing contract with incumbent contract specifies price p and damages d (if dealing with entrant)

model

cost of incumbent 50 and entrant c = uniform(0,100) buyers value of good 100

order

buyer accepts contract with incumbent (price, damages) entrants cost is determined (between 0 - 100) entrant decides whether or not to enter market production and trade take place

social welfare

if entrant cost <50 then entrant produces else incumbent produces

no contract

if entrant cost lower, then prices lower than incumbent else entrant stays out of market (bc incumbent undercut) but then incumbent monopoly, could charge 100 buyer welfare 25=0.5*50 (if entrant sells) +0.5*0 (if incumbent sells) incumbent profit 25=0.5*(100-50) (sell at price 100, cost 50) entrant profit 12.5=0.5*(50-25) (average cost 25) social welfare 62.25=25+25+12.5

exclusive dealing for p = 75 and d = 100

buyer welfare =25 (always buys for 75) incumbent profit =25 (always sells for 75) but entrant profit =0 (no sale) social welfare 50=25+25+0 buyer indifferent bc same payoff than before

exclusive dealing for p = 75 and d = 50

buyer welfare = 25 (always buys from 75, either from incumbent/entrant) incumbent profit 31.25=0.75*(75-50)+0.25*50 (damages) entrant profit 3.125=0.25*(25-12.5) social welfare 59.375 buyer / incumbent accept as higher payoff

17.2 tort victims

two victims with claim of 300, lawyer costs 400 together would sue firm and get full 600 but single victim accepts settlement 100.1 (> (600-400)/2) then other victim unable to sue anymore (400-300<0)

17.3 selling your business

worth of 50, two buyers with 90 / 100 valuation bargaining power is equal

order

negotiate first with $buyer_1$

then with $buyer_2$

no contract

agree with $buyer_1$ to price of 70 (90-50 / 2) then agree with $buyer_2$ to price of 85 (100-70 / 2) payoff seller 35, $buyer_1$ 0, $buyer_2$ 15

breakup fee

agree with $buyer_1$ to price of 85, breakup fee 10 then agree with $buyer_2$ to price of 97.5 (100-95 / 2) payoff seller 37.5, $buyer_1$ 10, $buyer_2$ 2.5

18 observable but not verifiable

informational environment where performance observable but not verifiable (hence proofable in court)

18.1 discretion clauses

assigns strong power to one of the party like to terminate contract whenever see fit but invites opportunism of such party

reputation

abusing clause will prevent further exchanges works if reputation of accessible & important of stronger party like mc-donalds reputation under franchises but franchise reputation irrelevant (can just switch provider)

18.2 up and out

company policy that after some time promoted or let go to fulfil commitment to promote hard working employees removes any temptation not to promote

18.3 giving bonus to winner of tournament

verifiable for all that some winner have been chosen removes temptation not giving bonus will give bonus to best employees as no other incentive

18.4 shoot the liar

transform what is observable to verifiable ask observers separately to report on what has happened reward if reports match, punish otherwise hence if no no way to coordinate beforehand then will report the truth as highest probability reports match

19 observable but not verifiable examples

19.1 not verifiable

employee performance group member performance

19.2 franchise business

charge fee for concept & get marketing, design, procedures owner of restaurant has to invest into building includes clause to terminate freely without cause (discretion)

reasons for clause

free-riding (save money but reputation cost payed by brand)

advantage

can use discretion to terminate underperforming franchise might be hard to prove underperformance in front of court

disadvantage

could abuse discretion to terminate well-performing franchise to take over restaurant and operate it self for franchise discretion clause like having no contract hence franchise will underinvest

20 behavioural

contract are way to give commitment to reach first-best need to align incentives but might need additional behaviours

20.1 shading

perfunctionary performance (follows contract to the letter) has to be delivered, enforced by court in any case consummate performance (follows contract to the spirit) followed by parties if their interest ("sharding") avoid shading by including more specific conditions in contract but too fix contract may deliver inefficient outcome

20.2 promises

use promises to get commitment where central enforcement costly / impossible

relying vs expectation

"expectation" when only set internally "relying" when basing decisions / investments off it

why promises are kept

third party enforcement like begin forced to perform or having to pay damages reputational concerns

like value of future relationship is lost

moral force

like value system motivates to keep promises

observed moral effects

expectation per-se effect

want to deliver expectation (irrespective of promise)

promising per-se effect

want to keep promise (irrespective of expectation) interaction effect

if promise given even higher effort to fulfil expectation

overreliance

to guilt-trip others into performance introducing legal enforcement makes investments more stable less underinvestment (as enforcement exists) less overinvestment (as guilt-trip can disappear)

punishment by third party

if third-party observes interactions will likely punish promisor increasingly so if promise given, expectation high

irrationality

need to be able to understand / predict other party but rationality assumption might not be suited might results in additional negotiation power like vietnam/kissenger, fighting witches

20.3 implications for contract design

include difficult to enforce clauses (unverifiable, ...) encourage explicit promise making (oaths, ...) explicitly invite expectations (advertisement, ...) make expectations visible (link expectations / promises)

undesirable effects

even efficient breach is avoided might circumvents public policy/unconscionability defenses parties feel compelled to fulfil invalid clauses

20.4 realistic goals

might be desirable to set realistic goals lower performance observable with too high / low threshold spillover from aspirational goals to realistic goals observable low variance from low threshold it matters if people are in win / loss frame impacts constitutional design, international agreements

20.5 legal theory

expectations / reliance relevant for legal enforcement legal enforcement solves over and underinvestments

20.6 questions

50% do not follow moral objectives when unpunished \Rightarrow how to generalize

21 behavioural examples

21.1 trust / guilt

kindergarden example

parents had to pay fine being late but now can pay-out of moral obligation parents came even more often late

50% suspectible to guilt

in study could choose to keep / break promise no reciprocity / reputation effects 50% broke promise for monetary benefits 25% traded off money against morality 25% did keep integrity not matter cost might be dependent on social circles / cultural effects

21.2 irrationality

scorpion and the turtle

scorpion asks turtle to transfer over shore but scorpion stings turtle in the middle of the river turtle asks "why", scorpion responds "bc its in my nature"

kissenger

pretended in negotiations US president is crazy and would drop nuclear bomb on vietnam if unable to return with concessions

bar fight

would be likely to get caught after violent dispute but if actor irrational might not risk an encounter puts actor in better state

goya's fighting witches

witches are fighting over who is the bigger witch can get witches together if shared interest but will never have trust / friendship (because evil)

21.3 source of commitment

third-party observation

third party observes interaction between promisor/promisee higher/lower reliance investments, choose keep/break promise third party can then decide to pay to punish promisor punishment higher when promise was given and when reliance investments were higher

delegation with low-powered incentives

like manager of company with flat salary then might feel obligated by own ethics to keep promise hence contracts with such delegates could be much simpler as you would not expect this party to defect observed in civil service, family owned enterprises but then need to solve moral hazard problem differently

21.4 trust game (charness)

like farmer (trustor) vs viper (trustee) truster puts itself at mercy of other

mode

trustor can opt out (3/3) else can trust if trust honoured (10/10), else (14, 0) \Rightarrow nash solution would be expected

observation

25% cooperation in simple case 50% cooperation with enabling communication

interpretation

communication enabled cooperation even if only cheap talk (non-enforceable) reputation impact zero as one-shot game

21.5 promises study

keep word to not disappoint promisees expectation

set expectation game

seller/buyer learn deliver has to be over device promise made that deliver will be made then both learn if delivery with high/low probability possible then seller can decide whether to deliver the goods

observations

21.6 loss frame

bridge

goal of suspension was unreachable needed to pay damages depending on goal miss

factory workers

some workers got payment + deductions others got base payment + bonus loss frame vs win frame workers of loss frame performed better

contract variants

vanilla (payed by element)
threshold with bonus / malus (target given)
best performing if threshold realistic
worse than vanilla if threshold aspirational (unrealistic)
low variance with low threshold (nice for safety / coordination)

realistic vs aspirational goals

if some goals unreachable then spillover effect to other goals observable like UNO climate commits to 2 $^{\circ}$, while 1.5 $^{\circ}$ would be great like sustainable development goals too ambitious