

Chapter 35: Externalities

What not to read

- 35.1: Shows how you can model externalities using the Edgeworth box. Interesting but optional
- 35.2: Not necessary

Today's plan

- Externalities
 - Definition and concept
 - An example
 - Internalizing the externality
 - The Coase theorem
 - The Tragedy of the Commons

Externality

- Definition:
 - A cost or benefit generated by an agent that does not enter the agent's utility/production function.
 - Wikipedia: an **externality** is the cost or benefit that affects a party who did not choose to incur that cost or benefit.
 - Varian: one agent cares directly about another agent's production or consumption.
 - Perloff: an agent's outcome is directly affected by the actions of other agents rather than indirectly through changes in prices.

Externalities

- Crucially, an externality impacts somebody who is not a participant in the activity that produces the external cost or benefit.
- Example: haze
 - Produced by a farmer who gains utility from the activity of plantation/forest burning
 - Enters the utility function of an adjacent bystander who is a not participant to the burning
- An externally-imposed benefit is a positive externality.
- An externally-imposed cost is a negative externality.

Examples of Negative Externalities

- Pollution
 - Air
 - Local: cigarette smoke, haze, vehicle exhaust fumes
 - Global: carbon dioxide, sulfur dioxide
 - Water
 - Local: sewage, chemical
 - Global: thermal
 - Noise
 - Local: aircrafts, trains, trucks, rowdy neighbors
- Congestion
 - Traffic (road vehicles, aircraft)
 - Human (Hong Kong, Singapore, Mecca)

Examples of Positive Externalities

- Positive Production Externalities
 - Beekeepers and fruit/nut plantations
 - First-aid classes for industrial employees
- Positive Consumption Externalities
 - Vaccines
 - Products with network externalities (smartphones, social networking websites)
 - Education
 - Better driving habits
 - Smiles ☺

Externalities and Efficiency

- Externalities may cause Pareto inefficiencies:
 - too many resources are allocated to an activity which causes a negative externality
 - too few resources are allocated to an activity which causes a positive externality.

Two facets of externalities

- Today we will look at two different scenarios where externalities are present.
 - Production ~~and consumption~~ externalities
 - Smokers vs. non-smokers
 - Indonesian plantations vs. Innocent Singaporeans
 - Common property externalities
 - Traffic congestion, fishing in the high seas

Today's plan

- Externalities
 - Definition and concept
 - **Production externality example**
 - Internalizing the externality
 - The Coase theorem
 - The Tragedy of the Commons

Production Externalities

- A steel mill produces steel and water pollution. More pollution lowers the cost of production of steel.
- The pollution adversely affects a nearby fishery.
- Both firms are price-takers.
- p_S is the market price of steel.
- p_F is the market price of fish.

Production Externalities

- $c_s(s, x)$ is the steel firm's cost of producing s units of steel jointly with x units of pollution
- The firm's problem is to maximize

$$\Pi_s(s, x) = p_s s - c_s(s, x)$$

where more x decreases costs and more s increases cost

- By choosing x and s . The first order profit maximizing conditions are:

$$p_s = \frac{\partial c_s(s, x)}{\partial s} \qquad 0 = \frac{\partial c_s(s, x)}{\partial x}$$


Production Externalities

$$p_s = \frac{\partial c_s(s, x)}{\partial s}$$

- states that the steel firm should produce the output level of steel for which price = marginal production cost.

$$0 = \frac{\partial c_s(s, x)}{\partial x}$$

This value is
negative



- states that the firm's wants to raise pollution levels until the change it has on cost is zero.

Production Externalities

- E.g. suppose $c_s(s, x) = s^2 + (x - 4)^2$ and $p_s = 12$. Then

$$\Pi_s(s, x) = 12s - s^2 - (x - 4)^2$$

- and the first-order profit-maximization conditions are

$$\frac{\partial \pi_s}{\partial s} = 12 - 2s = 0$$

$$12 = 2s$$

$$\frac{\partial \pi_s}{\partial x} = -2(x - 4) = 0$$

Therefore $s^* = 6$ and $x^* = 4$

Production Externalities

- The steel firm's maximum profit level is thus

$$\begin{aligned}\Pi_s(s^*, x^*) &= 12s^* - s^{*2} - (x^* - 4)^2 \\ &= 12 \times 6 - 6^2 - (4 - 4)^2 \\ &= \$36\end{aligned}$$

Production Externalities

- The cost to the fishery of catching f units of fish when the steel mill emits x units of pollution is $c_F(f, x)$. Given f , $c_F(f, x)$ increases with x ; i.e. the steel firm inflicts a negative externality on the fishery.
- The fishery's profit function is
$$\Pi_F(f; x) = p_F f - c_F(f; x)$$

Production Externalities

$$\Pi_F(f; x) = p_F f - c_F(f; x)$$

- The fishery chooses f to maximize profit. This is done by taking the derivative of the profit function with respect to f .
- The first order condition is:

$$\frac{\partial \pi_F}{\partial f} = p_F - \frac{\partial c_F(f; x)}{\partial f} = 0$$

P=MC

→

$p_F = \frac{\partial c_F(f; x)}{\partial f}$

Production Externalities

- Why doesn't the fishery differentiate its profit function with respect to x ?
- Because x is not chosen by the fishery. Only the steel mill can produce pollution, and therefore can choose x .

Production Externalities

- Suppose

$$c_F(f; x) = f^2 + xf \text{ and } p_F = 10.$$

- The external cost inflicted on the fishery by the steel firm is xf . Since the fishery has no control over x it must take the steel firm's choice of x as a given. The fishery's profit function is thus

$$\Pi_F(f; x) = 10f - f^2 - xf$$

Production Externalities

$$\Pi_F(f; x) = 10f - f^2 - xf$$

- Given x , the first-order profit-maximization condition is $10 = 2f + x$, or
$$f^* = 5 - 0.5x$$
- We see that the fishery reduces quantity in the presence of more pollution.

Production Externalities

- Recall that the steel firm chose $s^* = 6$ and $x^* = 4$.

- This means the fishery will produce:

$$f^* = 5 - 0.5(4) = 3$$

- The fishery's profit is:

$$\Pi_F = 10 \times 3 - 3^2 - (4 \times 3) = \$9$$

external cost = 12

- Profits for both firms sum to:

$$\$36 + \$9 = \$45$$

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Production Externalities

- Is \$45 the largest possible total profit that can be achieved?
- Suppose the two firms merge to become one. What is the highest profit this new firm can achieve?
- The profit function becomes

$$\begin{aligned}\Pi &= \Pi_S + \Pi_F \\ &= [12s - s^2 - (x - 4)^2] + [10f - f^2 - xf]\end{aligned}$$

Merger and Internalization

$$\Pi = [12s - s^2 - (x - 4)^2] + [10f - f^2 - xf]$$

- What choices of s , f and x maximize the new firm's profit?
- The first order conditions are:

- $\frac{\partial \Pi}{\partial s} = 12 - 2s = 0$

- $\frac{\partial \Pi}{\partial f} = 10 - 2f - x = 0$

- $\frac{\partial \Pi}{\partial x} = -2(x - 4) - f = 0$

The solutions are:

$$s^m = 6$$

$$f^m = 4$$

$$x^m = 2$$

Recall that $x^* = 4$. The merger lowers pollution.
Recall that $f^* = 3$. The merger raises fish production.

Merger and Internalization

- And the merged firm's maximum profit level is

$$\begin{aligned}\Pi^m(s^m, f^m, x^m) &= 12s^m - (x^m - 4)^2 + 10f^m - f^{m2} - x^m f^m \\ &= 12 \times 6 - (2 - 4)^2 + 10 \times 4 - 2 \times 4 \\ &= \$48\end{aligned}$$

- Recall that un-merged profits were \$45.

Merger and Internalization

- In summary, the merger improves efficiency:
 - The steel firm produced $x^* = 4$ units of pollution. Within the merged firm, pollution production is only $x^m = 2$ units.
 - On its own, the fishery produced $f^* = 3$. Within the merged firm, the fishery produces $f^m = 4$
 - Total profits rise from \$45 to \$48 with the merger and none of this comes from market power (remember both firms are price takers)
- So the merger has caused both an improvement in efficiency and less pollution. Why?

Merger and Internalization

- The steel firm's profit function is
$$\Pi_s(s, x) = 12s - s^2 - (x - 4)^2$$
- so the marginal cost of producing x units of pollution is $MC_s(x) = 2(x - 4)$
- When unmerged, the steel firm increases pollution until $MC_s(x)=0$, hence $x^* = 4$.
- The merged firm has $MC_m(x) = 2(x - 4) + f$ which is higher than $MC_s(x)$

Merger and Internalization

- The merged firm has a higher marginal cost of pollution because it faces the full cost of pollution:

$$2(x - 4) = -f, \text{ rather than } 2(x - 4) = 0$$

- This causes the merged firm to produce less pollution.
- The merger internalizes the externality and induces economic efficiency.

Merger and Internalization

- Notice that $x^m = 2$ not 0. The optimal amount of pollution isn't zero, it is the amount where marginal benefit from pollution (which is a lower cost of producing s) equals marginal cost of pollution (which is a higher cost of producing f)

Merger and Internalization

- How else might internalization be caused so that efficiency can be achieved?

Today's plan

- Externalities
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Coase and Production Externalities

- Coase theorem:

If

1. property rights of an externality are clearly defined, and
 2. there are no transaction costs,
- bargaining will lead to an efficient outcome regardless of the initial allocation of property

Coase and Production Externalities

- The Coase Theorem posits that the pollution externality exists because neither the fishery nor the steel mill has been assigned property rights of water pollution (or, ownership of the water)
- Suppose the property right to the water is created and assigned to one of the firms. Does this induce efficiency?

Coase and Production Externalities

- Suppose the fishery owns the water.
- Then it can sell pollution rights, in a competitive market, at $\$p_x$ each.
- The fishery's profit function becomes
$$\Pi_F(f, x) = p_f f - f^2 - xf + p_x x$$
- Given p_f and p_x , how many fish and how many rights does the fishery wish to produce?
- Notice that x is now a choice variable for the fishery.

Coase and Production Externalities

$$\Pi_F(f, x) = p_f f - f^2 - x f + p_x x$$

- The profit-maximum conditions are

$$\frac{\partial \Pi_F}{\partial f} = p_f - 2f - x = 0$$

$$\frac{\partial \Pi_F}{\partial x} = -f + p_x = 0$$

which yields $x_s^* = p_f - 2f$ (pollution right supply)

$$f^* = p_x \quad \text{(fish supply)}$$

Coase and Production Externalities

- The steel firm must buy one right for every unit of pollution it emits so its profit function becomes

$$\Pi_s(s, x) = p_s s - s^2 - (x - 4)^2 - p_x x$$

- Given p_f and p_x , how much steel does the steel firm want to produce and how many rights does it wish to buy?

Coase and Production Externalities


$$\Pi_s(s, x) = p_s s - s^2 - (x - 4)^2 - p_x x$$

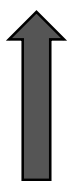
- The profit-maximum conditions are

$$\frac{\partial \Pi_s}{\partial s} = p_s - 2s = 0$$

$$\frac{\partial \Pi_s}{\partial x} = -2(x - 4) - p_x = 0$$

and these give $s^* = \frac{p_s}{2}$ and $x_d^* = 4 - \frac{p_x}{2}$


(steel supply)


(pollution right demand)

Coase and Production Externalities

$$f^* = p_x \quad (\text{fish supply})$$

$$s^* = \frac{p_s}{2} \quad (\text{steel supply})$$

$$x_s^* = p_f - 2f \quad (\text{pollution right supply})$$

$$x_d^* = 4 - \frac{p_x}{2} \quad (\text{pollution right demand})$$

- Since $p_s = 12$, $s^* = 6$.

Coase and Production Externalities

- The demand and supply of pollution must equal:

$$p_f - 2f = 4 - \frac{p_x}{2}$$

- From the fish supply equation, we know that $f = p_x$
- Therefore, $p_f - 2p_x = 4 - \frac{p_x}{2}$.
- This solves to $p_x = \frac{2p_f - 8}{3}$

Coase and Production Externalities

- Since $p_f = 10$, $p_x = \frac{2(10)-8}{3} = 4$
- Therefore, $f^* = 4$,
$$x_s^* = x_d^* = 10 - 2(4) = 2$$
- and from before, $s^* = 6$
- This is the same outcome as we obtained when the firms merged which means we have achieved economic efficiency.
- What about profits?

Coase and Production Externalities

- $\Pi_S(s, x) = p_s s - s^2 - (x - 4)^2 - p_x x$
 $= 12(6) - 6^2 - (2 - 4)^2 - 4(2)$
 $= \$24$
- $\Pi_F(f, x) = p_f f - f^2 - xf + p_x x$
 $= 10(4) - 4^2 - 2(4) + 4(2)$
 $= \$24$

Coase and Production Externalities

- Combined profits are \$48, the same as profits of the merged firm.
- But compared to the unmerged case, where $\Pi_s = \$36$ and $\Pi_f = \$9$, since now both firms make \$24, the steel firm is not happy and the fishery is elated!

Coase and Production Externalities

- Q: Would it matter if the property right to the water had instead been assigned to the steel firm?
- A: Yes and no.
 - The efficient outcome will still be achieved. Coase theorem only says that property rights have to be assigned, it doesn't matter whom they are assigned to.
 - Profits will be very different. Any firm would prefer to have the property right assigned to them because then they can sell it for additional revenue.

Coase and Production Externalities

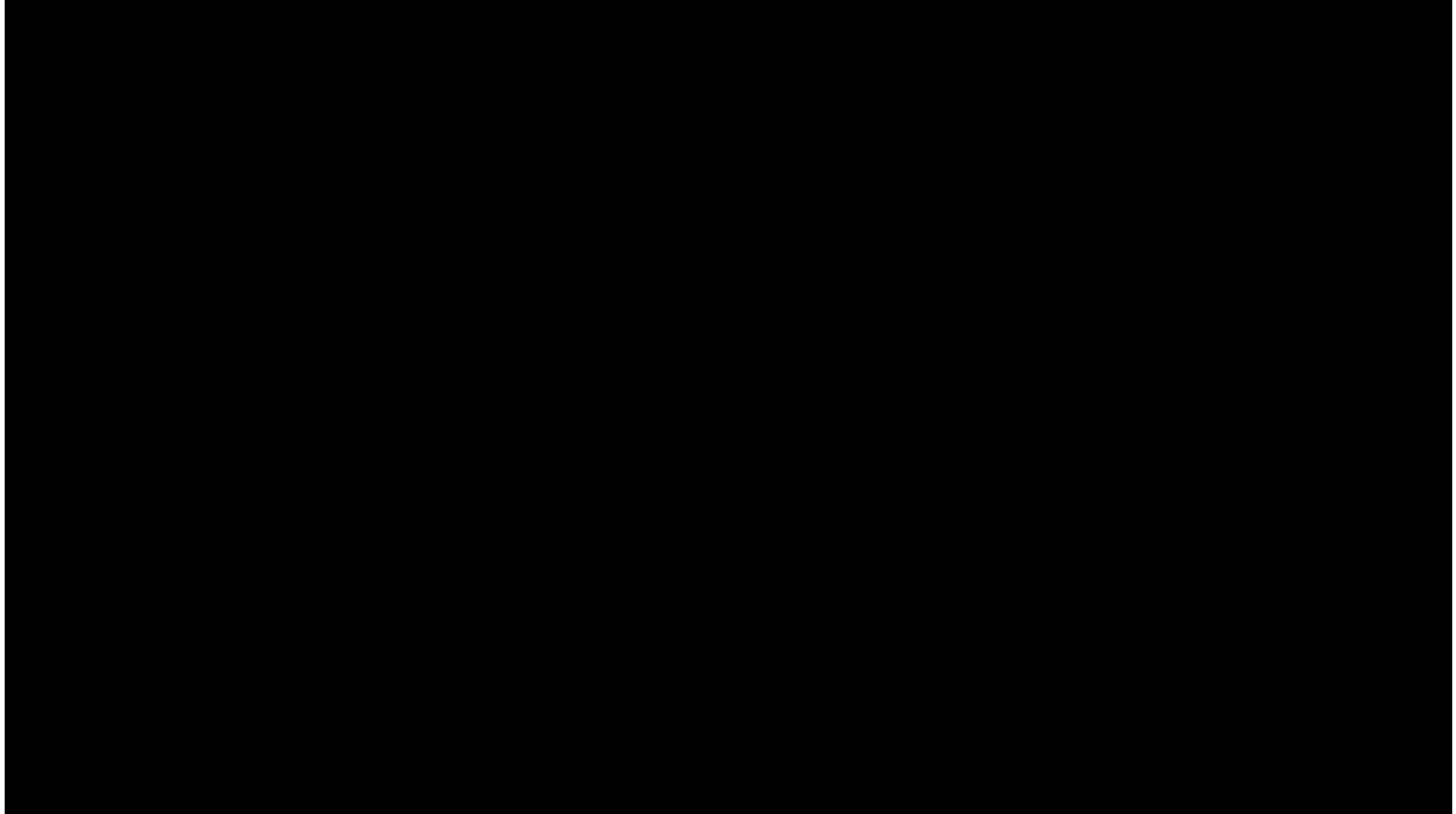
- Open question: How do we determine who gets the property right of the externality?
 - Steel firm or fishery?
 - Smokers or non-smokers?
 - Indonesian plantation owners or Singaporeans?

Coase on the Coase Theorem

- The Coase theorem was coined by George Stigler, adapting ideas from a paper by Ronald Coase.
- Here are Coase's thoughts on the Coase theorem (and other things):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=04zFygmeCUA>

Coase on the Coase Theorem



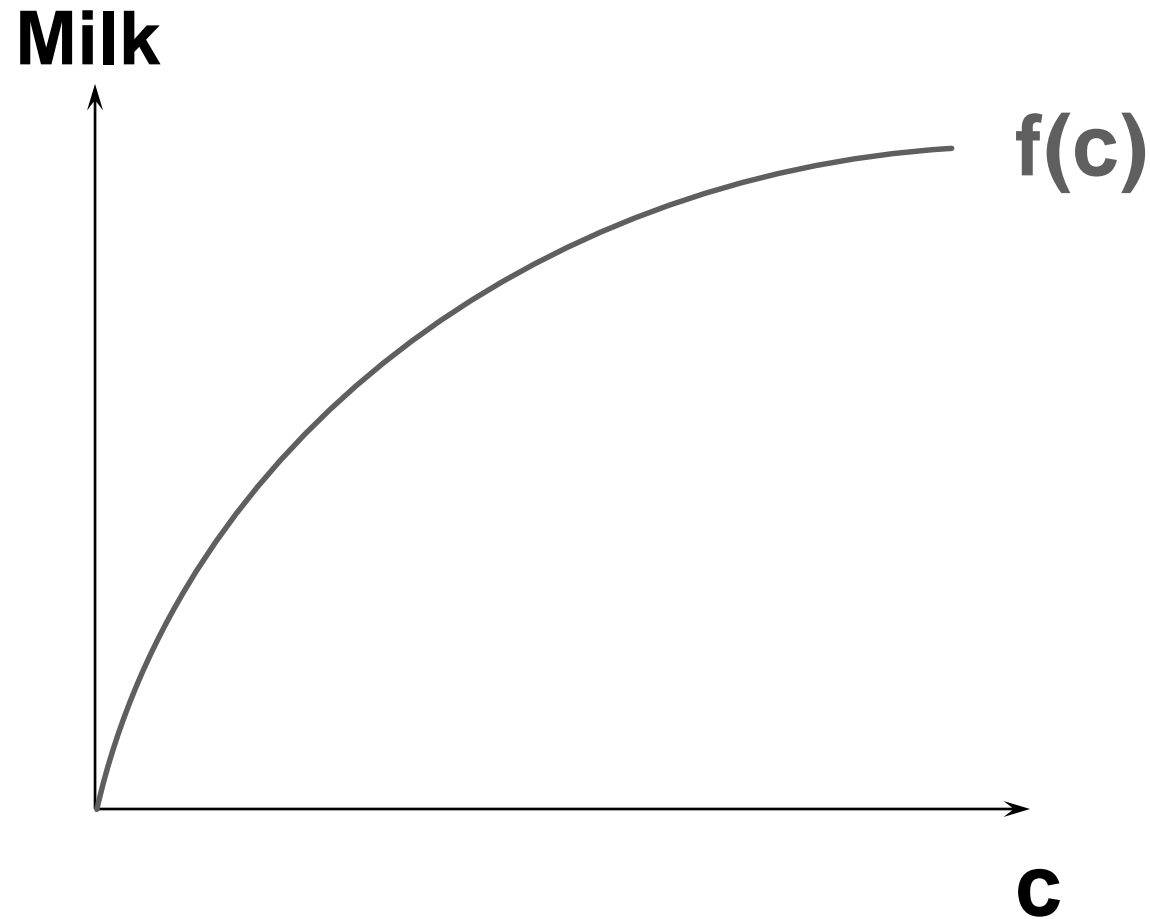
Today's plan

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The Tragedy of the Commons

- Consider a grazing area owned “in common” by all members of a village.
- Villagers graze cows on the common.
- When c cows are grazed, total milk production is $f(c)$, where $f' > 0$ and $f'' < 0$
 - function is increasing but at a decreasing rate
- How should the villagers graze their cows so as to maximize their overall income?

The Tragedy of the Commons



The Tragedy of the Commons

- Make the price of milk \$1 and let the relative cost of grazing a cow be p_c . Then the profit function for the entire village is

$$\Pi(c) = f(c) - p_c c$$

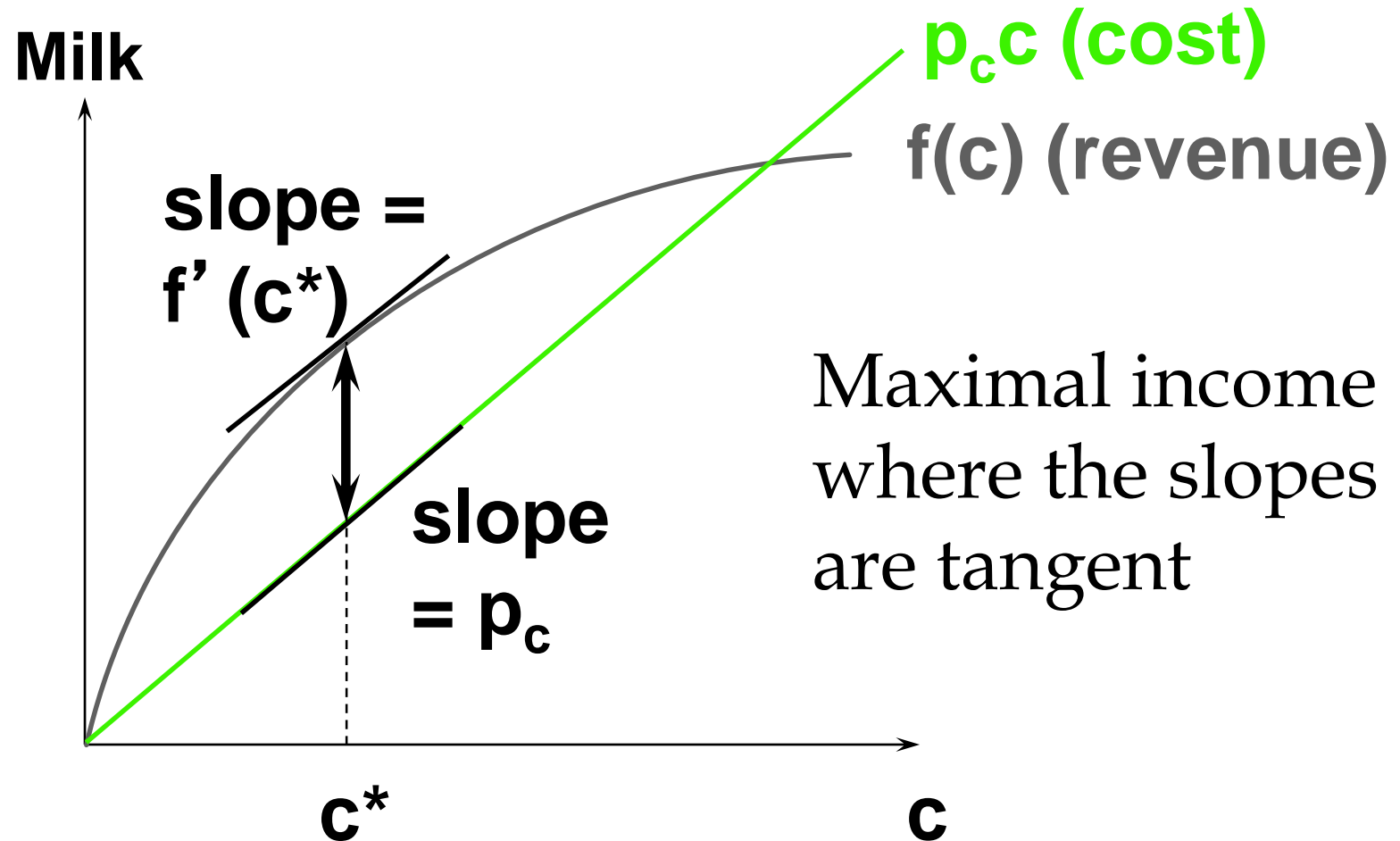
and the village's problem is to

$$\max_{c \geq 0} \Pi(c) = f(c) - p_c c$$

If the village behaves like a rational individual, then it chooses c such that $f'(c) = p_c$

marginal revenue product from the last cow =
marginal cost of grazing it

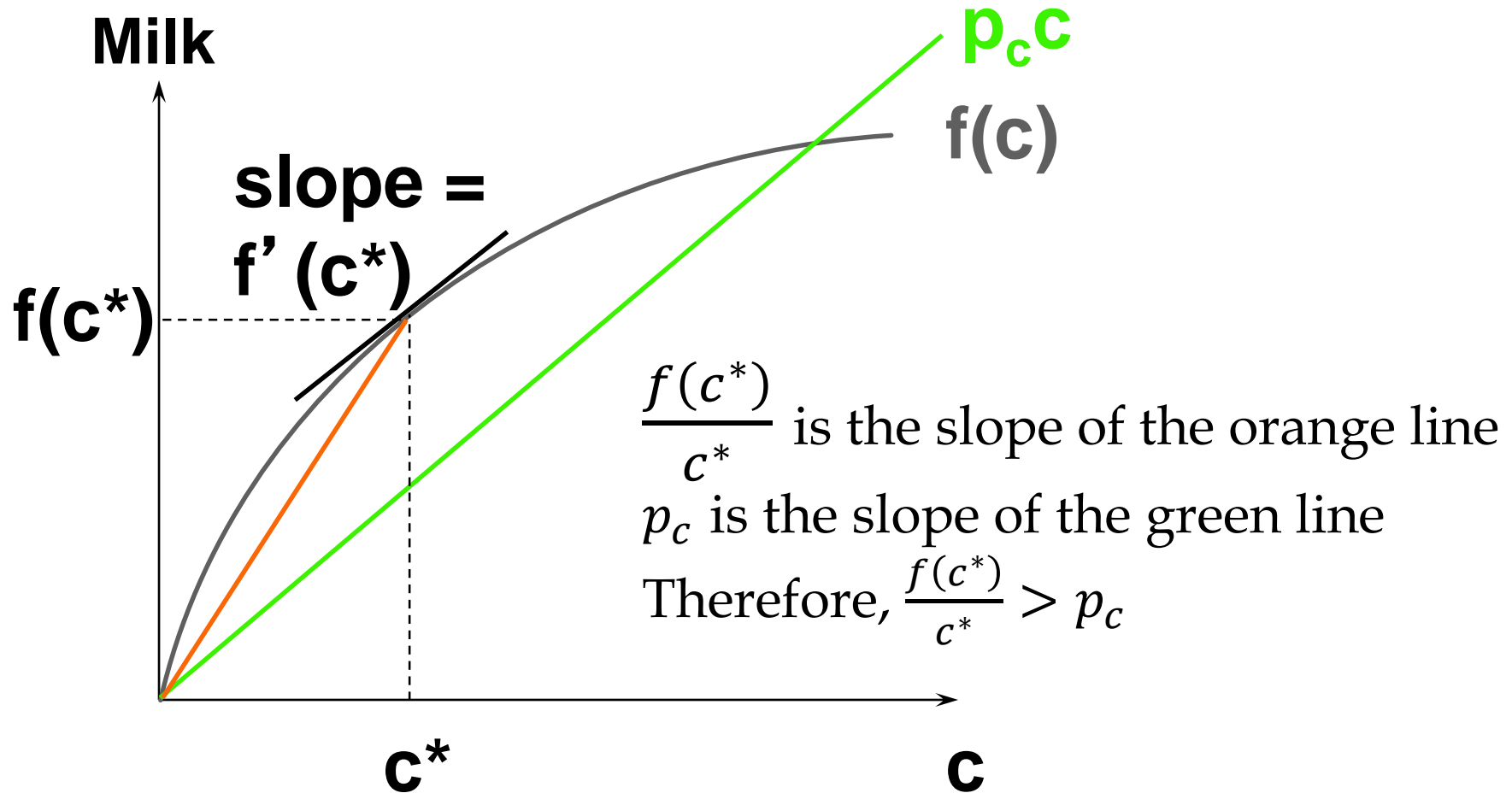
The Tragedy of the Commons



The Tragedy of the Commons

- Suppose instead of the village making the decision collectively, each rational individual in the village decides whether they want to graze a cow.
- If $c = c^* - 1$, and you are deciding if you want to graze a cow or not. If you choose to graze, then
 - The private cost is p_c
 - The private benefit is $\frac{f(c^*)}{c^*}$
 - Every cow is equally productive, so your revenue is the $\frac{\text{total revenue}}{\text{number of cows}}$

The Tragedy of the Commons

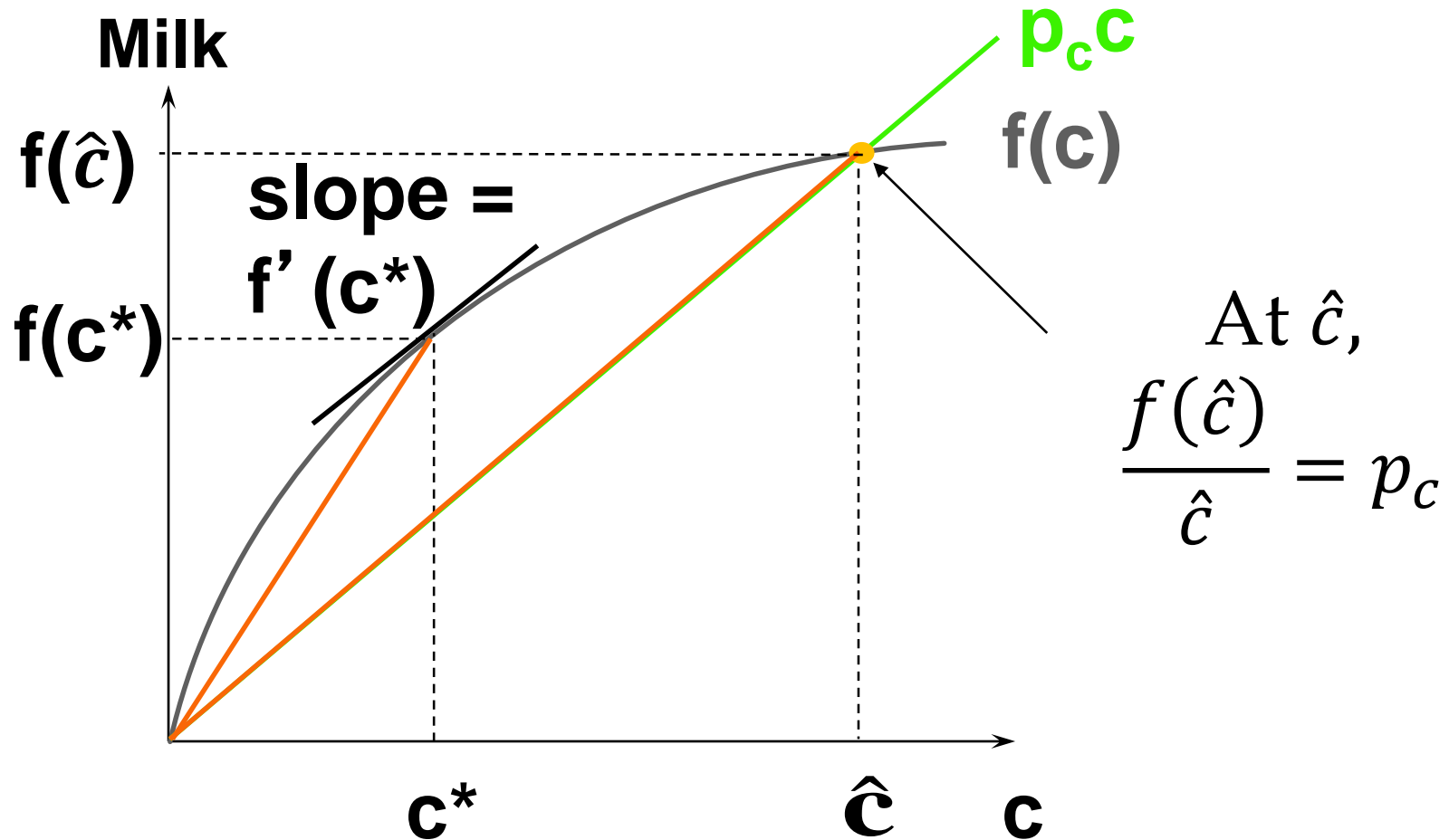


The Tragedy of the Commons

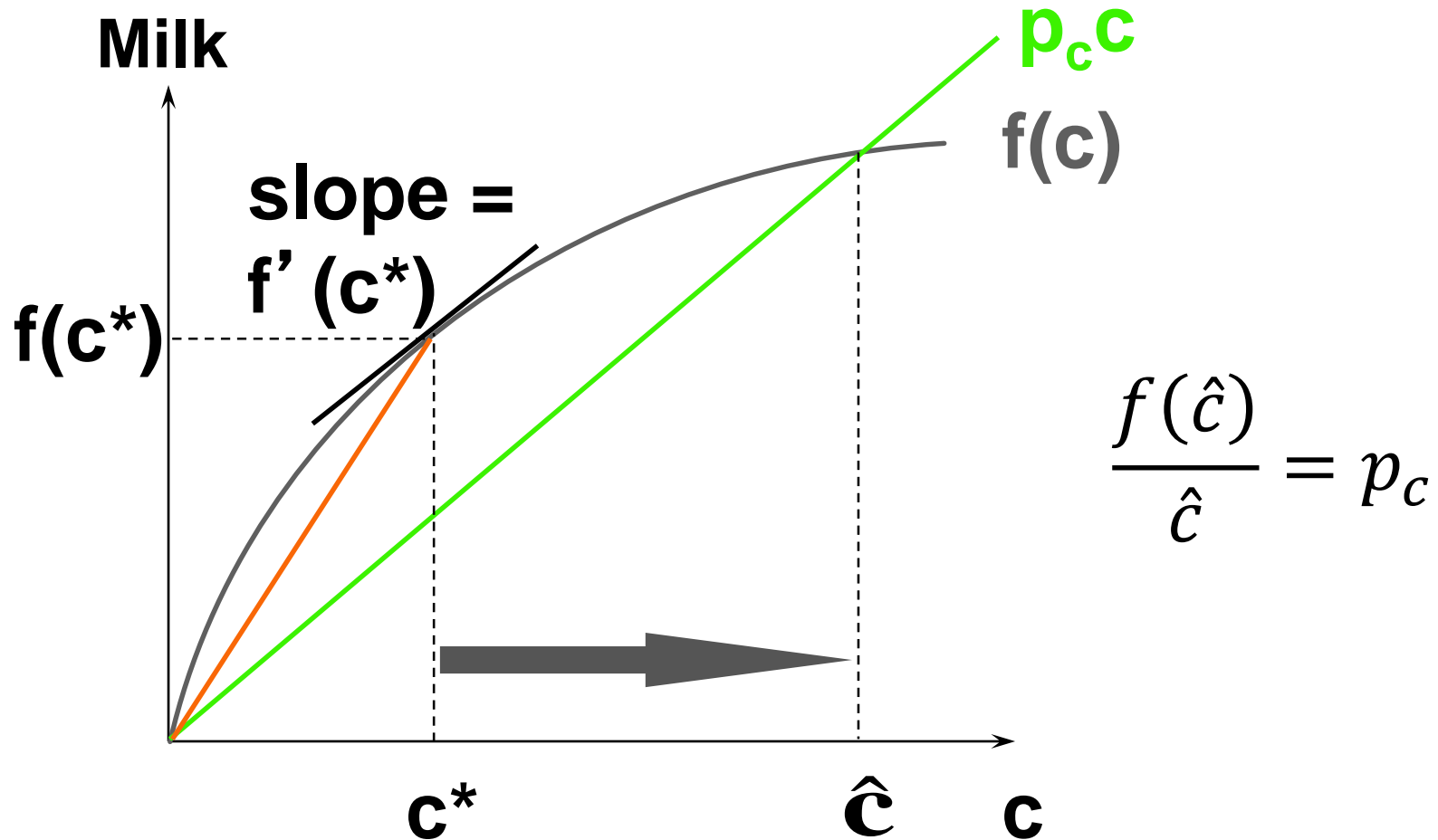
- Therefore it is profitable for you to graze a cow.
- Entry continues until the economic profit of grazing another cow is zero; that is, until:

$$\frac{f(c^*)}{c^*} = p_c$$

The Tragedy of the Commons



The Tragedy of the Commons



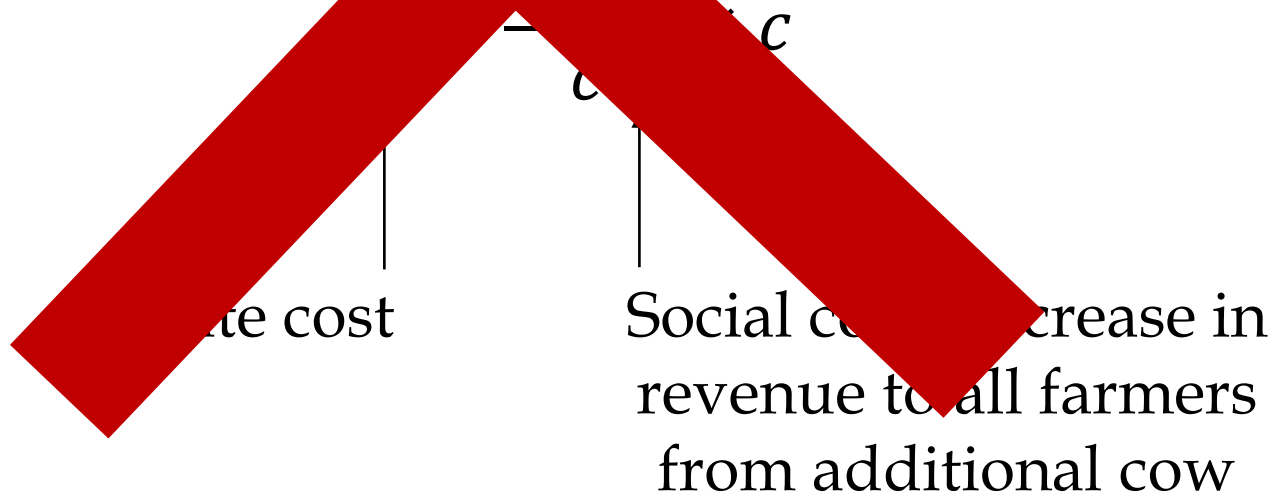
The commons are over-grazed, tragically.

The Tragedy of the Commons

- The reason for the tragedy is that when a villager adds one more cow his income rises (by $\frac{f(c)}{c} - p_c$) but every other villager's income falls.
- This is because $f'(c) < p_c$ when $c > c^*$ which means total income of the village is shrinking
- The villager who adds the extra cow takes no account of the cost inflicted upon the rest of the village.

The Tragedy of the Commons

- At $c > c^*$, the revenue an individual receives, $\frac{f(c)}{c}$ is greater than the cost an individual has to pay, but it is not greater than the total cost inflicted on society,



The Tragedy of the Commons

- Modern-day “tragedies of the commons” include
 - over-fishing the high seas
 - over-logging forests on public lands
 - over-intensive use of public parks; e.g. Yellowstone.
 - urban traffic congestion.

The Tragedy of the Commons

- Property rights could solve this problem.
 - If everything that people care about is owned by someone who can control its use and, in particular exclude others from overusing it, then there are by definition no externalities.
- How else could we solve this problem?

The Tragedy of the Commons

- Merger:
 - If the whole village acted collectively, they would internalize the externality and there would be no overgrazing.

The Tragedy of the Commons

- Taxation:
 - If we taxed each individual the amount equal to the decrease in returns he imposes on the farmers, ~~$f'(c)$~~ , then he is forced to take into account the social cost of his actions and there will be no overgrazing.
 - In general, taxing every agent the cost of the externality he imposes on others causes him to internalize it.
 - This leads to an efficient allocation.

The Tragedy of the Commons

- A quantity limit:
 - If we know what the optimal quantity is, we could cap production at that level and not let anyone produce beyond that.

The Tragedy of the Commons

- Cap-and-trade:
 - Suppose firms value pollution differently. To some firms, pollution reduces production costs by a lot, to other firms, pollution reduces production costs by very little.
 - Without regulation, all firms pollute until pollution no longer reduces their costs

The Tragedy of the Commons

- Cap-and-trade:
 - The government wants to set pollution at X units which is less than the current level of pollution. What is the most efficient way to reduce pollution?
 - We want those who value pollution the least to give it up first.
 - We could gather information on the various costs of pollution and dictate who abates but that would be an expensive and involved process.

The Tragedy of the Commons

- Cap-and-trade:
 - Suppose there are two firms.
 - To Firm A, one unit of pollution lowers production costs by \$200.
 - To Firm B, one unit of pollution lowers production costs by \$300.
 - Firm B values pollution more than Firm A
 - The government has set the cap at two units of pollution. If it lets the firms to produce one unit of pollution each, pollution will lower production costs by \$500.

The Tragedy of the Commons

- Cap-and-trade:
 - If the government gives each firm a permit to emit one unit of pollution, Firm B will want to sell that permit to Firm A.
 - Firm A values the permit at \$200 while Firm B values it at \$300.
 - Once they agree on a price (somewhere between \$200 and \$300), they will trade the permit from B to A.
 - Now pollution has lowered production costs by \$600 and the same pollution target is met.

The Tragedy of the Commons

- The government caps pollution and the firms trade the permits.
- Examples:
 - European Union cap-and-trade for carbon emissions
 - California cap-and-trade for carbon emissions
- If you're interested in environmental issues, cap-and-trade is a big topic right now!

Summary

- Externalities are goods that are not accounted for by regular markets.
- There are market-based solutions to the problem of externalities
- Question: Haze is an externality. How can we solve it?

Problem Set Hint

- Here you saw examples of production externalities. In your problem set, you will work through a few consumption externalities.
- They are somewhat different from what you see here.
- The key to solving externality problems is to identify what the external cost is:
 - When a car adds itself to a congested highway, how much does it slow everyone else down by?

Chapter 37:
Public Goods
(Sections 37.1 - 37.4)

Public Goods

- Definition and concept
- When to provide a public good
- The free-rider problem
- How much of a public good to provide

Definition

- A public good is a good that is:
 - Non-excludible: once produced, it is impossible to exclude someone from consuming it
 - Non-rivalrous: one person's consumption of the good doesn't diminish another person's consumption of the good

Public Goods

	Excludable	Non-excludable
Rivalrous	Private goods (food, clothing, books)	Common goods (fish stocks, public highways when congested)
Non-rivalrous	Club goods (golf courses, cinemas)	Public goods (air, national defense, public highways when not congested)

- Non-rivalrous can mean indivisible or very large/abundant
 - National defense is indivisible
 - A golf course is very large/abundant

Public Goods

- Definition and concept
- When to provide a public good
- The free-rider problem
- How much of a public good to provide

When to provide a public good

- Section 37.1 is extensive, and I do not have time to present the whole derivation here. You need to read it, but just grasp the general concept. Do not get bogged down with the details.
 - Second paragraph on pg. 717 until end of section on pg. 718 is less important.
- What these slides will cover is a simpler discussion of the ideas. If we have time, we may come back to the full derivation in Week 13

When to provide a public good

- Suppose there are two individuals, Chandler and Joey.
 - Joey owns a jewelry store.
 - Chandler owns a television store.
 - Both stores are side-by-side
- They are both interested in getting a security guard which is a public good.
 - The security guard will make the entire area safer. He is non-excludible.
 - The security he provides is non-rivalrous.

When to provide a public good

- The cost of a security guard is c
- The value of security to Joey is r_j
- The value of security to Chandler is r_t

When to provide a public good

- Suppose $r_j > c$ and $r_t < c$
- Then Joey gets the security
 - Joey has a payoff of $r_j - c$
 - Chandler free-rides with a payoff of r_t
- Suppose $r_j < c$ and $r_t > c$
 - Chandler gets a guard and Joey free-rides.

When to provide a public good

- Suppose $r_j < c$ and $r_t < c$, but $r_j + r_t > c$
 - Then individually, neither will get the security guard, but if they coordinate, they could make themselves better off.
- So the public good should be provided as long as $r_j + r_t > c$

Public Goods

- Definition and concept
- When to provide a public good
- **The free-rider problem**
- How much of a public good to provide

The free-rider problem

- Suppose $r_j = 8$, $r_t = 8$ and $c = 10$.
- If the stores decide independently whether to hire a guard, then:

		Chandler	
		Hire	Do Not Hire
Joey	Hire	-2, -2	-2, 8
	Do Not Hire	8, -2	0, 0

- The Nash equilibrium is {Joey: Do Not Hire; Chandler: Do Not Hire}
- Because each tries to free-ride on the other, they don't do what is best for the collective.

The free-rider problem

- How do we overcome the free-rider problem?
- If Joey and Chandler can make “side payments” to each other, then we can get to a Pareto improving outcome.
- If Joey hires the guard and Chandler makes him a “side payment” then both agents are better off than in the Nash equilibrium outcome.

The free-rider problem

- Let's say the "side payment" is \$2:

		Chandler	
		Hire	Do Not Hire
Joey	Hire	-2, -2	0, 6
	Do Not Hire	8, -2	0, 0

The free-rider problem

- Allowing “side-payments” makes possible supply of a public good when no individual will supply the good unilaterally.
- However, “side-payments” could fail:
 - If voluntary, one has the incentive to under-report the valuation of the good to pay less.
 - This would lead to an under-provision of the good.

Public Goods

- Definition and concept
- When to provide a public good
- The free-rider problem
- How much of a public good to provide

How much of a public good to provide

- We've discussed when a public good should be produced and the problem of free riding that may cause the good not to be produced.
- Now we look at how much of a public good society should produce.
- Examples:
 - How much public defense should we have?
 - How big should Gardens by the Bay be?
 - How much should society spend on medical research?

How much of a public good to provide

- Consider the following:
 - $c(G)$ is the cost of providing G units of a public good.
 - There are two individuals, A and B with endowments ω_A and ω_B .
 - They can consume G or a private good, X_A and X_B .
 - Set price of X , $p_X = 1$
 - Budget allocations must satisfy $X_A + X_B + c(G) = \omega_A + \omega_B$

How much of a public good to provide

- MRS_A and MRS_B are the marginal rates of substitution between the private good and public good.

$$MRS_A = \frac{MU_G}{MU_{X_A}}, MRS_B = \frac{MU_G}{MU_{X_B}}$$

- The Pareto efficient allocation is given by

$$MRS_A + MRS_B = MC(G)$$

Where $MC(G)$ is the marginal cost of G

How much of a public good to provide

- Recall in a competitive equilibrium:

$$MRS_A = MRS_B = MC(G)$$

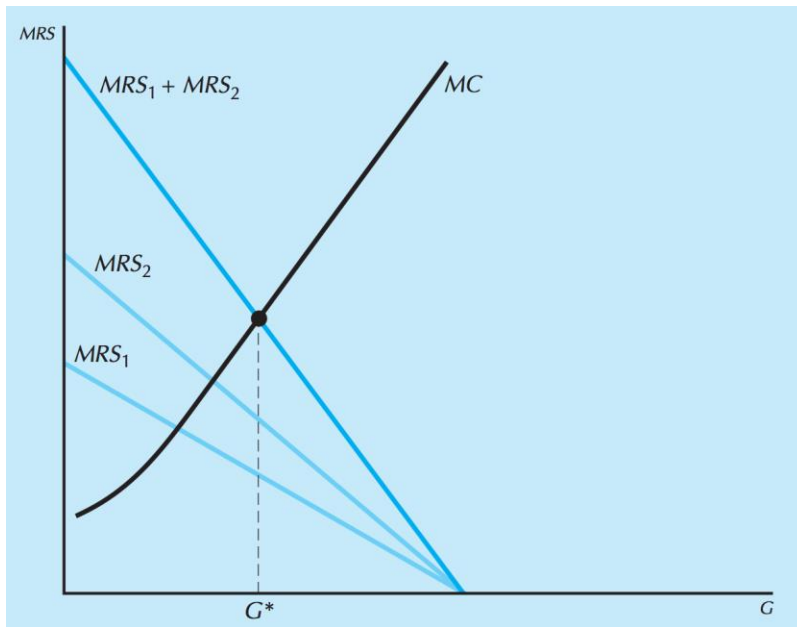
since $p_x = 1$

- Why $MRS_A + MRS_B = MC(G)$
 - Because G is non-rivalrous, one extra unit of G is fully consumed by A and B .
 - You have to think of A & B as if they were one person because they can both simultaneously consume the same good.

How much of a public good to provide

- MRS is how much X an agent is willing to give up to gain more G .
- In other words, it is how much value an agent places on one unit of G measured in units of X
- The value each agent places on G must sum up to the value of G
- In terms of the earlier example with Joey and Chandler, $r_j + r_t = c$

How much of a public good to provide



- If $MRS_A + MRS_B > MC(G)$, reduce G
- If $MRS_A + MRS_B < MC(G)$, increase G

How much of a public good to provide

- How do we figure out what $MRS_A + MRS_B$ is?
- This is a difficult question.
- If agents think the government wants to elicit their MRS so they can charge them for public goods accordingly, then agents will under-report their MRS .

How much of a public good to provide

- Merging will internalize the externality.
 - If the two stores merge, they no longer have a problem of under-provision of security guards.
- Technology makes it easier to track MRS.
 - GPS tracking means it is easy to figure out agents value of public roads by tracking how much they use it.