



THE ECONOMIC WAY OF THINKING

Thirteenth Edition

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Chapter 11

Markets and Government

(市场与政府)

Learning Objectives (学习目标)

- Establish how even government officials pay attention to the expected marginal benefits and costs to themselves (表明政府官员如何关注自己预期的边际收益和成本)
- Distinguish between coercion and persuasion (区分“强制”和“说服”)
- Investigate the free rider problem (探讨搭便车问题)
- Analyze the argument that coercion is necessary to provide an adequate level of public goods (分析论证要提供充足的公共品为何需要强制)
- Develop and apply the concept of rational ignorance to help explain the outcomes of the political process (建立“理性的无知”的概念，并运用它来解释政治进程的结果)

Chapter Outline（大纲）

- Private Versus Public?（私人还是公共？）
- Competition and Individualism（竞争与个人主义）
- Economic Theory and Government Action（经济理论与政府行为）
- The Right to Use Coercion（采用强制的权利）
- Is Government Necessary?（政府是必要的吗？）
 - Excluding Nonpayers（排除不付钱的人）
 - The Free-Rider Problem（搭便车问题）
 - Positive Externalities and Free Riders（正外部性和搭便车者）

Chapter Outline（大纲）

- Law and Order（法律和秩序）
- National Defense（国防）
- Roads and Schools（道路与学校）
- Income Redistribution（收入再分配）
- The Regulation of Voluntary Exchange（自愿交易的管制）
- Government and the Public Interest（政府与公共利益）
- Information and Democratic Governments（信息和民主政府）

Chapter Outline（大纲）

- The Interests of Elected Officials（民选官员的利益）
- Concentrated Benefits, Dispersed Costs（集中的收益，分散的成本）
- The Prisoners' Dilemma（囚徒困境）
- The Limits of Political Institutions（政治制度的局限）

Introduction（引言）

- Key questions in **political economy**（政治经济学中的关键问题）
 - what should be left to the market?（什么应该留给市场？）
 - what are the appropriate tasks for government?（政府的适当任务是什么？）

Introduction（引言）

- **Market failure（市场失灵）：**
 - The market process fails to achieve some *optimal* standard.（市场过程未能达到某些最佳标准）
 - Government corrective action can propel the market system *closer* to some hypothetical optimum.（政府的纠正措施可以推动市场体系更接近某个假想的最优水平）

Introduction（引言）

- James Buchanan (Nobel laureate in 1986):
 - “Economists who analyze market failure have a moral obligation to also analyze government failure.”（分析市场失灵的经济学家有道德义务也要分析政府失灵）



Private Versus Public? （私人还是公共？）

- The market usually characterizes the private sector （市场通常是私营部门的特征）
- Government agencies and officials comprise the **public sector** （政府机构和官员组成公共部门）
- Question:
 - Does individual self-interest play a role in the *public* sector? （个人利益是否在公共部门中发挥作用？）
- Yes!

Competition and Individualism（竞争与个人主义）

- The market sector is often referred to as the competitive sector.（市场部门通常被称为竞争部门）
- Question
 - Is there competition in the government?（政府部门是否存在竞争）

Competition and Individualism（竞争与个人主义）

- Competition in the public sector（公共部门的竞争）
 - Elections（选举）
 - rivalry between government agencies（政府机构之间的竞争）
 - passing legislation（通过立法）

Economic Theory and Government Action（经济理论与政府行为）

- The perspective of **economic theory**（经济理论的视角）
 - all participants are concerned with self-interest and behave rationally（所有参与者都关心自己的利益并理性行事）
 - if the marginal revenue of an activity exceeds the marginal cost, the activity should be expanded（如果一项活动的边际收入超过边际成本，则应扩大该活动）
 - if the marginal cost of an activity exceeds the marginal revenue, the activity should be contracted（如果一项活动的边际成本超过边际收入，则该活动应该收缩）

Economic Theory and Government Action（经济理论与政府行为）

- The government make decisions in the same way（政府以同样的方式做出决定）
 - have limited resources.（资源有限）
 - wants exceed the capacity of resources（想要超出资源的能力）
 - must allocate their resources（必须分配他们的资源）
 - will use incentives to determine the optimal allocation（将使用激励措施来确定最佳分配）

Economic Theory and Government Action（经济理论与政府行为）

- The main advantage of looking at government in this way:（以这种方式看政府的主要优势）
 - counters the tendency to think of government as a *deus ex machine*（避免了将政府视为解围之神）
 - makes our expectations of government more realistic（使得我们对政府的期望更加现实）

The Right to Use Coercion（采用强制的权利）

- Two way of obtaining cooperation from people:（促成人们协作的两种方式）
 - Coercion(强制)
 - to induce cooperation by threatening to **reduce people's options**（通过威胁减少人们的选择来诱导协作）
 - Persuasion(说服)
 - to induce cooperation by promising to **expand people's options**（通过承诺扩大人们的选择范围来促成协作）

The Right to Use Coercion（采用强制的权利）

- Government possesses a generally conceded and exclusive right to coerce adults.（政府拥有普遍承认的强迫成年人的专有权利）

The Right to Use Coercion（采用强制的权利）

- The traditional defense of government and its rights to coerce(对政府及其强制权传统的辩护理由):
 - We may be able to achieve greater freedom and expanded options if we all accept some limitations of our freedom and some reduction in our options.（如果我们都接受对大家自由的一定限制和选择的一定减少，我们就都能获得更大的自由和更多的选择）
 - Example: the traffic laws（交通法）

Is Government Necessary? （政府是必要的吗？）

- Do we have to use coercion? （我们必须使用强制吗？）
- Couldn't we get equally good results by relying on voluntary cooperation? （我们能否依靠自愿合作取得同样好的结果？）
- Example:
 - Would police protection be available without government? （如果没有政府，还可以得到警察保护吗？）

Excluding Nonpayers （排除不付钱的人）

- Without government, （没有了政府）
 - people who wanted police and/or fire protection could pay for it
（需要警察和/或消防的人可以为此付费）
 - could their neighbors be excluded? （能将他们邻居排除在外吗？）
 - how does this impact a person's willingness to pay for protection? （这对人们支付保护费的意愿有何影响？）
- Problem: difficult to exclude nonpayers （难排除不付款人）

The Free-Rider Problem（搭便车问题）

■ Free-Riders（搭便车者）

- People who accept benefits without paying their share of the cost of providing those benefits.（接受福利却不支付费用的人）

■ Don't deny altruism（不否认利他主义）

- People do not by and large entertain the inner feelings of others, especially more distant others, with as much vividness and force as they experience costs and benefits that impinge on them more directly.（他们大体上不会像感受那些更直接施加于他们的成本和收益那样逼真和强烈地考虑他人——尤其是较远的人——的内心感受）

Positive Externalities and Free-Riders（正外部性和搭便车者）

- Positive Externalities（正外部性）
 - exist alongside negative externalities（与负外部性并存）
 - create a disincentive to produce.（产生抑制生产的激励）
 - are probably more prevalent than spillover costs.（可能比溢出成本更普遍）

Positive Externalities and Free-Riders（正外部性和搭便车者）

- Exchange entails transaction costs.（交易需要承担交易费用）
- Government Coercion（政府强制）
 - an institution for reducing transaction costs through the use of coercion.（可以看作是一种降低交易成本的制度安排）

Law and Order（法律和秩序）

- High transaction costs make it difficult to exclude free-riders（高昂的交易成本使得难以排除搭便车的人）
- Government coercion forces everyone to pay involuntary contributions (taxes)（政府强迫所有人支付非自愿捐款（税收））

Law and Order（法律和秩序）

■ Importance of uniform and consistent rules

（统一和一致规则的重要性）

- increase planning confidence（提升计划信心）
- contribute to cooperating society（为合作社会做贡献）

■ Examples

- defining property rights（界定产权）
- enforcement of contracts（执行合同）

National Defense (国防)

- National defense (国防)
 - a public good (公共物品)
 - a traditional role of government (政府的传统角色)
 - can't be provided privately due to the free-rider problem (因为搭便车问题不能靠私人提供)
- But it does not have to be solely provided through coercion. (但是不必完全依靠强制来提供国防)

Roads and Schools（道路与学校）

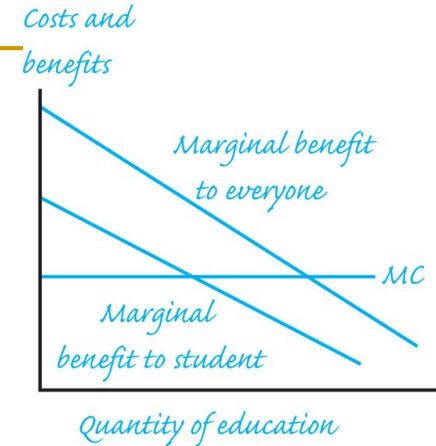
■ Question:

- Would the quantity and quality of roads be the same if coercion was *not* used to finance them?（如果不使用强制手段为道路融资，道路的数量和质量是否会有所不同）

■ An argument for government involvement(政府介入的理由)

- transaction costs would be high if we rely **entirely** on tolls to finance roads（如果完全依靠通行费为公路融资，交易成本将很高）

Roads and Schools（道路与学校）



■ Education

- people acquire education only as long as the marginal benefit (to them) exceeds the marginal cost（人们仅在（对他们的）边际收益超过边际成本的情况下获得教育）
- less than optimal will be obtained when **external benefits** are not considered（如果不考虑外部利益，就会得到低于最优的结果）
- Taxes to finance education lowers the cost and increases the demand.（使用税收资助教育降低了教育成本，增加了教育需求）

Roads and Schools （道路与学校）

■ Question:

- as it does with roads, does the use of coercion to prevent undersupply will not lead in practice to oversupply? （像道路一样，使用强制来防止供应不足在实践中不会导致供应过剩吗？）



真让人头疼

Income Redistribution (收入再分配)

- The government provides special benefits to the impoverished. (政府为贫困者提供特殊福利)
- Question
 - Why not rely on private philanthropy? (为何不依靠私人慈善事业)
- Hint:
 - Free-riders (搭便车者)

The Regulation of Voluntary Exchange（自愿交易的管制）

■ Question:

- Why does government have so many regulations coercing voluntary exchange?（为什么政府有这么多管制自愿交换的规定）

■ Answer:

- protect the weak（保护弱者）
- reducing transaction costs（降低交易成本）
 - Licensing（许可）
 - Certification（认证）
 - setting standards（制定标准）

The Regulation of Voluntary Exchange（自愿交易的管制）

- Two flaws with this defense of regulation（上述辩护的两个缺陷）
 - *government* regulation is often unnecessary to lower transaction costs.（通常不需要政府管制来降低交易成本）
 - Why sellers usually enthusiastically support government regulation?（为什么销售者通常热情地支持政府的管制）
 - Government regulation in the name of consumer protection is a technique of proved effectiveness for eliminating competition.（以消费者保护为名的政府管制是一种证明有效的消除竞争的技术）

The Regulation of Voluntary Exchange（自愿交易的管制）

■ Questions

- Why do victims cooperate?（为何受害者会配合）
- Why does government employ coercion to promote special interest *when it's supposed to be the responsibility of government to promote the public interest?*（维护公共利益应该是政府的责任，为什么政府要使用强制维护个别人的特殊利益呢？）

Government and the Public Interest（政府与公共利益）

- Government attempts to address sources of market failure（政府试图解决市场失灵的根源）
 - transaction costs（交易成本）
 - positive externalities（正外部性）
 - free-riders（搭便车）

Government and the Public Interest（政府与公共利益）

- But government is not the genie in Aladdin's lamp.（但是政府不是阿拉丁神灯中的精灵）
 - The problems created by transaction costs, positive externalities, and free-riders are particularly acute in the political life of democracies.（交易成本、正外部性和搭便车者带来的问题在民主国家的政治生活中尤其突出）

Government and the Public Interest（政府与公共利益）

- ❑ Why are government policies dominated by **special interests**?
（为什么政府政策被特殊利益所支配？）
- ❑ Why are governments more likely to oversupply a public good?
（为什么政府更有可能对公共物品过度供应？）
- ❑ How would lack of perfect information and incentives impact the government's ability to act in the public interest?（缺乏完善的信息和激励将如何影响政府为公共利益采取行动的能力？）

Information and Democratic Governments（信息和民主政府）

■ Question:

- Why don't voters take the time to learn more about the candidates running for various offices?（为什么投票人不花时间来了解更多有关各个候选人的信息？）

■ “*rational ignorance*”（理性无知）

- it's not worthwhile to learn.（不值得去了解）

Information and Democratic Governments（信息和民主政府）

- Are elected representatives reliable for making decisions in the public interest?（能指望当选代表按照公共利益作出决定吗）
- Answer
 - Information（信息）
 - Incentive（激励）

The Interests of Elected Officials（民选官员的利益）

- Economic theory assumes that
 - People act in their own interest, not in the public interest.（人按照自身的利益而非公共利益行动）
- An *interest in reelection* is a common and healthy interest among most elected officials.（谋求连任是常见并且正当的利益）

The Interests of Elected Officials（民选官员的利益）

■ Question:

- Is an interest in being re-elected likely to lead elected officials to vote and act in the public interest?（重新当选的利益是否有可能导致民选官员为公众利益投票和行事？）

The Interests of Elected Officials（民选官员的利益）

- Not necessarily!
 - Elected officials can't afford to look too far ahead!（民选官员不能承受太遥远的未来展望）
 - The few who have much to gain invest vast resources in trying to influence the political process（少数能获得很多利益的人投入大量资源试图影响政治进程）
- Illustration: a light-rail system of the city of Metropole（大都会城市的轻轨）

Concentrated Benefits, Dispersed Costs（集中的收益，分散的成本）

- The political process is always the same.（政治过程的不同之处）
 - The few who have much to gain invest vast resources in trying to influence the political process.（少数能获得很多利益的人投入大量资源试图影响政治进程）
 - The many with more to gain in total, but less to gain individually, invest almost nothing.（而多数的人，虽然整体上可以获得更多，但落到个人就只能获得少许利益，于是就几乎什么也不投资）

Concentrated Benefits, Dispersed Costs（集中的收益，分散的成本）

■ Democratic political process（民主政治过程）

□ Concentrate **benefits** on（将收益集中于）

- Well organized（组织良好）
- Well informed（消息灵通）
- Who gain the most（获益最多的人）

□ Disperse **costs** on（将成本分散到）

- Unorganized（没有组织）
- Ill-informed（信息缺乏）
- With little to gain individually（个人收益甚微的人）

Concentrated Benefits, Dispersed Costs（集中的收益，分散的成本）

- It seems futile to accuse legislators for this.（指责立法者是徒劳的）
- The fault lies with *the positive externalities* that prompt most of us to behave like free riders.（错误在于正外部性，它促使我们大多数人像搭便车者那样行事）

The Prisoner's Dilemma (囚徒困境)

■ The Dilemma

- Choosing whether to spend two hours per week working on a public policy issue or go bowling (打保齡球)

**Each
Chooses**

Others Choose

		Others Choose	
		Duty	Recreation
Duty	Duty	Good Government	Bad Government
	Recreation	Good Government Plus Bowling	Bad Government Plus Bowling

The Prisoner's Dilemma (囚徒困境)

- Each citizen knows his/her decision will not affect the outcome (每个公民都知道他/她的决定不会影响结果)
- The dominant strategy is non-participation (占优策略是不参与)

The Prisoner's Dilemma（囚徒困境）

- Dilemmas of this sort are fairly common.（这种困境非常普遍）
- Prisoners' Dilemma would not exist *in the absence of transaction costs*.（如果没有交易成本，囚徒困境就不会存在）
 - Binding contracts（有约束力的合同）

The Prisoner's Dilemma（囚徒困境）

- Formal and informal institutions evolve in a society to control the negative effects of prisoners' dilemmas.（各种正式和非正式制度演化出来以控制囚徒困境的负面影响）
 - customs（风俗）
 - conventions（惯例）
 - Formal and informal contracts, guarantees, and even constitutions（宪法）

The Limits of Political Institutions （政治制度的局限性）

- Are there limits to what political institutions can accomplish? （政治制度是否存在局限性？）
- Why so many people take it for granted that the government takes care of the public interest? （为什么那么多人认为政府照顾公共利益是理所当然的呢？）

The Limits of Political Institutions（政治制度的局限性）

- The habit of equating “government” with “nation”.（将政府等同于国家的惯性思维）
- The belief that government is the last resort and therefore must be an effective resort.（认为求助政府是最后的手段，因而也必须是有效的手段）
- *The popular reasoning* that government makes the laws, and so government can solve all social problems.（流行的推理：政府制定法律，由此得出政府可以解决所有的社会问题）

The Limits of Political Institutions（政治制度的局限性）

- Alexis de Tocqueville said in *Democracy in America*(1935)（托克维尔《论美国的民主》）
 - There is no country in which everything can be provided for by the laws or in which political institutions can prove a substitute for common sense and public morality!（没有哪个国家里，法律能够提供一切，或者证明政治制度能够取代常识和公共道德）



Once Over Lightly（简单回顾）

- Government actions follow decisions of citizens and government officials（政府的行动遵循公民和政府官员的决定）
- They compare marginal costs and benefits of alternative actions（他们比较各种的边际成本和收益）
- Governments have the right to use coercion（政府有权使用强制手段）
- Through coercion, it is sometimes possible to secure goods not available through voluntary cooperation（通过强制，有时可以获得自愿合作无法获得的东西）

Once Over Lightly（简单回顾）

- Coercion may secure the supply through lowering transaction costs.
（强制可以通过降低交易成本来确保供应）
- Government actions reduce transaction costs and overcome free rider problems（政府行为降低了交易成本，克服了搭便车问题）
- Government coercion presupposes voluntary cooperation（政府强制以自愿合作为前提）
- Positive externalities permeate the political process in a democratic government（正外部性渗透到民主政府的政治进程中）