

School of Business, Economics and Law GÖTEBORG UNIVERSITY

### Market for Lemons

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Let's play a game !

### Game

- Half of all used cars are "lemons"
  - Value to seller (current owner) = 0
  - Value to buyer = 100
- Half of all used cars are "peaches"
  - Value to seller = 200
  - Value to buyer = 300
- Information
  - Only the seller knows if the car is a lemon or a peach
- Game
  - A broker suggests the price P
  - The buyer and the seller say "yes" or "no" simultaneously
  - Only if both say "yes" the good will be traded



- Procedure
  - Form pairs
  - Sellers come forward to collect information about their cars – Check information secretly!
  - I am broker and will suggest a price
  - Both seller and buyer write down your choice on a piece of paper Secretly

### Price announcement

- Half of all used cars are "lemons"
  - Value to seller (current owner) = 0
  - Value to buyer = 100
- Half of all used cars are "peaches"
  - Value to seller = 200
  - Value to buyer = 300
- Price:

### Result?



### Interpretation

# Analysis

- <u>Q1</u>: How many cars should be sold, from an efficiency point of view?
  - All !
    - Buyers value peaches higher than Sellers
    - Buyers value lemons higher than Sellers

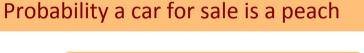
### Analysis

• <u>Q2</u>: How many cars would be, according to economic reasoning?

– Difficult, let's check !

### Interpretation

- Seller's value
  - If peach = 200
  - If lemon = 0
- Price 125
- <u>Q</u>: Seller's choice?
  - If peach: keep
  - If lemon: sell



Buyer's valuation of peach

- <u>Q</u>: Buyer's expected value of buying?
  - -100 (= 0.300 + 1.100)
- <u>Q</u>: Buyer's choice?
  - don't buy
- Conclusion: Market brakes down!

## Information

### • Imperfect information

- Agents do not observe all previous behavior (or simultaneous moves)
- Example: Firms decide on price simultaneously

### • Incomplete information

- Agents do not know all the exogenous data
- Example: Firms may not know demand
- Asymmetric information
  - Some players know some exogenous data ( = private information)
  - Others don't

### **Asymmetric Information**

#### • Examples

- Firms may not know each other's costs
- Firms may not know consumers' willingness to pay
- Consumer may not know quality of good
- Employers may not know the productivity of an applicant
- Banks may not know the bankruptcy risk of entrepreneurs
- Insurance company may not know risk that a person falls ill
- Governments may not know firms' costs of reducing polution

### **Asymmetric Information**

- But: Learning
  - Often people disclose some of their private information when they act
  - Others will learn
- How do we model learning?
  - Bayesian updating

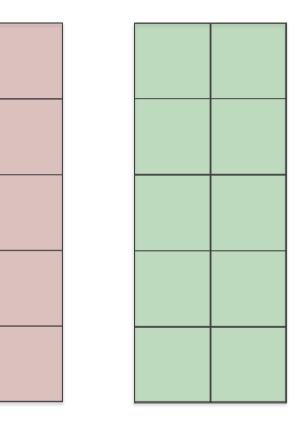
- Example of asymmetric information
  - Entrepreneurs
    - Some but not enough money to finance their projects
    - They know relatively well if their project will succeed or fail
  - Banks don't know the if a new firm will succeed
    - If the project succeeds => Entrepreneur is able to pay the loan
    - If the project fails => Bankruptcy

- Question
  - How can banks learn about the entrepreneurs' private information?
- Answer
  - If the entrepreneur believes the project will succeed, he is willing to risk his own money.
  - Otherwise not.

- Numeric example
  - Two types of entrepreneurs
    - 5 with good projects
    - 10 with bad projects
  - Among entrepreneurs with good projects 80 % believe the project is good and are willing to risk their own wealth
  - Among entrepreneurs with bad projects 10 % believe that the project is good and are willing to risk their own wealth

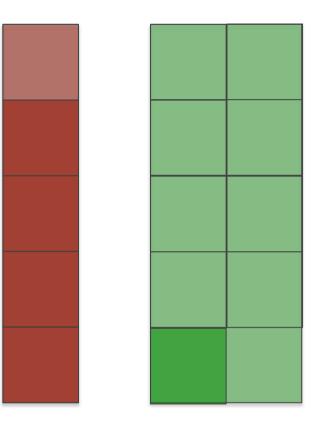
Population

- 5 entrepreneurs with good projects
- 10 entrepreneurs with bad projects



Population

- 5 entrepreneurs with good projects
  -80% willing to risk own money
- 10 entrepreneurs with bad projects
  -10% willing to risk own money



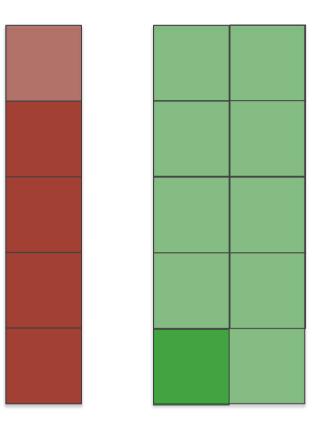
Population

- 5 entrepreneurs with good projects
  -80% willing to risk own money
- 10 entrepreneurs with bad projects
  -10% willing to risk own money

### Exercises

What is the probability that a random entrepreneur has good project?

- 1. In population
- 2. Among those with some own funding
- 3. Among those without own funding

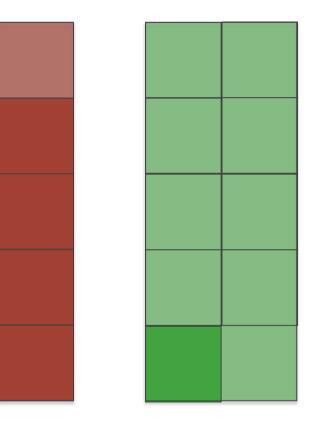


Population

- 5 entrepreneurs with good projects
  -80% willing to risk own money
- 10 entrepreneurs with bad projects
  -10% willing to risk own money

### Answers

- 1. 5 out of 15 (33%) entrepreneurs in population are profitable.
- 2. 4 out of 5 entrepreneurs (80%) with some funding are profitable.
- 1 out of 10 entrepreneurs (10%) without funding are profitable.



### • Conclusion

 By observing loan applicants behavior (how much of their own money they are willing to risk) a bank may *learn* something about their *private information* (probability of success).

### • Example

- An employer doesn't know the productivity of job applicants
- Two types of applicants
  - 500 with high productivity
  - 500 with low productivity
- Among people with high productivity 90 % invest in a master
- Among people with low productivity 10 % invest in a master
- Exercise 1
  - What is the probability that a job applicant with a master has high productivity?

#### • Solution 1

- Number of high-productive that invest in master 450 = 0.9 \* 500
- Number of low-productive that invest in master 50 = 0.1\*500
- Total number of people with master 500 = 450 + 50
- Share of people with master that are high-productive 0.9 = 450/500

#### • Note

Share of high productive in population 50 % < 90 %</li>

### • Example

- An employer doesn't know the productivity of job applicants
- Two types of applicants
  - 500 with high productivity
  - 500 with low productivity
- Among people with high productivity 90 % invest in a master
- Among people with low productivity 10 % invest in a master
- Exercise 2
  - What is the probability that a job applicant *without* a master has high productivity?

#### • Solution 2

- Number of high-productive without master 50 = 0.1 \* 500
- Number of low-productive without master 450 = 0.9\*500
- Total number of people without master 500 = 50 + 450
- Share of people without master that are high-productive: 0.10 = 50/500

#### • Note

- Share of high productive in population: 50 %
- Share of high productive among people with master: 90 %
- Share of high productive among people without master: 10 %

### Baye's Rule – More Generally

- **Population** shares
  - P(H) = share of people with high productivity in population
  - P(L) = share of people with low productivity in population
- **Behavior** 
  - P(M:H) = likelihood of getting master, if high productive
  - P(M:L) = likelihood of getting master, if low productive
- Exercise
  - Find expression for P(H:M) = probability of being high prod. if master

$$P(H:M) = \frac{\Pr\{Master \& High\}}{\Pr\{Master\}} = \frac{P(H) \cdot P(M \mid H)}{P(H) \cdot P(M \mid H) + P(L) \cdot P(M \mid L)}$$
$$= \frac{\frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{9}{10}}{\frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{9}{10} + \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{10}} = \frac{9}{9+1}$$

- Q: What happens if P(M|H) = P(M|L)
- Answer

$$P(H | M) = \frac{P(H) \cdot P(M | H)}{P(H) \cdot P(M | H) + P(L) \cdot P(M | L)}$$
$$= \frac{P(H)}{P(H) + P(L)}$$

• If people with high productivity and low productivity are equally likely to get education, employers don't learn anything by observing education

### • Example

- An employer doesn't know the productivity of job applicants
- Two types of applicants
  - 500 with high productivity, solve 10 problems per hour
  - 500 with low productivity, solve 2 problems per hour
- Among people with high productivity 90 % invest in a master
- Among people with low productivity 10 % invest in a master

#### • Exercise 3

- What is the expected productivity in the population?
- What is the expected productivity among people with master?
- What is the expected productivity among people without master?

#### • Recall

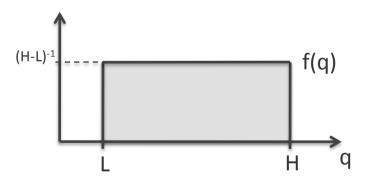
- Share of high productive in population: 50 %
- Share of high productive among people with master: 90 %
- Share of high productive among people without master: 10 %
- Expected productivity
  - Population: 0.5 \* 10 + 0.5 \* 2 = 6
  - Master: 0.9 \* 10 + 0.1 \* 2 = 9.2
  - Without: 0.1 \* 10 + 0.9 \* 2 = 2.8

- Education is a signal of productivity
  - IF: Different productivity => Different probability to get master
  - THEN: Master is signal of productivity
- Signal provides valuable information
  - Employers who cannot observe productivity directly
  - Can base hiring decision or wage on education
  - Must use Baye's rule

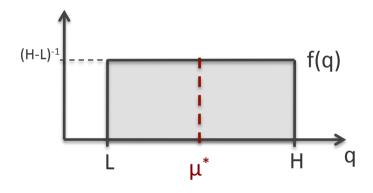
- Basic point
  - Asymmetric information about quality may disrupt a market
- Intuition
  - Buyers don't observe quality of (say) used cars
  - IF: Price = 100
  - THEN: Only cars with quality below 100 will be supplied
  - THEN: Average value of cars actually supplied is low, say 50
  - THEN: Buyers only willing to pay 50
- But
  - If buyers and sellers have sufficiently different valuations of quality, the information problem may be partly overcome

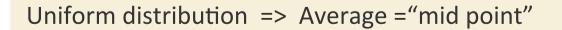
#### • Used cars

- Mass 1 of sellers with one car each
- Quality uniformly distributed over [L, H]



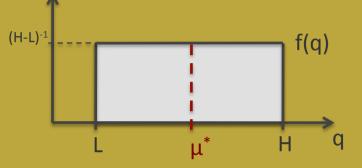
• Expected quality in population





$$\mu^* = \frac{H+L}{2}$$

• Expected quality



$$\mu^* = Eq = \int_{L}^{H} f(q) \cdot q \cdot dq = \int_{L}^{H} \frac{1}{H - L} \cdot q \cdot dq$$
$$\mu^* = \frac{1}{H - L} \int_{L}^{H} q \cdot dq = \frac{1}{H - L} \left[ \frac{1}{2} q^2 \right]_{L}^{H} = \frac{1}{H - L} \frac{1}{2} \left[ H^2 - L^2 \right] = \frac{1}{H - L} \frac{1}{2} [H - L] [H + L] = \frac{H + L}{2}$$

#### Market for Lemons

#### • Information

Buyers cannot observe quality

#### • Note

- Equilibrium price must be the same for all cars
- All sellers claim they have high quality
- Otherwise perfect competition
  - Continuum of buyers and sellers
  - Both buyers and sellers are price-takers

## Buyers

#### **Buyers**

Buyers know average quality from own and friends experience

(income)

• Buyers

Two possible reasons:

- Buyers compute the equilibrium
- Identical
- Mass = 1
- Utility
  - without car: m
  - with car:  $\Theta_{B} q + m p$  (q = quality)
- Uncertainty
  - Know average quality for sale:  $\mu$  (Baye's rule)
  - Risk-neutral
- Demand
  - Buy iff:  $\Theta_B \mu \ge p$

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• Market demand

$$D = \begin{cases} 0 & p > \Theta_{B}\mu \\ [0,1] & if \quad p = \Theta_{B}\mu \\ 1 & p < \Theta_{B}\mu \end{cases}$$

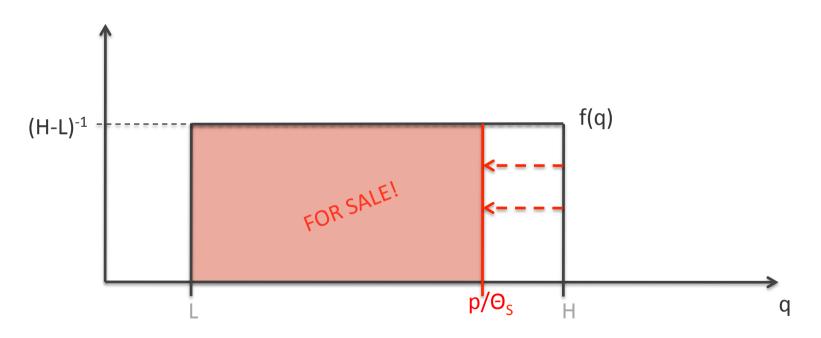
- Sellers
  - Mass = 1
- Utility
  - with car:  $\Theta_{s} q + m$
  - without car: m + p
- Information
  - Know quality of own car
- Decision
  - Sell iff:  $\Theta_s q \le p \iff q \le p/\Theta_s$

- Assume
  - $-\Theta_{\rm B} > \Theta_{\rm S}$
  - Buyers' willingness to pay higher than sellers' willingness to accept
- Efficiency
  - All cars should be sold

Adverse selection

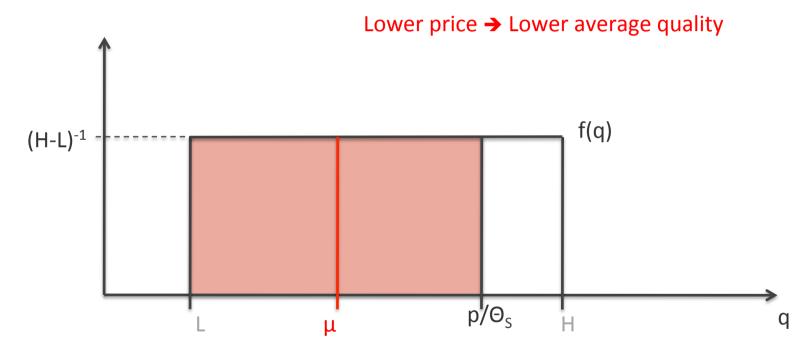
Sell iff  $q \le p/\Theta_s$ 



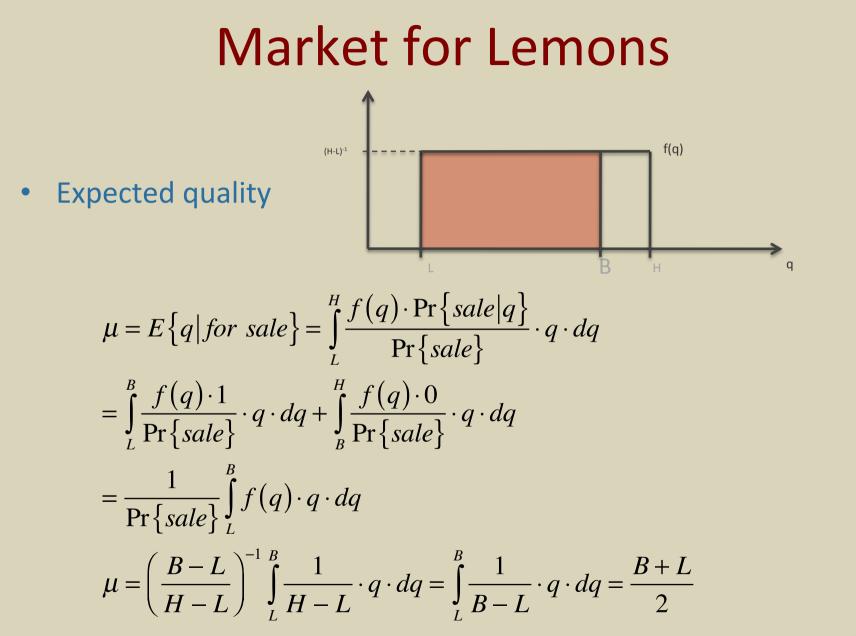


Adverse selection

Average quality in market  $\mu = \frac{1}{2} [p/\Theta_s + L]$ 



- "Bayesian updating"
  - Expected quality of cars for sale is lower than average quality of cars in population



- A price such that the market clears (Demand = Supply)
- The quantity traded at this price

#### Equilibrium

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- A price such that the market clears (Demand = Supply)
- The quantity traded at this price

But we will study

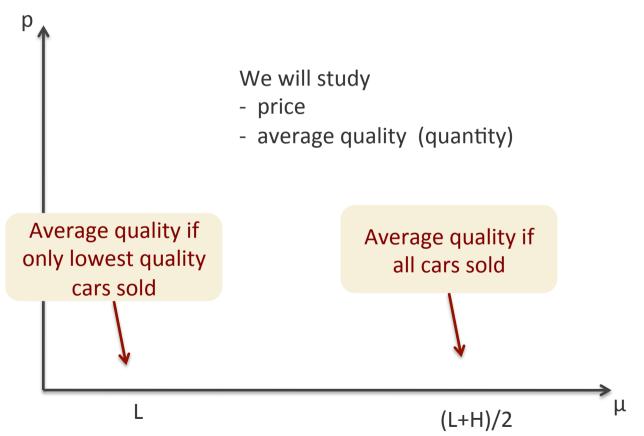
- price

average quality ("= quantity")

μ

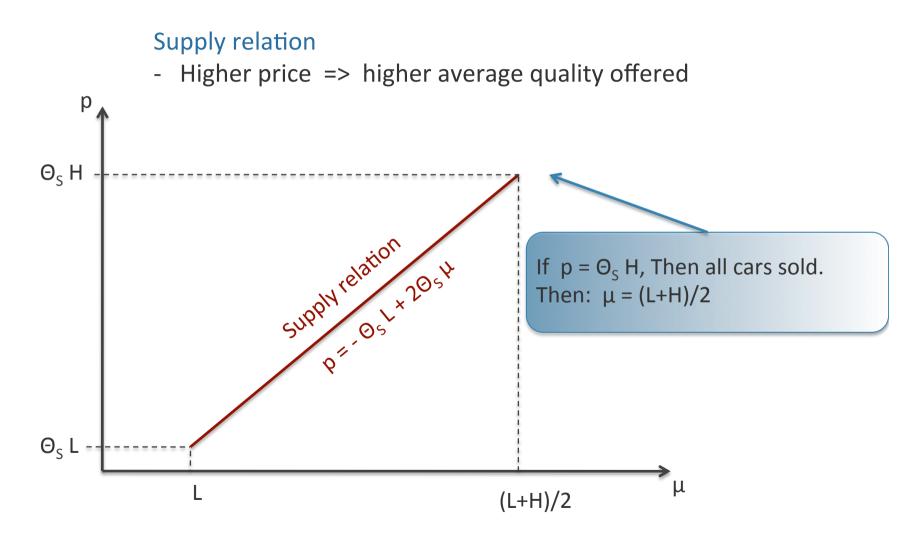
#### Equilibrium

- A price such that the market clears (Demand = Supply)



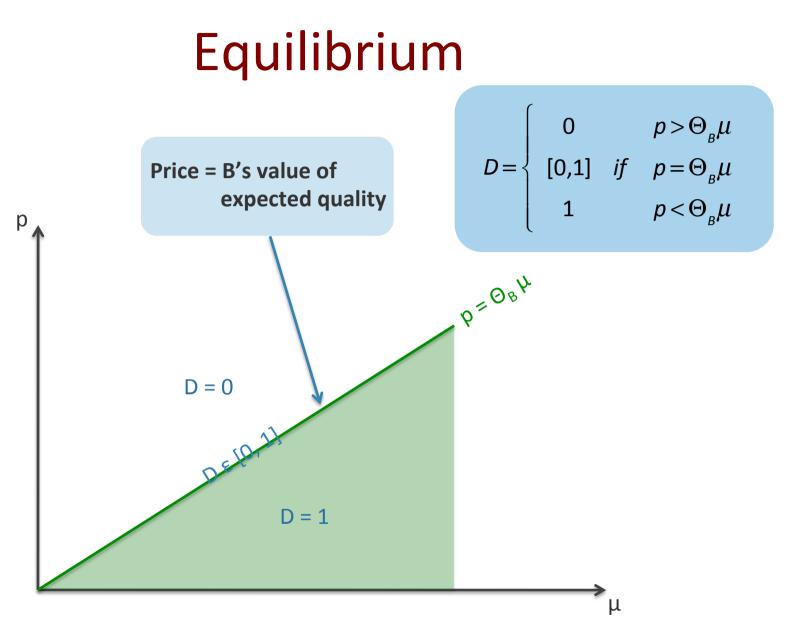
- Equilibrium
  - Supply relation

• 
$$\mu = \frac{1}{2} \left[ p/\Theta_{s} + L \right] \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad p = -\Theta_{s} L + 2\Theta_{s} \mu$$



- Equilibrium
  - Supply relation
    - $\mu = \frac{1}{2} [p/\Theta_{S} + L]$   $\Leftrightarrow$   $p = -\Theta_{S} L + 2\Theta_{S} \mu$
  - Demand

$$D = \begin{cases} 0 \qquad p > \Theta_{B}\mu \\ [0,1] \quad if \quad p = \Theta_{B}\mu \\ 1 \qquad p < \Theta_{B}\mu \end{cases}$$

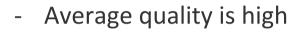


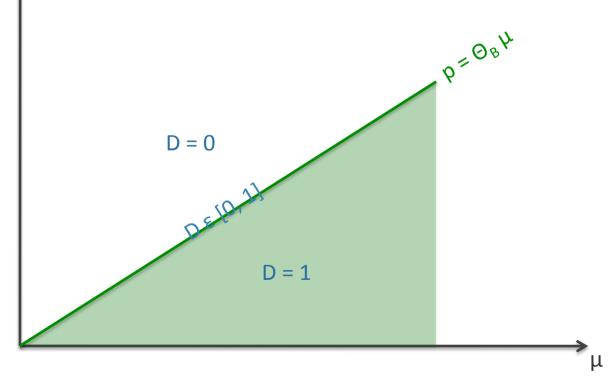
#### **Demand relation**

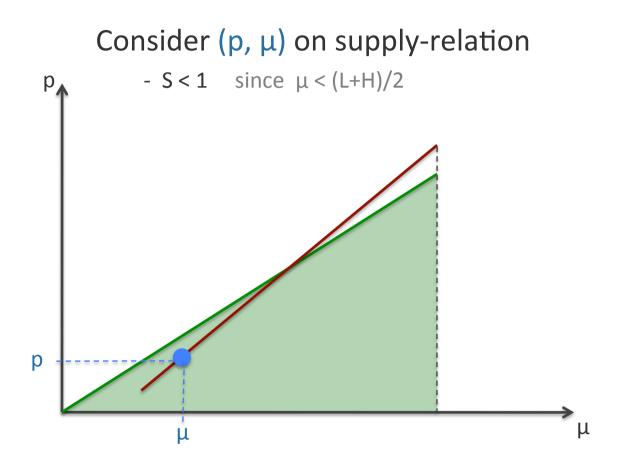
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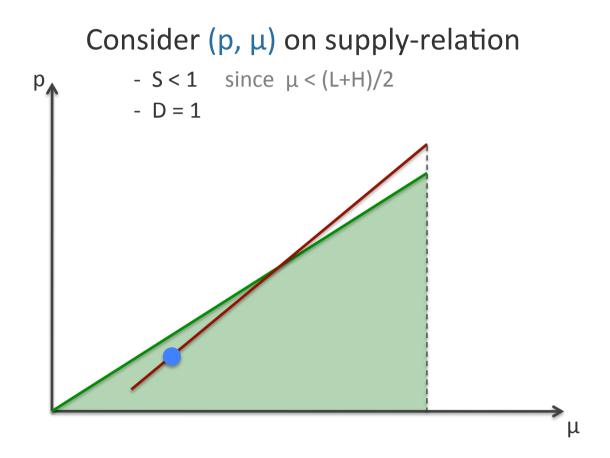
- Price is low



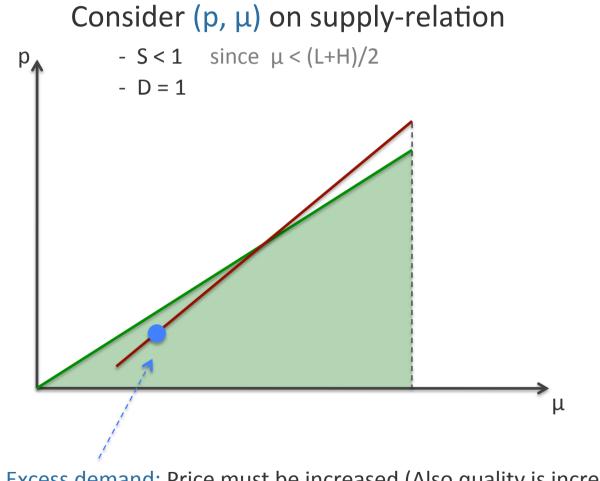




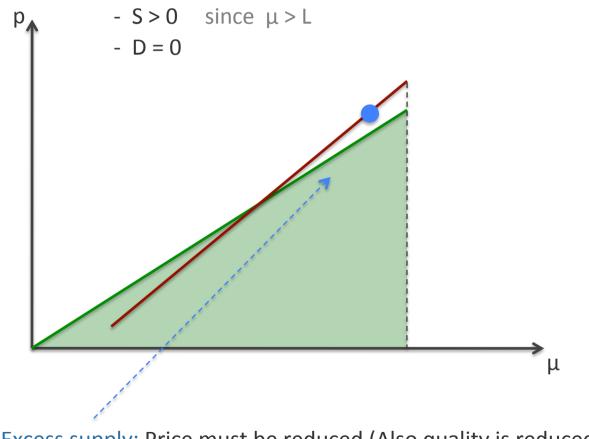
Given p, sellers will supply average quality  $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ 



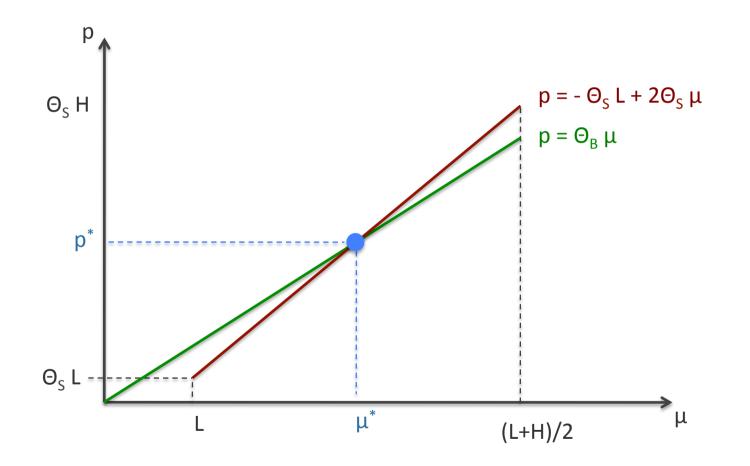
Given (p,  $\mu$ ) all buyers want to buy a car

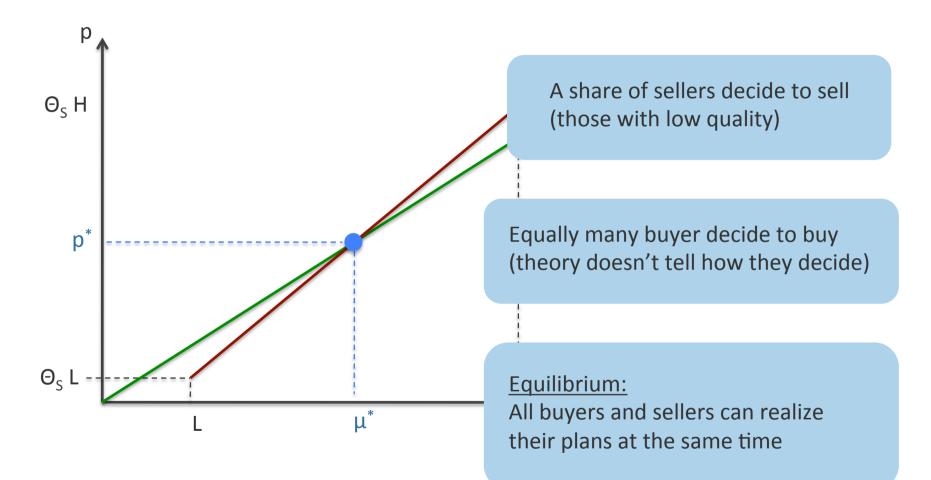


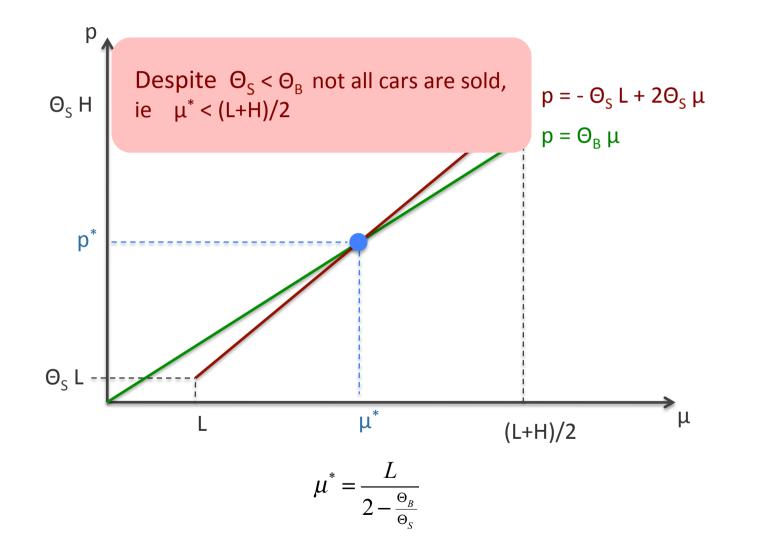


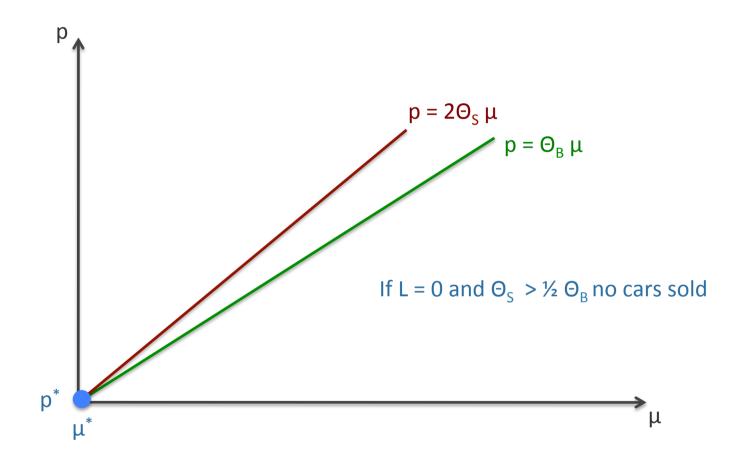


Excess supply: Price must be reduced (Also quality is reduced)









#### What if all uninformed?

## Incomplete but Symmetric Information

- If no one observes quality
  - Buy if  $\Theta_{\rm B} \mu \ge p$
  - Sell if  $\Theta_{\rm S} \, \mu \leq p$
  - If  $\Theta_B \ge \Theta_S$  there exists an equilibrium where all cars are sold, at uniform price eg  $p = \mu(\Theta_B + \Theta_S)/2$
- Not uncertainty, but *asymmetric* information causes adverse selection

#### Applications

#### **Insurance Market**

- Problem: Adverse selection spiral
  - People with high risk of becoming ill buy insurance
  - Insurance company must charge high fees
  - Then, low-risk individuals don't buy
- Solution
  - Mandatory insurance
    - E.g.: Financed with taxes in Europe
    - E.g.: Obama-care in the US

## Labor Markets

- Problem
  - People with low productivity apply for new jobs
  - Employers must set low wages
  - Then, high-productivity workers stay at old jobs
- Possible solutions
  - Internal labor markets
  - Signaling and screening
    - High education to prove high productivity

## Credit Market

- Problem
  - Firms with high risk of bankruptcy borrow
  - Bank must charge high interest rate
  - Then, low-risk firms don't borrow (their expected price is higher)
- A solution: Credit rationing
  - Banks don't increase interest rate, despite excess demand
  - Ration credits instead

## Signaling & Screening

# Signaling & Screening

- Market for lemons
  - Akerlof (1970)
- Solution 1: Signaling
  - Spence (1973)
- Solution 2: Screening
  - Rothchild and Stiglitz (1976)

# Signaling

# Signaling

#### • Problem

- Employers cannot observe productivity
- Also low-productivity workers have incentive to claim high productivity

# Signaling

#### • Basic idea

- High-productivity workers:
  - invest in education
- Employers:
  - higher wage to educated
- Low productive workers:
  - cost of education higher
  - wage premium not sufficient

## Screening

## Screening

- Similar to signaling
  - 1. Uninformed party moves first: Sets up menu of contracts to sort informed
  - 2. Informed self-select
- Example
  - Second degree price discrimination