The Political Economics of Green Transitions

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Points of departure

A green transition?

- structural shifts to non-polluting production and consumption
- many agree it's needed, but views on route differ

Most economic anaysis rests on two postulates

- transition mechanism only relies on prices/taxes
- welfare-oriented planner can commit to any path for policies

We reconsider both postulates

- mechanism entails changing values as well
- > politicians, who cannot commit, choose policies sequentially

Begin with laissez faire

Green transition without any collective action?

- producers: use green (non-polluting) or brown (polluting) technologies – shares change based on expected profit
- consumers: hold green or brown values that shape demand for goods – shares change based on expected utility

Key complementarity

- firms more likely go green if expect more consumers go green, and vice versa (analog to Rochet-Tirole 2003)
- two-way feedbacks fuel divergent value-technology dynamics towards either green or brown steady state
- former case, market forces drive green transition
- latter case, may be a "brown trap" where welfare-enhancing green transition does not materialize

Go on to add political policymaking

Add Pigouvian taxes/subsidies on brown and green goods

set in electoral competition without any commitment

Value-technology dynamics reflect equilibrium policy

- politics may address market failure, bring a green transition
- but political failure due to lacking commitment still a distinct possibility
- welfare costs of two kinds: (i) society may remain in brown trap, (ii) any green transition is too slow

New perspective on what policy can realistically achieve

more facilitator than key driver of private change

Finish by a set of extensions

Richer foundation of values

 based on moral, not just economic, concerns – makes green transition more likely and speeds it up

Richer political process

- profit-driven firm lobbying makes green transition less likely (if brown firms better organized)
- value-driven individual activism makes more likely and speeds up green transition

Richer economic dynamics

- technology adoption with crowding and/or learning by doing modifies, but does not overturn, basic results
- outright green adoption subsidy may eliminate welfare traps and speed up green transitions
- externality from pollution stock, not flow makes (endogenous) policy more aggressive

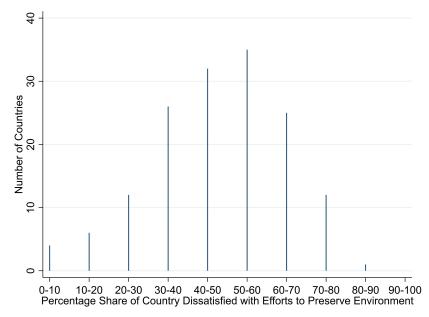
Roadmap

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Background
- 3. Laissez faire
- 4. Political policymaking

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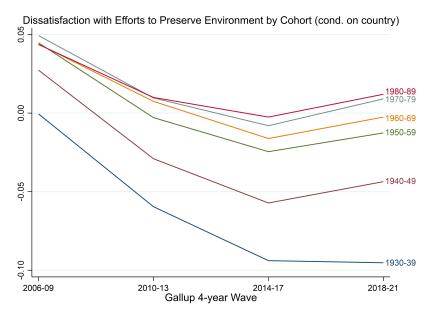
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2 million+ values (Gallup World Poll) by 142 countries



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Values by 6 ten-year cohorts (given country FEs)



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Green values and cultural evolution

Green consumer attitudes have social roots

- green preferences via pro-social or self-image motives: theory (Nyborg et el 2006) and data (Delmas et al 2017)
- hugely varying attitudes to individual action and climate policy (Andre et al 2021, Dechezleprêtre et al 2022)

Values may reflect social identities

- better way to capture lifestyles long-standing in sociology, more recent in economics (Akerlof-Kranton 2000, Bisin-Verdier 2001, Tabellini 2008)
- moral, universalist values (Enke 2020, Enke et al 2022)
- models of cultural evolution (Boyd-Richerson 1985)

Two-way interactions of values and strategic design

 of *policy* by competing parties, or *institutions* by current principals (Besley-Persson 2019a, 2019b, 2022b)

Green technologies and politics of policy

Green-to-brown technology switching

 form of endogenous innovation (Romer 1986, 1990), brown vs. green directed technical change (Acemoglu et al 2012)

Pigouvian taxes and pollution

 set politically, not by planner who commits to optimal path (Dasgupta-Heal 1979, Nordhaus-Boyer 2000, Golosov et al 2014) – but externality tied to flow, not stock, of emissions

Various political mechanisms

- probabilistic electoral competition (Lindbeck-Weibull 1987, Persson-Tabellini 2000)
- firm lobbying of politicians (Baron 1994)
- "private politics" by individual activists (Abito et al 2019)
- "strategic policymaking" (Persson-Svensson 1989, Alesina-Tabellini 1990)

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Baseline model overview

Values and technologies of two kinds

consumers and firms: green or brown

Time infinite, discrete, denoted by s

• use z for z_s , z' for z_{s+1}

Each period has four stages

1. Start with green consumer, firm shares μ,γ

- 2. Pricing, production, and consumption
- 3. Firms pick technologies that shape γ'
- 4. Consumers pick values that shape μ'

Model overview (continued)

Numeraire good turned to continuum of varieties

- monopolistic competition, to analyze profitability
- ▶ green, non-polluting goods indexed $i \in [0, \gamma]$ quantity, price: y(i), p(i)
- ► brown, polluting goods indexed $i \in [\gamma, 1]$ quantity, price: Y(i), P(i)

Symmetry assumption

▶ all green (brown) firms same, except technology-adoption costs, so y (i) = y, Y (i) = Y, etc

Stage 2 – consumers and demands

Two identities – values

▶ green $\Gamma = 1$ and brown $\Gamma = 0$ map into preferences

$$\frac{1}{1-\sigma} \begin{bmatrix} \int_0^{\gamma} \left[\Gamma \left(1+g \right)^{\sigma} + (1-\Gamma) \right] y(i)^{1-\sigma} di + \\ \int_{\gamma}^{1} \left[\Gamma \left(1-g \right)^{\sigma} + (1-\Gamma) \right] Y(i)^{1-\sigma} di \end{bmatrix} + x - \lambda \overline{Y}$$

- σ < 1 ∼ substitution elasticity, g green-values preference shift, x numeraire consumption
- $\lambda > 0$ damage of pollution *flow*, \overline{Y} total brown output

Equilibrium demands

$$y = [1 + \mu g] p^{-rac{1}{\sigma}}$$
 $Y = [1 - \mu g] P^{-rac{1}{\sigma}}$

▶ green share µ raises (cuts) demand for green (brown) goods

Stage 2 – firms, pricing, and profits

Two technologies with clean or dirty inputs

- brown cheaper: marginal cost χ , rather than $\chi + \zeta$
- mark-up pricing optimal

$$p = \frac{\chi + \zeta}{(1 - \sigma)} > P = \frac{\chi}{(1 - \sigma)}$$

higher green-goods prices cut demand

Equilibrium profits

$$\pi(i) = \sigma \kappa(\zeta) [1 + \mu g] - mi$$
 $\Pi = \sigma \kappa(0) [1 - \mu g]$

- $\blacktriangleright \kappa(x)$ decreasing core green profitability lower
- green (brown) firm profits rise (fall) in green-values share: market-share effect
- mi cost per period to use green technology, decided last period -m common, so firms *i* ordered by switching cost

Stage 4 – value choices

"Darwinian" value (social-identity) dynamics

▶ green share grows in expected relative "fitness" ∆' – the expected-utility difference of being green vs. brown

• formally,
$$\mu' \stackrel{>}{\gtrless} \mu$$
 as $\Delta' \stackrel{>}{\gtrless} 0$

Specific micro foundation (in Appendix A)

- (biological or cultural) "parents" socialize "kids"
- ▶ 1st-order approximation of dynamics

$$\frac{\mu'-\mu}{\mu}=\varkappa\Delta'$$

Equilibrium demands imply

$$\Delta'(\gamma') = \frac{\sigma g}{1 - \sigma} \left[\gamma' \kappa(\zeta) - (1 - \gamma') \kappa(\mathbf{0}) \right]$$

► green-values fitness linear in expected green-goods share

Stage 3 – technology choices

Green-firm share reflects expected profits

• go green in s + 1 if μ' large or i small

$$\gamma'\left(\mu'\right) = \max\left\{0, \frac{\sigma\left(\mu'g\left[\kappa\left(\zeta\right) + \kappa\left(0\right)\right] + \left[\kappa\left(\zeta\right) - \kappa\left(0\right)\right]\right)}{m}\right\}$$

restrict parameters, so γ' (1) < 1 − some brown goods remain even if μ = 1

Together, stages 3 and 4 yield key complementarity

 more consumers go green if more firms do – which they do if more consumers do

$$\Delta' = \delta(\mu') = \max\left\{-\frac{\sigma g \kappa(0)}{1-\sigma}, \delta_0 + \delta_1 \mu'\right\}$$

► where $\delta_0 < -\frac{\sigma_{g\kappa(0)}}{1-\sigma} < 0$, $\delta_1 > 0$, and assume $\delta_0 + \delta_1 > 0$

Dynamics under laissez faire

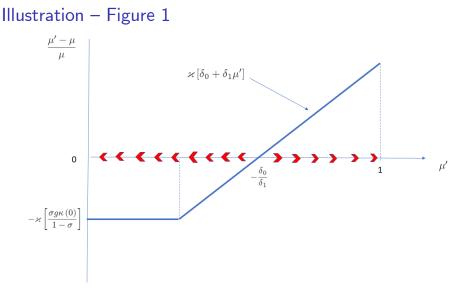
Complementarity drives divergent dynamics

Proposition 1 Laissez-faire economy goes to green (brown) steady state with $\mu = 1$ ($\mu = 0$), iff initially $\mu \ge \hat{\mu}$ ($\mu < \hat{\mu}$), where $\hat{\mu} = -\delta_0/\delta_1$

(all proofs in Appendix B)

Two steady states, but unique dynamics

market forces lead to brown (green) steady state, when initial green consumer share μ below (above) critical juncture μ̂



 value *cum* technology dynamics may, or may not, sustain green transition under laissez faire

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Welfare analysis

Define utilitarian static welfare $\Omega\left(\mu\right)$

- ► write social surplus of each unit of green, brown goods $w(\zeta) = \left[\frac{\kappa(\zeta)}{1-\sigma} - (\chi + \zeta) \kappa(\zeta)^{\frac{1}{1-\sigma}}\right],$ $W(\lambda) = \left[\frac{\kappa(0)}{1-\sigma} - (\chi + \lambda) \kappa(0)^{\frac{1}{1-\sigma}}\right]$
- sum surpluses for all goods, add lump-sum income, deduct technology-adoption cost: Ω(μ) = γ̂(μ) (1 + μg) w (ζ) + (1 γ̂(μ)) (1 μg) W(λ) + I ^{γ̂(μ)²m}/₂
- A green transition unambiguously raises $\Omega\left(\mu
 ight)$ under

Condition 1 $w(\zeta) > 0 > W(\lambda)$

- brown-goods externality λ large enough to outweigh extra green-goods production cost ζ
- full green transition desirable, for any μ and $\hat{\gamma}(\mu)$

Clear-cut welfare result

Define *intertemporal* welfare (no discounting, to simplify)

$$\Omega\left(\mu_{s}\right)+\sum_{j=s+1}^{\infty}\Omega\left(\mu_{j}\right)$$

▶ compare two paths for green-values share, $\tilde{\mu} > \mu$ – each element in $\{\tilde{\mu}_s, ..., \tilde{\mu}_\infty\}$ no lower than in $\{\mu_s, ..., \mu_\infty\}$

Proposition 2 Under Condition 1, welfare higher on any path with $\tilde{\mu} > \mu$, and green steady-state welfare superior

- Iower welfare on any path to brown steady state
- if full green transition desirable, society trapped if µ too low, and welfare higher if ongoing transition faster (by higher µ)
- no surprise firms maximize profit, not social welfare

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Policymaking

Producer taxes (subsidies)

- classical Pigouvian taxes, T and t, raise (cut) production costs – proceeds rebated lump-sum to consumers
- but taxes set period by period (no commitment) in electoral competition between two opportunistic parties
- A period now has five stages
 - 1. Start with green consumer, firm shares μ,γ
 - (a) Parties announce {t, T}; (b) election result realized s t idiosyncratic and aggregate voting shocks

- 3. Pricing, production, and consumption
- 4. Firms pick technologies that shape γ^\prime
- 5. Consumers pick values that shape μ'

Stage 2 – electoral competition

Probabilistic-voting model

- optimistic benchmark: "as if" parties max utilitarian current payoff Ω (μ, t, T) – explain why static objective below
- gives static Pigouvian tax rates

Proposition 3 Both parties propose

$$T = (1 - \sigma) \lambda - \sigma \chi$$
 $t = -\sigma(\chi + \zeta)$

- ► t < 0 by monopoly pricing, T > t by externality private agents meet social marginal costs: green χ + ζ, brown χ + λ
- green profits up, but brown profits down (if λ high enough)
- if $\lambda > \zeta$, green goods cheaper to consumers

$$P = \frac{\chi + T}{(1 - \sigma)} = \chi + \lambda > p = \frac{\chi + \zeta + t}{(1 - \sigma)} = \chi + \zeta$$

Why do parties adopt static objective?

Solve for stage 3-5 equilibrium

- current choices give current green and brown utilities $u(\mu, t, T)$, $U(\mu, t, T)$
- ► forward-looking choices give future shares of green goods $\gamma' = \gamma (\mu', t', T')$, green values $\mu' = \mu (\gamma', \mu', t', T')$ and relative fitness $\Delta' = u (\mu', t', T) U (\mu', t', T')$

Consumers/parents and firms atomistic

 \blacktriangleright take future drivers of μ' and γ' as given, as individually pick values and technologies

Political parties not atomistic

- do internalize policy effects on current and future payoffs
- when parties set t, T, voters/consumers/parents do like them to raise future payoffs

Culprit is lack of commitment

Parties willing but unable to affect future payoffs

- cannot directly commit to t', T'
- cannot indirectly influence $\{\mu', \gamma', t', T'\}$ via t, T

Can only influence current utilities $u(\mu, t, T)$, $U(\mu, t, T)$

▶ taking {µ', γ', t', T'} as given means maximizing static utilitarian objective Ω (µ, t, T) – optimal t, T in Proposition 3

Policies become constant

with fixed parameters, t, T do not change over time

Interacting green shares

Key complementarity still present

► from expressions for green-firm share $\gamma' = \gamma(\mu', t', T')$ and green-value fitness $\Delta' = \Delta(\mu', t', T')$

$$\Delta' = \widehat{\delta}_{0}(t', T') + \widehat{\delta}_{1}(t', T') \mu'$$

where
$$\widehat{\delta}_0(t', T') \stackrel{<}{>} 0$$
 (before $\delta_0 < 0$) and $\widehat{\delta}_1(t', T') > 0$

As in laissez faire, dynamics are divergent

 green-consumer growth still proportional to Δ', but how Δ' rises with μ' depends on policy

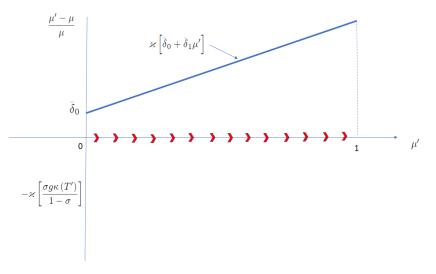
Counterpart to Proposition 1

Proposition 4 Society with endogenous taxes goes to green (brown) steady state iff initial green share $\mu \ge \hat{\mu}$ $(\mu < \hat{\mu})$, where $\hat{\mu} = -\hat{\delta}_0(t', T')/\hat{\delta}_1(t', T')$

▶ now can have µ̂ ≤ 0 - green transition for any initial µ, if high T makes up for low µ (see further below)

• if critical juncture $\hat{\mu} > 0$, two steady states as before

Illustration – Figure 2



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consider comparative dynamics with politics

Politics and green transitions

Propositions 3 and 4 together imply

Corollary 3 Higher externality/green-cost gap $\lambda - \zeta$ raises tax gap T - t. May ensure green transition from any green values μ ; if not, shifts down critical juncture $\hat{\mu}$ and widens range of μ that permits green transition

 policy helps prospect for green transition, compared to laissez faire, especially if pollution large

 but brown trap still a clear possibility – then have political failure alongside market failure

Interim bottom line

Policy can help

► equilibrium policy sets T > t - green goods cheaper, more profitable than in laissez faire - more so if λ - ζ large

Modify earlier welfare analysis

- Condition 2 green transition socially desirable, even if policy prices static externality, and we consider distributive effects (higher μ' and γ' hit green and brown differently)
- Proposition 5 analog to Proposition 2
- Corollary 4 current policymakers would like to raise µ' via higher T', but cannot
- lack of commitment has two kinds of welfare costs: (i) green transition does not occur, (ii) any green transition too slow

Next, sketch how to enrich baseline model

► extend in six (seven) directions, one at a time

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Enrich values - moral concerns of green

Simple modeling of morality

- green consumers/voters face utility loss: θ times distance of pollution from a reference point
- alters voting (Enke 2020, Enke et al 2022) but not demand parties respond to green voters who prefer higher brown tax T

Main results

Proposition 6 With moral consumers, parties choose same taxes:

$$T = (1 - \sigma) (\lambda + \mu \theta) - \sigma \chi, \ t = -(\sigma + \zeta) \chi$$

- endogenous reference point reflects pollution at highest politically feasible brown-goods tax
- moral values become more strict (lenient) over time, as green values share µ grows (shrinks)

Implications of moral values

Statics and dynamics of policy

- equilibrium T higher, ceteris paribus, rising in green share µ
- additional feedback loop on top of market-size effect: expected green-values share μ' raises T' and green-firm share γ', which makes μ' even larger

Green transitions and welfare

• green transition more *likely* and more *rapid* if it occurs – the $\hat{\delta}_0 + \hat{\delta}_1 \mu'$ curve shifts up every period

cuts both welfare costs of lacking commitment

Enrich politics - lobbying by firms

Simple modeling

- add lobbying to electoral competition
- shares φ, Φ of green, brown firms pay (optimal) campaign contributions (Baron 1994)
- support party whose policy better for profits money raises party-win probability by ξ

Main results

Proposition 7 With electoral competition and lobbying, parties converge on taxes:

$$T = \frac{(1-\sigma)\,\lambda - \sigma\left(1 + \Phi\xi\right)\chi}{1 + \Phi\xi\sigma}, t = -\sigma\left(\chi + \zeta\right)\frac{1 + \xi\phi}{1 + \xi\phi\sigma}$$

• Proposition 3 special case for $\phi = \Phi = 0$, or $\xi = 0$

Implications of lobbying

Statics and dynamics of policy

- taxes constant over time, as with electoral competition
- taxes lower if more firms organized (higher ϕ or Φ)

Green transitions and welfare

▶ if brown firms better organized than green (Φ > φ), lobbying makes green transition less likely, and more so if money more important in politics (higher ζ)

raises welfare costs of lacking commitment

Enrich politics - individual activism

Simple modeling

- add "private politics" (Abito et al 2019)
- green activists hurt brown firms, help green firms costs rise by μd (λ), fall by −μa (λ) – more so, if μ and λ higher

Main result

Proposition 8 With electoral competition and individual activism, both parties choose taxes:

$$T = (1 - \sigma) \lambda - \sigma \left(\chi + \mu d \left(\lambda
ight)
ight)$$
, $t = -\sigma \left(\chi + \zeta - \mu a \left(\lambda
ight)
ight)$

 parties adapt policy to activism – some crowding out, but still higher (lower) costs of brown (green) firms

Implications of private politics

Statics and dynamics of policy

- ► more activism higher d(λ) and a(λ) raises brown-green tax gap T – t
- this gap rises (falls) with higher (lower) green share μ

Green transitions and welfare

 individual activism and policy interact – new positive feedback loop between green shares γ and μ

- green transition more likely and more rapid, should it occur
- activism cuts both costs of lacking commitment

Enrich economics - endogenous adoption costs

Simple modeling

- green adopting share can push green-technology cost $m' = mH(\gamma', q')$ – up via crowding $(H_{\gamma} > 0)$, or down via learning by doing $(H_q < 0$, where $q' = q + \gamma')$
- get economic dynamics evolving green-firm share γ may, or may not, drive green (production) transition, even if μ constant
- value dynamics boost or dampen the economic dynamics

Implications

- politicians still can't alter γ' mirror expected profits π' that current policy does not affect – so t, T set as in Proposition 3
- crowding (and coevolving values) slow down or prevent green transition, compared to baseline model
- learning by doing speeds up or enables green transition

Enrich economics - endogenous adoption subsidy

Simple modeling

- add third instrument: flat grant r for going green
- now, current policymakers can affect future technologies γ' directly, and values μ' indirectly

Implications

- r chosen "strategically" to influence future welfare via state variable µ'
- ▶ higher r cuts future pollution \(\lambda\) \(\vec Y'\) this is good for all and trumps any distributive concerns if externality large
- under Condition 2, r used to its maximum removes welfare traps, and speeds up green transition

Enrich dynamics – *stock* externality

Simple modeling

- ► climate externality λ reflects cumulated (past) emissions Λ , as well as current emissions, with $\lambda' = \lambda(\delta \Lambda + \overline{Y}(T))$
- two state variables μ and Λ

Implications

- choices of t and T shape future externality and future policy
- again, policy chosen strategically: higher T cuts current and future pollution λ', and thus affects T'
- ► T set higher with stock than flow externality
- but may not limit damages a race between lower pollution flow and higher pollution stock

Major qualification

 global climate externality may nullify stronger policy incentives when policymakers national

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New results

Address first "hangover" in traditional economic logic

- values rather than taxes as driver complementarity yields divergent value-technology dynamics
- market failure may, or may not, result in brown trap, as welfare-enhancing green transition does not materialize

Address second hangover

 add politically determined tax policy without commitment – may, or may not, remove brown trap

- political failure results in too slow green transitions
- new perspective on role of policy

Ways forward

Model is a plausible stepping stone

- show how to extend it in several directions
- can add richer value-driven behavior pricing by motivated green-firm owners, voice or exit by green investors
- can add even richer politics formation of green social movements, or entry of green parties

More demanding, maybe more rewarding, extensions

- value and technology spillovers analyze in multi-country framework with global externalities
- reference points for green moral values can offer an approach to global moral standards
- "double-edged diplomacy" study interplay of domestic politics and international climate agreements