

**AE 503**

# **THE “TRAGEDY OF THE COMMONS”**

**Professor Ian Sheldon**

## **THE PROBLEM**

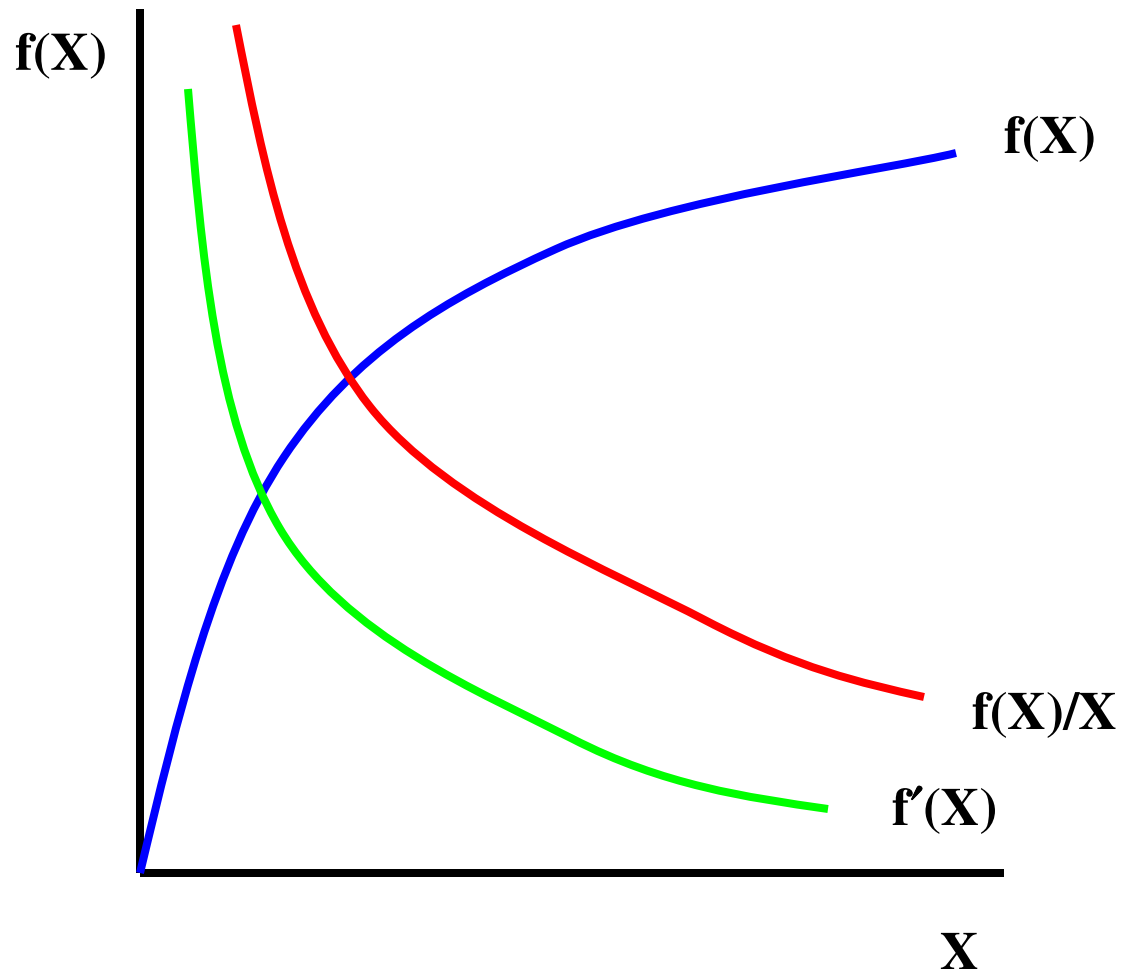
- **If property rights are ill-defined, it can result in market inefficiencies**
  
- **A well-known example of such a problem is the so-called “tragedy of the commons”**
  
- **This problem arises where the law on property rights is either ambiguous or non-existent:**
  - ☞ **excessive fishing in international waters**
  
  - ☞ **extinction of species such as whales due to over-hunting**
  
  - ☞ **over-grazing of common land**

- **Imagine a body of water that derives its value from the marine life it sustains, in particular the fish it contains are non-migratory in nature**
- **Nobody actually owns the fishing ground, it is in open sea in *international waters* - everyone has an equal right to fish in the area - *open access***
- **The fish population is *self-renewable* if the population is large enough - if it gets below a *threshold* level, the chances of a species surviving are diminished**
- **The *rate of catch* is crucial in determining whether a species is *endangered***
- **To understand the problem, need to compare what happens if fishing ground has open access vs. private ownership**

- **Suppose fishing is treated as a production activity where the variable input is fishing vessels,  $X$ , so the total catch  $Y$  from a fishing ground of size  $S$  is:**

$$Y = f(X, S)$$

- **The total catch  $Y$  exhibits diminishing marginal returns as number of vessels  $X$  increases**
- **This reflects fact that the fishing ground is fixed in size - as the number of vessels increases, there is an overcrowding effect**



$f(X)$  = total product

$f(X)/X$  = average product

$f'(X)$  = marginal product

<b>X</b>	<b>f(X)</b>	<b>f(X)/X</b>	<b>f'(X)</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>280</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>20</b>

**Rental cost per vessel is \$60**

**Price of fish is \$1/fish**

- Suppose that it costs  $p$  dollars to rent a fishing vessel
- The amount of fish a vessel can catch depends on how many other vessels are at the fishing ground
- For simplicity, assume that the price of fish = 1 so  $f(X)$  is the *total value of the catch* from the fishing ground (total revenue)
- Hence, if there are  $X$  vessels in the sea, the *value of the catch per vessel* is just average product  $f(X)/X$  (average revenue)

- Suppose the fishery were in *private ownership*, i.e. there is one person who owns the area of sea, so they can decide on how many vessels to allow in

- The owner will want to maximize profits:

$$\max f(X) - pX$$

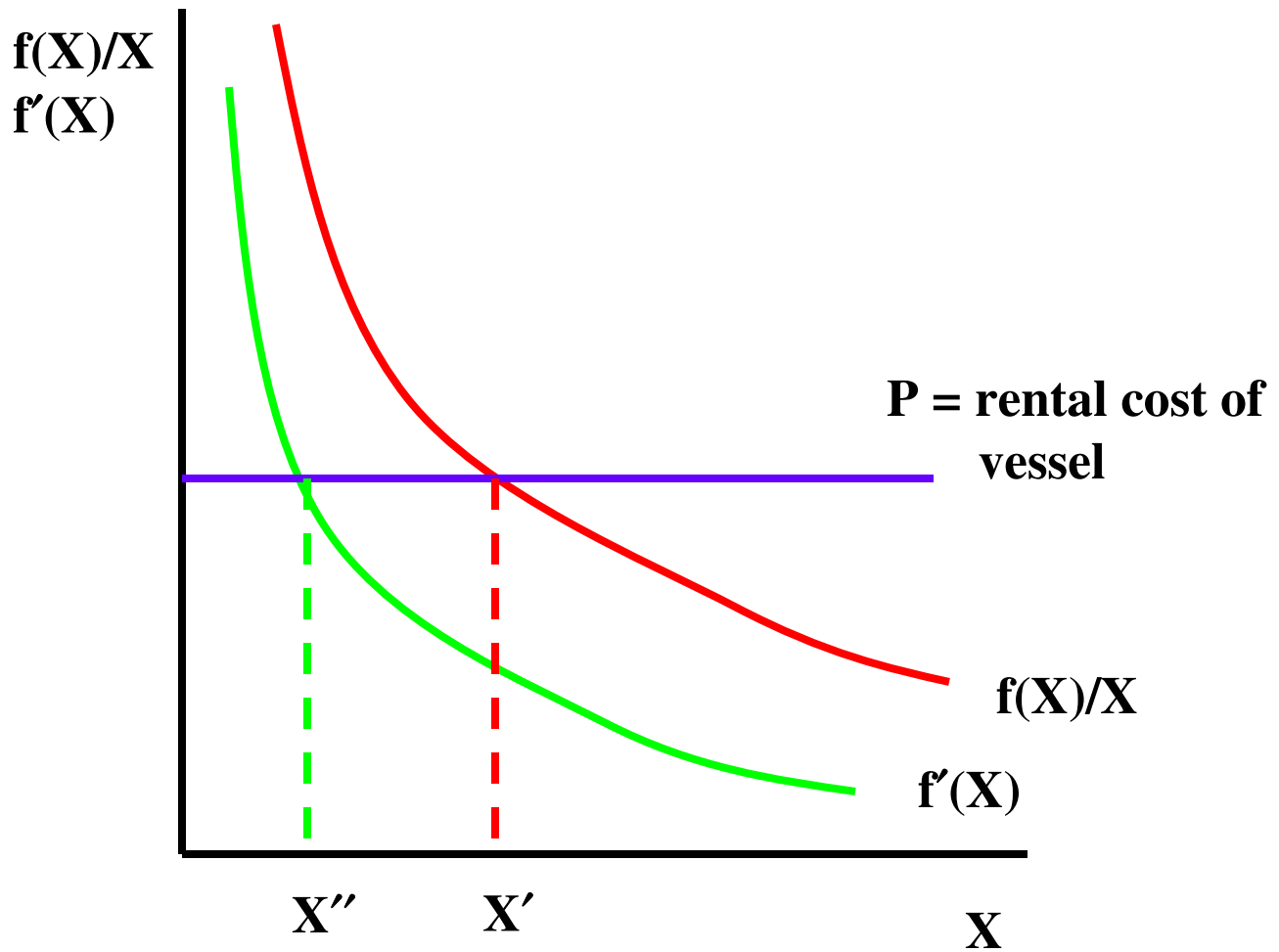
i.e. the owner would want to maximize the difference between the value of the fish caught  $f(X)$ , and the total cost of renting vessels  $pX$ :

$$f'(X) = p$$

when marginal revenue product is equal to marginal cost

- The owner would rent just enough vessels to maximize their profits at  $X''$  (See figure)





$X' =$  equilibrium number of vessels

$X'' =$  efficient number of vessels

$X' - X'' =$  amount of over-fishing

■ Suppose there is *open access* to the fishing ground  
- a person will only rent a vessel if it is privately profitable to do so, but they do not account for the impact their vessel has on the output of vessels already in the fishing ground

■ If current value of output per vessel is  $f(X)/X$ ,  
if a new vessel is added, the new value of output per vessel is  $f(X+1)/(X+1)$

■ As long as the value of output per vessel exceeds the cost of renting the vessel, vessels will enter:

$$f(X+1)/(X+1) > p$$

■ Vessels enter until the value of output per vessel is just equal to the rental cost:

$$f(X^*)/X^* = p$$

i.e. at point  $X'$  (See figure)

- **Given that average product is diminishing, it must be the case that the marginal product of vessels lies everywhere below average product**
- **This means that the number of vessels in the common fishing ground will always exceed that in a private fishing ground**
- **In the absence of a mechanism for restricting entry of vessels, fishing ground is over fished by  $X' - X''$**
- **The externality here is that common fishery ground gets over-fished as access cannot be controlled**
- **Ultimately, results in reduction in fish stocks, given assumptions about non-migratory nature of fish species and population growth**

## **POLICY OPTIONS**

- **In principle, if this were an inland fishing ground such as the Great Lakes, possible to restrict access**
- **In the case of international waters, extremely difficult to assign and enforce property rights**
- **Even in a country's defined territorial waters, there is often international conflict over rights to fish e.g. the so-called "Cod War" between Iceland and the UK, and the U.S./Canadian salmon treaty dispute**
- **Commonly governments have attempted to agree on quota systems to prevent over fishing of international waters - fix either number of vessels X, or catch per vessel**
- **Such systems are difficult to police - International Whaling Commission established in 1946 to protect whale species by setting maximum catch limits - Commission has no authority to enforce rules**