Experimentation in Federal Systems

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• "It is one of the happy incidents of the federal system that a single courageous state may, if its citizens choose, serve as a laboratory; and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the rest of the country."

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 - experiments are useful to all states preferences are similar
- E.g., California with environmental standards, Alabama with school vouchers.

Questions: Will states choose the right quantity of experiments? Will they choose the right type of experiments?

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Really Bad News: Threat of free-riding induces *Pareto dominated* policy choices.

Our Contribution – Part II

Question: Can a better federalist system be designed?

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Our Answer: Progressive federalism.

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 - centralization implies policy harmonization.
 - states compete for their policy to be implemented nationally.
 - Appropriate metaphor for federalism is a *tournament*, rather than a *laboratory*.

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Economic theory: Experimentation and bandit-problems

- Heavy on free-riding, not on preference heterogeneity.
- Bolton and Harris '99, Keller, Rady & Cripps '05, Keller and Rady '10, Rosenberg, Solan and Vieille '07

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 - Volden, Ting & Carpenter '09.
- Experiment is binary: succeeds with probability p, at cost k.
- Two districts (/states) with ideal points $t_i \in \mathbb{R}$, $i \in \{A, B\}$
 - Heterogeneity $h = t_B t_A$.

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Timing – Decentralized System

• Choose policy to explore: $x_i \in \mathbb{R}, i \in \{A, B\}$.

- **2** Play safe or experiment $e_i \in \{0, 1\}$.
 - outcomes observed $s_{x_i} \in \{0, 1\}$
- Similar Final policy chosen: $y_i \in \{x_A, x_B\}, i \in \{A, B\}.$

• payoffs:
$$u_i = s_{y_i} - c(t_i - y_i) - k \cdot e_i$$
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$$c(.)$$
 is concave, $c'(0) = 0$.

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The First-Best



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- Convergence from ideal points, t_A < x_A < 0 < x_B < t_B, is efficient iff h ∈ [h', h''].
- Each district should accomodate, $a_i = |x_i t_i|$, satisfying

$$rac{c'\left(a_{i}
ight)}{c'\left(h-a_{i}
ight)+c'\left(a_{i}
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Decentralization

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• If locations are identical, *i* experiments even when *j* does if:

$$p(1-p)-k \geq 0.$$

$$0 \geq k-p(1-p).$$

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• Given different locations, $h - a_j > a_i$, *i* experiments if:

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 - Heterogeneity h > 0
 - Sufficiently different policies $x_A \neq x_B \Leftrightarrow a < h/2$

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Decentralization - given (symmetric) locations



• No convergence.

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Decentralization - given (symmetric) locations



- No convergence.
- Possible *divergence*.

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Decentralization - equilibrium locations

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Decentralization - equilibrium locations



The local optimum
$$h^*$$
 is global if $k \leq 2prac{1-p}{2-p}$

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Experimentation

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• If $h \in [h'_d, h^*_d)$, experiments diverge: $x_A < t_A < t_B < x_B \Leftrightarrow a_i = a > 0$:

$$c(h-a)-c(a) = \frac{k-p(1-p)}{p^2}$$

- Divergence increases in k but decreases in p
- The smaller is h, the larger is divergence:

$$\frac{\partial |x_B - x_A|}{\partial h} < 0.$$

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Centralization - Model

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• Stage 3: A median voter decides on $y_A = y_B \in \{x_A, x_B\}$, implying:

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 - If both fail/succeed, the smallest $|x_i|$ is chosen

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- If both equally close: fair draw

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- Ex post, the uniform policy is inefficient

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 - If both equally close: fair draw
- Ex post, the uniform policy is inefficient
- Otherwise, the game is as before

Centralization - Given Locations

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- Compared to decentralization: Larger incentives if p < 1/2
- When choosing locations, inequality will bind

• If j experiments, i does too iff

$$c(h-a_j)-c(a_i) \geq rac{k-p(1-p)}{p/2}$$

- Compared to decentralization: Larger incentives if p < 1/2
- When choosing locations, inequality will bind
- Convergence is possible: accomodate median voter \Rightarrow a > 0

Centralization - Equilibrium Locations



The optimal heterogeneity is $h_{c}^{*} > 0$

Callander & Harstad (Stanford

Experimentation

June 2012 25 / 28

Centralization or Decentralization?

• Centralization is always inefficient ex post

Proposition

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• If p > 1/2, incentives to experiment is lower, so centralization worse

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- If p < 1/2 is small, centralization can be **better**

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Proposition

- If p > 1/2, incentives to experiment is lower, so centralization worse
- If p < 1/2 is small, centralization can be better
- If $c(a) = qa^2$, centralization is better for small h, q, p and large k:

$$qh^{2} < [k - p(1 - p)] \frac{1/4p^{2} - 1}{1/2 - p(1 - p)}$$

Alternative Applications

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• Coffee-brewing

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- Prescriptive theory: Constitutions should do it!