

## Principles of Agricultural Economics

This book showcases the power of economic principles to explain and predict issues and current events in the food, agricultural, agribusiness, international trade, natural resources, and other sectors.

The result is an agricultural economics textbook that provides students and instructors with a clear, up-to-date, and straightforward approach to learning how a market-based economy functions, and how to use simple economic principles for improved decision making.

While the primary focus of the book is on microeconomic aspects, agricultural economics has expanded over recent decades to include issues of macroeconomics, international trade, agribusiness, environmental economics, natural resources, and international development. Hence, these topics are also provided with significant coverage.

Andrew Barkley is Professor and University Distinguished Teaching Scholar, Department of Agricultural Economics, Kansas State University, USA.

Paul W. Barkley is Professor Emeritus, Department of Agricultural Economics, Washington State University, and Adjunct Professor, Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics, Oregon State University, USA.

# Principles of Agricultural Economics 

Andrew Barkley and Paul W. Barkley

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## Preface

The main objective of this book is to provide students and instructors with a clear, up-todate, and straightforward approach to learning how a market-based economy functions, and how to use simple economic principles for improved decision making. Emphasis is placed on the intuition of profit maximization, and how the intuition can be used to improve both personal and professional decision making.

Together, we have many years of experience teaching economics to students who are majoring in fields related to agriculture. Our idea is that students will find economic principles more relevant if the examples were related to agriculture: bushels of wheat, pounds of hamburger, gallons of pesticides, acres of land. The theories, models, and concepts appropriate to studying economics do not vary when one moves from widgets to bushels, and the lessons become easier for the student interested in food, agriculture, and environmental issues.

The book began to take form when Andrew started teaching large classes of Kansas State University students who were new to economics. Andy kept his notes from one semester to the next and added, modified, corrected, and edited. After several years, the notes were almost in book form, and many teachers at K-State and at other institutions used the notes for their classes. This evolved into a plan to develop the notes as a full-blown, publishable manuscript. We decided to work together to broaden the base of experience and interest. The result of the collaboration is a useful and flexible microeconomics text that treats all of the essential topics at a comfortable level that uses words, graphs, and simple algebra to explain the major themes and examples.

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## Abbreviations

| ADM | Archer Daniels Midland |
| :--- | :--- |
| AFO | Animal Feeding Operation |
| bu | bushel |
| CA | Controlled Atmosphere |
| CAB | Certified Angus Beef |
| CAFO | Concentrated Animal Feeding Operation |
| CD | Compact Disk |
| CRP | Conservation Reserve Program |
| cwt | hundredweight |
| DDT | dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane |
| EPA | Environmental Protection Agency |
| EU | European Union |
| FTA | Free Trade Agreement |
| GATT | General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |
| GIS | Geographical Information Systems |
| GPS | Global Positioning Systems |
| H | beef growth hormones |
| HFCS | High Fructose Corn Syrup |
| kwh | kilowatt hours |
| lb(s) | pound(s) [weight] |
| LEPA | Low Energy Precision Application |
| M | Meter |
| N | Nitrogen |
| NAFTA | North American Free Trade Agreement |
| NCBA | National Cattlemen's Beef Association |
| NYSE | New York Stock Exchange |
| OPEC | Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries |
| US | United States |
| USD | United States Dollars |
| USDA | United States Department of Agriculture |
| USEPA | United States Environmental Protection Agency |
| USSR | Former Soviet Union, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| USTA | United States Tennis Association |
| WTO | World Trade Organization |

## Economic terminology

| $\pi$ | profits |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\pi_{\text {A }}$ | accounting profits |
| $\pi_{\mathrm{E}}$ | economic profits |
| A | Land |
| AFC | Average Fixed Costs |
| APP | Average Physical Product |
| AR | Average Revenue |
| ARP | Average Revenue Product |
| ATC | Average Total Costs |
| AVC | Average Variable Costs |
| D | demand curve |
| E | equilibrium |
| $\mathrm{E}^{\text {d }}$ | price elasticity of demand |
| $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{d}} \mathrm{Y}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}$ | cross price elasticity of demand |
| $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}$ | income elasticity of demand |
| Es | elasticity of supply |
| $\mathrm{Es}_{\mathrm{Y} 1 \mathrm{Y} 2}$ | cross-price elasticity of supply |
| EP | expectations of future prices |
| IR | Immediate Run |
| K | Capital |
| L | Labor |
| LR | Long Run |
| M | Management |
| M | income |
| MC | Marginal Cost |
| MFC | Marginal Factor Cost |
| MPP | Marginal Physical Product |
| MR | Marginal Revenue |
| MRP | Marginal Revenue Product |
| MRPS | Marginal Rate of Product Substitution |
| MRS | Marginal Rate of Substitution |
| MRTS | Marginal Rate of Technical Substitution |
| MU | Marginal Utility |
| N | number of sellers |
| P | price of a good |
| P* | equilibrium price |
| $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{i}}$ | input price |
| $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{o}}$ | prices of other, related goods |
| $\mathrm{P}_{\text {own }}$ | own price of a good |
| Pop | population |
| $\mathrm{P}_{\text {related }}$ | price of related goods |
| $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}$ | input price |
| $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$ | output price |
| PPF | Production Possibilities Frontier |
| q | individual firm quantity |
| Q | market quantity |


| $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$ | equilibrium quantity |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{q}^{\mathrm{d}}$ | individual firm quantity demanded |
| $\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}$ | market quantity demanded |
| $\mathrm{q}^{\text {s }}$ | individual firm quantity supplied |
| $\mathrm{Q}^{\text {s }}$ | market quantity supplied |
| SR | Short Run |
| t | per-unit tax |
| T | Technology |
| TC | Total costs |
| TC | Accounting Costs |
| TFC | Total Factor Costs |
| TFC | Total Fixed Costs |
| TP | Tastes and Preferences |
| TPP | Total Physical Product |
| TR | Total Revenues |
| TRP | Total Revenue Product |
| TU | Total Utility |
| TVC | Total Variable Costs |
| Y | quantity of a good; output |

## Mathematical notation

| $\succ$ | is preferred to |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\prec$ | is less preferred to |
| $\sim$ | is indifferent to |
| f | function |
| $\Delta$ | change |
| m | slope |
| $\Delta \mathrm{y} / \Delta \mathrm{x}$ | slope |
| b | y-intercept |
| $\infty$ | infinity |



Plate 1.1 Introduction to the economics of agriculture.
Source: April Cat/Shutterstock

## 1 Introduction to the economics of agriculture

## Synopsis

This chapter explains why economics is important and interesting. It defines the study of economics, and discusses what it is about. We introduce and explain economic terms, including producers, consumers, macroeconomics, microeconomics, positive and normative economics, absolute prices, and relative prices. The major discussion explains why scarcity is the fundamental concept of economics. The chapter also introduces and explains economic organization, resources, trends in the agricultural economy, and a review of graphs and their construction.

### 1.0 Introduction

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there were slightly more than 2.2 million farms in the United States (US). Missouri had the most with more than 100,000 Alaska came last with fewer than 1000. Taken together, these farms produced hundreds of crops, from apples to zucchini, from bees to turkeys, and hundreds of crops and animals in between. When sold, all products from all farms yielded a net farm income of nearly $\$ 100$ billion in 2007. Today, each US farmer "supports" or "feeds" more than 150 non-farmers. It has not always been this way. As recently as 1975, each farmer provided goods and services for fewer than 100 people, and in the nation's early years, farmers were sometimes barely able to feed their own families.

At the beginning of the nation's history, nearly 90 percent of the population lived on farms. By the mid-1930s, there were approximately 6.5 million farms. Now, less than 2 percent of the population lives on farms. Farm output continues to grow while the farm population continues to decline.

The beginning of agriculture in the "New World" is difficult to trace. Many Native American tribes had progressed beyond hunting and gathering and were engaged in the cultivation of crops and the domestication of animals. The early settlers coming from Europe introduced agriculture similar to that of today to North America. Different objectives brought settlers to Jamestown Virginia (1607) and Plymouth Massachusetts (1620). Even so, their early efforts at agriculture or farming were very much alike. The Native Americans provided the knowledge and experience concerning how to clear the land, and the three-crop method of planting corn, beans, and squash in the same hills.

The Plymouth colony moved quickly into animal agriculture and survived by selling animal products to the rapidly growing urban population of the Northeast. The South was better suited for plantation farming and moved quickly to tobacco, rice, indigo,

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and cotton: all crops that required large labor forces and helped make slavery a prominent institution in the South.

When it became clear that the two early colonies were successful, land-poor immigrants began to arrive, mainly in the Northern port cities. The new arrivals sought land and moved west to find it in what is now known as the "corn belt." The migration continued westward through both the cotton-producing south and the grain-producing areas of the central and northern plains. From there, the westerly movement had to slow until irrigation water and transportation networks were developed. These came soon enough. With only a few areas that were too dry, too cold, or too high in the mountains, farm families covered the North American continent by the late 1800s. It was clear to everyone that the nation was well suited to growing food!

The problem was that it produced too much. No single farmer or group of farmers could solve the problem of low prices and low-income farm families. All producers had to take the offered price and the massive productive capacity of the huge land kept driving the price down. The federal government became involved with the plight of the agricultural industry. At first, it was felt that improved transportation would help carry the surpluses from low-price areas to high-price areas, or to port cities for shipment overseas. The government had no money for rail or canal construction, so it gave land (parts of the public domain) to the railroads that were quick to sell it to farmers. The farmers got their transportation, but the new land coming into production did little to increase the price of agricultural commodities: the farm population continued to live in poverty relative to the urban citizens of the US.

The first large land grant to a railroad came in 1862, a year filled with government activity on behalf of the farm population. The government also passed the Morrill Act and the Homestead Act in 1862. The Morrill Act gave large grants of land to individual states to use in developing the State Agricultural Colleges (Land Grant Colleges) to provide teaching, research, and off-campus education aimed to help rural residents. All three activitiesteaching, research, and "extension"-helped farm operators to be more efficient, to keep accurate books, and to use more reliable information in their buying and selling activities.

The Homestead Act was an effort to allow people to settle the unclaimed parts of the United States that were still in public ownership. Eligible homesteaders paid a token price for 160 (sometimes 320) acres of land, made minimal improvements, and took full title after five years of residence on the land itself. Before Congress repealed the law in 1976, over 1.6 million individuals or families made application to obtain the land and more than 270 million acres (over 10 percent of the nation's total land area) passed into private ownership through homesteading.

A third federal action in 1862 put the US Department of Agriculture in place. This made agriculture the only industry to have its own federal agency; an agency devoted to research and improvement of the industry. Agricultural research has led to high and sustained levels of productivity enhancement in US food and fiber production. Enhanced output has resulted in continuous decreases in food prices. This ever-changing technology and financial situation in US agriculture makes it important for farmers, ranchers, and agribusiness managers to learn the rules of choice as propounded by economists, as reported in this book.

In many respects, the nation still divides into sections or regions similar to those of the early years of settlement by immigrants, primarily from Europe. The Midwest (the Corn Belt) is the main agricultural region in the country. Clustered around the Great Lakes and extending south to Missouri, this region produces huge amounts of corn and soybeans, small grains, and hogs. Yields are generally high and these crops move through the food chain to
become an ingredient of many "table-ready" foods. Many of the farms in the region began as 160 -acre units, but most have grown demonstrably since the time of settlement.

The vast, flat, and highly productive Great Plains lie to the west of the Corn Belt: mainly to the west of the Mississippi River and extending to the Rocky Mountains. The "Plains States" (the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and parts of neighboring states) make an ideal garden for small grains. The region produces wheat, barley, oats, sunflower seeds, and many other crops. Most of the Plains States have only modest non-agricultural or industrial sectors so the populations are more dependent on agriculture relative to the rest of the US. Consequently, they watch government activity as it relates to their cropping plans. Efficiency in production has developed to the stage where the need for labor has diminished and continues to drop as new technologies are developed and put in use. This has led to population losses in many areas and to partially utilized schools, churches, and stores.

The irrigated Southwest or the Desert Southwest includes states from Texas in the east to parts of California in the west. The region has people and it has soils suitable for farming, but no farming is possible without irrigation. The Native Americans in the region grew corn (originally brought in from Mexico) for centuries. The early settlers streaming in from the east were well aware of the need for irrigation so the region developed as a cattle-producing area. By the closing years of the nineteenth century, small-scale irrigation was beginning on a farm-by-farm basis, and some groups of farmers began to cooperate and form irrigation districts. In 1902, the federal government stepped in with the Bureau of Reclamation and US Army Corps of Engineers to develop huge irrigation systems that transported water for hundreds of miles and changed the nature of crop production in many parts of the Desert Southwest. The newly irrigated areas produced cotton, citrus fruits, melons, and vegetables on some of the largest farms in the United States. As the years passed, irrigation moved north in California and eventually made the state a leader in the production of rice, tree fruits and nuts. Other parts of the state produced prodigious quantities of citrus fruits, vegetables, and a number of semi-tropical commodities that could not thrive in most other parts of the nation.

The Atlantic coastal area has been in farms for longer than any other part of the nation. As early as 1609 , tobacco for export grew in parts of the Delmarva Peninsula, and it remains as an important crop in the region. Rice and indigo have also been the area's important exports. Cotton sustained agriculture in the Deep South but has gradually migrated west to the irrigated portions of Texas, Arizona, and California.

The remaining areas in the United States are generally small and generally support highly specialized types of agriculture. Much of the old Cotton South is now producing timber for dimension lumber as well as for fiber. The Pacific Northwest has very productive valleys for berries, seed crops, and tree fruits, and the region remains an important area for timber harvests.

Livestock and the roughage crops needed to support it are grown throughout the nation. Dairies produce a product that requires special handling, so it is frequently found near population centers: New York State, Southern California, mid-state California, and the Great Lakes areas are all important producers of milk and its related products. Meat animals, especially cattle, are important enterprises throughout the states, but are most important in the western parts of the Great Plains states and the parts of the mountain states and Desert Southwest where soil is generally too poor to support cultivated farming. Hogs complement the corn produced in the Corn Belt; so much so that the region could easily be the "Hog Belt."

Overall, the United States is a highly diverse and highly productive agricultural nation. In 2000, six crops (corn, soybeans, hay, wheat, cotton, and rice) brought cash receipts greater than USD one billion. Of these, cotton was most important. In that year, more than 400,000

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farms harvested nearly 75 million acres of corn. Over 800,000 farms produced at least some beef.

Rapid technological change characterizes nearly all aspects of US agriculture. The profit margins on most commodities are quite small, so individual growers find it advantageous to adopt new methods as quickly as possible. These two factors, change and low profits, will continue to force farms to consolidate and to make the industry more concentrated. While this trend is in opposition to the tradition and the psychological urge for Americans to venerate the "family farm," it is exactly this continued consolidation that helps keep food prices down and it is exactly this trend and these circumstances that make the economics of agriculture an important and an interesting subject for study, for use in day-to-day decision making, and for years of study as a career.

The changes affecting agriculture have been substantial. There have been changes in technology, changes in plant and animal breeding, changes in the diets of consumers, changes in food exports and imports, and changes in the way agriculture relates to the US government. Each change has required US farmers to ask a simple question: how should I respond to the change? Answering this question is what economics is about ... but what is Economics?

Economics is a Social Science, meaning that it uses scientific methods to study the way people behave. The subject dates from antiquity, but economists have studied agriculture for about 150 years. Although economics is the theme of thousands of books, papers, laws, and regulations, its day-to-day use by economists interested in Agriculture centers on five very clear-cut questions that might be asked by a producer of agricultural goods, a consumer, or even an operator of a business that serves agriculture. The five questions may change slightly from person to person, but they always come back to:

- What (if anything) should I produce?
- How much should I produce?
- How should I produce it?
- When should I produce it?
- For whom should I produce it?

These basic questions form the foundation of the lessons and discussions in this book.

### 1.1 Economics is important and interesting!

Rapid changes in the agricultural industry make this an exciting time to study Agricultural Economics. Changes in the global economy and in the agricultural industry are occurring at a more rapid rate than at any other time in history, and these changes have huge implications for the entire domestic economy.

Some examples show how this happens. The United States has been at war in the Middle East for many years. Economics provides a useful tool for understanding why the wars have been undertaken, what the economic implications are, and how agricultural and food markets have been affected. Due to terrorism, the agricultural industry has increased the security of the nation's food supply. Wheat (as well as other foodstuffs) has been airlifted to Afghanistan. Similarly, food of all kinds still helps the victims of hurricane Katrina in 2005, the massive earthquake in Haiti in 2010, and the starving citizens of Somalia.


Plate 1.2 Beef and rice consumption in Japan.
Source: Gresei/Shutterstock

Events that happen in other parts of the world often have a large impact on those who live in the agricultural regions of the United States. For example, the break-up of the former Soviet Union (USSR) in 1990 led to the formation of 15 separate nations of which Russia is the largest. This transition from a communist (centrally planned) economy to several capitalist (market-oriented) economies brought change, stress, and dislocation in the new nations. This resulted in low agricultural output. The poor performance of Russian agriculture resulted in the need for Russia to import wheat from the United States.

The rapid economic development of Japan in the years following World War II is another example of how international events affect US agriculture. For many centuries, rice was the staple food of the Japanese people. Even now, 60 percent of all Japanese people in Japan eat rice in some form every day. In the past few decades, rice consumption in Japan has declined, while beef consumption has increased dramatically. Today, the per-capita consumption of beef and coffee in Japan are much higher than they were in the 1950s. As the Japanese economy prospered in the years following World War II, the income levels of Japanese households increased, resulting in a shift away from rice consumption and toward more expensive foods such as beef and coffee. The change in Japanese eating habits has had an important impact on the US beef industry.

A similar shift in consumption habits is expected to occur in many developing countries. As income levels in low-income nations increase, individuals will likely shift from less expensive foods such as grains, and into more expensive foods such as beef. Understanding how and why consumers purchase goods provides information useful in improving decision making by persons employed in agriculture and agribusiness. Business decisions are not the only decisions affected by economic conditions. Similarly, they are not the only decisions more easily understood and even improved by using economic information and logic.

Since 1933, a devastating time for US agriculture, the US Congress has legislated "Agricultural Acts" (frequently referred to as "Farm Bills") that spell out the types of aid that the federal government will provide for the agricultural industry and other activities managed by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). Farm bills usually cover four to six years, depending on the economic condition of the industry and the composition of the Congress. The first such comprehensive law was simply the "Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933." Six more Agricultural Acts came before the Congress between 1938 and 1971 and nine such "farm bills" have become law since 1970, with the most recent in 2008. The names of the recent legislation have broadened to indicate that agriculture is more than just food and farms. The 1990 law was called, "The Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act," and the 2008 Act was the, "Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008." Farm bills are usually controversial because they are expensive and they deal with subsidies, mandated payments, and regulations on what farmers can and cannot do.

Box 1.1 The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA)
In 1862, President Abraham Lincoln established the Department of Agriculture, which he called the "people's department," but the Department did not have Cabinet-level status. In 1889, President Grover Cleveland signed a bill that gave the Department of Agriculture Cabinet status. The Department was created to assist farmers by providing information, research, loans, and education for rural youth. Agriculture has changed a great deal since 1862, when over half of the nation's population lived on farms. However, the mission of the USDA has remained the same: "We provide leadership on food, agriculture, natural resources, and related issues based on sound public policy, the best available science, and efficient management."

Currently, the USDA promotes the marketing of farm products overseas, promotes food safety and nutrition, provides marketing assistance to farmers, protects natural resources and the environment, conducts scientific research in agriculture, and promotes rural development. Today, the USDA has over 105,000 employees. Its annual budget is over USD 145 billion.

Source: USDA website. http://www.usda.gov/wps/portal/usda/usdahome?navid=ABOUT_USDA

The 1996 Farm Bill, officially named "The Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996," drastically changed agricultural policy and the relationship between the federal government and individual farms. Beginning in 1933, agricultural producers received large subsidies (government payments) each year. The 1996 Farm Bill removed these subsidies in a movement toward free markets and free trade. The 2002 farm legislation, "The Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002," reversed this course by increasing the role of the federal government in agricultural production decisions and payments. This policy shift angered some of the nation's trading partners, who had grown accustomed to lower prices for several commodities traded in world markets.

The 2008 Farm Bill, "Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008" expires on September 30, 2012. At the time of this writing, the 2012 bill (the Agriculture Reform, Food, and Jobs Act of 2012) is in the process of being discussed, voted, and passed along to the president for veto or for signature. A farm bill is extremely complicated, costly, and highly political, especially in a general election year.

The proposed legislation of the 2012 Farm Bill has "titles" (subsections) devoted to commodities, loans, conservation (the environment), trade including gifts of commodities, nutrition, credit, rural development, research and extension, forestry, energy, horticulture, crop insurance, and a general title for "miscellaneous." In its present form (Senate version only) the proposed legislation stretches to nearly 1000 pages.

In a general sense, the proposed bill calls for reduced spending on agricultural activities and considerable reorganization aimed at achieving efficiency in administration of the programs. It also calls for individual farm operators to absorb additional risks in their farming activities. In most respects the proposed legislation makes relatively minor changes and government will remain a major presence in agricultural activities over the life of the Agriculture Reform, Food, and Jobs Act of 2012.

Economic principles help explain the reasons behind the changes in agricultural policy, and the impacts of the new policies as they are legislated and implemented. The remainder of this section provides short examples to reveal the nature of real-life economic problems and the importance of using economics to understand them.

## Meat processing

The meat processing industry earns its profits by purchasing cattle and selling meat. Many years of consolidation through mergers and acquisitions have resulted in four beef packers (Tyson, Cargill, JBS USA, and National Beef) controlling over 80 percent of all beef sold in the United States. Many individuals and firms in the beef business would like to know if the "structure" of the beef industry (the number and size of the packing firms) has an effect on the profits of the livestock industry, as well as the cost of meat at local grocery outlets. With only four major packers, there may be less competition in buying cattle from livestock producers. This could result in downward pressure on the price of cattle. However, there are some positive price effects from having big packers. Large packing plants allow the meat production process to become more efficient, resulting in lower costs to consumers, who in turn purchase more meat. These increased meat sales place upward pressure on the price of livestock. Individuals who study this complicated issue say that the increased benefits (profits) and costs of the changing structure of the packing industry are not divided equitably among growers, packers, and consumers. The study of economics allows a deeper understanding of the causes and consequences of mergers and acquisitions in most any part of the agricultural and food industries.

## Free trade among nations

Free trade agreements (FTAs) are formed to reduce or eliminate trade barriers between nations. Two of the most important FTAs are NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and the WTO (the World Trade Organization, formerly called the GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). These agreements have had major consequences for agricultural producers and consumers in the United States and throughout the world. Trade barriers are laws that restrict the movement of goods across national borders. These Free Trade Agreements have opened the way for increased exports of US grain (wheat, corn, milo, and soybeans) by eliminating or reducing Trade Barriers such as tariffs, quotas, and harsh inspection criteria. The FTAs allow the United States to sell grain to Russia, Japan, Mexico, and other countries with fewer legal restrictions or taxes. This book demonstrates that the movement toward free trade generally has benefits for agricultural producers.

The trade agreements have caused some individuals and groups to question globalization and free trade. In 1999, serious and prolonged rioting occurred at World Trade Organization (WTO) meetings held in Seattle and in Washington, DC. The cause of the violence focused on the impact of world trade on agriculture and the environment. Two years later, in 2001, issues related to low incomes among farmers caused a breakdown of WTO trade negotiations held in Cancun, Mexico.

Box 1.2 Trade barriers
Nations around the world use laws and regulations to restrict imports, exports, or both. Three common barriers include:

TARIFFS: taxes paid before goods can be sold across a national border. For example, automobile consumers in the United States must pay a tariff when they purchase a car made in another country. In 2010, tariffs accounted for about 1.3 percent of the US government's revenue.
QUOTAS: restrictions on the quantity of goods allowed to enter the United States from another country. Quotas protect domestic producers from foreign-made products.
INSPECTION: the most subjective of the devices used to restrict imports. Inspection is used to prevent food items that are considered unsafe from entering the US economy.

Source: Economic Glossary. http://glossary.econguru.com/

## The environment

Environmental issues play an increasingly important role in agriculture. A number of Midwestern states are well suited to growing corn (Iowa, Illinois, and Nebraska are typically the three leading states in corn production), but modern corn production often utilizes an herbicide called Atrazine to eliminate weeds. Atrazine provides large agronomic and economic benefits to corn farmers in this area. Unfortunately, the chemical is also associated with human health problems when it enters a domestic water supply.

The impacts of Atrazine are mixed. On the one hand, the chemical provides efficient control of weeds, resulting in higher yields and higher levels of profits for corn farmers. On the other hand, Atrazine contaminates the groundwater, possibly causing health problems for not only the corn farmers and their families, but also for all downstream water users. Economists use a number of analytical tools to sort out the effects of this tradeoff between economic benefits and environmental harm. Successful decision making for individuals, firms, and governments involves understanding how to choose the "optimal" level of Atrazine to apply to cornfields in the American Corn Belt.

## Agricultural chemicals

The use of fertilizer and agricultural chemicals (such as Atrazine and other herbicides, pesticides, and fungicides) has increased dramatically in the last 50 years. Environmentalists and others who are concerned about chemical residues in the food supply and in the domestic
water supply have criticized the widespread use of almost all types of agricultural chemicals. As a result, the large agrochemical companies (Monsanto, Dow, Novartis, Union Carbide, and others) are looking to the time when chemical use is likely to diminish in response to strengthened environmental laws. For example, in the period 2004-08, Monsanto, a multinational agricultural biotechnology corporation, purchased several large agricultural seed businesses to diversify its operations, and expand beyond agricultural chemicals, in the case that the chemical business is reduced due to enhanced regulations. This form of diversification is a prudent business strategy for a large chemical company, since environmental laws and regulations may impose high costs on the producers of agricultural chemicals in the future. As income levels increase, consumers are likely to become more interested in organic food, causing a major chemical company to switch from chemical production to biotechnology development, something that Monsanto has done. Environmental issues have an even longer reach. Recent growth in the consumption of food produced without chemicals has led to large investments in organic food products by several large agribusiness corporations including General Mills, Heinz, ConAgra, and Gerber.

Each of these examples presents an issue that affects the lives of all consumers. Economics can be helpful to those who want to understand the causes and consequences of these situations and events. These issues will be noted from time to time in later chapters. Economics helps provide improved understanding of our complex society, agriculture, and consumer choices. Economic principles and the framework of economic analysis lead to improved business, career, and personal decisions. The knowledge of just a few principles of economics eases the task of making decisions.

One goal of this book is to help readers to "think like an economist." Throughout the book, simple economic principles will be applied to events and issues that appear in newspapers, on television, and online. Success in the rapidly changing global agricultural economy requires accurate information and the ability to recognize how the changes shape people's lives. Understanding economics often provides a context for dealing with current events, career decisions, and personal situations in a clear and precise manner.

It is important to note that the human condition is characterized by complex and sustained difficulties and problems. Economics improves our decision making, but, to date, it has not solved the fundamental problems of disease, shortages, and limitations. However, many economists view recent history as a triumph of the economic way of thinking, and a huge improvement in how long humans live and how well off they are while they are alive. These trends are likely to continue, with solid economic decision making guiding the way.

### 1.2 What is economics, and what is it about?

As has been mentioned, Economics is a Social Science that centers on the study of humans as they act and interact in the marketplace. Economists study these actions and interactions. This section provides definitions and explanations of several economic concepts, then uses these ideas to provide a formal definition of economics.

## Producers and consumers

Economists are particularly interested in how people produce and consume items such as food, clothing, housing, and a myriad of other things. Economists divide people into two broad groups, Producers and Consumers. Note, though, that many, perhaps most, people belong to both groups.

- Producer = an individual or firm that produces (makes; manufactures) a good or provides a service.

A Good is a physical product, and a Service is an intangible product such as a haircut, an insurance policy, or cell phone service.

- Consumer $=$ an individual or household that purchases a good or a service.

These two groups of people are so important in economics that they have several names:

> Producers $=$ firms $=$ business firms $=$ sellers,
> Consumers $=$ households $=$ customers $=$ buyers.

Agricultural producers are individuals, families, or firms that grow and sell agricultural products. The products include field crops (including non-food products such as cotton, tobacco, flax, and hemp) and animal products (including milk products, meats, wool, furs, and pelts).

A consumer is any person, firm, corporation, or institution who buys something. Consumers buy food items, such as pepperoni pizza and milk. They also buy clothing, houses, cars, cell phones, computers, and real estate. Consumers drive the economy, since their purchases generate signals telling producers what products to place on the market.

Most individuals are simultaneously producers and consumers. A wheat producer in North Dakota produces wheat and sells it to make a living. This same wheat producer buys food at the grocery store (whole wheat bread), clothing (Wranglers), and perhaps a pick-up truck (Ford). Even though most individuals are both producers and consumers, the lessons of economics are much more easily understood if the two roles are studied one at a time.

## Macroeconomics and microeconomics

Economics divides into two major categories: Macroeconomics and Microeconomics.

- Macroeconomics = the study of economy-wide activities such as economic growth, business fluctuations, inflation, unemployment, recession, depression, and booms.
- Microeconomics = the study of individual decision-making units such as individuals, households, and firms.

This book is directed mainly to microeconomic behavior, or the actions and choices of individuals and individual firms. It will consider issues surrounding how a feedlot owner reacts to a change in the price of cattle or the price of feed. This issue is a part of microeconomics, since the feedlot is an individual decision-making unit; in this case, a business firm.

## Positive and normative economics

As a social science, economics deals with topics of major consequence to public policy. There are many divergent opinions about issues such as the minimum wage, availability of health care, affirmative action, NAFTA, welfare (including Social Security), animal rights, environmentalism, the War on Terrorism, and the like.

Since economics deals with all of these issues, it is important to distinguish between value judgments, which are opinion statements, and neutral statements, which are factual and descriptive. The two categories of economics that keep the opinions in one box and the facts in another are Positive Economics (facts) and Normative Economics (opinions).

- Positive Economics = based on factual statements. Such statements contain no value judgments. Positive statements describe "what is."
- Normative Economics = based on statements that contain opinions and/or value judgments. A normative statement contains a judgment about "what ought to be" or "what should be."


## Quick Quiz 1.1

Examine the following statements and determine which statement or statements represent a positive and which represent a normative position or normative statement.

1. The market price of wheat is $\$ 3.82$ per bushel.
2. The market price of cotton should be higher.
3. The market price of spinach should be higher.
4. Abortion is legal in the United States.
5. Environmentalists have an increasing voice in agricultural policy.
6. Abortion should be outlawed in the US.
7. Unemployment is a major economic issue.

Notice in the first three examples of Quick Quiz 1.1 that price changes can be both good and bad at the same time. A price increase makes the producer of that good better off, while the consumer of that good is worse off. Similarly, when the price of oil increases, oil companies earn higher levels of profits. Meanwhile, agricultural producers who must purchase oil and petroleum-based products (gasoline, diesel, fertilizer, chemicals, etc.) are made worse off. Thus, economists must be careful when making normative statements and normative judgments because "facts" have different implications for different persons. Economists attempt to eliminate normative statements from their economic discussions, because what is good for one individual can be bad for another.

### 1.3 Scarcity

Economics is about Scarcity. Scarcity means that there is less than the desired quantity of something. Scarcity reflects the idea that we live in a world of finite resources and unlimited wants and desires. Humans typically want more than the available quantity of money, material goods such as cars, trucks, football championships, higher grades, and time. The notion of scarcity applies to both material goods (computers and smart phones) as well as intangible goods (fame, respect). The result is that humans want more than they have.

- Scarcity $=$ because resources are limited, the goods and services produced from using these resources are also limited, which means consumers must make choices, or tradeoffs among different goods.

An interesting issue related to scarcity is that the major religions of the world (Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism) suggest that it is better to give than to receive. This important ethical principle seems to be in direct contradiction with the economic principle that "people always desire more." Mother Teresa was a Roman Catholic nun who devoted her life to helping the poorest of the poor in Calcutta, India. Did Mother Teresa fall victim to the idea that "more is better than less?" Yes, even philanthropists would like to have more resources to feed the hungry and help the poor. The desire to have more than is currently available is a ubiquitous trait shared by peoples of all faiths and dispositions.

Economists talk extensively about "goods." If a good is scarce, it becomes an Economic Good. A good that is scarce is one for which there is an unfilled desire such as fine foods, clothes, houses, time, and vacations. Noneconomic Goods are not scarce: they are free goods available in any quantity to any people. A consumer can have as much as he or she wants at no cost. Watching a beautiful sunset is a noneconomic good, because it is free. Air is free because an unlimited quantity is available for all who want to consume it. However, air is not a free good in every circumstance. Mountain climbers, scuba divers, submariners, and test pilots would consume more air if it were free. Is the air in a lecture room totally free? Indirectly, it has a price since it requires heating or cooling before it reaches the lecture hall. Clean air is not always free: people who live in urban areas would like more clean air, if it were available.

The fundamental problem of economics is "scarcity forces us to choose." A frequently heard definition of Economics defines it as "the allocation of scarce resources among competing ends." Scarcity constantly forces choices between what goods to buy, how to spend time, and which career goals to pursue. Economics is about making informed decisions. The study and use of economics allows individuals to make more informed personal, career, and business decisions.

### 1.4 The economic organization of society

There are many different forms of economic organization, or different ways that a society (usually a nation) can use to organize its economic activity. Three fundamental ways of organizing an economy include: (1) a Market Economy (capitalism; free markets); (2) a Command Economy (dictatorship, communism); and (3) a Mixed Economy (a combination of a market economy and a command economy). These three forms of economic organization are described in this section. However, a quick diversion is needed to define and explain Resources.

## Resources

An economy must find a suitable way to allocate resources. But, what qualifies as a resource that requires allocation? Resources are productive items used to produce the goods and services that satisfy human wants and needs. Resources, together with the letter abbreviation used by most economists, are classified and listed in Table 1.1. These groups of resources appear in every kind of economy.

A Market Economy is an economic organization in which prices determine how resources and goods are allocated. Consumers in a market economy make purchase decisions based on the price of goods and the money available to them. If the price of chicken increases, some consumers will eat fewer chicken products. Similarly, in a market economy, producers use prices to determine what to produce. If the price of wheat increases relative to

Table 1.1 Resource names and definitions

| 1. Land (A) | Natural and biological resources, climate. |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2. Labor (L) | Human resources. |
| 3. Capital (K) | Manufactured resources, which include buildings, machines, tools, and |
|  | $\quad$ equipment. |
| 4. Management (M) | The entrepreneur, or individual, who combines the other resources into inputs. |

soybeans and corn, farmers will plant more acres to wheat than they did previously. In a market system, prices drive the entire economy by conveying value, or by telling how much things are worth to producers and consumers. In a free market economy (capitalism), resources are allocated to the use that brings the highest returns. Crops are grown in California's Great Central Valley, but in the bordering foothills of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains, the land is too rocky and too steep for crops. Instead, the foothill land is devoted to grazing, which provides the highest return to this rocky area. Prices allocate resources; prices affect the incentives and behavior of both producers and consumers.

In a Command Economy, resources do not automatically flow to the producer earning the highest return or to the consumer who can pay the most for the product. Resources are allocated by whoever is in charge. Examples of command economies include Cuba, where resources are allocated by a dictator, Raul Castro (brother of Fidel Castro), and the former Soviet Union, where high-ranking members of the Communist Party used an elaborate committee system to decide how resources would be allocated. In many socialist countries such as Sweden, resources are allocated by an elected group of decision makers. However, a dictator who has complete control of the economic system could direct the use of resources. In either case, resources are allocated according to the discretion of a generally small group of decision maker(s) and decisions are made by considerations other than price. Resources don't always flow to the use that brings the highest return. The people who live in a command economy may desire more fruits and vegetables. If the government's goals are different from the citizens' goals, then these fruits and vegetables will not be produced. The land, labor, and other resources may be used in the production of beef or pork, rather than fruits and vegetables. The economic returns to producing crops may be higher, but it is up to the decision-making group to decide whether to produce fruit, vegetables, or meat.

Examples of market-based economies that are characterized by both political and economic freedom include the US, Australia, Canada, Japan, and the members of the European Union (EU). Nations that do not share political and economic freedom include North Korea, Cuba, and China. China has been moving towards a market-based economy since the 1980s, but remains a nation without many political rights and freedoms.

Most economic systems are Mixed Economies that have elements of both market economies and command economies. The United States has many markets that are free from government intervention. However, industries such as agriculture, transportation, and banking are regulated and often subsidized. Therefore, the economy of the United States is a Mixed Economy, although the nation prides itself on being a capitalist democracy. For many years the former Soviet Union (now Russia) and China were both considered to be command economies, where elected officials planned what goods were to be produced and who would get the products. However, beginning in the 1980s, changes in both countries moved their economic systems towards free markets, particularly in agriculture. The economies of these two nations are mixed economies, with elements of both market economies and command economies.

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So, all real-world economies are a mixture of free market and command economies. The lessons in this book are primarily oriented to markets, since markets organize and allocate most resources in the United States.

### 1.5 A model of an economy

The model developed here describes any economy: market, command, or mixed. The individuals in the economy are divided into two categories: Firms (producers) and Households (consumers). In a subsistence economy, like Robinson Crusoe stranded on a remote island, producers and consumers are the same people: they must consume only what they produce. If there is no trade, the individuals have to produce all of their own food, clothing, and housing.

The major feature of a market economy is voluntary exchange. Producers and consumers are not forced to buy or sell anything. Even though this is true, the goods and services that consumers wish to purchase and consume must be produced. Resources are used to produce output. Resources are also called Inputs, Factors of Production, or Factors (economists use these terms interchangeably).

Table 1.2 shows the resources used to produce agricultural products. The model shown in Figure 1.1 is a simplified version of the real world. The real world is extraordinarily complex, so we must simplify it to understand it. One of the key elements of science is simplification

Table 1.2 Agricultural resources
Inputs $=$ Resources $=$ Factors $=$
Payments
Factors of Production

1. Land (A) rent
2. Labor $(\mathrm{L})=$ operators, family, hired
3. Capital $(\mathrm{K})=$ machines, buildings, tools and equipment
4. Management (M)
rent
wages, salaries
interest
profit


Figure 1.1 Circular flow diagram.
or modeling, also known as "reductionism." The model shown in Figure 1.1 fits with this need to use science to understand human behavior.

The arrows in Figure 1.1 show the flow of goods and services between households and firms. The two arrows across the top of the diagram show the movement of goods and services from producers (firms) to consumers (households). Households make payments to the firms to take possession of goods and services. In order to produce goods, firms must use Inputs (also called resources, factors, and factors of production). These resources are supplied by households, and include: Capital (K), Labor (L), Land (A), and Management (M). In economics, the term Capital refers to physical capital, such as machines, tools, buildings, and equipment. This contrasts with the typical use of the term, "capital," used to describe financial capital, which in most regards simply refers to money.

Firms make payments to households for the use of inputs. Interest pays for capital, wages and salaries pay for labor, rent pays for land, and profits are the payment to management.

If the lower box labeled "government" were omitted from Figure 1.1, the model would be one of a pure market economy. All real-world economies, however, include some form of government activity. Adding government to Figure 1.1 converts a market economy to a mixed economy. Both business firms and households must pay taxes to fund the government sector, and legislation allows the government to make payments to selected households and firms. These subsidies include payments to family farms, welfare checks to low-income households, schools, transportation, the postal system, and scores of other types of payments.

### 1.6 Trends in the agricultural economy

The main objective of this book is to show how economic knowledge (models, theories, and methods) can assist in the understanding of agriculture. Emphasis divides between learning economic principles and applying this knowledge to the agricultural sector. Some background information about modern agriculture in the United States is helpful.

Five trends affecting the agricultural industry are especially important and are presented before returning to the study of economics. Here is a synopsis.

## Fewer and larger farms

Farm numbers continue to drop. The continuing consolidation of small farms into larger units is primarily due to technological change, including mechanization, the use of agricultural chemicals and fertilizers, and improved seeds. These changes allow for large farms to have lower costs per unit of production than small farms. Lower production costs on largescale operations relative to small farms have resulted in huge consolidation of farms and changes in the structure of agriculture, especially during the past half-century. Farms have become fewer in number but larger and more productive.

## Agriculture is not just farming

Production agriculture presently employs approximately 2 percent of the US workforce, but the food and fiber industry, which includes processing, transport, retailing, and dozens of other things, requires approximately 16 percent. Although it is true that "everyone eats food," the number of persons involved in production agriculture has decreased steadily over the last century.

## Substitution of capital for labor

Over the past several decades, there has been an enormous movement toward mechanization, or replacing workers with machines. This trend stems from changes in relative prices. If it is less expensive to use machines than labor, machines will be used. For example, specialized machines are used to pick cotton. These are expensive machines, but using them is much less costly than using large crews of workers to pick the cotton by hand. The fast food giant McDonald's hires thousands of laborers at low wages. If there is an increase in the minimum wage, McDonald's will use more machinery, and hire fewer workers to operate the automatic French fry machines and drink dispensers.

## Off-farm income for farm families has increased enormously

In earlier years, farming was the sole source, or at least the major source, of income for most farm families. In today's agricultural economy, most farm families rely not only on income from agricultural sources, but also on income from nonfarm jobs or investments. Typically, one individual in the family will do the farm work while another will work in a nonfarm position. With this arrangement, a farm family's total income will not be dependent on highly variable farm income alone. On average, farm families in the United States have higher levels of income and wealth than nonfarm families.

## Exports are increasingly important to the agricultural sector

The nation's ability to produce ever-larger amounts of food has increased as a result of biological breakthroughs, mechanization, and improvements in management. The production of food has grown more rapidly than the domestic consumption of food. The United States has responded by exporting more and more food to consumers in other nations.

### 1.7 Using graphs

Graphs are often used to summarize and interpret economic information. Graphs can communicate a great deal of information in a small space, which makes them useful tools to see the most important aspects of a situation or decision. A graph is a "model," and economic analysis is often an exercise in modeling. Graphs simplify the presentation of data, and social scientists must simplify the real world in order to understand it.

Most graphs allow the viewer to look at the relationship between two variables while holding everything else constant. Holding all other things constant has a special name: Ceteris Paribus (Latin for "holding all else constant"). Much of economics has to do with understanding the relationship between two variables. The following demonstrates one of the most important concepts in economics: the demand curve. The demand curve shows the relationship between the price $(\mathrm{P})$ and the quantity sold $(\mathrm{Q})$ of an economic good. A graph isolates the relationship between price and quantity while all else (time, place, prices of other goods, income, etc.) is held constant (ceteris paribus). The two variables, price and quantity, can be shown simultaneously on a two-dimensional surface such as the chalkboard or a page in a notebook.

In economics, the horizontal axis along the bottom of a graph (the "x-axis") measures the value of one variable. In Figure 1.2, the quantity of a good $(\mathrm{Q})$ is the measured variable on the x -axis. The numerical value of a second variable is measured from bottom to top along the vertical axis (the " $y$-axis") on the left-hand side of the graph.


Figure 1.2 The demand for pizza.

The graph cannot be understood unless each axis has two items: LABELS and UNITS. In Figure 1.2, the label for quantity is Q (pizza), and the units are slices. The label for price is P and the units are ( $\$ /$ slice). Units are typically placed in parentheses.

To understand the graph, for a given number of pizza slices $\left(Q_{0}\right)$, the price of pizza is equal to $\mathrm{P}_{0}$. As the price of pizza increases, the quantity demanded of pizza decreases.

### 1.8 Absolute and relative prices

In a market economy, prices determine the decisions made by producers and consumers. Producers and consumers do not use a single price to make decisions, but rather it is the price of one good relative to the price of other goods that is important.

## The difference between absolute and relative prices

- Absolute Price $=$ a price in isolation, without reference to other prices. Example: The price of wheat is $\$ 3 /$ bushel.
- Relative Prices $=$ the prices of goods relative to each other. Example: The price of wheat increased relative to the price of corn.

The fact that the market price of wheat is equal to $\$ 3 /$ bushel does not have much meaning when making a production decision about which crop to plant. Producers need to know the price of wheat relative to the price of alternative crops such as corn, cotton, and hay. This is because it is possible for the farmer to use the land to produce an alternative crop. The farmer desires to earn the highest possible level of profit on this land, so a good economic decision is one that takes into account the relative prices of all crops that can reasonably be grown on the land. In general, producers will react to a relative price increase by producing more of a good, since they will earn higher levels of profit by doing so. Consumers, on the other hand, will react to a price increase by buying less of a good.

Producer and consumer reactions to price changes are central to the lessons of economics. Later chapters will help explain how producers and consumers react to price changes. The following intuition will help in understanding economics.

Producers prefer higher prices of the goods that they produce.
Consumers prefer lower prices for the goods that they purchase.

Suppose that due to an increase in oil prices all crop prices increase by the same percentage. In this case, the relative prices for all crops remain the same, even though their absolute prices increase. All of the prices moved up together, so the relative prices all remained constant.

Consider the following statement: if all prices in an economy doubled, nothing would happen. At first glance, this does not seem to make sense. However, if it is known that all of the prices in the entire economy increased by the same percentage amount, in this case doubled, then relative prices remain constant, so producers and consumers would not change their decisions. Everything would cost the same relative to everything else.

Additional information suggests that if inflation were 10 percent for all goods in the economy, then the prices of everything would increase by 10 percent. This would be true for all goods, including labor services, so wages and salaries would increase by the same amount as the prices for goods. Nothing would happen, because all items in the economy would retain the same relative value. However, if oil prices were to increase due to a war in an oil-producing region near the Persian Gulf, then consumers would use less oil and more energy from other sources. To summarize, absolute prices are accounting devices, whereas relative prices are responsible for actual decisions.

## Price units

The units used to express prices are crucial to understanding how producers and consumers behave. The price of a good is not just a number of dollars, it is dollars per unit (\$/unit). The price of bread at Walmart is not just $\$ 1$, but rather it is $\$ 1 /$ loaf. The following list shows other examples.

| Bread | \$2/loaf |
| :--- | :--- |
| Wheat | $\$ 7 /$ bushel |
| Pizza | \$15/large pizza |
| Blue jeans | \$60/pair |
| Car | $\$ 23,000 /$ car |

Prices are not expressed in dollars alone. Rather, prices are expressed in DOLLARS PER UNIT.

## Constant-quality prices

The price of a good refers to constant-quality units. It means very little to say, "a pair of jeans," or "a large pizza." The statement must be more specific. Fortunately, specific qualities are often used in everyday conversation. For example, "I sold two pens of cattle," or " 10,000 cars were sold today," or "five billion bushels of wheat were exported to Russia
in February." Such specific statements tell exactly the type of good under discussion. Other examples are:

- "I sold two pens of heifers of average quality."
- "10,000 Jaguars were sold last month."
- "Five billion bushels of US \#2 Hard Red Winter Wheat were exported in February."

Once again, a simplified real world describes what is happening.

### 1.9 Examples of graphs

## A graph of the demand for hamburger in Miami, Florida

The demand (consumption) for hamburger is easily described using mathematics. How do consumers respond to a change in the price of hamburger in Miami, Florida? The numbers in the demand schedule in Table 1.3 show the relationship between the price of hamburger and the quantity of hamburger purchased in Miami's grocery stores.

The units are of constant quality. Specifying constant quality means that the entire quantity of hamburger in Table 1.3 is of the same quality. The units used for the hamburger price are dollars per pound (not just dollars) $\mathrm{P}=\$ / \mathrm{lb}$. In this example the units for the quantity of hamburger are assumed to be 1000 pounds, or $\mathrm{Q}=1000 \mathrm{lbs}$. Figure 1.3 has both labels and units.

## Quick Quiz 1.2

What are the labels and units in Figure 1.3?

As fewer pounds of hamburger are placed on the market in Miami, consumers are willing to pay a higher price for it. This is due to scarcity. The lower the availability of something, the more valuable that it is, ceteris paribus. Figure 1.3 demonstrates the relationship between the price and quantity of hamburger, and nothing else. Everything else is held constant.

Table 1.3 Hamburger demand schedule in Miami, Florida

| Price $(\$ / \mathrm{lb})$ | Quantity Purchased (1000 lbs) |
| :--- | :---: |
| 2.30 | 0 |
| 2.10 | 20 |
| 1.90 | 40 |
| 1.70 | 60 |
| 1.50 | 80 |
| 1.30 | 100 |
| 1.10 | 120 |
| 0.90 | 140 |
| 0.70 | 160 |
| 0.50 | 180 |
| 0.30 | 200 |
| 0.10 | 220 |
| 0 (free!) | 230 |



Plate 1.3 Hamburger demand in Miami, Florida.
Source: Shutterstock


Figure 1.3 The demand for hamburger in Miami, Florida.

The graph simplifies the real world by omitting many otherwise important details. For example, if wages in Miami increase, will more hamburger be sold? Answering this question requires knowledge of income levels, and how they are associated with changes in the consumption of hamburger. In addition, the demand for hamburger is seasonal. People buy
more hamburger during the summer months for outdoor cooking. This is ignored in the graph. In this example, as in other cases, simplification helps ease understanding.

## The slope of a line

The same information can be viewed in a slightly different way using algebra. Remember that a function relates two variables, say $x$ and $y$. The function $y=f(x)$ reads as " $y$ is a function of $x$." The variable $x$ is called the independent variable, since the value of $x$ does not depend on any other variable. The $y$ variable is called the dependent variable, since the value of y depends on the value that x takes. Restated, x causes y .

- $\mathrm{x}=$ independent variable
- $y=$ dependent variable.

The expression $y=f(x)$ is a general function that could take any form, linear or nonlinear. A more specific functional form is the linear form, which just means that the relationship between the two variables is a straight line. The linear functional form is:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{y}=\mathrm{b}+\mathrm{mx} . \tag{1.1}
\end{equation*}
$$

This can be read, " $y$ is a function of $x$, where $b$ is the $y$-intercept, and $m$ is the slope." Armed with this simple algebra, the demand for hamburger in Miami becomes an equation, where P is the price of hamburger in dollars per pound, and Q is the number of 1000 lb units of hamburger purchased in Miami:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{P}=2.30-0.01 \mathrm{Q} \tag{1.2}
\end{equation*}
$$

The demand for hamburger in Miami can be graphed using a different method. First, calculate the slope of hamburger demand in Miami. The slope is the rate at which a relationship increases or decreases. The slope is sometimes called the "rise over the run," or the "change in $y$ divided by the change in x." In the hamburger case, the object is to find how much the price changes when the quantity of hamburger purchased changes. The symbol for change is a Greek letter delta: $\Delta$. The slope is equal to:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\Delta \mathrm{y} / \Delta \mathrm{x}=\Delta \mathrm{P} / \Delta \mathrm{Q} \tag{1.3}
\end{equation*}
$$

In the case of hamburger in Miami in Figure 1.3, the slope equals: $-2.30 / 230=-0.01$. Therefore, the slope of the demand line ( m ) equals -0.01 , and the $y$-intercept (b) equals 2.30 . This can be seen in the equation of the line, $\mathrm{P}=2.30-0.01 \mathrm{Q}$. The graph of this economic relationship can be derived from either the demand schedule or the equation of the line.

## Example: veterinary clinic in Milwaukie, Wisconsin

Suppose a veterinarian charges $\$ 50$ for a 60 -minute appointment in her clinic next to the brewery in Milwaukie. The vet's total revenue (TR) is equal to the number of appointments $(\mathrm{Q})$ multiplied by the price of an appointment ( $\mathrm{P}=\$ 50$ /hour):

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P} * \mathrm{Q}=50 * \mathrm{Q} \tag{1.4}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 1.4 Total revenue for a veterinary clinic in Milwaukie, Wisconsin.

This economic relationship is a linear relationship. The slope of the line (m) equals 50, and the y-intercept equals zero.

The units for total revenue (TR) are in dollars because the price P is in dollars per hour ( $\$ / \mathrm{hr}$ ), and it has been multiplied times the quantity, in hours (hrs). The dollars represented by TR are the bills found in the clinic's cash register at the end of the working day.

When carefully drawn, graphs are useful tools to help organize thoughts about economic relationships. Good graphics require that every axis must include labels and units. Also, prices are always in $\$ /$ unit, not just in dollars, and the units are constant-quality units. Several of the concepts discussed in this chapter will be used throughout the course. Since the content of this book is cumulative (all new concepts build on old concepts), students who learn each concept in the beginning will have a huge advantage as the book progresses. Chapter 2 introduces the concept of production, or how we turn inputs (resources) into economically useful outputs (goods).

### 1.10 Summary

1. Economics is important and interesting.
2. Economics helps us make better business, career, and personal decisions.
3. Goal of course: to learn to "think like an economist." Thinking like an economist provides a framework for understanding economic events, career decisions, and personal situations in a clear and precise manner.
4. Economics is a social science, which is the study of human behavior.
5. A producer is an individual or firm that produces (makes; manufactures) a product.
6. A consumer is an individual or household that purchases a product.
7. Individuals are both producers and consumers.
8. Macroeconomics is the study of economy-wide activities or events.
9. Microeconomics is the study of individual decision-making units.
10. Positive economics is based on statements that are factual and contain no value judgments ("what is").
11. Normative economics is based on statements that contain opinions or value judgments ("what should be").
12. Price increases help producers and hurt consumers, whereas price decreases help consumers and hurt producers.
13. Economics is about scarcity. Scarcity means that there is less of something than is desired.
14. An economic good is any good whose quantity cannot expand without an increase in price.
15. A noneconomic good is a good that is not scarce (a free good).
16. Scarcity forces us to choose. We can't have everything that we want.
17. Economics is the allocation of scarce resources among competing ends.
18. A market economy is an economic organization in which prices determine how resources and goods are allocated (capitalism; free markets).
19. A command economy is an economic organization in which resource allocation is determined by whoever is in charge (dictatorship; communism; socialism).
20. A mixed economy has elements of both a market economy and a command economy.
21. Resources are productive items used to produce goods and services to satisfy human wants and desires. Resources include land (A), labor (L), capital (K), and management (M).
22. Firms combine resources ( $\mathrm{K}, \mathrm{L}, \mathrm{A}$, and M ) to produce goods and services. Consumers make payments to firms to obtain goods and services.
23. The agricultural economy is changing rapidly. Important trends include: (1) fewer and larger farms, (2) agriculture is not just farming, (3) substitution of capital for labor, (4) increases in off-farm income, and (5) exports are increasingly important.
24. Graphs are useful tools to summarize and interpret information.
25. Absolute prices refer to a single price level, whereas relative prices refer to the prices of goods relative to (compared to) each other. The economic decisions of producers and consumers depend on relative prices.
26. Prices of goods are expressed in constant-quality prices.
27. Every graph must have units and labels on each axis.

### 1.11 Glossary

Absolute Price. A price in isolation, without reference to other prices. Example: The price of wheat is $\$ 3 /$ bushel (see Relative Price).
Agricultural Economics. Economics applied to agriculture and rural areas.
Agriculture. The science, art, and business of cultivating the soil, producing crops, and raising livestock useful to humans. Farming.
Capital. Physical capital: machinery, buildings, tools, and equipment.
Ceteris Paribus. Latin for "holding all else constant." An assumption used to simplify the real world.
Command Economy. A form of economic organization where resources are allocated by whoever is in charge, such as a dictator or an elected group of officials (see Market Economy and Mixed Economy).
Consumer. An individual or household that purchases a good or a service.
Economic Good. A good that is Scarce (see Noneconomic Good).
Economics. The study of the allocation of scarce resources among competing ends.

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Free Trade Agreement. An agreement between nations to reduce or eliminate Trade Barriers.
Good. An Economic Good.
Macroeconomics. The study of economy-wide activities such as economic growth, business fluctuations, inflation, unemployment, recession, depression, and booms (see Microeconomics).
Market Economy. A form of economic organization in which resources are allocated by relative prices. Resources flow to the highest returns in a free market system (see Command Economy and Mixed Economy).
Microeconomics. The study of the behavior of individual decision-making units such as individuals, households, and firms (see Macroeconomics).
Mixed Economy. A form of economic organization that has elements of both a Market Economy and a Command Economy.
Noneconomic Good. A good that is not scarce; there is as much of this good to meet any demand for it. A free good (see Economic Good).
Normative Economics. Based on statements that contain opinions and/or value judgments. A normative statement contains a judgment about "what ought to be" or "what should be" (see Positive Economics).
Positive Economics. Based on factual statements. Such statements contain no value judgments. Positive statements describe "what is" (see Normative Economics).
Producer. An individual or firm that produces (makes; manufactures) a good or provides a service.
Relative Prices. The prices of goods relative to each other. Example: The price of wheat increased relative to the price of corn (see Absolute Price).
Resources. Inputs provided by nature and modified by humans who use technology to produce goods and services that satisfy human wants and desires. Also called Inputs, Factors of Production, or Factors. Resources include Capital (K), Labor (L), Land (A), and Management (M).
Scarcity. Because resources are limited, the goods and services produced from using those resources are also limited, which means consumers must make choices, or tradeoffs among different goods.
Service. A type of economic good that is not physical. For example, a haircut or a phone call is a service, whereas a car or a shirt is a good.
Social Science. The study of society and of individual relationships in and to society, generally regarded as including sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, and history.
Trade Barriers. Laws and regulations to restrict the flow of goods and services across international borders, including tariffs, duties, quotas, and import and export subsidies.

### 1.12 Review questions

1. Economics is:
a. an agricultural science
b. a social science
c. a physical science
d. not a science, but a field of study
2. A producer is:
a. a person who purchases a product
b. the seller of a product
c. the buyer of a product
d. a good sow
3. A consumer is all of the following except:
a. a buyer
b. a household
c. a customer
d. a firm
4. A North Dakota wheat farmer is an example of:
a. a producer
b. a consumer
c. both a and b
d. neither a nor b
5. The study of growth in Mexico's level of living is an example of:
a. macroeconomics
b. microeconomics
c. political science
d. consumer behavior
6. The study of how a single beef producer uses growth hormones is an example of:
a. macroeconomics
b. microeconomics
c. biological science
d. consumer behavior
7. The statement, "the market price of soybeans is $\$ 4.50$ per bushel" is an example of:
a. positive economics
b. normative economics
c. a value judgment
d. consumer behavior
8. The statement, "the price of wheat should be higher" is an example of:
a. positive economics
b. normative economics
c. a factual statement
d. consumer behavior
9. If the price of wheat rises, who is made better off?
a. producers
b. consumers
c. both a and b
d. neither a nor b
10. An increase in the price of wheat is good for:
a. wheat producers
b. milling and baking firms
c. bread consumers
d. cattle producers
11. Scarcity affects:
a. industrial firms
b. agricultural producers

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c. Internet users
d. everyone
12. Scarcity:
a. reflects limited resources and unlimited desires
b. affects religious persons
c. forces us to choose
d. all of the other three answers
13. An example of an economic good is:
a. a cookie
b. pollution
c. garbage
d. disease
14. The following is a noneconomic good:
a. a cookie
b. a sunset
c. a football
d. a Lexus automobile
15. In a market economy, resources are allocated by:
a. prices
b. whoever is in charge
c. an elected group of officials
d. a disaster
16. The United States is an example of:
a. a command economy
b. a market economy
c. a mixed economy
d. none of the other three answers
17. What percent of the US population is engaged in production agriculture?
a. 16
b. 3
c. 2
d. 25
18. If the price of corn increases relative to the price of other crops:
a. farmers will plant more corn
b. farmers will plant less corn
c. farmers will plant the same amount of corn
d. a corn consumer will purchase more corn
19. If the price of all crops increases, then:
a. farmers will plant more corn
b. farmers will plant less corn
c. farmers will plant the same amount of corn
d. a corn consumer will purchase more corn
20. The price of corn is written in which form?
a. \$2
b. \$2/bushel
c. 2 bushels
d. 2 bushels/ $\$$


Plate 2.1 The economics of production.
Source: Satin/Shutterstock

## 2 The economics of production

## Synopsis

This chapter explores the physical production process. That is, it describes the physical relationship between inputs and outputs, and describes the economics of transforming inputs into products; resources into goods. The production function is defined and explained. Next, the effect of time on production is investigated by defining the immediate, short, and long runs. The role of physical production relationships is highlighted, with definitions for constant, increasing, and decreasing returns. Technological change and the law of diminishing marginal returns are used to enhance understanding of examples from food and agriculture.

### 2.1 The production function

The production of goods and services is a logical place to begin studying the economics of agricultural production. During the production process, firms, or producers, combine inputs into outputs for sale to consumers. The process can be quite complex, so the next several chapters discuss the production activities undertaken by firms. The discussion then shifts to the behavior of consumers, or households. All of this leads to consideration of the interactions of consumers and producers in markets.

Production is the process of producing goods and services. This process requires scarce resources. As shown in Chapter 1, inputs have several different names:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\text { Inputs }=\text { factors }=\text { factors of production }=\text { resources }=\mathrm{A}, \mathrm{~L}, \mathrm{~K}, \mathrm{M} \tag{2.1}
\end{equation*}
$$

## Quick Quiz 2.1

What do the letters A, L, K, and M refer to?

## Wheat production in the high plains of North Dakota

Consider a wheat producer in North Dakota, a leading wheat producing state in most years. Let $\mathrm{Y}=$ output $=$ wheat, measured in bushels (bu), where $\mathrm{f}=$ the mathematical relationship between inputs and output:

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { Output }=f(\text { inputs }),  \tag{2.2}\\
& Y=f(\text { inputs }) \text {, or }  \tag{2.3}\\
& Y=f(K, L, A, M) . \tag{2.4}
\end{align*}
$$

The North Dakota wheat producer uses the inputs K, L, A, and M to produce wheat (Y). Chapter 1 included a short discussion of the need to simplify this complex relationship in order to understand real-world production. Graphs will lead to fuller understanding, but a two-dimensional graph is possible only if the number of inputs allowed to vary is reduced to one. Consider the relationship between inputs and outputs, and concentrate on just one input. In this case, the choice of capital is entirely arbitrary, since any one of the inputs could fit into the example.

## Quick Quiz 2.2

How is capital defined in economics?
What four types of capital are included in this definition?

As in Chapter 1, the ceteris paribus assumption isolates the relationship between output and the single input, capital.

## Quick Quiz 2.3

What does ceteris paribus mean?

Adopting a convention used by mathematicians helps clarify what is happening. A mathematician writes an equation to say that the variable Y is related to, or depends on other variables $x_{1}, x_{2}, \ldots, x_{n}$. The equation is written as:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}\left(\mathrm{x}_{1}, \mathrm{x}_{2}, \ldots, \mathrm{x}_{\mathrm{n}}\right) . \tag{2.5}
\end{equation*}
$$

Box 2.1 The North American northern high plains region
Although the area has no precise definition, the North American High Plains encompass the Missouri River drainage, and parts of the states that lie east of the Mississippi River. The northern part of this region, including North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado, is sparsely populated and is used primarily for farming and ranching. In 1910, the area supported nearly 550,000 farms. By the year 2010, the number had dropped to approximately 250,000 farms, a 55.4 percent decrease! Rainfall is scarce, so the farms of this region are devoted primarily to the production of small grains: wheat, barley, some corn, sunflower seeds, rye, and soybeans. Irrigation provides water for high-value crops in areas located above the Ogallala Aquifer. Hay grown in the region, primarily in Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, provides winter feed for large cattle herds. In 2010, these states produced 56.7 percent of the nation's wheat, 58 percent of its barley, 89.4 percent of its sunflower seeds, 41 percent of its cattle raised for beef, 24 percent of the corn, 21.8 percent of the hay, 21 percent of the soybeans, 56.3 percent of the nation's grain sorghum, and over 90 percent of the canola.

Source: USDA/NASS. http://www.nass.usda.gov/

Following mathematical convention, the variable " $x_{1}$ " to the left of the vertical bar is free to vary, but all variables to the right of the vertical bar, in this case, $x_{2}, \ldots, x_{n}$, are held constant:

$$
\begin{equation*}
Y=f\left(x_{1} \mid x_{2}, \ldots, x_{n}\right) . \tag{2.6}
\end{equation*}
$$

In this example of wheat production in North Dakota, only the variable to the left of the vertical bar (K) varies. The variables to the right of the vertical bar (L, A, and M) are held fixed, or constant. This enables the use of a graph to describe the multidimensional relationship on a two-dimensional surface. Real physical production is a complicated biological process. Therefore, one input at a time must be isolated:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{~K} \mid \mathrm{L}, \mathrm{~A}, \mathrm{M}) . \tag{2.7}
\end{equation*}
$$

This equation is what mathematicians refer to as a function. Economists provide a more descriptive term by calling it a "Production Function."

- Production Function = the physical relationship between inputs and outputs.

The production function is a purely physical relationship used to describe the quantity of inputs required to produce a given quantity of output. Since there are no dollar values associated with it, it is not an economic relationship.

Real-world production processes can be very complicated, making it difficult to understand the relationships among the constantly changing variables. Working with one variable at a time offers an approach to this problem. To determine the optimal use of the fertilizer nitrogen on wheat fields, agronomists can run controlled experiments to determine what happens to wheat yields as the amount of nitrogen is changed: either increased or decreased. They do this type of experiment on test plots, or small wheat fields that are typically adjacent to each other to keep constant the weather, growing conditions, and soil conditions across all of the plots. The idea behind the controlled experiment is to hold all inputs constant except for nitrogen, and measure how the different levels of nitrogen affect the wheat yields. The wheat production function would look like this:

$$
\begin{equation*}
Y=f\left(x_{1}, x_{2}, \ldots, x_{n}\right) \tag{2.8}
\end{equation*}
$$

Where Y is wheat output, measured in bushels (bu), f is the production function, or the physical relationship between inputs and output, and the $\mathrm{x}_{\mathrm{i}}$ are inputs, which include land, labor, machinery, seed, and nitrogen. Specifying each input makes it possible to write the production function as:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{~N}, \mathrm{~L}, \mathrm{~K}, \mathrm{M}, \mathrm{~A}) . \tag{2.9}
\end{equation*}
$$

## Quick Quiz 2.4

What does each of the letters in this production function stand for?

To isolate the relationship between nitrogen and wheat yields, the agronomists (or other biophysical scientists) will hold constant all inputs other than the one that they are isolating, in this case nitrogen.

## Quick Quiz 2.5

What is the term economists use for "holding all else constant?"

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{~N} \mid \mathrm{L}, \mathrm{~K}, \mathrm{M}, \mathrm{~A}) \tag{2.10}
\end{equation*}
$$

Knowledge of this relationship allows agronomists to identify the relationship between nitrogen and wheat growth. This relationship is highly important, since too little nitrogen means the yields will be lower than the potential, and too much nitrogen will "burn" the crop, causing smaller yields. Figure 2.1 shows the connection between nitrogen applications and wheat yields.

Here is a major lesson: the point of maximum physical wheat yield ( $\mathrm{N}^{*}$ ) is not always the optimal economic wheat yield. This is because nitrogen is a scarce resource, and costs money to purchase. In fact, fertilizer is one of the major costs of production for farmers in most agricultural regions in the United States. If nitrogen were free, then the optimal application to a wheat field would always be N* in Figure 2.1, since this is the level of nitrogen that maximizes production. However, since it costs money to purchase and use fertilizer, the farmer will stop applying it at a point to the left of $\mathrm{N}^{*}$. Finding the optimal amount of nitrogen to apply requires application of economic principles. Economic reasoning will help determine the exact point where the benefits of using N minus the costs are maximized. For now, note that producers will not maximize production, because it costs too much. Instead, they will maximize profits. This problem will return for added explanation in Chapter 4.

A second example of a production function is a controlled experiment to find the impact of growth hormones (H) on beef production (Figure 2.2). Growth hormones are controversial since some consumers believe that the hormones are unhealthy for human consumption. Belief in this possibility is so intense that Europeans do not import American beef. Even so, cattle producers continue to use the hormones because they increase output significantly, and a vast majority of consumers in the US have not objected. A production function for beef can be written: $Y=f(H, K, L, A, M)$.


Figure 2.1 Wheat yield as a function of nitrogen application.

## Quick Quiz 2.6

What do each of these letters stand for?
How are the growth hormones isolated in a scientific experiment?

## Box 2.2 Nitrogen fertilizer use in US Agriculture

Fertilizer is an organic or inorganic material, of natural or synthetic origin, that is added to soil as a nutrient to promote plant growth. Recent studies have found that a large percentage of crop yields are attributable to commercial fertilizer use, causing a large percentage of the population to rely on synthetic nitrogen fertilizer.

Mined inorganic fertilizers have been used for many centuries. Chemical, synthesized inorganic fertilizers were developed during the industrial revolution leading to the British Agricultural Revolution, and the industrial Green Revolution of the twentieth century. Nitrogen fertilizers are made using the Haber-Bosch process (1915), which combines natural gas and nitrogen gas with a catalyst at elevated temperature and pressure to produce ammonia. Ammonia is then converted into nitrogen fertilizers such as anhydrous ammonium nitrate and urea.

The use of commercial inorganic fertilizers has increased rapidly in the last 50 years, rising almost 20 -fold to the current rate of 100 million tons of nitrogen per year. In the United States, use of nitrogen in agriculture has increased steadily from 2.7 million nutrient tons in 1960 to over 12.2 million nutrient tons in 2010 . Corn is the biggest user of nitrogen in US agriculture, with 5.6 million nutrient tons used in 2010, followed by wheat at 1.3 million nutrient tons, and cotton at 0.4 million nutrient tons.

Applying excessive amounts of fertilizer has negative environmental effects, and wastes the growers' time and money. Negative environmental effects can include eutrophication, or serious oxygen depletion, in the ocean, especially in coastal zones, and lakes, causing the inability to sustain aquatic wildlife. As a result, application of nitrogen fertilizer is monitored and regulated in the United States. Agricultural runoff into groundwater has also been linked to "blue baby syndrome," and soil acidification. Another concern is global warming, resulting from increased levels of nitrous oxide, the third most important greenhouse gas after carbon dioxide and methane. Since the benefits of using nitrogen fertilizer are large and significant to feeding a growing world population, nations and groups will need to compare carefully these benefits of increased food production with the potential environmental costs.

Source: Stewart, W.M., Dibb, D.W., Johnston, A.E., and Smyth, T.J. (2005). "The Contribution of Commercial Fertilizer Nutrients to Food Production." Agronomy Journal 97: 1-6

Box 2.3 US beef production and consumption
Humans have consumed beef since prehistoric times. Globally, it is the third most common meat after pork and poultry. Domestication of cattle began around 8000 BC to provide a source of meat, milk, and leather. Cattle were also draft animals until
mechanization began to occur in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries AD. Now, in the twenty-first century, the United States, Brazil, and the People's Republic of China are the world's three largest consumers of beef.

Beef production occurs using two major methods: grass-fed on pastures, and grain-fed in confined pens, or feedlots. Feedlots, or concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs), typically feed cattle a ration of grain, protein, roughage, vitamins, and minerals. The world's largest exporters of beef are Brazil, Australia, and the United States. Beef production is also important to the economies of Paraguay, Argentina, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Russia, and Uruguay.

Beef is an excellent source of protein and minerals such as zinc, selenium, phosphorus, iron, and B vitamins. Recent health concerns from beef consumption include cancer, cardiovascular disease and coronary heart disease, dioxins from cattle raised in the United States fed on pastures fertilized with sewage sludge, E. coli contamination, and bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE or, colloquially, mad cow disease). Given the importance of beef in the US diet, consumers will need to continue to weigh the culinary and nutritional advantages of beef consumption with the food safety, environmental, and health concerns that arise because of modern, concentrated beef production.

Source: USDA/FAS. http://www.fas.usda.gov/psdonline/

The controlled experiment would use several pens of cattle with identical inputs (feed, water, temperature, bedding, etc.) except the level of growth hormone (H). The scientists would carefully measure and record the weight of each animal, and find the physical relationship between the growth hormone and the amount of muscle on the animal.

The shape of the graph in Figure 2.2 is similar to the graph of the wheat experiment shown in Figure 2.1. There is an "optimal" level of growth hormone for cattle production. Larger amounts of input will increase output only up to a certain point. After that, the high dose hormone input becomes toxic, and causes production to decrease.

The study of production functions applies to many situations, events, and circumstances. A student studying for an exam is involved with a kind of production. In this situation output $(=\mathrm{Y})$ might be test performance, or grade, and the input $(=\mathrm{X})$ is the number of hours that


Figure 2.2 Beef output as a function of hormone use.


Plate 2.2 Hormone use in beef production.
Source: Sergey Goruppa/Shutterstock

## Quick Quiz 2.7

Will the cattle producer use the level of growth hormones that maximizes production? Why or why not?
the student studies. The output of this production process will depend on how many hours the student studies and other factors, such as intelligence and previous knowledge. However, if the student constantly drinks coffee (or Mountain Dew) and stays up all night, the test performance may actually fall. Too much studying can result in too little sleep, which in turn results in poor test performance. Thus, the relationship between the number of hours studied and the grade on a test (Figure 2.3) will have the same general shape as the graphs for wheat production (Figure 2.1) and beef production (Figure 2.2). Because of differences in intelligence,


Figure 2.3 Grade as a function of study time.
preparation, alertness, and academic ability, each individual student will have a different "production function" for the examination.

## Profit maximization

Economists build models on the assumption that all producers want to maximize profits. This is a simplification of the real world, since there may be producers who have other goals, such as a nice lifestyle, a clean environment, world peace, political power, or to pay employees more than the market wage rate. Although there are many producers who may not do everything in their power to maximize profits, this profit-maximization goal is a good first approximation. Why? Because any business owner who does not pay attention to potential profits is unlikely to remain in business for long in a market economy.

Profits, denoted by the symbol $\pi$ (the Greek letter pi), have special meaning and importance in economics. Here, profits are defined as total revenue (TR) minus total costs (TC):

$$
\begin{equation*}
\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC} \tag{2.11}
\end{equation*}
$$

- Profits $[\pi]=$ total revenue minus total costs: $\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}$. The value of production sold minus the cost of producing that output.

Total revenue is simply the dollars earned from the sale of a good. Let the quantity of a good sold be given by Q units, and the price of the good by P dollars per unit. Then, the total revenue earned by the producing firm is equal to $\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P} * \mathrm{Q}$. The units for total revenue are in dollars, since $P$ is in (dollars/unit) and Q is in (lbs, bushels, dozens, or some other appropriate measure), when $P$ is multiplied times Q , the units cancel and TR is in (dollars). Total costs represent the costs of production of the good, and are also in dollar units.

Producers of goods and services alter their production and marketing activities in a neverending effort to maximize profits. The ability of business firms to make changes in how they produce and sell goods depends on the product that they produce. If the product is corn, major adjustments are possible at least once each year with a small number of changes occurring throughout the year. If the product is walnuts, major production decisions come only once in a generation, or even longer, but a small number of minor adjustments are possible during each growing season. If the product is lettuce grown in greenhouses, major adjustments occur almost continually. Time and timing are the critical issues. Length of time is of great importance in making profit-maximizing decisions.

### 2.2 Length of time: immediate run, short run, and long run

Radio announcers, politicians, and people on the street speak casually and knowingly about the "long run" and the "short run." In economics, however, these terms have specific meanings, but not meanings related to a specific length of time such as minutes, days, or weeks. The length of the long run, the short run, and the immediate run depend on the specific situation, as defined and explained in the next section.

## Immediate, short, and long runs

The Immediate Run is a period of time during which all of the inputs available to a producer are fixed and cannot be changed. The producer cannot change the quantity of
any input. A wheat producer purchases land, labor, seed, machinery, fertilizer, and chemicals. After the planting season, the producer is unlikely to be able to alter or use either more or less of the quantity of these inputs to affect the progress of the crop. This situation defines the immediate run.

- Immediate Run [IR] = a period of time in which all inputs are fixed.

As time passes, the producer will have more flexibility to change the quantities of inputs. In a three-month period, this producer is able to alter the number of hours of work hired, but cannot change the number of acres of land that are in production or, after a certain period, add more fertilizer. This situation is called the Short Run, defined as a period when some inputs are fixed (the quantities of inputs used cannot be altered) and some inputs are variable (the quantities of inputs can be changed).

- Short Run $[\mathbf{S R}]=$ a time span during which some factors are variable and some factors are fixed.

The quantities of some agricultural inputs are not easy to change in the short run. Land is a common example. Most producers cannot acquire more land in a short length of time. Therefore, the acres of land available to one producer remain fixed in the Short Run (SR). Similarly, machinery and equipment (combines, tractors, and plows) are very expensive, and many producers cannot rapidly increase or decrease the number of these inputs. During that period when a farmer is unable to alter the quantity of inputs, the inputs are fixed, and the farmer is in the Short Run (SR). However, in the short run, some inputs are variable. For example, the producer could alter the level of chemicals, fertilizer, labor, or management.

In the Long Run (LR), all inputs are variable.

- Long Run [LR] = a time span during which no inputs are fixed; all inputs are variable.

Over a longer period, a producer may buy or sell machinery or land. Producers can adjust the size of their farm. An agribusiness example is the agricultural implement manufacturer, John Deere, of Moline, Illinois. In the short run, "Deere" cannot build a plant to produce more combines since this would require purchasing land, building a factory, and training a labor force. However, in the long run (several years), Deere can build a new factory and start production of an expanded line of farm machinery. The crucial aspect regarding the short run and long run is that there is not a set length of time for the long run: the long run is however long it takes to adjust the levels of inputs. This differs from farm to farm and from business to business.

Now suppose that a farmer in the Northern Plains is able to increase his land holding in only two weeks (he is also a real estate broker). If all of the inputs on this farm are variable in a two-week time period, then the length of the long run is only two weeks. The length of time that defines the long run depends on the situation, and the willingness of the neighbors to sell land. Most farmers face a much different situation, as it can take many years to acquire new land.

A lemonade stand set up by the children living on a residential street provides a sharp contrast. In the lemonade business, the long run is very short. The children can alter the quantities of all inputs (water, glasses, lemonade mix, and stirring spoon) very quickly by running into the house. The long run may only last five minutes.

Box 2.4 Business cycles and agriculture
John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) was a British economist whose ideas concerning the role of government spending made a large impact on macroeconomics and public policy. Famously, Keynes stated, "The long run is a misleading guide to current affairs. In the long run we are all dead." Keynes was suggesting that government policy was more important in the short run, in the midst of an economic downturn. A major feature of market economies is that they are subject to periods of expansion and contraction. Economists call the fluctuations in the level of economic activity that occur over a long period of time, "business cycles."

Early economists believed that these economic cycles were a regular and predictable feature of a market economy. In 1860, French economist Clement Juglar identified economic cycles that were 8 to 11 years long. In 1939, Austrian Joseph Schumpeter expanded this idea by identifying four stages in each cycle: expansion, crisis, recession, and recovery. In 1935, Russian economist Nikolai Kondratiev identified a long wave cycle of high growth and slow growth, lasting 45-60 years.

Modern-day macroeconomists now believe that fluctuations in the overall level of economic activity are not regular, and are less predictable than earlier cycle scholars thought. Contemporary business cycle scholars believe that economic growth and business fluctuations are not separate, unrelated events. Instead, they believe that business cycles result from shocks, such as new technology, which regularly affect most economies.

Recent research by Da-Rocha and Restuccia has shown that business fluctuations are related to the share of agriculture in the economy. Nations with higher percentages of agricultural employment are characterized by greater fluctuations in national output. However, the agriculture-based nations have lower volatility of employment. These authors also found that agriculture fluctuates more than the rest of the economy. Interestingly, the agricultural economy is not related to the overall economy, a result that is not surprising, since agriculture is small relative to the overall economy. Lastly, the authors found that the level of economic activity and the level of employment are not correlated in agriculture, but are correlated in the overall economy.

Sources: Cooley, T.F., Ed. (1995). Frontiers of Business Cycle Research. Princeton University Press. Da-Rocha, J.M., and Restuccia, D. (2006). "The Role of Agriculture in Aggregate Business Cycles." Review of Economic Dynamics 9: 455-482.
Kondratiev, Nikolai D. (1935). "The Long Waves in Economic Life," Review of Economic Statistics 17(6) Nov.

## Quick Quiz 2.8

How long are the short run and the immediate run for the lemonade stand?

## Fixed and variable inputs

The discussion above provides the background necessary for the definitions of fixed and variable inputs.

- Fixed Input $=$ an input whose quantity does not vary with the level of output.

The idea of a fixed input is a short run concept, because in the long run, all inputs are variable.

- Variable Input = a variable input is one that when changed, affects the level of output.


## Quick Quiz 2.9

Are nitrogen and growth hormones fixed or variable inputs in the above examples?

### 2.3 Physical production relationships

Understanding the production function requires discussion of transforming inputs into outputs. Suppose a corn farmer in Iowa uses capital, labor, land, and management to produce corn. The generalized production function for his farming activity is:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{~L}, \mathrm{~K}, \mathrm{~A}, \mathrm{M}) . \tag{2.12}
\end{equation*}
$$

Box 2.5 Iowa corn
Corn, wheat, and rice are the world's three leading grain crops. Corn as we know it descended from the plant "teosinte" in Mexico. Today, Iowa is the leading corn producing state, and Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska and Minnesota account for over 50 percent of the corn grown in the US. The "Corn Belt" includes these four states, together with Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, South Dakota, Michigan, Missouri, Kansas, and Kentucky. The story of corn is one of success: the original corn ears were only a few inches long, but centuries of plant breeding, first by Native Americans, then by early settlers and modern scientists, have resulted in larger ears, more kernels per ear, and more ears per plant. In 1900, corn yields in Iowa averaged about 40 bushels per acre. Iowa corn yields increased to about 50 bu/acre in 1950, and 90 bu/acre in 1970. In 2011, Iowa corn growers harvested an average of 172 bushels per acre. The national average in that year was 147 bushels per acre.

Corn is used for many purposes, the most important being livestock feeding, where one bushel of corn converts to about 5.6 pounds of retail beef, 13 pounds of retail pork, 28 pounds of catfish, or 32 pounds of chicken. An American grocery store contains several thousand products that list corn ingredients on the label. Iowa's corn is also processed into starches, oil, sweeteners, and ethanol. Iowa leads the nation in ethanol production, producing nearly 30 percent of all ethanol, and more than 3.6 billion gallons annually, using over 1.1 billion bushels of corn. One bushel of corn can produce 2.8 gallons of ethanol. Nearly one-third of the US corn crop goes to other nations including Japan, Mexico, Korea, Taiwan, and Egypt.

Source: Iowa Corn. http://www.iowacorn.org/

Understanding the impact of labor on corn output requires holding the levels of all other inputs constant:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{~L} \mid \mathrm{K}, \mathrm{~A}, \mathrm{M}) . \tag{2.13}
\end{equation*}
$$

The production function in equation (2.13) leads to an understanding of production efficiency, the topic of the next section.

## Constant, increasing, decreasing, and negative returns

The level of inputs as reported in the production function determines the level of output (the production function describes the physical relationship between inputs and output). The production process can take on different forms: Constant Returns, Increasing Returns, Decreasing Returns, and Negative Returns. The word "returns" refers to changes in output that occur as quantities of inputs increase incrementally. Think of increasing the level of inputs by one unit at a time, and measuring how output responds to each change. This incremental way of approaching a problem is one cornerstone of "thinking like an economist."

In a production process characterized by Constant Returns, each additional unit of input is equally as productive as all other units of input.

- Constant Returns = when each additional unit of input added to the production process yields a constant level of output relative to the previous unit of input. Output increases at a constant rate.

Consider the number of cattle it takes to produce cattle hides: one animal produces one hide, no more, no less (Figure 2.4). Since each additional unit of input (in this case steers) produces exactly one additional hide, the slope of the production function for leather hides $(=\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X})$ remains constant as more inputs are used, graphically demonstrating the concept of constant returns. The Greek letter Delta ( $\Delta$ ) refers to a small change.


Figure 2.4 Leather production: constant returns.

- Increasing Returns $=$ when each additional unit of input added to the production process yields an increasing level of output relative to the previous unit of input. Output increases at an increasing rate.

Managers of business firms look favorably upon this type of production process, since each additional unit of input is more productive than the one just before it. For example, if only one person tries to run both the combine and the truck during wheat harvest, the production process is inefficient. When a second worker drives the truck, the first person can spend all of her time operating the combine. As more workers join the harvest crew, holding all other inputs constant, the output increases at an increasing rate, as depicted in Figure 2.5. When Increasing Returns are present, each additional unit of input causes the level of output to increase more relative to the previous unit of input.

## Quick Quiz 2.10

The production functions depicted in Figures 2.4 and 2.5 show an upward slope. Which of the graphs demonstrates increasing returns? How did you arrive at this conclusion?

Decreasing Returns occur when the addition of one more unit of input results in a smaller increase in output than the previous unit.

- Decreasing Returns = when each additional unit of input added to the production process yields less additional output relative to the previous unit of input. Output increases at a decreasing rate.

Figure 2.6 illustrates a production function that exhibits decreasing returns. Suppose the example takes place in a kitchen. As more chefs appear, the productivity of the cooks increases, but at a decreasing rate. The first cook is the most productive, but adding more
$\mathrm{Y}=$ wheat

(bu) $\quad$\begin{tabular}{c}
$\mathrm{X}=$ workers <br>
(persons)

$\quad$

Added <br>
Output <br>
0
\end{tabular}

Figure 2.5 Wheat production: increasing returns.
cooks causes the additional productivity to decline. Why? They get in each other's way and compete for use of the kitchen equipment. Negative Returns occur when an additional unit of input actually decreases total output. In this situation the added input is harming the production process. The cooks in the kitchen example indicate how this can happen. If the kitchen is very small, the addition of the second cook lowers cook number one's ability to prepare meals. In many situations, adding inputs results in a loss in output. Applying too much fertilizer "burns" the wheat plants, and lowers the yield. Too heavy a dose of growth hormones lowers the weight gain in steers. Figure 2.7 illustrates negative returns.

- Negative Returns $=$ when each additional unit of input added to the production process results in lower total output relative to the previous unit of input. Output decreases.


Figure 2.6 Food production: decreasing returns.


Figure 2.7 Food production: negative returns.


Plate 2.3 Negative returns: too many cooks in the kitchen.
Source: Robert Adrian Hillman/Shutterstock
The negative slope in Figure 2.7 corresponds to a production function characterized by negative returns. A situation of negative returns develops any time there is "too much of something."

## A typical production function

Most production processes display stages of Increasing Returns, Decreasing Returns, and then Negative Returns. Why is this pattern so prevalent? Remember, the production function characterizes the physical relationship between output $(\mathrm{Y})$ and a single input $(\mathrm{X})$, ceteris paribus (holding all else constant).

The wheat farmer in North Dakota used land, labor, capital, and management to produce wheat. Suppose that this farmer has several thousand acres of wheat (farms of this size are not unusual in North Dakota), and holds all inputs constant except one: the number of combines. During harvest time, the first combine will allow this farmer to produce a large amount of grain. In fact, the mechanized combine got its name because it combined the reaping function (cutting and shocking the grain) with the threshing function (separating the wheat kernels from the straw and chaff). When compared to harvesting wheat by hand, even the earliest combines boosted production enormously.

The first combine can process a very large amount of output. A second combine will be helpful, and will allow the farmer to take advantage of having two combines working in the same field at the same time. This can actually increase production by even more than the first combine can, as efficiencies are gained with the logistics of the field and the trucks needed to haul the grain to the elevator.

This may remain true for the first several combines. However, after several combines appear for use in the same field, the efficiency begins to fall. Decreasing returns set in, as combines begin to get in each other's way. When many combines are used, production can


Figure 2.8 The typical production function and diminishing returns.
actually decrease, since the farm operator must manage too many machines for a given plot of land. Figure 2.8 shows the typical production function. Notice that this function has the same shape as the earlier examples in Figures 2.1 to 2.3.

In real-world production processes, this "typical" production function usually holds. As a single input is increased, holding all other inputs constant, the productivity will typically increase with the addition of more units of input. At a certain point, adding more of the input will still yield an increase in productivity but at a decreasing rate. This is the point in the graph where the slope of the production function turns from increasing to decreasing (point A).

## Total physical product

The Total Physical Product (TPP) is the relationship between output (in this case corn) and one variable input (labor), holding all other inputs constant (Figure 2.9). The TPP of corn, typically measured in bushels, represents the maximum output for each level of input use. A table and graph of the TPP relationship for a corn farmer in Iowa appear in Figure 2.9.

- Total Physical Product [TPP] = the relationship between output and one variable input, holding all other inputs constant.


## Average physical product

The Average Physical Product (APP) refers to the average productivity of each unit of variable input used (Figure 2.10). Dividing the quantity of output by the quantity of input (Y/X) yields the APP that tells the number of bushels produced by each individual unit across the entire quantity of input.

- Average Physical Product [APP] = the average productivity of each unit of variable input used [= Y/X].

Different graphs must be used for TPP (Figure 2.9) and APP (Figure 2.10), since they are expressed in different units. Specifically, TPP is in units of output, whereas APP is expressed in units of output per unit of input.


Figure 2.9 Corn production: total physical product.


Figure 2.10 Physical product of corn: average and marginal product.

## Marginal physical product

The Marginal Physical Product (MPP) is the physical product obtained from using one additional (marginal) unit of variable input (Figure 2.10). This concept tells how much more output comes from the last, or marginal, unit of input. Economists use the word, "marginal," to refer to the last, or additional, or extra unit of input or output. The term appears throughout the remainder of the book. Using mathematical notation, marginal refers to a "small change," symbolized by the Greek letter delta ( $\Delta$ ). The MPP is the change in output ( $\Delta \mathrm{Y}$ ) brought about by a change in input $(\Delta X)$.
$\mathrm{MPP}=\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X}$.

- Marginal Physical Product [MPP] = the additional amount of total physical product obtained from using an additional, or marginal, unit of variable input $[=\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X}]$.

Figure 2.10 shows the Average Physical Product (APP) and Marginal Physical Product derived from the information related to inputs ( X ) and outputs (Y). Output is TPP (in this case bushels of corn). To derive APP, divide TPP (in the second column) by the number of workers found in the first column. In the first row, note that if there are zero workers, no corn is produced (TPP $=0$ ). To calculate APP for the first row, divide TPP $(=0)$ by the number of workers (= 0 ), which is not possible, since a number divided by zero is undefined. Show this by placing a dash in the first row for APP. In the second row, divide TPP = 10 by $\mathrm{X}=1$ to get $\mathrm{APP}=10$. Similarly for the remaining rows: average productivity equals Y divided by $\mathrm{X}[\mathrm{APP}=\mathrm{Y} / \mathrm{X}]$. The graph shows that APP increases up to a given level, then decreases. Remember that the APP refers to the average productivity of all inputs used. Notice that the TPP curve must be graphed separately from the APP and MPP curves, since the units are different: TPP is in units of output, and APP and MPP are in units of output per unit of input.

Calculate Marginal Physical Product (MPP) in a similar fashion. The MPP is the change in output given a small change in input $(\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X})$. To calculate MPP, look at a change in the input level, and calculate how much the output level changed as a result of the input change.


Plate 2.4 Corn production.
Source: Fonats/Shutterstock

Figure 2.10 shows that when the number of workers increases from zero to one $[\Delta \mathrm{X}=1-0=1]$, output increases from zero bushels to 10 bushels of corn $[\Delta Y=10-0=10]$. By definition, $\mathrm{MPP}=\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X}=10 / 1=10$, seen in the first entry in the MPP column in the table. The MPP refers to the productivity of the last unit of input, or the additional unit of input. Calculating MPP provides the answer to the question, "How much more output will be produced by adding one more unit of input?"

Look at the MPP of using a second worker. The change in input is one [ $\Delta \mathrm{X}=2-1=1$ ], and the change in output is $11[\Delta \mathrm{Y}=21-10=11]$. The marginal productivity of labor increased with the addition of a second worker.

## Quick Quiz 2.11

Calculate the APP and MPP from data in Table 2.1 for a beef producer. In this example, the input is bushels of corn fed to cattle and the output is meat in pounds.

## The relationship between average and marginal physical product

The APP and MPP are both derived from TPP, and therefore have a direct relationship. The relationship is worth noting:

- If MPP $>$ APP, then APP is increasing,
- If MPP < APP, then APP is decreasing.

An easy way to remember this is "Average Chases the Marginal." Figure 2.11 shows this in the graph of the APP and MPP data for output (wheat in bushels) per input (workers).

Grades in a university-level class show the same characteristic. When each test score appears, it is the marginal (or additional) grade. The average grade is the total number of points from all tests divided by the number of exams. Suppose that a student has taken two exams, and has an average grade of 80 . If this student gets a perfect score of 100 on the next, marginal, exam the average grade moves up to 86.7. The average has followed the marginal to a higher level. Similarly, a professional basketball player who has a great night will pull his average points per game up.

When the marginal physical product is greater than the average physical product, the APP is increasing. In the case of a cattle feedlot, the production process is to add pounds of muscle to a steer by feeding it corn.

Table 2.1 Data for Quick Quiz 2.11

| Corn (bu) | TPP (lb) | $A P P$ (units =?) | $M P P$ (units $=?$ ) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 0 | 0 |  |  |
| 10 | 10 |  |  |
| 20 | 40 |  |  |
| 30 | 65 |  |  |
| 40 | 80 |  |  |
| 50 | 90 |  |  |
| 60 | 80 |  |  |



Figure 2.11 The relationship between average and marginal.

TPP $=$ Total Physical Product
$=\mathrm{Y}=$ beef (lbs)
APP $=$ Average Physical Product
$=\mathrm{Y} / \mathrm{X}=$ beef/corn (lbs/bu)
MPP $=$ Marginal Physical Product
$=\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X}=\Delta \mathrm{beef} / \Delta \operatorname{corn}(\mathrm{lbs} / \mathrm{bu})$

## Quick Quiz 2.12

Draw the TPP, APP, and MPP graphs for the feedlot example in Table 2.1.

## Technological change

The knowledge of productivity and the production function can help in understanding an important issue: Technological Change. An amazing number of technologies have appeared in the past decade or two: computers, software, cell phones, space travel, and health care. The Internet and the information age have all occurred recently, and have literally changed the world. Technological change allows production processes to become more efficient.

- Technological Change $=$ change that allows the same level of inputs to produce a greater level of output. Alternatively, technological change allows production of the same level of output with a smaller number of inputs.

Graphically, technological change is an upward shift in the production function, as in Figure 2.12. Technological change shifts the wheat production function from $\mathrm{Y}_{0}$ to $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$.


Figure 2.12 Technological change.

Box 2.6 Green revolution in India
Since the 1960s and 1970s, the term "Green Revolution" has described the development and adoption of high-yielding seed varieties in agricultural nations. The Green Revolution enhanced agricultural productivity enormously, and allowed India, foodshort for decades, to become self-sufficient in food grains: wheat and rice. In the early 1960s, India endured a number of famines. After that, during the period from 1960 to 1990, Green Revolution techniques helped rice yields in India increase from 2 tons per hectare to 6 tons per hectare. Rice became more affordable, with rice prices dropping from over $\$ 550$ per ton in the 1970s to a low of less than $\$ 200$ per ton in 2001.

Norman Borlaug, an American agronomist named the "Father" of the Green Revolution, is credited with saving over a billion people from starvation through the development of high-yielding, or modern, varieties of cereal grains. These new varieties required irrigation, and application of agricultural chemicals and pesticides. This resulted in industrial growth to produce these inputs, providing more jobs in the Indian economy.

The Green Revolution provided large amounts of food that allowed India and other nations to feed a rapidly growing population. However, Indian agriculture faces future challenges. The modern varieties of rice and wheat require more water, and the water table is falling in some regions. As wells are dug deeper, salinity becomes a larger problem. The use of chemicals and fertilizer has resulted in an environmental challenge, and the purchase of modern inputs requires efficient sources of credit. As India moves forward, it will continue to evolve and solve these issues, making agriculture more productive, and feeding a growing world population.

Sources: Barta, P. (2007). "Feeding Billions, a Grain at a Time." Wall Street Journal, July 28: p. A1. Zwerdling, Daniel (2009). "'Green Revolution’ Trapping India's Farmers in Debt." National Public Radio. April 14. http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=102944731. Retrieved July 25, 2012.

Technological change in cotton production is exemplified by the success of the cottonbreeding activities carried out by scientists in cotton-producing states. Using genetic selection and biotechnology, cotton breeders have been able to develop new varieties of seeds that result in higher cotton yields. Even holding all other inputs used in cotton production (land, chemicals, fertilizer, labor, etc.) constant, the new seed varieties result in higher yields. Technological change of this kind is not limited to cotton. Output per unit of input in nearly all aspects of agriculture continues to increase as new methods of farming and raising animals for food are developed and adopted.

Box 2.7 Cotton in Mississippi
Cotton is a major crop in Mississippi. It ranks third behind poultry and forestry in state commodities with nearly $\$ 600$ million of revenue produced each year. Mississippi producers plant approximately 1.1 million acres of cotton annually. This number fluctuates, depending on weather and relative prices. In recent years, corn production has replaced some cotton acres in the Mississippi Delta Region. The highest acreage recorded in Mississippi was in 1930, when 4.163 million acres were planted to cotton. The highest production year was 1937 when 2.692 million bales were produced on 3.421 million acres. The highest cotton yields came in 2004 with 1034 pounds of lint produced per acre. This same year there were 2.346 million bales produced, almost as much as in 1937 with one-third of the acreage. This yield surpassed the previous yield of 934 lbs in 2003.

The production function for cotton has shifted greatly in the past few years, due to technological change. Advancements in cotton production include successful eradication of Boll Weevils, a major pest in cotton fields. The use of transgenic cotton varieties has increased, and a majority of Mississippi cotton producers now use transgenic varieties that eliminate some pests and save production costs. Reduced tillage techniques have enhanced cotton yields and increased profits.

Source: Cotton Production in Mississippi. http://msucares.com/crops/cotton/

### 2.4 The Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns

Knowledge of relationships between inputs and outputs allows examination of an economic "law" (meaning that the production relationship is universal). The name of this law is the Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns. Simply stated, this law means that as more of a single input is applied, the marginal increase in productivity will eventually decline.

- Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns = as additional units of one input are combined with a fixed amount of other inputs, a point is always reached at which the additional output produced from the last unit of added input will decline.

The "truth" in this law stems from one of the foundations of economics: scarcity. Adding more of a single input to a fixed quantity of other inputs means there are not enough of the other inputs to make effective use of the addition. Adding too much fertilizer to a potted houseplant does little good: the plant already has enough resources.


Figure 2.13 Diminishing returns.

If scarcity did not exist, adding inputs would allow the production of more and more goods and services. In this case, every consumer would have everything that he or she desired.

Other examples of the Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns are not hard to find. The first hour of studying is the most productive. After studying for several hours, a student's energy runs low, and productivity declines. This holds true for all productive activities. Crop production in the United States follows the same rule. When the European settlers reached North America, the most productive lands were cleared and planted first, because these lands produced the largest quantity of food. As more acres of land came into production, productivity per acre fell, because of the poor quality of the remaining land. This is in accordance with the Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns. Note that productivity need not be negative for the Law to hold, as is shown in Figure 2.13.

Diminishing Returns begin when the rate of productivity per unit of input begins to fall (point A in Figure 2.13). Put another way, diminishing returns set in when increasing returns are exhausted. Notice: a common mistake is to think that the Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns means that the returns to adding one additional unit of input are negative. The Law says that additional productivity must eventually decline.

### 2.5 The three stages of production

These concepts come together to provide a large amount of information regarding the economics of production processes. Assume that producers are "rational," which simply means that they desire to maximize profits associated with their production activity. If this is so, the lessons of this chapter show that a producer will always operate within a certain range of input use. Stage I of production is defined by a level of input use that is to the left of point A in Figure 2.14, where APP = MPP. Stage I is an "irrational" stage of production, in the sense that the producer can become more efficient if he or she increases the quantity of input used. The APP curve in Stage I shows this. The APP curve represents the average productivity of the production process. Since the average productivity is increasing, the producer could


Figure 2.14 The stages of production.
become more productive by increasing the level of input use. Therefore, the rational producer will never locate in Stage I, because productivity could increase by using more inputs.

Stage III is also an irrational stage of production. The third stage of production includes all input levels greater than the point at which MPP becomes negative (point B in Figure 2.14). In Stage III, the producer is using too much input, since total productivity diminishes with each additional unit of input use. Total output would increase if the quantity of inputs were decreased. In other words, higher levels of productivity are possible at lower levels of input use (too many cooks in the kitchen lower the number of meals cooked). Stage II, the stage between Stage I and Stage III, is the "rational" stage of production, since the producer is operating in the region of input use that is most productive. The exact point of input use that is "optimal," or profit maximizing, depends on the price of the input, or the cost of acquiring the productive resource. This profit-maximizing point is the theme of Chapter 4.

### 2.6 Summary

1. Production is the process of combining scarce resources into outputs.
2. A production function shows the physical relationship between inputs and outputs.
3. The point of maximum physical output is not always the optimal economic level of output.
4. A two-dimensional graph of a production function shows the relationship between one input and one output, if all else remains constant.
5. Economists assume that the goal of all producers is to maximize profits. Profits are equal to total revenue (the value of production sold) minus total costs of production.
6. The immediate run is a period of time in which all inputs are fixed. In the short run, at least one input is fixed. The long run is a period of time during which all inputs are variable.
7. The length of the long run depends on the specific situation: it is the length of time that it takes for all inputs to become variable.
8. A fixed input does not vary with the level of output. A variable input does vary with the level of output.
9. A constant returns production function shows output increasing at a constant rate for each additional unit of input used. Increasing returns occur when an additional unit of input results in more additional output than the previous unit of input. A production function characterized by decreasing returns is one where each additional unit of input increases output, but at a smaller rate than the previous unit. Negative returns occur when total output decreases as a result of adding more units of input.
10. A typical production process passes through stages characterized by increasing returns, decreasing returns, and then negative returns.
11. Total Physical Product (TPP) is the relationship between output and one variable input, holding all other inputs constant. Average Physical Product (APP) is the average productivity of each unit of variable input (Y/X). Marginal Physical Product (MPP) is the amount of additional, or marginal physical product obtained from using an additional, or marginal, unit of variable input.
12. If MPP is greater than APP, then APP is increasing; if MPP is less than APP, then APP is decreasing. The average chases the marginal.
13. Technological change results in an upward shift in the production function. Technological change allows producing more output with the same level of inputs.
14. Stage I occurs when APP $<$ MPP, or when APP is increasing. It is an irrational stage of production, since productivity increases with the increased use of input. Stage II occurs when MPP $<$ APP, and MPP $>0$. This is the rational stage of production. Stage III occurs when MPP $<0$. Stage III is an irrational stage, since increased input use results in lower levels of total output. The rational producer will locate input use in Stage II.

### 2.7 Glossary

Average Physical Product [APP]. The average productivity of each unit of variable input used $[=Y / X]$.
Constant Returns. When each additional unit of input added to the production process yields a constant level of output relative to the previous unit of input. Total output increases at a constant rate.
Decreasing Returns. When each additional unit of input added to the production process yields less additional output relative to the previous unit of input. Output increases at a decreasing rate.
Fixed Input. An input whose quantity does not vary with the level of output.
Immediate Run [IR]. A period of time in which all inputs are fixed.
Increasing Returns. When each additional unit of input added to the production process yields an increasing level of output relative to the previous unit of input. Output increases at an increasing rate.
Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns. As additional units of one input are combined with a fixed amount of other inputs, a point is always reached at which the additional output produced from the last unit of added input will decline.
Long Run [LR]. A time span during which no inputs are fixed; all inputs are variable.
Marginal Physical Product [MPP]. The additional amount of total physical product obtained from using an additional, or marginal, unit of variable input $[=\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X}]$.

Negative Returns. When each additional unit of input added to the production process results in lower total output relative to the previous unit of input. Output decreases.
Production Function. The physical relationship between inputs and outputs.
Profits $[\pi]$. Total revenue minus total costs: $\pi=T R-T C$. The value of production sold minus the cost of producing that output.
Short Run [SR]. A time span during which some factors are variable and some factors are fixed.
Technological Change. Change that allows the same level of inputs to produce a greater level of output. Alternatively, technological change allows production of the same level of output with a smaller number of inputs.
Total Physical Product [TPP]. The relationship between output and one variable input, holding all other inputs constant.
Variable Input. A variable input is one that when changed, affects the level of output.

### 2.8 Review questions

1. The production function is:
a. an economic relationship
b. a physical relationship
c. a mathematical property
d. a party for producers
2. In the following production function, $\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{L} \mid \mathrm{K}, \mathrm{A}, \mathrm{M})$ :
a. ceteris paribus does not hold
b. labor is held constant
c. land is allowed to vary
d. labor is allowed to vary
3. Economists assume that producers attempt to:
a. do the best that they can to get by
b. maximize profits
c. feed the world
d. produce enough food to feed their family
4. Profits are equal to:
a. costs of production minus revenue
b. total revenue minus total costs
c. average revenue minus average costs
d. marginal revenue minus marginal costs
5. The long run is defined as:
a. ten years
b. one year
c. depends on the situation
d. when at least one input is fixed
6. If all inputs are variable except land for a wheat producer, then:
a. the firm is in the short run
b. the firm is in the long run
c. the firm is in the immediate run
d. the firm is not in production
7. A variable input is one that:
a. changes with the weather
b. moves up and down
c. varies with the level of output
d. varies with the level of other inputs
8. In decreasing returns, an additional unit of input added to a production process:
a. increases output at an increasing rate
b. decreases output
c. increases output, but at a decreasing rate
d. does not change output
9. When too much of an input is used, and output decreases, the production process results in:
a. constant returns
b. increasing returns
c. decreasing returns
d. negative returns
10. If average productivity is $20 \mathrm{bu} /$ acre, and marginal productivity is $30 \mathrm{bu} /$ acre then:
a. average productivity is increasing
b. average productivity is decreasing
c. average productivity is constant
d. average productivity is negative
11. The relationship between average and marginal is:
a. average causes marginal
b. marginal causes average
c. average chases marginal
d. marginal chases average


Plate 3.1 The costs of production.
Source: Cosma/Shutterstock

## 3 The costs of production

## Synopsis

This chapter discusses the major motivating force behind all market-based economic behavior: profits. The economic concept of opportunity cost is highlighted, with examples of the next-best alternative in professional and personal decision making. A clear distinction between accounting profits and economic profits is explained. Special attention is given to cost relationships, including constant, decreasing, and increasing cost curves, and how they relate to production in real-world examples such as Walmart, feedlots, forestry, and packing plants.

### 3.1 Profits

The study of production assumed that the goal of a business enterprise in a market-based economy is to maximize profits. This assumption applies to all firms, whether they are large multinational corporations such as Microsoft or Cargill, or small family-owned businesses such as a family farm in Delaware or a family restaurant in Salem, Oregon. The study of costs of production begins with a simple definition of profits and how the level of profits relates to the costs of production. In the simplest possible form,

$$
\begin{equation*}
\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC} \tag{3.1}
\end{equation*}
$$

Total Revenue (TR) refers to how much money a firm earns from the sale of its output (Y). Multiplying the number of units of output ( Y ) by the per-unit price of the output ( P ) yields total revenue:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P}^{*} \mathrm{Y} \tag{3.2}
\end{equation*}
$$

The units for TR are in dollars, since output (Y) times price (\$/Y) is in terms of dollars. The units of output cancel each other.

The level of Total Costs (TC) measures the payments that a firm must make to purchase the factors of production. The production of a good or service transforms inputs into outputs. These inputs are not free, but require payments, because they are scarce. The sum of all of the payments for inputs describes the total costs that a firm must pay to produce a given quantity of a good.

## Quick Quiz 3.1

Define scarcity. What implications does scarcity have for the production process?

Many commodity promotion associations present an award to the corn or wheat producer whose fields produce the highest yield per acre in the county or state. The award winner typically wins a cash prize, publicity in the local newspaper, recognition at the county fair, and Internet coverage. These contests and awards are interesting and even fun, but economists and agricultural economists who deal with commodity production are more interested in finding ways to help producers understand that the maximum level of profits differs from the highest level of production.

A yield contest encourages farmers to produce the maximum level of output. This requires large amounts of scarce inputs, and can be a costly activity. The contest winner will have total costs (the costs of the scarce inputs) that may be much higher than the market value of the crop. A simple graph of total revenue and total costs helps illustrate this.

In Figure 3.1, the vertical distance between the TR curve and the TC curve indicates the profits $(\pi)$ accruing at each level of output. Total revenue, defined as price times output, is an increasing function of output (measured on the horizontal axis of Figure 3.1). Total revenue is a linear function of output, since the price of output is constant $(\$ / Y)$. The more output that the firm produces and sells, the higher the level of TR.

Total costs also rise with increasing levels of output, but due to the law of diminishing marginal returns, the costs rise at an increasing rate. This means that the production process will at some point become less productive and more costly. What does this say about county yield contests? This careful look indicates that a farmer could very well be spending too much money on the inputs just to win the award.

From an economist's point of view, the emphasis should center on profits rather than yields. An economist would advise the producer to weigh the benefits and the costs of producing a higher yield with a full understanding that the maximum yield does not automatically bring the highest level of profits. It costs too much to achieve the maximum yield.


Figure 3.1 Total revenues, total costs, and profits.

To win the award, the farmer is spending too much on inputs. The producer may be better off backing away from thoughts relating to production and awards and looking at both the benefits and the costs of each activity or each level of one activity.

An economist would tell the producer to determine the level of input use and compare the benefits of the input to the costs of purchasing and applying it. If the benefits of using one more unit of input are greater than the cost of the input, it is profitable to use it. The producer, however, should not purchase the input if it costs more than the benefits that stem from its use.

The comparison of benefits and costs is one of the most important "take home lessons" from this course. In every activity, an economist will ask the question, "Do the benefits of this activity outweigh the costs?" If the rewards of the activity are larger than the costs, then the activity should be undertaken. This is true for producers deciding how much fertilizer to apply to their fields, or how much corn to produce, or for consumers trying to decide how many slices of pizza to eat, or for students deciding how many hours to study for an upcoming test.

This approach to decision making is enormously useful, and the approach is valuable. The salaries of Agricultural Economics and Agribusiness majors provide evidence that this is true: learning to think like an economist can provide many rewards in life, including greater financial rewards, improved personal decision making, and more career choices. The study of the costs of production will help students gain a better understanding of how to make solid decisions.

### 3.2 Opportunity costs

The entire issue surrounding cost takes on a new and slightly different complexion in economics. Because of this, there is a need to specify exactly what is meant by the term, "costs." Total costs include two types of costs: Accounting Costs and Opportunity Costs. Accounting costs are explicit costs, or payments that a business firm must actually make in order to obtain factors of production.

- Accounting Costs $=$ explicit costs of production; costs for which payments are required.

Bookkeepers and accountants consider only accounting costs. Economists include opportunity costs, which are the value of a resource in its next-best use.

- Opportunity Costs = the value of a resource in its next-best use. What an individual or firm must give up in order to do something.

Opportunity costs exist for every human activity. By studying economics, a student gives up the opportunity to study the "next-best alternative," which might be studying biology, listening to music, partying, or seeing a movie. When individuals decide to become farm operators, they give up the opportunity to be a professor, or a mechanic, or whatever their next-best occupational choice might be.

Suppose a college student cannot decide between studying to be a soil scientist or a veterinarian. The trouble is the student cannot be both. If he becomes a soil scientist, his opportunity cost would be how much income he was giving up by not being a veterinarian. At another level, suppose that Jay-Z, who likely makes a fortune with his personality as an entertainer, actually would prefer to be a social worker. The opportunity cost of his being a social worker
is what he would have to give up from his entertainment career: surely millions of dollars. Apparently, he prefers the millions to what might be a more satisfying life as a social worker. This concept of opportunity cost is quite powerful, and is useful in explaining both economic and noneconomic behavior.

All resources (and all occupational choices) have opportunity costs associated with them. The opportunity cost of planting one acre of land to cotton is the money lost by not planting the next-best alternative crop on that acre of land. Every resource has a "next-best use," so every resource has an opportunity cost. The key idea is that in economics, total costs (TC) always include both the accounting (or explicit) costs, and the opportunity costs, or what must be given up to use the resource. The following examples may help provide more confidence with this concept.

## Profits (again!)

The definition of profit is $\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}$. Although correct, this definition says nothing about the categories of costs included in the definition. Some simple definitions and examples help clarify the issue.

## Accounting profits

Accounting Profits are revenue minus only explicit costs. These profits are what accountants calculate, and reflect only the revenue and explicit monetary costs of producing and selling a good.

- Accounting Profits $\left[\pi_{\mathrm{A}}\right]=$ total revenue minus explicit costs. $\pi_{\mathrm{A}}=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{A}}$.

Accounting profits do not consider opportunity costs. When opportunity costs are included as a cost item, the profit line shows economic profits, the pure profit left over after the opportunity costs of all inputs are subtracted from total revenue.

## Economic profits

- Economic Profits $\left[\pi_{\mathrm{E}}\right]=$ total revenue minus both explicit and opportunity costs. $\pi_{\mathrm{E}}$ $=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{A}}-$ opportunity costs.


## The opportunity cost of a wheat grower near Tulsa, Oklahoma

Consider a wheat farmer near Tulsa, Oklahoma. In this example, we will clarify the difference between accounting profit and economic profit. In Case One, suppose that this producer grows and sells 25,000 bushels of wheat at a price of $\$ 4 / \mathrm{bu}$. Also assume that wheat production requires 10 months of managerial labor each year.

## Quick Quiz 3.2

Define a production function.

Table 3.1 Oklahoma wheat producer production costs

| Input | CASE ONE (USD) | CASE TWO (USD) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Chemicals | 20,000 | 20,000 |
| Machinery | 20,000 | 20,000 |
| Seed, Fertilizer | 20,000 | 20,000 |
| Land (rent) | 20,000 | 20,000 |
| Hired Labor | 10,000 | 15,000 |
| - | - | - |
| Total Accounting Costs | 90,000 | 95,000 |
| Opportunity Costs | 10,000 | 10,000 |
| Total Economic Costs | 100,000 | 105,000 |
| Total Revenues | 100,000 | 100,000 |
| Accounting Profits | 10,000 | 5,000 |
| Economic Profits | 0 | $-5,000$ |

An easy calculation can be made to find that $\mathrm{TR}=\$ 100,000$, as reported in Table 3.1.

## Quick Quiz 3.3

Write out the steps taken in making this calculation.

The costs of production reported here are in round numbers to simplify the example. Actual cost data can be quite complicated. First, the explicit, or accounting costs only, are shown in the first column of numbers in Table 3.1, labeled Case One.

Continuing the story, suppose that an accountant adds up all of the accounting costs (explicit costs, which are the costs on the books) for this wheat producer. The total accounting costs $\left(\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{A}}\right)$ are equal to $\$ 90,000$, the sum of all of the payments made for the inputs used in wheat production in Case One.

Calculating accounting profits yields (Table 3.1):

$$
\begin{equation*}
\pi_{\mathrm{A}}=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{A}}=\$ 100,000-\$ 90,000=\$ 10,000 . \tag{3.3}
\end{equation*}
$$

Next, calculate the level of economic profits, and compare the results to accounting profits. Economic profit is what is left over after all costs including opportunity costs are deducted ( $\pi_{\mathrm{E}}=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{A}}-$ opportunity costs). Restated, economic costs include both accounting costs and opportunity costs. Use the following formula to calculate economic costs:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{E}}=\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{A}}+\text { opportunity costs }=\$ 90,000+\text { opportunity costs. } \tag{3.4}
\end{equation*}
$$

Opportunity costs are the value of a resource in its next-best use. Suppose that the Tulsa wheat producer could earn $\$ 1,000 /$ month in town as a salesperson with a farm implement dealer. In this case, the opportunity cost of this individual being a wheat producer:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\text { Opportunity cost }=10 \text { months } * \$ 1,000 / \text { month }=\$ 10,000 . \tag{3.5}
\end{equation*}
$$

The levels of economic costs and economic profits for Case One (Table 3.1):

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{E}}=\$ 90,000(\text { accounting costs })+\$ 10,000(\text { opportunity costs })=\$ 100,000,  \tag{3.6}\\
& \pi_{\mathrm{E}}=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{E}}=\$ 100,000-\$ 100,000=0 . \tag{3.7}
\end{align*}
$$

At first glance, it appears that this wheat producer is not doing very well, since her economic profits are equal to zero. In reality, this is not a bad thing. The farmer is earning exactly what she is worth, or exactly her opportunity cost. The farmer's accounting profits are positive ( $=\$ 10,000$ ), which is exactly what she could be making in her next-best alternative job. So, oddly enough, when economic profits equal zero, all resources earn exactly what they are worth.

Box 3.1 Oklahoma wheat
Around 9000 years ago, domestic wheat originated in the Fertile Crescent, the area that includes the modern nations of Syria, Jordan, Turkey, Armenia, and Iraq. Wheat has been a crop in the United States since colonial times, but production expanded rapidly after 1870, when Russian immigrants brought Turkey Red wheat seed with them to Kansas. Wheat is the number one crop grown in Oklahoma. Most of the wheat grown there is a descendent of Turkey Red winter wheat and is used to make bread. This variety of wheat grows best in the harsh, dry climate of the Southern Great Plains in Oklahoma and Texas. Wheat is well adapted to harsh environments, and is a common crop in windswept areas too dry and too cold for rice, corn, or cotton.

Wheat is grown on more land area worldwide than any other crop, and is a close third to rice and corn in total world production. World leaders in wheat production include China, India, the United States, Russia, France, and Australia. Wheat supplies about 20 percent of the food calories for the world's people and is a staple in many countries. The per capita consumption of wheat in the United States exceeds that of any other single food staple.

Both whole wheat flour and all-purpose (white) flour are made from wheat kernels. A wheat kernel is divided into three major parts: bran, endosperm, and germ. Allpurpose flour is made from only ground endosperm. Whole wheat flour is made by grinding the entire wheat kernel. A bushel of wheat weighs about 60 pounds, and yields about 42 pounds of white flour or 60 pounds of whole wheat flour.

Unlike most other crops, hard red winter wheat is planted in the fall and harvested in the spring. In summer, wheat producers prepare the soil for planting, and then plant the seed. The wheat plant will grow about six inches before the frost comes. When the weather gets cold the wheat plant will stop growing, beginning the dormant period. On most farms in Oklahoma, cattle feed, or graze, on the young wheat plants while they are in their dormant period. In the spring, warm weather causes the wheat plants to grow quickly. Some varieties of wheat grow as tall as seven feet, but most are between two and four feet tall. During the early summer, the plants begin to fade from dark green to tan and then to a golden brown. Then the wheat is ripe and nearly ready
for harvest. Now the wheat producer must avoid rain, hail, and lightening to harvest the wheat. The farmer drives a combine across the fields to harvest the grain. When the storage bin of the combine is full, it is emptied into a truck. The truck is driven to the grain elevator in town. It takes a combine nine seconds to harvest enough wheat to make 70 loaves of bread.

Source: Oklahoma Ag in the Classroom. Wheat Facts. http://oklahoma4h.okstate.edu/aitc/ lessons/extras/facts/wheat.html


Plate 3.2 Wheat production costs.
Source: Yaroslava/Shutterstock
A second situation, Case Two, assumes that the farmer continues to grow and sell 25,000 bushels of wheat at the prevailing market price of $\$ 4 / \mathrm{bu}$. Therefore, total revenue (TR) remains the same at $\$ 100,000$. However, in this case, suppose that the federal government increases the minimum wage, so that the wages paid to the hired help increase. Now, the cost of hired workers to help with wheat harvest increases to $\$ 15,000$, as shown in Table 3.1. To keep the example simple, assume that the increase in the minimum wage is the only change in the firm's costs of production. If all of this is true, then $T R=\$ 100,000$, and Case Two profits are reported in Table 3.1:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\pi_{\mathrm{A}}=\$ 100,000-\$ 95,000=\$ 5,000, \tag{3.8}
\end{equation*}
$$

$$
\begin{equation*}
\pi_{\mathrm{E}}=\$ 100,000-\$ 95,000-\$ 10,000=-\$ 5,000 . \tag{3.9}
\end{equation*}
$$

In this case, the increase in the minimum wage results in negative economic profit. Interestingly, the farmer might stay in business. Why? Many farmers have strong ties to agriculture, and will try to stay in farming even if they earn negative economic profits. This is possible because the accounting profits are positive, so the bills are paid. As before, the farmer is giving up the possibility of earning more money in her next-best job. She gives up $\$ 5,000$ to remain in agriculture. This is a very realistic scenario for many persons employed in jobs such as agricultural production or teaching, where income levels are often low but the work is compelling, satisfying, or both.

If the farmer remains in agriculture with negative economic profits, she is violating the assumption that the objective of all producers is to maximize profits. Many individuals are content to work in a job that has rewards other than money. In the current study of economics, the assumption of profit maximization is maintained to simplify the analysis. The major conclusions of economics remain the same with or without the assumption.

## ECONOMIC COSTS INCLUDE OPPORTUNITY COSTS!

Another example of economic costs relates to the full costs of attending college or a university. The explicit, or accounting, costs of attending school include tuition, fees, room and board, textbooks, football tickets, and the like. The opportunity cost is the value of a resource in its next-best use. In this case, the student is the resource and the opportunity cost is how much that student could earn in another field without a university-level education. Therefore, the full economic cost of attending college is not just the high cost of paying for the undergraduate education. It also includes the sacrifice of a salary and benefits that go with the job not taken in order to attend an institution of higher learning.

### 3.3 Costs and output

This section explores the relationship between the level of output produced by a firm and the costs of producing that output. Total costs will increase with increased output, since this increase requires additional levels of input. The added inputs are scarce and incur costs.

## Quick Quiz 3.4

Should a firm always strive to produce the highest level of output?
Recall the definition of the short run. It is a period of time during which the quantity of at least one input cannot change. The number of acres of cropland in a farm provides an example. It is often difficult to change the size of a farm in a short period of time. Similarly, it may be difficult to change the size of any of the several small specialty shops or restaurants that seem to surround major university campuses. In each case, the availability of suitable land (space) seems to be the limiting factor. Each of these examples demonstrates that some inputs cannot adjust in the short run. They are "fixed."

Quantities of other inputs are variable in the short run, which means that their quantity is adjustable. For an Oklahoma wheat farm, variable inputs might include chemicals, labor, fertilizer, seed, machinery, and other items (Table 3.1). The items in this list are easy to
change, even in a short period of time. Some inputs are fixed and some are variable, so costs break down into two categories: fixed costs and variable costs.

- Total Fixed Costs [TFC] = the total costs of inputs that do not vary with the level of output.
- Total Variable Costs [TVC]= the total costs of inputs that vary with the level of output.
- Total Costs [TC] = the sum of all payments that a firm must make to purchase the factors of production. The sum of Total Fixed Costs and Total Variable Costs. $\mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{TFC}+\mathrm{TVC}$.

Fixed costs are payments to factors such as land or machines that are fixed in quantity in the short run. Variable costs are payments to factors whose quantity may change in the short run. Chemicals, labor, and fuel are included in this category.

## Quick Quiz 3.5

How long is the long run?
In the long run, all factors are variable. This is because over a longer period of time, a producer can buy more machines and more land. Producers can adjust the size of their farm. There is no set number of years for the long run; it depends on the situation (the answer to Quick Quiz 3.5).

Since fixed factors do not vary with output, they must be paid in full, regardless of the level of output. Examples include (1) rent to the landlord that must be paid no matter what, (2) a payment to the bank for a loan taken out to purchase machines, (3) insurance on the buildings, and (4) property taxes. The key thing to remember about fixed costs is that they do not vary with output (Figure 3.2). Restating for emphasis:

## FIXED COSTS DO NOT VARY WITH THE LEVEL OF OUTPUT.



Figure 3.2 Total fixed costs (TFC).


Figure 3.3 Total variable costs (TVC).

Variable costs are somewhat more intuitive: they vary with the level of output. In particular, they increase with the level of output, because producing firms must purchase more of these resources to increase the quantity of production. This is shown in Figure 3.3.

These costs increase for a wheat farmer, for example, because more labor and more chemicals are required to increase the production of the crop. The interesting shape of the TVC curve is due to the "typical" shape of the production function discussed in Chapter 2. The slope of the TVC curve is positive, but the slope decreases in the range of output near the origin. This reflects the increasing productivity of a production process as more inputs are added. Further to the right, the slope of the total variable cost curve begins to increase at an increasing rate, indicating its adherence to the law of diminishing marginal returns.

## Quick Quiz 3.6

State the Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns, and explain the shape of the TVC curve.

## Cost curves

Total costs (TC) are the sum of total fixed costs (TFC) and total variable costs (TVC). Graphically, this results in cost curves as shown in Figure 3.4, where TFC and TVC are added vertically to get the total cost curve (TC).

In addition to total costs, the average, or per-unit, costs of producing goods are of interest. Dividing the total costs (TC) by the level of output (Y) yields average costs: $\mathrm{AC}=\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{Y}$. Average total costs (ATC) provides the calculation of the average cost of producing a single unit of output. Calculating average fixed costs (AFC) and average variable costs (AVC) use the same steps:

- Average Fixed Costs $[\boldsymbol{A F C}]=$ the average cost of the fixed costs per unit of output. $\mathrm{AFC}=\mathrm{TFC} / \mathrm{Y}$.


Figure 3.4 Total cost, total fixed costs, and total variable costs.

- Average Variable Costs $[\boldsymbol{A V C}]=$ the average cost of the variable inputs per unit of output. AVC = TVC/Y.
- Average Total Costs $[\boldsymbol{A T C}]=$ the average total cost per unit of output. $\mathrm{ATC}=\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{Y}$. Note that Average Costs (AC) are identical to Average Total Costs (ATC).

Marginal cost is the added cost of producing one more unit of output. The marginal, or incremental, costs help answer the question: "Do the benefits of producing one more unit of output outweigh the added costs?" The next chapter emphasizes this issue.

- Marginal Costs $[\mathbf{M C}]=$ the increase in total costs due to the production of one more unit of output. $\mathrm{MC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.

The average, or per-unit, costs and marginal costs are shown on the same graph in Figure 3.5. This is possible because they share the same units: dollar per unit of output. Similarly, the total cost curves (TC, TFC, and TVC) are on the same graph (Figure 3.4) because all of these costs are in dollars.

The per-unit cost curves shown in Figure 3.5 are closely related to the total cost curves in Figure 3.4. These curves are the "typical" cost curves for a business firm that has the "typical" production function of increasing followed by decreasing returns. In Figure 3.5, the average total costs decrease, reflecting an increase in productivity, then increase, due to decreasing returns. The marginal cost curve cuts (from below) through the minimum points on the AVC curve and ATC curve.

### 3.4 Cost curve example: Vermont dairy farmer

A Vermont dairy farm provides a quantitative example, using cost curves similar to those introduced in the previous section. The fixed costs paid by the operator might include a rental payment to the landowner, or a payment to the bank for a loan on milking machines.


Figure 3.5 Average and marginal costs.

## Quick Quiz 3.7

What are fixed costs? Why would a loan payment be a fixed cost? List one more input for this dairy that could be a fixed cost.


Plate 3.3 Vermont dairy cow.
Source: Len Green/Shutterstock

Variable costs might include payments for replacement cows, feed, veterinary services, medicine, electricity, and the like.

## Quick Quiz 3.8

What are variable costs? Why would a loan payment be a variable cost? List one more input for this dairy that could be a variable cost.

The definitions of costs given above allow calculation of the total, average, and marginal costs for the dairy farmer. The total fixed costs are the payments for pasture rent, and the loan payment to the bank. Suppose that each of these payments is equal to $\$ 5$, so $\mathrm{TFC}=\$ 10$, as seen in Table 3.2.

Box 3.2 Dairy farming in Vermont
European settlers brought dairy cows and sheep to Vermont from the Plymouth Colony in the 1600s. The period 1850 to 1880 was the greatest period of growth in Vermont agriculture, and dairy products became the foundation of Vermont's agriculture. In a time before refrigeration, dairymen frequently turned their milk into cheese or butter before it spoiled. The first vacuum-type milking machine appeared in 1865, but did not become commercially viable until the 1920s. The Vermont Dairyman's Association, formed in 1868, became a vocal and successful advocate for scientific breeding practices and the development of new technology. Vermont dairies produced high quality butter, primarily because of the continuous improvement in the dairy herd.

Though some farmers kept Holstein and Ayrshire herds, the Jersey breed predominated in Vermont because the high level of butterfat in their milk was desired for making butter. Mechanization and rural electrification in the first half of the twentieth century allowed for larger farms. Homogenization and pasteurization increased milk safety and consumer confidence, and by the 1950s, nearly all of Vermont's milk was pasteurized. Major advancements in refrigeration and transportation made Vermont the leading supplier of fluid milk to Boston. By 1915, there were nearly 300 butter factories in Vermont.

In 1937, the federal government established a milk pricing system to maintain a stable milk supply and in 1949, a support price system was established for dairy farmers. Through 1950-70, this system worked well for Vermont. The problem came as productivity increased at a more rapid pace than in other industrial sectors of the economy and production outpaced demands. The government programs could not continue to maintain a floor price without controlling the increased production. The government policy makers replaced the support price with a market-driven price.

Additional productivity increases came from conversion from milk cans to bulk storage, and from consolidation. Many small dairy farms went out of business as larger farms invested in new technology and grew. Fewer milk producers remained, but those that did, produced more milk.

Source: http://www.vermontdairy.com/learn/history/

## Quick Quiz 3.9

If the dairy were to shut down in the short run, what would the fixed costs be? If the dairy were to double the number of cows milked in the short run, what would the fixed costs be?

The cost curve definitions and a table of costs appear in Table 3.2. The first three columns on the left side of the table (Y, TFC, and TVC) provide the basic data for completing the other columns.

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{TFC}+\mathrm{TVC}  \tag{3.10a}\\
& \mathrm{ATC}=\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{Y}  \tag{3.10b}\\
& \mathrm{AVC}=\mathrm{TVC} / \mathrm{Y}  \tag{3.10c}\\
& \mathrm{MC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{Y} \tag{3.10d}
\end{align*}
$$

Note that the units of output for the Vermont dairy farm are 1000 pounds of milk. Each unit of Y is equal to one thousand pounds of milk.

The first column in Table 3.2 is output ( Y ) in units of 1000 pounds. The second column is total fixed costs (TFC), which, by definition, do not vary with output. The TFC are constant at $\$ 10$ for all units of milk produced.

## Quick Quiz 3.10

Why do fixed costs not vary with the level of output? What do the fixed costs for this Vermont dairy farmer represent?

Total variable costs (TVC) appear in the third column. Variable costs change with the level of output, and increase as output increases. If the firm has the "typical" production process, the total variable costs increase at a decreasing rate, then at an increasing rate. Total costs

Table 3.2 Vermont dairy farm production costs

| $Y=$ milk <br> $(1000$ lbs $)$ | TFC (\$) | TVC (\$) | TC ( $\$$ ) | ATC $(\$ / Y)$ | $A V C(\$ / Y)$ | $A F C(\$ / Y)$ | $M C(\$ / Y)$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 0 | 10 | 0 | 10 | - | - | - | - |
| 1 | 10 | 10 | 20 | 20 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 2 | 10 | 18 | 28 | 14 | 9 | 5 | 8 |
| 3 | 10 | 23 | 33 | 11 | 7.67 | 3.33 | 5 |
| 4 | 10 | 30 | 40 | 10 | 7.5 | 2.5 | 7 |
| 5 | 10 | 40 | 50 | 10 | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| 6 | 10 | 56 | 66 | 11 | 9.33 | 1.67 | 16 |
| 7 | 10 | 74 | 84 | 12 | 10.6 | 1.43 | 18 |

(TC) are simply the sum of the total fixed costs and total variable costs ( $\mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{TFC}+\mathrm{TVC}$ ). All of the total costs (TC, TFC, and TVC) are in units of dollars.

Average total costs (ATC) are total costs divided by the farm's entire output (TC/Y). These per-unit costs decrease, then increase. Average variable costs are the total variable costs (TVC) divided by the level of output (TVC/Y). The AVC curve follows the same pattern as the ATC curve. The next column is AFC, or average fixed costs. This represents the payments to fixed factors per unit of output, found by dividing total fixed costs by the amount of milk produced ( $\mathrm{AFC}=\mathrm{TFC} / \mathrm{Y}$ ). Average fixed costs decline as more output is produced, because the dairy farmer is spreading the fixed payments (a constant numerator) over more units of output (an increasing denominator). Therefore, average fixed costs decline with larger quantities of milk produced. This provides an explanation about why many large agribusiness firms continue to increase in size: more output results in lower per-unit costs. Expansion of output can lower per-unit costs in many circumstances. This theme will appear often in the remaining chapters. Graphing these costs will provide a better understanding of their shapes and meaning.

## Quick Quiz 3.11

Calculate the total, average, and marginal costs for the Vermont dairy farm in Table 3.2.

Total cost curves for the Vermont dairy farmer are shown in Figure 3.6.

## Quick Quiz 3.12

Why are total, average, and marginal costs all shown in Table 3.2, but separate graphs are required for (1) total, (2) average, and (3) marginal costs?


Figure 3.6 Total costs for Vermont dairy farm.


Figure 3.7 Per-unit costs for Vermont dairy farm.

## Quick Quiz 3.13

Explain the shapes of the cost curves in Figures 3.6 and 3.7.

The cost curves for the Vermont dairy farm have the same shape as the cost curves derived above in Figures 3.4 and 3.5.

### 3.5 Where do cost curves come from?

The costs of production are directly related to the productivity of a firm. By most definitions, an efficient firm will have lower per-unit costs of production. This section makes the connection between the physical product curves (from Chapter 2) and the cost curves introduced in this chapter. Recall that the production function is the physical relationship between inputs $(\mathrm{X})$ and output ( Y ), as in equation (3.11).

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}\left(\mathrm{X}_{1}, \mathrm{X}_{2}, \ldots, \mathrm{X}_{\mathrm{n}}\right) . \tag{3.11}
\end{equation*}
$$

Since graphs and paper have only two dimensions, the relationship between one input and output is isolated and graphed while holding all other inputs constant.

$$
\begin{equation*}
Y=f\left(X_{1} \mid X_{2}, \ldots, X_{n}\right) \tag{3.12}
\end{equation*}
$$

Figure 3.8 is a graph of the typical production relationship of increasing then decreasing returns in production, together with cost curves that are increasing at a decreasing rate, then increasing at an increasing rate.

The relationship between physical product curves and cost curves is shown in the per-unit graph in Figure 3.9. The average and marginal product curves in the top half of the diagram


Figure 3.8 The relationship between total costs and total productivity.


Figure 3.9 The relationship between per-unit costs and per-unit productivity.
are a mirror image of the average and marginal cost curves in the bottom half of the diagram. Mathematically, this inverse relationship demonstrates that the total variable costs of a firm are the payments made to the variable inputs. In this case, input $\mathrm{X}_{1}$ is variable, with all other inputs held constant. Let $P_{1}$ be the price of input $X_{1}$.

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{TVC}=\mathrm{P}_{1} * \mathrm{X}_{1}  \tag{3.13a}\\
& \mathrm{AVC}=\mathrm{TVC} / \mathrm{Y}  \tag{3.13b}\\
& \mathrm{APP}=\mathrm{Y} / \mathrm{X}_{1} \tag{3.13c}
\end{align*}
$$

Simple substitution allows for the following result:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{AVC}=\mathrm{TVC} / \mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{P}_{1} * \mathrm{X}_{1} / \mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{P}_{1} *\left(\mathrm{X}_{1} / \mathrm{Y}\right)=\mathrm{P}_{1} /\left(\mathrm{Y} / \mathrm{X}_{1}\right)=\mathrm{P}_{1} / \operatorname{APP} . \tag{3.13d}
\end{equation*}
$$

This result shows that the AVC curve is inversely related to the APP curve, as in Figure 3.9. Similarly, the marginal cost curve is inversely related to the MPP curve:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{MC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}=\Delta\left(\mathrm{P}_{1} * \mathrm{X}_{1}\right) / \Delta \mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{P}_{1} *\left(\Delta \mathrm{X}_{1} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}\right)=\mathrm{P}_{1} /\left(\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}\right)=\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{MPP} \tag{3.14}
\end{equation*}
$$

This result shows that marginal costs and marginal physical product are inversely related. Figure 3.9 summarizes the close connection between physical product curves and cost curves: an increase in productivity (increase in APP) occurs along with a decrease in costs (decrease in ATC). The relationship between average and marginal costs is the same as the relationship between average and marginal physical products.

## The relationship between average and marginal costs

As noted in Chapter 2, "The average chases the marginal." This means that:
If $\mathrm{MC}>\mathrm{AC}$, then AC is increasing, and
If $\mathrm{MC}<\mathrm{AC}$, then AC is decreasing.
Here, average costs (AC) can refer to either average total costs (ATC) or average variable costs (AVC). The result above occurs because the marginal cost is the additional cost associated with producing one additional unit of output. If this marginal cost is larger than the average, it "pulls" the average up. If MC, the additional costs of producing the last unit, is smaller than the average, it "pulls" the average down.

This relationship between average and marginal: "average chases marginal," is true for many examples: grades, costs, and revenue.

## Quick Quiz 3.14

Graph the relationship between average and marginal grades.


Figure 3.10 The relationship between average costs and marginal costs.

### 3.6 Constant, decreasing, and increasing cost curves

Four types of cost curves are possible: constant, decreasing, and increasing cost structures, as well as the "typical" cost curves explained above.

## Constant cost firm

A constant cost firm is one that faces constant production costs for all units of output produced. In such a firm, the first unit of output produced costs the same as the last unit of output produced. An example is a feedlot. The operators fatten cattle until they are ready for slaughter.


Plate 3.4 Cattle feedlot.
Source: Tyler Olsen/Shutterstock


Figure 3.11 A constant cost firm.

The fattening process is one of feeding the cattle large quantities of feed (corn, sorghum, and soybean meal) together with some vitamins and nutritional supplements. A typical feedlot pays the same amount for each bushel of feed, no matter how many steers are in the lot. Figure 3.11 shows that the firm pays the same amount for inputs.

Regardless of the number of units produced, the per-unit cost is the same at a given point in time. Since the marginal cost of producing a unit of output is fixed (constant), then MC is horizontal and $\mathrm{AC}=\mathrm{MC}$. The average chases the marginal, but in this specific case, it has "caught" it! For a constant cost firm, the average costs (AC) equal the marginal costs (MC), as shown above.

## Decreasing cost firm

Decreasing costs occur when the per-unit cost of a firm's output declines as output increases. An example of a decreasing cost firm is the meat packing plant in Nebraska. Packing plants, also called slaughterhouses, convert the fattened cattle into steaks, hamburger, and leather. These are often very large facilities, with enormous electricity, water, and labor requirements. Because of this huge size, each additional pound of meat can be produced at a lower per-unit cost, since the large fixed costs (the electricity, water, and labor) are spread over more units of output. Since MC $<A C, A C$ is decreasing. The huge fixed costs mean that greater productivity comes at lower costs per unit of output, as shown in Figure 3.12.

Other examples of decreasing cost industries include Walmart and social networks. In a decreasing cost firm, the MC curve always lies below the AC curve, and the AC curve is declining. Other examples of declining cost firms include power generating plants, cable television companies, and city water systems. These examples are all firms that require a huge network, or distribution system. The high costs of installing power generators and power lines to every house in the network region result in a decreasing cost structure for an electricity plant. This also holds true for cable television companies, which must invest large amounts of money to develop the cable network throughout town. The more customers who


Figure 3.12 A decreasing cost firm.

## Box 3.3 Walmart

Walmart is the largest retailer in world history, with millions of global customers. Sam Walton, founder, opened his first Walmart discount store in 1962, with the vision to save customers money, and to help them live better. According to the Walmart website, Sam's secret was simple: give your customers what they want. From a single store in Rodgers, Arkansas, Walmart has grown to over 10,000 stores in 27 countries, employing over 2.2 million workers, and serving over 176 million customers a year. The size of an average store is 108,000 square feet. Each store employs about 225 people.

One important feature of Walmart's success is logistics: how to transport goods from producers to customers throughout the globe. Walmart has one of the largest private distribution operations in the world, with over 40 Regional Distribution Centers. Each one is over one million square feet in size, and operates around the clock, supporting between 75 and 100 stores within a 250 -mile radius. Walmart's innovations in transportation and logistics allowed the retailer to lower costs through expansion of the distribution network, resulting in low-cost products for customers. A second major factor behind Walmart's success is the development and use of technology to track its inventory, causing reduced supply chain costs.

Source: Walmart*Corporate. http://www.walmartstores.com/AboutUs

Box 3.4 Network economies
A relatively new concept in economics is "network economies," which describe networks and services that become more valuable as they are more widely used. Social network software such as Facebook and Twitter are the most obvious examples. As more individuals use these services, the more valuable they become to each individual user. Other examples of network economies include common language, common currencies such as the Euro, online auctions like eBay, and air transport networks. The rapid expansion of e-commerce is another example of the use of network economies of scale by Internet merchants.

A formal definition of network economies is a good or service where the marginal cost of adding one more user to the network is nearly zero, but the resulting benefits may be large. The large benefits are due to the ability of the network adopter to interact and/or trade with all of the existing members or parts of the network. Network economies have interesting economic characteristics, and interesting business challenges. For example, publishing a book or a song online fundamentally changes the use of property rights to protect writers and composers. In many cases, ownership is not valued, so revenue is collected through user fees. Businesses such as book and music publishers are in the process of changing longstanding business practices to keep up with the huge advantages of the information age and network economies.

Source: Shapiro, Carl and Varian, Hal R. (1998). Information Rules: A Strategic Guide to the Network Economy. Harvard Business Review Press.
purchase electricity and cable television, the lower the per-unit costs of production and distribution will be.

## Increasing cost firm

An increasing cost firm is one whose per-unit cost of production increases with increases in output. Firms that extract fixed natural resources, such as oil, timber, or coal, typically have increasing cost structures because a fixed resource (e.g., the coal in the mine) becomes increasingly scarce as more coal is extracted. This causes the per-unit cost of production to increase along with increases in output. Figure 3.13 shows the cost structure of an increasing cost firm.

For increasing cost industries, the cost of extracting the resource increases as extraction increases. This is because the lowest-cost resources are used first, with costs increasing as more resource is extracted or used. For example, the costs of digging a mine deeper, or hauling lumber farther, increase as more coal is extracted or more trees are cut. In this case, the MC curve is everywhere above the AC curve, and the AC curve continues to increase (average chases the marginal).

## Typical cost curves revisited

The typical cost curves involve all three types of costs: decreasing AC, constant AC, and increasing AC, as illustrated in Figure 3.14. These cost curves will help find the profitmaximizing point, the topic of the next chapter.


Figure 3.13 An increasing cost firm.


Figure 3.14 Typical cost curves.

### 3.7 Summary

1. Profits equal total revenue minus total costs. Total revenue equals the product price times the level of output. Total costs are the payments paid to acquire factors of production.
2. Accounting costs are the explicit costs of production. Opportunity costs are the value of a resource in its next-best use.
3. Accounting profits are total revenue minus explicit costs. Economic profits are total revenue minus explicit and opportunity costs.
4. When all resources are earning their opportunity costs, economic profits are equal to zero, and the resources are earning as much as they are worth.
5. Some farmers and ranchers remain in agriculture, even if they are earning negative economic profits, since they prefer a career in farming or ranching, even if it pays less than what they could earn in a different occupation.
6. Total fixed costs do not vary with the level of output.
7. Average fixed costs are fixed costs per unit of output. Average variable costs are variable costs divided by the level of output. Average total costs are total costs divided by the level of output.
8. Marginal cost is the additional cost of producing one more unit of output.
9. A typical total cost curve increases at a decreasing rate, and then increases at an increasing rate, as diminishing marginal returns set in.
10. If $\mathrm{MC}>\mathrm{AC}$, the average costs are increasing; if $\mathrm{MC}<\mathrm{AC}$, then average costs are decreasing.
11. A firm's cost curves reflect the firm's productivity: an increase in productivity is identical to a decrease in per-unit costs.
12. A constant cost firm faces constant production costs for all units of output produced.
13. A decreasing cost firm has per-unit costs that decrease as output increases.
14. An increasing cost firm has increasing per-unit costs as output increases.
15. A firm with "typical" cost curves is one whose average costs decrease then increase.

### 3.8 Glossary

Accounting Costs. Explicit costs of production; costs for which payments are required.
Accounting Profits $\left[\pi_{\mathrm{A}}\right]$. Total revenue minus explicit costs. $\pi_{\mathrm{A}}=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{A}}$ (see Economic Profits).
Average Costs [AC]. Total costs per unit of output. $\mathrm{AC}=\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{Y}$. Note that Average Costs (AC) are identical to Average Total Costs (ATC).
Average Fixed Costs [AFC]. The average cost of the fixed costs per unit of output. AFC $=\mathrm{TFC} / \mathrm{Y}$.
Average Total Costs [ATC]. The average total cost per unit of output. ATC $=T C / Y$. Note that Average Costs (AC) are identical to Average Total Costs (ATC).
Average Variable Costs [AVC]. The average cost of the variable costs per unit of output. $\mathrm{AVC}=\mathrm{TVC} / \mathrm{Y}$.
Costs of Production. The payments that a firm must make to purchase inputs (resources, factors).
Economic Profits $\left[\pi_{\mathrm{E}}\right]$. Total revenue minus both explicit and opportunity costs. $\pi_{\mathrm{E}}=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{A}}-$ opportunity costs (see Accounting Profits).
Fixed Costs. Those costs that do not vary with the level of output; the costs associated with the fixed factors of production.
Marginal Costs [MC]. The increase in total costs due to the production of one more unit of output. $\mathrm{MC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.
Opportunity Costs. The value of a resource in its next-best use. What an individual or firm must give up to do something.
Profits $[\pi]$. Total revenue minus total costs. $\pi=T R-T C$. The value of production sold minus the cost of producing that output (see Accounting Profits and Economic Profits).
Total Costs [TC]. The sum of all payments that a firm must make to purchase the factors of production. The sum of Total Fixed Costs and Total Variable Costs. TC = TFC + TVC.
Total Fixed Costs [TFC]. The total costs of inputs that do not vary with the level of output.

Total Revenue [TR]. The amount of money received when the producer sells the product. $\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}} * \mathrm{Y}$.
Total Variable Costs [TVC]. The total costs of inputs that vary with the level of output. Variable Costs. Those costs that vary with the level of output; the costs associated with the variable factors of production.

### 3.9 Review questions

1. Corn producers interested in maximizing profits should:
a. maximize yield
b. maximize revenue
c. consider both costs and revenue
d. minimize costs
2. Accounting costs include all of the following except:
a. electricity payment
b. payment to hired workers
c. how much money the operator could earn as a plumber
d. fertilizer costs
3. Opportunity costs are:
a. explicit costs
b. the value of a resource in its current use
c. implicit costs
d. the value of a resource in its previous use
4. Economic profits are:
a. accounting profits
b. total revenue minus accounting costs
c. total revenue minus accounting costs and opportunity costs
d. total revenue minus marginal costs
5. When economic profits equal zero:
a. the firm should shut down
b. the firm must increase profits
c. the resources employed by the firm are underpaid
d. resources are earning exactly what they are worth
6. In a situation of negative economic profits:
a. the costs of production cannot be paid
b. accounting profits are negative
c. accounting profits could be positive or negative
d. the firm will shut down
7. In the short run:
a. only fixed costs exist
b. only variable costs exist
c. both fixed and variable costs are present
d. neither fixed nor variable costs are present
8. Variable costs:
a. do not change with the level of output
b. increase with the level of output
c. decrease with the level of output
d. fluctuate in a manner unrelated to the level of output

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9. Total variable costs divided by output equal:
a. average variable costs
b. marginal costs
c. average fixed costs
d. total fixed costs
10. If MC > ATC, then:
a. ATC are increasing
b. ATC are decreasing
c. ATC are constant
d. cannot be determined from the information given
11. All of the following are typical variable costs for a small business except:
a. electricity
b. hired labor
c. paper
d. rental payment
12. For a firm with typical cost curves:
a. the ATC increase then decrease
b. the ATC decrease then increase
c. MC is greater than ATC
d. ATC is greater than MC
13. A public utility such as Kansas Power and Light (KPL) is:
a. an increasing cost firm
b. a decreasing cost firm
c. a constant cost firm
d. cannot be determined from the information given
14. A coal mining company is:
a. an increasing cost firm
b. a decreasing cost firm
c. a constant cost firm
d. cannot be determined from the information given


Plate 4.1 Profit maximization.
Source: Thoma/Shutterstock

## 4 Profit maximization

## Synopsis

This chapter explores the profit-maximizing level of inputs and outputs for a firm in a competitive industry. It defines and explains perfect competition and clarifies the economic approach of comparing benefits and costs in decision making. Graphs are used to explain the optimal levels of input use and output. This chapter emphasizes the intuitive appeal of profit maximization and the rationale for using profits and losses to help determine a firm's breakeven and shutdown points. It is a comprehensive treatment of the heart of microeconomics.

### 4.0 Introduction

The lessons regarding good economic decisions continue in this chapter. The materials presented here are important in economic decision making, and provide a comprehensive way of looking at the world. The "economic way of thinking" is based on comparing the benefits and costs of every human activity. It applies to purchasing a new pickup truck, attending college, or studying late. The Marginal Analysis used here is also an important tool of microeconomics that focuses attention on the advantages and disadvantages of each decision.

- Marginal Analysis = comparing the benefits and costs of a decision incrementally, one unit at a time.

The following paragraphs show that marginal analysis, or the economic approach to decision making, applies to a great number of decisions, choices, and issues.

### 4.1 Perfect competition

To determine the profit-maximizing levels of inputs and outputs, we will use the concepts introduced in the preceding chapters and an additional piece of information, the price of the product $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}\right)$. This price is the market price received by producers when they sell their output $(\mathrm{Y})$. The units of the output price are in dollars per unit of output $(\$ / \mathrm{Y})$.

The term, "output price" requires additional assumptions (simplifications) about the structure of the market in which the firm operates. The assumptions simplify the analysis in order to make some important tools of economics into something easily learned and used in the quest for the profit-maximizing levels of inputs and outputs. The major simplification is that the firm under study is in an Industry characterized by Perfect Competition. An "industry" is a group of firms that produce and sell the same product.

- Industry = a group of firms that all produce and sell the same product.

Perfect Competition means something very specific. It means that the industry has four characteristics, as specified in the formal definition.

- Perfect Competition = a market or industry with four characteristics: (1) a large number of buyers and sellers, (2) a homogeneous product, (3) freedom of entry and exit, and (4) perfect information.


## Large number of buyers and sellers

This condition states that there are so many firms selling a product, and so many consumers who purchase it, that each individual firm is so small relative to the market that it cannot affect the price. Since numerous firms produce the same product, if one firm raises the price of the product above the price charged by the other firms, no buyers would pay the higher price and all of the customers would go to other firms.

## UNDER PERFECT COMPETITION, INPUT AND OUTPUT PRICES ARE FIXED AND GIVEN.

In a perfectly competitive market, no individual firm can influence the price charged for the industry's product. The product price is a constant. This refers to a price at a given place and at a given point in time. This is true in an industry as diverse as agriculture. On a given day, all strawberry growers receive the same price for berries and all dairy producers receive the same price for their milk.

## Quick Quiz 4.1

Does agriculture have a "large number of buyers and sellers?"

Constant prices also hold true in the input markets that sell resources to a competitive industry. In a perfectly competitive economy, firms hire as many inputs as required without affecting the price, since there are numerous buyers and sellers of inputs. Restated, each individual firm is so small relative to the market that it cannot influence factor prices. In addition, all competitive firms have access to as few or as many factors (labor, land, capital, and management) as needed. There are no additional (hidden) costs of hiring more of any input. Meeting this assumption is not always possible in the real world. If the computer industry desired to double the number of hired programmers, the wages of programmers would rise in locations such as Silicon Valley (San Jose, California) and the Seattle area where Microsoft is located. Hiring more agricultural workers in remote rural areas often requires that farmers and ranchers increase wage levels to attract enough workers, violating the assumption of perfect factor mobility. In a competitive industry, resources flow without cost to the desired jobs and locations. This is a simplifying assumption, used to make the analysis easier.

## Homogeneous product

The homogeneous product assumption states that one firm's product is identical to the product sold by all other firms in the industry.

- Homogeneous Product = a product that is the same no matter which producer produces it. The producer of a good cannot be identified by the consumer.

The key idea is that a consumer is indifferent regarding which firm produced the good. Many agricultural products have this characteristic. Consider a truckload of wheat. A buyer could not determine who produced the crop. The same is true for a dozen eggs, or a bunch of carrots, or two pounds of cooking apples.

## Quick Quiz 4.2

Are cattle an example of a homogeneous good? Is meat?

## Freedom of entry and exit

Freedom to enter and exit an industry means that there are no "barriers to entry." Any firm can enter or leave the industry without encountering any special government obstacles, or financial limitations. Most small businesses, including farming, have freedom of entry and exit. A counter example is a public utility, such as the local producer and distributor of electric power. This industry usually requires a government permit to enter. Even with the permit, the huge financial requirements for generators, power lines, and installation costs may deter entry. Medical doctors, dentists, electricians, accountants, and many other professionals are required to obtain a license or some kind of certification in order to practice their craft. In a competitive industry, a firm can enter and exit with ease. Although entry into agricultural production may be difficult due to high costs of land and equipment, this lack of financial ability is not considered a rigid barrier to entry. A qualified and competent individual could acquire the necessary financial resources to enter agriculture. Barriers to entry refer to legal or government restrictions.

## Quick Quiz 4.3

Do farmers in the United States generally have freedom of entry and exit?

## Perfect information

Information is required in any business firm. A successful firm must know the prices and availability of output and all inputs. If a single firm had "inside information" about movements in future prices, that firm would have a distinct advantage over other firms, and would be able to earn higher profit levels. This form of cheating is illegal in the United States. In a perfectly competitive industry, all buyers and sellers know all prices, quantities, qualities, and technologies that they use. There are no informational advantages in an industry characterized by perfect competition.

- Perfect Information = a situation where all buyers and sellers in a market have complete access to technological information and all input and output prices.


## Quick Quiz 4.4

How realistic is the assumption of perfect information?

The four characteristics of a perfectly competitive industry are unlikely to hold completely in the real world. However, the assumptions serve as guides to further knowledge. Entrepreneurs, scholars, business leaders, and common citizens use these and other assumptions as a starting point, then later relax them while adding complexity to the problems they must analyze. The major point to remember about perfect competition is that in the short run, prices paid by buyers and sellers are constant.

## PERFECT COMPETITION = FIXED, CONSTANT PRICES

A competitive firm is a Price Taker since at any given moment it must take prices as fixed and given. The firm cannot change the price. Firms in market structures other than competition may be able to influence the market price of a good. If so, they are Price Makers. Competitive firms that meet the criteria listed above have no influence on prices, and will always be price takers.

- Price Taker = a firm so small relative to the industry that the price of output is fixed and given, no matter how large or how small the quantity of output it sells.
- Price Maker = a firm characterized by market power, or the ability to influence the price of output. A firm facing a downward-sloping demand curve.

The specific assumptions of perfect competition appear in later chapters. They are, however, particularly important in this chapter on profit maximization.

### 4.2 The profit-maximizing level of input

Maximizing profits is a fundamental concept in nearly all of microeconomics. It helps to review the economic approach to decision making before facing the problem of profit maximization.

## Economics: how to make better decisions

Economists look at business and personal decisions in a special way. In most every decisionmaking situation, an economist will compare possible benefits with probable costs. If the projected benefits are greater than the anticipated costs, the activity should be undertaken. Similarly, if the satisfaction gained from eating a slice of pizza is greater than the cost of the pizza, purchasing and eating the pizza is rational. This logic is sound and it applies over a wide range of possible situations. This usefulness comes from the fact that decisions often come one at a time. The decision pondered right now is based on all the decisions that came before. This means that decision making occurs "at the margin," or as an increment to behavior. Put another way, marginal decision making looks at the benefits and costs of each additional unit (or each additional decision). Marginal decision making allows determination of the profit-maximizing levels of inputs and outputs, one unit at a time. The next section uses an example from the livestock industry to make these ideas explicit.

## A feedlot in Abilene, Texas: physical production

A feedlot is a business firm that purchases livestock and feeds the animals until they are ready for slaughter. The output ( Y ) of a feedlot is beef in pounds, and the output price ( $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$ ) is the price of beef in dollars per pound:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\text { beef }(\mathrm{lbs}), \tag{4.1}
\end{equation*}
$$

$\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=$ price of beef $=\$ 1 / \mathrm{lb}$.

## Quick Quiz 4.5

Why use the economic term "holding all else constant" in this case?

## Box 4.1 Feedlot

A feedlot or feed yard is a type of animal feeding operation (AFO) used for finishing beef cattle prior to slaughter. The very large beef feedlots, referred to as concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs), have thousands of animals in pens. Regardless of the size of the facility, the animals eat a diet composed mostly of grain.

The first known feedlot, designed and built by Gustavus Swift in 1876 on the south side of Chicago, was followed by hundreds of similar facilities in the 1950s and 1960s when feed became widely available, and lower transportation costs allowed feedlots to be located on grain farms. In the 1980s, the meatpackers located their plants next to the feedlots in the Central and Southern Great Plains.

Cattle feed on pasture for the first 12 to 18 months of their life, until they weigh about 650 pounds. At that time, they transfer to a feedlot, where they continue to grow (they are fattened) for approximately three to four months, gaining up to 400 additional pounds before slaughter. The grain diet provides marbling, or fat deposits desired by consumers. However, a high grain diet lowers the acidity in the animal's rumen, and antibiotics are necessary to maintain animal health.

Feedlot operators have become increasingly attentive to the environment. Odor, water quality, air quality, and land utilization are all factors that feedlot operators must consider. Most feedlots require some type of governmental permit and must have plans in place to deal with the large amount of waste that they generate. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has authority under the Clean Water Act to regulate all animal feeding operations in the US. In some cases this authority is delegated to individual states. Feedlots contribute to greenhouse gases, due to the methane produced by the animals. Feedlot operators also consider animal welfare through attention to practices considered sound from a moral and economic standpoint.

Source: National Cattlemen's Beef Association. Fact Sheet: Feedlot Finishing Cattle. http://www. beefusa.org/uDocs/Feedlot\ finishing\ fact\ sheet\ FINAL_4\ 26\ 06.pdf

The price of beef in this example is $\$ 1 / \mathrm{lb}$. The assumption of perfect competition says that no matter how many pounds of beef that this feedlot sells, it will always sell for one dollar per pound. The inputs in the feedlot's production process include animals, feed, water, medicine, hormones, etc. The production function for beef fattened (fed) in this feedlot then becomes:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\text { labor, feed, steers, water, medicine, hormones, ...). } \tag{4.3}
\end{equation*}
$$

Focusing on the profit-maximizing level of feed requires isolating the relationship between beef and feed, while holding everything else constant.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\text { feed } \mid \text { steers, labor, water, medicine, hormones, ... }) . \tag{4.4}
\end{equation*}
$$

Recall that everything to the left of the vertical bar is a variable input, and everything to the right of the bar is fixed. Let X refer to the feed input, in bushels of feed. The feed price is $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}$, in dollars per bushel of feed.

$$
\begin{align*}
& X=\text { feed }(\mathrm{bu})  \tag{4.5}\\
& \mathrm{P}_{X}=\text { price of feed }=\$ 5 / \mathrm{bu}  \tag{4.6}\\
& P_{Y}=\text { price of beef }=\$ 1 / \mathrm{lb} . \tag{4.7}
\end{align*}
$$

Finding the profit-maximizing level of inputs is difficult because of the need to be aware of all information related to inputs, outputs, and prices. The actual physical production process is a reminder of what the feedlot is all about: $Y=f(X)$, where $Y$ is weight gained, or fattened beef ready for slaughter, and $X$ is the feed input. Table 4.1 , includes the physical product relationships introduced in Chapter 2.

## Quick Quiz 4.6

Define TPP, and define the term, "production function." Define APP and MPP.

The term APP refers to average physical product or the average per-unit productivity of all units of feed already used. It is the average productivity of all of the inputs. The MPP, or marginal physical product, is the productivity of the last unit of feed used. If the output generated by the last unit of input is more valuable than what the input cost, purchasing and using it in the production process is an appropriate economic decision.

Table 4.1 Abilene feedlot production process

| $X$ | $Y$ | $A P P$ | $M P P$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $=$ feed $(b u)$ | $=$ beef $(l b)$ | $=Y / X(l b / b u)$ | $=\Delta Y / \Delta X(l b / b u)$ |
| 0 | 0 | - | - |
| 1 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 2 | 30 | 15 | 20 |
| 3 | 60 | 20 | 30 |
| 4 | 80 | 20 | 20 |
| 5 | 90 | 18 | 10 |
| 6 | 96 | 16 | 6 |
| 7 | 98 | 14 | 2 |
| 8 | 96 | 12 | -2 |

## Quick Quiz 4.7

Could you graph the TPP, APP, and MPP curves on the same graph? Why or why not?

The graphs in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show physical relationships between inputs and outputs, or the production side of the feedlot in Abilene based on the production function in Table 4.1.


Figure 4.1 Total physical product for Abilene feedlot.


Figure 4.2 Average and marginal physical product for Abilene feedlot.

## Feedlot in Abilene, Texas: value of production

The major activities of business firms break down into two categories, (1) production, and (2) marketing. The previous section described production; the marketing function comes next. When the steers reach a certain weight, the feedlot operator converts physical units of output (pounds of beef) into values (dollars) by selling the cattle to the packing plant, or slaughterhouse. This analysis is a simple calculation based on the prices of the input (the price of feed, $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}$ ), and the price of output (the price of beef, $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$ ). The assumed prices are:

$$
\begin{align*}
& P_{Y}=\$ 1 / 1 \mathrm{~b}, \text { and }  \tag{4.8}\\
& P_{X}=\$ 5 / \mathrm{bu} . \tag{4.9}
\end{align*}
$$

A new term, Total Revenue Product (TRP) represents the total value of the firm's production. TRP converts output from physical units (pounds of beef) to dollar values.

- Total Revenue Product [TRP] = the dollar value of output produced at a given level of variable inputs. TRP $=\mathrm{TPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$

Multiplying the total physical product (pounds of beef) by the price of output (\$/pound of beef) yields the total revenue product, in units of dollars:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{TRP}=\operatorname{TPP}(\mathrm{lbs}) * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}(\$ / \mathrm{lb})=(\$) \tag{4.10}
\end{equation*}
$$

As before, economic decision making is about comparing the benefits with the costs of any activity. The benefit of feeding cattle in the feedlot is the revenue received from selling beef after production has occurred, or the TRP. The costs of feeding cattle are the Total Factor Cost (TFC) calculated assuming that all inputs other than feed are fixed, or held constant.

- Total Factor Cost [TFC] $=$ the total cost of a factor, or input. $\mathrm{TFC}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}{ }^{*} \mathrm{X}$.

Using this definition, and under these assumptions, the costs are the total variable costs stemming from the use of the purchased feed.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TFC}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{x}} * \mathrm{X} . \tag{4.11}
\end{equation*}
$$

The TFC are also in dollar units since they come from multiplying the quantity of the input (bushels of feed) by the unit price of the input (the price of feed, in dollars per bushel):

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TFC}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}(\$ / \mathrm{bu}) * \mathrm{X}(\mathrm{bu})=(\$) \tag{4.12}
\end{equation*}
$$

Table 4.2 shows the benefits and costs for the Abilene feedlot. The left column shows the number of units of input (X). The next column, TPP, is the number of units of output produced with the level of inputs shown in the first column. The first two columns represent the production function shown in Table 4.1 and Figures 4.1 and 4.2. The table and the two figures relate to the physical relationship between inputs and outputs. Multiplying output by price converts the physical relationship into an economic (TRP) relationship shown in the third column. In this particular example, TRP has the same numerical values as TPP, because the price of output is $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\$ 1 / \mathrm{lb}$.

Table 4.2 Profit maximization for Abilene feedlot: $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\$ 1 / \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}=\$ 5 / \mathrm{bu}$

| $X$ | $Y$ |  |  | Profits |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $=$ feed (bu) | $=$ TPP ( $(\mathrm{bb})$ | TRP (\$) | TFC (\$) | $=\pi(\$)$ |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 | 10 | 10 | 5 | 5 |
| 2 | 30 | 30 | 10 | 20 |
| 3 | 60 | 60 | 15 | 45 |
| 4 | 80 | 80 | 20 | 60 |
| 5 | 90 | 90 | 25 | 65 |
| 6 | 96 | 96 | 30 | 66 |
| 7 | 98 | 98 | 35 | 63 |
| 8 | 96 | 96 | 40 | 56 |

## Quick Quiz 4.8

Calculate TRP if the price of beef was $\$ 2 / \mathrm{lb}$. How about $\$ 0.50 / \mathrm{lb}$ ?

The next column shows TFC, or the feedlot's cost of production. By assumption, all costs other than the cost of feed are assumed to be fixed, or constant. Multiplying the left column by the input price gives the total amount that the feedlot pays for feed.

The goal is to find the profit-maximizing, or optimal, level of input to purchase. To do this, calculate the profits in the last column by subtracting the total factor costs (TFC) from the total revenue product (TRP) for each level of input (X). The profits are the amount of money left over after the inputs are paid for ( $\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{TRP}-\mathrm{TFC}$ ). A quick look at the profit column shows the highest profit occurs at $\$ 66$, when the feedlot uses six bushels of feed. This straightforward calculation allows identification of the profit-maximizing level of input for a business firm. Economists working in the real world, however, would use the real cost and revenue data supplied by the firm, but the procedure is identical.

## Feedlot in Abilene, Texas: marginal analysis

The main idea behind economic analysis is to find the optimal (profit-maximizing) point by looking at input use one input at a time, to find if the benefits of one additional unit of this input are greater than the costs. We do this with the help of two new concepts: the Marginal Revenue Product (MRP) and the Marginal Factor Cost (MFC).

- Marginal Revenue Product [MRP] = the additional (marginal) value of output obtained from each additional (marginal) unit of the variable input. MRP $=\mathrm{MPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.

The units for MRP are in dollars per unit of input. MPP is the per-unit quantity of output (lbs of beef per bu of feed), and the price of output is dollars per pound of beef.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{MRP}=\operatorname{MPP}(\mathrm{lbs} / \mathrm{bu})^{*} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}(\$ / \mathrm{lb})=(\$ / \mathrm{bu}) \tag{4.13}
\end{equation*}
$$

Marginal Factor Cost (MFC) is the additional cost of one more unit of input.

- Marginal Factor Cost [MFC] = the cost of an additional (marginal) unit of input; the amount added to total cost by using one more unit of input. $\mathrm{MFC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{X}$.

The same information is contained in the marginal revenue and marginal cost concepts as in the total revenue and total cost concepts. The marginal concepts are derived from the total concepts. Therefore, the marginal analysis shown here yields the same profit-maximizing solution described in the previous section. Verify this by looking at the marginal analysis for the feedlot in Table 4.3.

The first two columns of Table 4.3 repeat the input and TRP data from Table 4.2. The changes in TRP associated with each change in input use yields the MRP (MRP $=\Delta T R P$ / $\Delta \mathrm{X})$. Calculating this change for each additional unit of feed used by the feedlot yields data needed to develop the entire MRP column in Table 4.3.

A second method of calculating MRP is to calculate MPP as in Table 4.1, and multiply MPP by the output price. This follows from the definitions of MRP and TRP:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{MRP}=\Delta \mathrm{TRP} / \Delta \mathrm{X}=\Delta\left(\mathrm{TPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}\right) / \Delta \mathrm{X}=(\Delta \mathrm{TPP} / \Delta \mathrm{X}) * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{MPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}} \tag{4.14}
\end{equation*}
$$

## Quick Quiz 4.9

As a check, calculate the MRP using the definition: $\mathrm{MRP}=\mathrm{MPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.

In the case shown here, the numerical values of MRP are equal to MPP, since the output price is $\$ 1 / \mathrm{lb}$. To find the profit-maximizing level of input use, the feedlot operator will continue to increase feed use for the animals as long as the benefits outweigh the costs. The marginal costs of purchasing a unit of feed are equal to the price of feed, ( $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}=\$ 5 / \mathrm{bu}$ ). The feedlot is assumed to operate in a perfectly competitive industry, so the price of feed is fixed and constant at five dollars per bushel for every bushel the feedlot purchases.

Table 4.3 Profit maximization using marginal analysis for Abilene feedlot

| $X(b u)$ | $T R P(\$)$ | $M R P(\$ / b u)$ | $M F C(\$ / b u)$ |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 0 | 0 | - | - |
| 1 | 10 | 10 | 5 |
| 2 | 30 | 20 | 5 |
| 3 | 60 | 30 | 5 |
| 4 | 80 | 20 | 5 |
| 5 | 90 | 10 | 5 |
| 6 | 96 | 6 | 5 |
| 7 | 98 | 2 | 5 |
| 8 | 96 | -2 | 5 |

## Quick Quiz 4.10

Why does perfect competition result in constant prices for an individual firm?

An economic advisor will tell a firm (in this case, the feedlot operator) to continue with any activity (adding more feed) as long as the marginal benefits are greater than the marginal costs. Comparing the MRP and MFC columns in Table 4.3 shows the optimal number of bushels to feed. The comparison tells the feedlot operators to continue to buy feed as long as MRP is greater than MFC. The MRP is larger than the MFC for the first six bushels of feed. Good economic advice says that it is economically sound to continue feeding additional feed until MRP = MFC.

Once the marginal benefits (MRP) fall below the marginal costs (MFC), the feed input costs more than it returns. Marginal productivity eventually declines with more feed.

## Feedlot in Abilene, Texas: change in input price

In the real world, the market prices of inputs and outputs change continuously, so the manager stays busy continuously recalculating the optimal level of feed inputs. An illustration shows how the optimal feed decision changes when the price of the feed input changes. Suppose an early frost damages the corn and milo crops, resulting in a short supply of feed, and an increase in the price of feed from $\$ 5 / \mathrm{bu}$ to $\$ 10 / \mathrm{bu}$. The feedlot operator must now recalculate the profit-maximizing level of feed to purchase.

Table 4.4 shows that the feedlot will reduce the level of feed to five bushels: the sixth bushel would cost ten dollars, but would only increase the value of output by six dollars. The firm would continue to feed more input until reaching the profit-maximizing condition (MRP = MFC) at five bushels of feed.

Not only is this a profit-maximizing result for the feedlot operator, who is increasing the feedlot's profitability, but it is also important from an economic perspective. Predictions about the agricultural economy are now possible. When the price of an input $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}\right)$ increases, the quantity demanded of that input will decrease because profit-maximizing operators will reduce the level of use of this high-priced input. This is due to the "Law of Demand," the topic studied in Chapter 8.

Another important and interesting outcome of this model is that the number of pounds of beef that are sold to the packing plant will drop from 96 pounds to 90 pounds.

Table 4.4 Profit maximization using marginal analysis: $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}=\$ 10 / \mathrm{bu}$

| $X(b u)$ | $T R P(\$)$ | $M R P(\$ / b u)$ | $M F C(\$ / b u)$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| 0 | 0 | - | - |
| 1 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 2 | 30 | 20 | 10 |
| 3 | 60 | 30 | 10 |
| 4 | 80 | 20 | 10 |
| 5 | 90 | 10 | 10 |
| 6 | 96 | 6 | 10 |
| 7 | 98 | 2 | 10 |
| 8 | 96 | -2 | 10 |

Beef consumers will find less meat available in the grocery meat case, which will in turn lead to an increase in the price of meat. When the costs of production of a good increase, an increase in the price of the good will result.

This explains why oil is such an important feature of the US economy. Petroleum products are direct or indirect inputs to the production of almost every good and service. Because of this, an increase in the price of petroleum products causes the price of all goods produced with oil inputs to increase. Agricultural production is particularly sensitive to the price of oil, since farming requires large amounts of gasoline, diesel, oil, and other lubricants. Not only do tractors need fuel, but also fertilizer and agrochemicals are nearly all petroleum-based products. Changes in the price of oil (petroleum products) have a major effect on farmers and on all of agriculture.

## Feedlot in Abilene, Texas: change in output price

The analysis of input use can also provide insight into how producers will react to changes in output prices. Suppose that the National Cattlemen's Beef Association (NCBA) is able to forge a trade pact with Russia to increase beef exports. This would increase the price of beef in the US from, say, one dollar per pound to three dollars per pound. Table 4.5 shows the results facing the feedlot when the output price increases to $P_{Y}=\$ 3 / \mathrm{lb}$.

The first two columns of Table 4.5 remain unchanged when the price of beef increases to $\$ 3 / \mathrm{lb}$. The total revenue product (TRP), however, is increased by a factor of three, since TRP $=\mathrm{TPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$. Locating the profit-maximizing (optimal) level of input use, requires calculating the profit level ( $\pi=$ TRP -TFC ) for each level of input use. The highest profit level is $\$ 259$, when the feedlot uses seven bushels of feed.

The result shows that when the output price increases, a business firm will increase the use of inputs. This makes perfect sense. A business firm will earn higher levels of profits at higher output prices, because the firm will typically find it optimal to increase the amount of output it places on the market.

Higher levels of production require higher levels of input use [recall the production function: $Y=f(X)]$. Therefore, a major result of this analysis is that when output prices increase, profit-maximizing firms will purchase more inputs.

Table 4.5 Profit maximization for Abilene feedlot: $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\$ 3 / \mathrm{lb}$

| $X$ | $Y$ |  |  | Profits |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $=$ feed $(b u)$ | $=T P P(l b)$ | $T R P(\$)$ | TFC (\$) | $=\pi(\$)$ |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 | 10 | 30 | 5 | 25 |
| 2 | 30 | 90 | 10 | 80 |
| 3 | 60 | 180 | 15 | 165 |
| 4 | 80 | 240 | 20 | 220 |
| 5 | 90 | 270 | 25 | 245 |
| 6 | 96 | 288 | 30 | 258 |
| 7 | 98 | 294 | 35 | 259 |
| 8 | 96 | 288 | 40 | 248 |

Box 4.2 European price supports and the environment
Beginning after World War II, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the European Community (EC), later the European Union (EU), used high price supports for agricultural commodities to ensure enough food for European nations. The price supports worked well: Europe was transformed from a large food importer to a large food exporter in the decades 1950-90. However, the price supports had an unintended consequence on the environment. Higher prices resulted in greater input use, including agricultural chemicals and fertilizers, which can result in damage to the environment and human health.

A comparison of France, an EU member, and the United States provides an example. France and the US are both characterized by diverse and productive agricultural sectors. Both nations have modern, efficient production practices and produce similar crops and meat products. Both nations have large government subsidies for farmers. However, the EU had larger commodity subsidies, which led to greater input use. France has approximately 19.6 million hectares of arable land, compared to 179 million hectares in the US. The arable land in France represents 33.6 percent of the total land area, and in the US, arable land represents 19 percent.

France's higher subsidy levels have led to greater production per land area: France produced 105,000 metric tons of cereals, and the US produced 117,000 metric tons. Importantly, the higher prices resulted in a French wheat yield in 2003/04 equal to 6.23 metric tons per hectare, compared to the US 2.97 metric tons per hectare. In 2000, France had fertilizer usage of 211.7 kilograms per hectare ( $\mathrm{kg} / \mathrm{ha}$ ), whereas the US used fertilizer at less than half that rate: $103.4 \mathrm{~kg} / \mathrm{ha}$. Pesticide usage was $4.43 \mathrm{~kg} / \mathrm{ha}$ in France, and $1.66 \mathrm{~kg} / \mathrm{ha}$ in the US.

These data are a simple case study of the impact of higher output prices on agricultural inputs and outputs: higher output prices result in higher Marginal Revenue Products, which result in greater levels of input use. More inputs result in higher crop yields, and higher levels of output. Both the EU and the US have become increasingly concerned about the impact of chemicals and fertilizer on the environment. Agricultural policies in both the EU and the US are moving rapidly away from commodity subsidies and toward environmental "green" payments to farmers.

Sources: FAOSTAT. FAO Statistics Division 2012. Retrieved July 23, 2012.
Johnson, R., Hanrahan, C.E., and Schnepf, R. (2010). Comparing U.S. and EU Program Support for Farm Commodities and Conservation. January 26. Congressional Research Service 7-5700. www.crs.gov R40539. Retrieved July 23, 2012.

## Quick Quiz 4.11

If the price of wheat increases, do wheat producers purchase more inputs? Explain why.

## Graphs of optimal input use

The above analysis shows that a firm will respond to price changes by selecting the optimal level of input use. The firm will purchase inputs as long as the benefits (the increase in


Figure 4.3 The profit-maximizing level of input: total revenue and cost.
revenue brought about by using one more unit of input) are larger than the costs (the payment required to purchase the input). This result is easily shown using graphs when the TRP and TFC functions appear on the same graph. Figure 4.3 is an example.

The profit-maximizing level of input use for a firm occurs where the vertical distance between total revenue product (TRP) and total factor cost (TFC) is the largest. This optimal point is where the slope of the TRP function equals the slope of the TFC function. To see this, draw a line parallel (of equal slope) to the TFC line and just tangent (barely touching) the TRP line, as shown at $X^{*}$ in Figure 4.3. The profit level is the highest at point $X^{*}$. By moving either to the right or the left of $\mathrm{X}^{*}$, the distance between TRP and TFC decreases, reflecting lower levels of profits at any point other than $\mathrm{X}^{*}$.

There are two points where the slopes of the two functions are equal, so care is required to select the correct profit-maximizing point. At point $\mathrm{X}_{0}$, the slopes of the two functions are equal to each other, but this is not a desirable point for the firm to locate. Why? Because TFC $>$ TRP, which means that the costs of production are greater than the revenue. At this point, the firm is maximizing its losses.

The marginal analysis shown in Figure 4.4 reveals the same result that was found with the total functions in Figure 4.3. The information contained in the marginal cost and revenue functions came directly from the total functions. It is helpful to recall the definitions of marginal revenue product (MRP) and marginal factor cost (MFC):

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{MRP}=\mathrm{MPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\Delta \mathrm{TRP} / \Delta \mathrm{X}, \text { and }  \tag{4.15}\\
& \mathrm{MFC}=\Delta \mathrm{TFC} / \Delta \mathrm{X} . \tag{4.16}
\end{align*}
$$

The definitions show that the MRP is the slope, or rate of change, of TRP, and the MFC is the slope of TFC. The profit-maximizing rule of input use is to continue buying inputs until MRP $=$ MFC (Figure 4.4), or when the slopes of TRP and TFC are equal (Figure 4.3).


Figure 4.4 The profit-maximizing level of input: marginal revenue and cost

## Quick Quiz 4.12

Why does the feedlot not use a production plan based on point $\mathrm{X}_{0}$, where $\mathrm{MRP}=\mathrm{MFC}$ ?

## Tax on the agrochemical Atrazine

A study of input use can be useful in predicting how firms will respond to changes in input and output prices. One timely and important application of this analysis relates to the study of public (government) policies regarding the use of agrochemicals. Chapter 1 included a brief mention of Atrazine, a common herbicide used to kill weeds in corn production. Chemical residues from Atrazine appear in water supplies in areas where the chemical is used. These residues can have an adverse effect on human health.

The chemical enjoys extensive use in nearly all parts of the Corn Belt. In some cases, the level of Atrazine residue is higher than the United States Environmental Protection Agency (USEPA) recommended maximum safe level. Suppose that the government imposed a tax on Atrazine as a means of reducing its use. The tax would make the chemical more expensive to farmers, who would reduce their use of the input. The reduction in use would have the desired result of lowering the residue levels in the area's drinking water.

Further, suppose that the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) asks an economist to predict the impact of the tax on Atrazine. We know that profit-maximizing producers will use the profit-maximizing level of Atrazine, found where MRP = MFC. The per-unit tax ( t ) would increase the cost of each additional ounce of Atrazine by t dollars:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{MFC}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{x}}+\mathrm{t} . \tag{4.17}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 4.5 Impact of a tax on Atrazine.

Figure 4.5 shows the impact of the tax. It increases the cost of purchasing the input from $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}$ to $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}+\mathrm{t}\right)$. This raises the MFC by the amount of the tax, and reduces the profit-maximizing level of Atrazine from $\mathrm{X}_{0}{ }^{*}$ to $\mathrm{X}_{1}$ *.

By imposing the tax, the government has made it more costly to use an input that has economic benefits, but potential environmental costs. Adjusting the tax rate can bring the level of Atrazine residues to a targeted and safe level. Governments tax many goods considered to have adverse effects in a similar manner to those in Atrazine: cigarettes, gasoline, lottery tickets, alcohol, etc.

## Quick Quiz 4.13

Use a graph to show the impact of a gasoline tax on agricultural production in the US. Will such a tax affect consumers of agricultural products?

### 4.3 The profit-maximizing level of output

This section discusses the optimal, profit-maximizing level of output for a business firm. The concepts and ideas presented here are applicable to a large number of business decisions, career choices, and personal issues.

## CONTINUE ANY ACTIVITY AS LONG AS BENEFITS OUTWEIGH COSTS!

Consider the output decision on a farm or for any business. Important questions include "How much wheat (or corn, potatoes, strawberries, or wool, for example) should I produce this year?" and "What is the optimal herd size for my dairy (or my hog enterprise, or my poultry flock)?" Economic analysis can be useful in providing answers to these questions.

## Profit maximization using total revenue and total cost curves

The questions have something in common: they all require use of the assumptions used earlier and the general assumption of the profit-maximizing firm. Now, though, attention focuses on profits, defined as total revenue (TR) minus total costs (TC):

$$
\begin{equation*}
\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}, \text { where } \tag{4.18}
\end{equation*}
$$

- Total Costs $[T C]=$ the sum of all payments that a firm must make to purchase the factors of production. The sum of Total Fixed Costs and Total Variable Costs. $\mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{TFC}+\mathrm{TVC}$.
- Total Revenue [TR] = the amount of money received when the producer sells the product. TR $=$ TPP $* \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.

Total revenue is the amount of money earned from the production and sale of a good:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{TPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{Y}^{*} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}, \text { where } \mathrm{Y} \text { is output and } \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\text { price of output }(\$ / \text { unit }) . \tag{4.19}
\end{equation*}
$$

Total costs are the costs of production, including both fixed and variable costs. All units are in dollars.

## Quick Quiz 4.14

Are the costs in TC economic costs or accounting costs? Are the profits economic profits or accounting profits? Are opportunity costs included?

What are the costs facing this firm? There are both fixed and variable costs, and the total costs will increase with output.

$$
\begin{align*}
& \pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}  \tag{4.20}\\
& \pi=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}} * \mathrm{Y}-\mathrm{TC}(\mathrm{Y}) \quad(\mathrm{TC} \text { is a function of } \mathrm{Y}) . \tag{4.21}
\end{align*}
$$

The equation above shows that both TR and TC are functions of the quantity produced (Y). The firm will continue to increase its level of output as long as the additional revenue brought in from the production and sale of the good is greater than the additional costs of production incurred when producing an additional unit of output.

A graph of total costs and total revenue often helps understanding. The total revenue curve (TR) will be a straight line, since the price of output, $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$, is fixed and constant. Multiplying a constant by the variable, $Y$ yields a straight line as shown in Figure 4.6. The total cost (TC) curve has the "typical" shape, showing costs increasing at a decreasing rate, and then increasing at an increasing rate.

In Figure 4.6, the vertical distance between the TR and TC functions represents profits ( $\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}$ ). The firm's objective is to maximize this distance. A line parallel to TR and tangent to the TC curve identifies this maximum distance. The point of tangency is the


Figure 4.6 The profit-maximizing level of output: total revenue and cost.
output level consistent with maximum profit. It occurs at output level Y*. Geometrically, this is the point where the slope of TR is equal to the slope TC ( or MR = MC). Any movement to the right or left of $\mathrm{Y}^{*}$ will result in a decrease in the vertical distance between TR and TC , or a reduction in profits.

As in the input case, note that there are two points in Figure 4.6 where the slope of TR is equal to the slope of TC. The firm must be sure to maximize, rather than minimize, profit. The point $\mathrm{Y}^{*}$ is profit maximizing, since $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$ and $\mathrm{TR}>\mathrm{TC}$. The first condition for profit maximization occurs at point $\mathrm{Y}_{0}$, but this point is a cost-maximization point, since at $\mathrm{Y}_{0}, \mathrm{TR}<\mathrm{TC}$.

## Profit maximization using marginal revenue and marginal cost curves

The definitions of marginal revenue (MR) and marginal costs (MC) help summarize the profit-maximization process:

- Marginal Revenue [MR] = the addition to total revenue from selling one more unit of output. $\mathrm{MR}=\Delta \mathrm{TR} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.
- Marginal Cost $[M C]=$ the increase in total costs due to the producion of one more unit of output. $\mathrm{MC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.

These terms are analogous to the marginal terms in the section relating to a firm's decision relating to the use of inputs: marginal revenue product (MRP) and marginal factor cost (MFC). The marginal analysis presented here uses plots of the same information used in the total analysis.

Marginal revenue is the slope, or rate of change, in total revenue: $\mathrm{MR}=\Delta \mathrm{TR} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$ (Figure 4.7). TR is a constant. Therefore, MR is constant for every level of output. This is


Figure 4.7 The profit-maximizing level of output: marginal revenue and cost.
also in the formula for total revenue: $\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}} * \mathrm{Y}$. Any change in TR comes from a change in output, Y.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\Delta T R=\Delta\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}} * \mathrm{Y}\right)=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}(\Delta \mathrm{Y}) \tag{4.22}
\end{equation*}
$$

Substituting this into the definition of marginal revenue yields:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{MR}=\Delta \mathrm{TR} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}=\left[\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}(\Delta \mathrm{Y})\right] / \Delta \mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}, \tag{4.23}
\end{equation*}
$$

which is why the MR line in Figure 4.7 is labeled $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.
Average Revenue (AR) is the per-unit revenue that the firm earns from the production and sale of a good.

- Average Revenue $[A R]=$ the average dollar amount received per unit of output sold. $\mathrm{AR}=\mathrm{TR} / \mathrm{Y}$.

Average revenue is also constant at the output price, since $A R=T R / Y=\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}{ }^{*} \mathrm{Y}\right) / \mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$. Since MR and AR are constant, MR = AR.

## Quick Quiz 4.15

What is the relationship between average and marginal? Does the relationship hold in this case?

To find the profit-maximizing level of output, the firm sets $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$, or $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{MC}$. This condition occurs at two points in Figure 4.7: $\mathrm{Y}_{0}$ and $\mathrm{Y}^{*}$. These two points in Figure 4.7 are
identical to the points with the same labels in Figure 4.6, since the information contained in both graphs is identical. The optimal, profit-maximizing point is $\mathrm{Y}^{*}$, at that point $\mathrm{TR}>\mathrm{TC}$. Because of this, the profit-maximizing condition has two parts.

```
PROFIT-MAXIMIZING CONDITION:
1. MR = MC
2. MC must cut MR from below.
```

This condition is important to economics. It reiterates a theme that has already appeared several times in this and earlier chapters. It comes back to the notion of how to make better decisions, whether as an economist, or a manager in a business situation, or a person planning activities for the day. In summary form, it says that what a manager (farmer, planner, teacher, student, army general, US Senator) needs to do to make good decisions, is that he or she must continue any activity as long as the benefits exceed the costs. The two conditions given above guarantee that the additional benefits are greater than the additional costs.

### 4.4 Profits and losses, break even, and shutdown points

When is the firm earning profits or incurring losses? All of the graphs in the preceding sections show when profits were present and maximized. Moreover, the search was geared toward economic profits, rather than accounting profits.

## Quick Quiz 4.16

What is the difference between economic profits and accounting profits?

The cost curves depicted here include both explicit and opportunity costs. This section expands the definition of profit using both algebra and graphs to reveal the differences between maximization with and without the inclusion of opportunity costs. The explicit definition of profit is:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}, \text { where } \tag{4.24}
\end{equation*}
$$

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{TPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{Y} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{Y} * \mathrm{MR}, \text { and } \tag{4.25}
\end{equation*}
$$

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{Y}^{*} \mathrm{ATC},(\text { from the definition of average total costs, } \mathrm{ATC}=\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{Y}) . \tag{4.26}
\end{equation*}
$$

Total revenue (TR) is simply the level of output $(\mathrm{Y})$ times the output price $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}\right)$. The output price is constant in a perfectly competitive industry, so $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{MR}=A R$. In Figure 4.8, the firm maximizes profits by setting MR $=\mathrm{MC}$, where MC cuts MR from below. Graphically, total revenue is the rectangular area defined by the horizontal distance $0 \mathrm{Y}^{*}$, and the vertical distance $0 \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$. A similar rectangle identifies total costs as the per-unit costs (ATC*) times the level of output $\left(\mathrm{Y}^{*}\right)$. This is the smaller rectangle bounded by the horizontal distance $0 \mathrm{Y}^{*}$ and the vertical distance 0ATC*.


Figure 4.8 Positive economic profits.
Profits are defined as total revenue minus total costs ( $\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}$ ), the rectangle identified in Figure 4.8. In the case in Figure 4.8, profits are positive $(\pi>0)$ because the price line $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{MR}=A R\right)$ is above the average total cost curve $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}>A T C\right)$. The firm will earn positive profits when this condition holds. If the price falls below the ATC curve, the firm will earn negative profits. In Figure 4.9, the price has fallen below the ATC curve ( $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}<$ ATC $)$. The firm continues to maximize profits by setting MR $=\mathrm{MC}$, where MC cuts MR from below. However, in this case, profits are negative ( $\pi<0$ ), and the firm is earning less than the opportunity costs of its inputs. Total revenue (TR) is the rectangle defined by the horizontal distance $\left(0 \mathrm{Y}^{*}\right)$ and the vertical distance $\left(0 \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}\right)$. Total costs (TC) are the larger rectangle defined by a base of $\left(0 \mathrm{Y}^{*}\right)$ and a height of ( 0 ATC *).


Figure 4.9 Negative economic profits.

The rectangle identified in Figure 4.9 shows negative profits (losses). If the firm were to maximize profits, it would switch activities and use its productive inputs in their next-best use. The results above show that a firm could quickly determine if profits are positive or negative by noting the following rule:

If $P_{Y}>A T C$, then profits are positive, and
if $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}<$ ATC, then profits are negative.

When the output price is exactly equal to the per-unit costs, the firm is just "breaking even." Economic profits are equal to zero, but no economic losses appear.

## Quick Quiz 4.17

When economic profits equal zero, is this good or bad for the firm?

## The Break-Even Point

The Break-Even Point occurs when $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{MC}$ at the minimum point on the ATC. At the break-even point, there are no economic profits or losses, as in Figure 4.10.

- Break-Even Point = the point on a graph that shows that total revenue (TR) is equal to total cost (TC).

It may seem as if a firm should shut down, since profits are equal to zero. However, this is the difference between accounting profits and economic profits. The cost curves take into account (include) the salaries still earned by the owners of the firm. Even though profits equal zero, the returns to the owners are as high as what they could be earning in their nextbest use. At the break-even point, the following condition holds:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{ATC}=\mathrm{MC}=\mathrm{AR}=\mathrm{MR} . \tag{4.27}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 4.10 The break-even point.

Since the firm's revenue is exactly equal to the firm's costs, profits equal zero $(\pi=0)$. If the price falls below the ATC curve, economic profits become negative. Under certain conditions, a firm may remain in business even though it is earning negative economic profits, as is explained in the next section.

## The shutdown point

Logic says that a firm should shut down when profits are negative, but there is a good reason why the firm will remain in production when the price falls below the ATC curve. In the short run, some of the inputs are fixed, and the firm must pay the fixed costs, no matter how much is produced. If the output price falls below per-unit costs, the firm cannot cover its total costs. Since the firm is not earning enough to pay its costs of production, it might shut down. If it does shut down, it must continue to pay all of the fixed costs. For example, even if a business in a small town closes its doors, it will still have to pay the taxes, rent, and likely some utility bills. The firm might be better off remaining in business in order to pay at least part of its fixed costs. Expanded definitions of total costs help explain why:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{TFC}+\mathrm{TVC} . \tag{4.28}
\end{equation*}
$$

Dividing all three terms by the level of output, changes the equation to:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{ATC}=\mathrm{AFC}+\mathrm{AVC} . \tag{4.29}
\end{equation*}
$$

In the short run, a firm will have both fixed and variable costs. Fixed costs do not vary with the level of output. They require payment no matter what the level of output. In Figure 4.10, the vertical distance between the ATC and AVC curves is equal to the level of fixed costs $(\mathrm{AFC}=\mathrm{ATC}-\mathrm{AVC})$.


Plate 4.2 The shutdown point.
Source: Mark Winfrey/Shutterstock

In the long run, all fixed costs become variable: the ATC curve is the same as the AVC curve, and fixed costs disappear (making ATC $=\mathrm{AVC}$, and $\mathrm{AFC}=0$ ).

## Quick Quiz 4.18

Why do the fixed costs become variable in the long run?

If the output price lies between average total costs and average variable costs (ATC $>$ $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}>\mathrm{AVC}$ ), then the firm is covering all of its variable costs, and part of the fixed costs. Remaining in business is a better choice than closing down and owing all of the fixed costs. Therefore, the firm remains in business with negative profits to minimize costs. This is the optimal, profit-maximizing (cost-minimizing) solution.

If the output price falls below the average variable cost curve $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}<\mathrm{AVC}\right)$, then the firm will shut down. Since it cannot meet even its variable costs of production, it is losing money on each unit of output that it produces. Figure 4.11 clarifies the concept of the Shutdown Point.

- Shutdown Point = the level of output at which marginal revenue (MR) is equal to average variable costs (AVC).

At any price level above the shutdown point ( $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}>\mathrm{AVC}$ ), the firm will remain in business. This is because the firm can meet all of its variable costs and at least part of its fixed costs. At any price level below the shutdown point ( $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}<\mathrm{AVC}$ ), the firm will shut down. This is because the firm cannot meet its variable costs of production. The firm minimizes losses by producing where $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$, which is where the price line intersects the MC curve, and the MC curve cuts the price line from below. At this point, total costs exceed total revenue, but as long as the firm is covering its variable costs, the firm will set $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$ and continue producing.


Figure 4.11 The shutdown point.


Plate 4.3 Catfish dinner.
Source: HLPhoto/Shutterstock

## Example: Profit maximization for a catfish producer in Mississippi

Consider a commercial catfish producer as an example of a profit-maximizing firm.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{TFC}+\mathrm{TVC} . \tag{4.30}
\end{equation*}
$$

Dividing these three terms by the level of output ( Y ), converts the total costs into average, or per-unit, costs.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{ATC}=\mathrm{AFC}+\mathrm{AVC} \tag{4.31}
\end{equation*}
$$

Recall that fixed costs are payments to inputs that do not vary with output. Restated, the land and building inputs remain at the same level whether the firm produces 0 , or 1000 , or $1,000,000$ catfish. Regardless of level of output, the fixed costs require payment. Fixed costs represent the vertical distance between the ATC and AVC curves in Figure 4.12.

In the long run, all of the fixed inputs become variable: $\mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{TVC}$, and $\mathrm{TFC}=0$. Graphically, the long run curves reflect the variability of all inputs, as in Figure 4.13.

The firm can use either the total or the marginal graphs to find its profit-maximizing level of catfish production. In the total graph (the left side of Figure 4.14), the catfish firm will find the number of catfish $\left(\mathrm{Y}^{*}\right)$ that will maximize the vertical distance between the TR and TC



Figure 4.12 Short run cost curves: Mississippi catfish producer.


Figure 4.13 Long run cost curves: Mississippi catfish producer.

## Box 4.3 Catfish in Mississippi

Catfish production represents over 46 percent of the value of aquaculture production in the United States, making it the number one source of aquaculture revenue. Commercial catfish production began in the 1960s, and catfish production has grown rapidly to reach annual sales of 660 million pounds in 2003. The value of the catfish crop in the US reached $\$ 425$ million in 2003. Mississippi reported the greatest value.

The rapid growth of the catfish industry in the 1980s and 1990s led it to become one of the most important agricultural activities in states such as Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, and Louisiana. The combined production acreage of these four states makes up 94 percent of all catfish production acreage. Mississippi has had more acreage in catfish production than the other three states combined and has held this position since the late 1980s. The catfish industry generates an economic impact of billions of dollars and is the primary source of economic activity and employment in a number of Mississippi counties, primarily in the Mississippi Delta region.

Source: Commercial Catfish Production. Msucares.com. Mississippi State University. http:// msucares.com/aquaculture/catfish/index.html


Figure 4.14 Profit maximization for Mississippi catfish producer.
curves ( $\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}$ ). The firm must make sure that the second condition of profit-maximization ( $\mathrm{TR}>\mathrm{TC}$ ) holds. Maximum costs occur at point $\mathrm{Y}_{0}$. In the marginal graph (the right side of Figure 4.14), the firm will find the optimal, profit-maximizing point ( $\mathrm{Y}^{*}$ ) by finding the point where (1) MR = MC, and (2) MC cuts MR from below. The profit-maximizing level of output is the same in both graphs.

If the catfish firm is a part of a competitive industry, the price of the output $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}\right)$ is constant. This is why the TR function is a straight line in Figure $4.14\left(\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}} * \mathrm{Y}\right)$, and the MR function is constant $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{AR}\right)$. Marginal analysis for a catfish producer involves starting at a low level of output, and asking the question, "Should I produce one more unit of output?" The answer is "yes," as long as the marginal revenue (benefit) is greater than the marginal costs (loss).

The catfish producer will continue to produce more catfish until point $\mathrm{Y}^{*}$ is reached. At that point, one more unit of output would raise production costs to a higher level than the price of catfish. Any point to the left or right of the profit-maximizing point ( $\mathrm{Y}^{*}$ ) will result in lower profits for the catfish firm. This chapter has demonstrated how to find the profitmaximizing point of both input use and output. The next chapter focuses on finding the profit-maximizing combination of inputs.

### 4.5 Summary

1. Marginal analysis compares the benefits and costs of every activity, one unit at a time.
2. An industry is a group of firms that produce and sell the same product.
3. Perfect competition is defined by: (1) a large number of buyers and sellers, (2) a homogeneous product, (3) freedom of entry and exit, and (4) perfect information.
4. In a perfectly competitive industry, the output price is fixed and given to a firm.
5. Total revenue product (TRP) is the dollar value of output produced from alternative levels of variable input (TRP $\left.=T P P * P_{Y}\right)$.
6. Total factor cost (TFC) is the total cost of an input ( $\mathrm{TFC}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}} * \mathrm{X}$ ).
7. Marginal revenue product (MRP) is the additional value of output obtained from each additional unit of a variable input.
8. Marginal factor cost (MFC) is the cost of an additional unit of input.
9. Marginal analysis suggests that an individual should continue any activity as long as the marginal (incremental) benefits are greater than the marginal (incremental) costs.
10. The profit-maximizing level of input use can be found by setting MRP $=$ MFC.
11. When the price of an input increases, the quantity demanded of that input will decrease.
12. When the output price increases, a business firm will increase the amount of input that it uses.
13. A tax placed on an input will cause a business firm to purchase less of that input.
14. The profit-maximizing level of output can be found where $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$.
15. When the output price is greater than average total costs, profits are positive. When the output price is below the average total costs, profits are negative. When the output price is equal to the average total costs, then the firm is breaking even and earning zero economic profits.
16. The break-even point occurs where $P_{Y}=M C$ at the minimum ATC point. Economic profits are equal to zero at the break-even point.
17. The shutdown point occurs where MR equals minimum AVC. At output prices above the shutdown point, the firm will remain in production. At output prices below the shutdown point, the firm will shut down.
18. Graphically, the profit-maximizing level of output can be found by locating the maximum vertical distance between the TR and TC curves. The profit-maximizing level of output can also be found by locating the point where (1) MR = MC, and (2) MC cuts MR from below.

### 4.6 Glossary

Average Revenue [AR]. The average dollar amount received per unit of output sold. $A R=T R / Y$.
Average Revenue Product [ARP]. The average value of output per unit of input at each input use level. ARP $=A P P^{*} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.
Break-Even Point. The point on a graph that shows that total revenue (TR) is equal to total cost (TC).
Homogeneous Product. A product that is the same no matter which producer produces it. The producer of a good cannot be identified by the consumer.
Industry. A group of firms that all produce and sell the same product.
Marginal Analysis. Comparing the benefits and costs of a decision incrementally, one unit at a time.
Marginal Cost [MC]. The increase in total costs due to the producion of one more unit of output. $\mathrm{MC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.
Marginal Factor Cost [MFC]. The cost of an additional (marginal) unit of input; the amount added to total cost of using one more unit of input. $\mathrm{MFC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{X}$.
Marginal Revenue [MR]. The addition to total revenue from selling one more unit of output. $\mathrm{MR}=\Delta \mathrm{TR} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.
Marginal Revenue Product [MRP]. The additional (marginal) value of output obtained from each additional (marginal) unit of the variable input. $\mathrm{MRP}=\mathrm{MPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.
Perfect Competition. A market or industry with four characteristics: (1) a large number of buyers and sellers, (2) a homogeneous product, (3) freedom of entry and exit, and (4) perfect information.

Perfect Information. A situation where all buyers and sellers in a market have complete access to technological information and all input and output prices.
Price Maker. A firm characterized by market power, or the ability to influence the price of output. A firm facing a downward-sloping demand curve.
Price Taker. A firm so small relative to the industry that the price of output is fixed and given, no matter how large or how small quantity of output it sells.
Shutdown Point. The point on a graph where marginal revenue (MR) is equal to average variable costs (AVC).
Total Costs [TC]. The sum of all payments that a firm must make to purchase the factors of production. The sum of Total Fixed Costs and Total Variable Costs. TC = TFC + TVC.
Total Factor Cost [TFC]. The total cost of a factor, or input. $\mathrm{TFC}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}{ }^{*} \mathrm{X}$.
Total Revenue [TR]. The amount of money received when the producer sells the product. $\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{TPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.
Total Revenue Product [TRP]. The dollar value of output produced at a given level of variable inputs. TRP $=\mathrm{TPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.

### 4.7 Review questions

1. A large number of buyers and sellers results in:
a. a homogeneous product
b. a fixed and constant price
c. freedom of entry and exit
d. perfect information
2. All of the following have freedom of entry and exit except:
a. gas station
b. copy store
c. cable television
d. clothing store
3. Which physical product curves can be graphed on the same graph?
a. TPP and APP
b. APP and MPP
c. TPP and MPP
d. TPP, APP, and MPP
4. The cost of an additional unit of input is:
a. Total Revenue Product
b. Marginal Factor Cost
c. Marginal Revenue Product
d. Total Factor Cost
5. A firm will continue to purchase more input until:
a. MPP $=$ MFC
b. $\mathrm{MRP}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$
c. $\operatorname{TRP}=\mathrm{TFC}$
d. $\mathrm{MRP}=\mathrm{MFC}$
6. When the price of corn increases, feedlots will:
a. purchase more corn
b. purchase less corn
c. purchase same corn amount
d. cannot tell
7. When the price of automobiles increases, Ford Motor Company will purchase:
a. more glass, steel, and rubber
b. less glass, steel, and rubber
c. the same amount of glass, steel, and rubber
d. cannot tell from the information given
8. If a tax is placed on gasoline, then a wheat producer will produce:
a. more wheat
b. less wheat
c. the same amount of wheat
d. cannot tell from the information given
9. The profit-maximizing level of output can be found where:
a. MR $=\mathrm{MC}$, and MC cuts MR from below
b. $M R=M C$, and $M C$ cuts MR from above
c. $\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{TC}$
d. the horizontal distance between TR and TC is largest
10. The shutdown point occurs where:
a. $\mathrm{P}=\min \mathrm{ATC}$
b. $\mathrm{P}=\mathrm{min} \mathrm{AVC}$
c. $\mathrm{ATC}=\mathrm{AVC}$
d. $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$
11. The break-even point occurs where:
a. $\mathrm{P}=\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}=\mathrm{ATC}$
b. $\mathrm{P}=\mathrm{min} \mathrm{AVC}$
c. $\mathrm{AVC}=\mathrm{ATC}$
d. $P=M C$


Plate 5.1 Optimal input selection.
Source: Zeljko Radojko/Shutterstock

## 5 Optimal input selection

## Synopsis

This chapter explains how business firms use relative prices when selecting which inputs to use. The relationship between inputs is discussed in detail, illuminating how the choice of techniques depends on relative prices. Isoquants are defined, and described for several input types: perfect substitutes, perfect complements, and imperfect substitutes. Real-world examples provide insight into optimal input decisions. The marginal rate of technical substitution and the slope of the isocost line, more tools of economic analysis, help identify optimal responses to price changes. Emphasis is on how relative prices allocate resources in a market-based economy.

### 5.0 Introduction

Chapter 2 introduced the physical production process, Chapter 3 covered costs of production, and Chapter 4 dealt with selecting the profit-maximizing levels of inputs and outputs. The next step asks how inputs relate to each other in the production process. In many, perhaps most, production processes, several different combinations of inputs will yield a specified level of output. For example, farm equipment can be built for use by skilled workers (labor intensive), or by highly specialized robots (capital intensive), or by many combinations of the two.

This chapter examines the selection of the optimal, profit-maximizing combination of inputs. The major message is that a firm will select inputs based on relative prices. In lowincome nations where labor is inexpensive, business firms most often employ a labor-intensive production process, whereas in high-income nations, labor is often expensive, and capitalintensive production processes are used. Think of the comparison of agricultural production practices in the Great Plains portions of the United States compared to production practices in Africa. In the Great Plains, large, expensive machines till the soil, plant the crop, harvest the crop, and transport it to market. In Africa, manual labor often performs these same activities. Given the prices of labor and machinery in the two areas, farms in both areas are making rational economic decisions, even though they employ vastly different production processes.

### 5.1 The relationship between inputs

As in earlier chapters, the study of different combinations of inputs begins with the production function:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{~A}, \mathrm{~L}, \mathrm{~K}, \mathrm{M}) . \tag{5.1}
\end{equation*}
$$

## Quick Quiz 5.1

Define a production function, and explain what the letters $\mathrm{Y}, \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{A}, \mathrm{L}, \mathrm{K}$, and M stand for.

Chapter 2 analyzed the relationship between one input and one output, when all else is held constant. The quantity of one input (labor) varied, while quantities of all other inputs remained constant:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{~L} \mid \mathrm{A}, \mathrm{~K}, \mathrm{M}) . \tag{5.2}
\end{equation*}
$$

## Quick Quiz 5.2

Explain how this production function determines whether the firm is operating in the short run or the long run.

The production function captures the physical relationship between inputs $(\mathrm{X})$ and output (Y). The physical product functions (TPP, APP, and MPP) all used the same data.

## Quick Quiz 5.3

Define the physical product terms TPP, APP, and MPP. Draw a hypothetical graph showing each function.

Emphasis now shifts to consider the relationship between two variable inputs and the firm's output. In equation 5.3, a production function is shown where two variable inputs ( L and K ) are to the left of the ceteris paribus line, while A and M remain constant, and are to the right of the line:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{~L}, \mathrm{~K} \mid \mathrm{A}, \mathrm{M}) . \tag{5.3}
\end{equation*}
$$

A major trend affecting US agriculture is the substitution of capital for labor (Chapter 1). Over the past several decades, the nation's agricultural sector has replaced millions of agricultural laborers with highly productive and expensive machinery. The analysis here explains why this occurred, and shows how to find and measure the optimal rate of substitution of machines for labor.

A flour mill in Chicago, Illinois, provides an idea of how to determine the best combination of inputs. The term capital refers to physical capital, and includes: (1) machines,


Plate 5.2 Grinding wheat into flour.
Source: Mikus, Jo./Shutterstock
(2) buildings, (3) tools, and (4) equipment. Capital (machinery) often substitutes for labor, or workers.

A flour mill can use many possible combinations of machines and labor to grind wheat (or other grains) into flour. For example, the mill can use four workers and one machine ( $4 \mathrm{~L}, 1 \mathrm{~K}$ ), or two workers and two machines ( $2 \mathrm{~L}, 2 \mathrm{~K}$ ) to produce 100 five-pound bags of flour during a regular working day, as in equation 5.4:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{~L}, \mathrm{~K} \mid \mathrm{A}, \mathrm{M}) . \tag{5.4}
\end{equation*}
$$

The mill manager must hire workers and a mill (a location and machinery) to produce flour from wheat. The key idea here is that there are several possible production processes for producing flour.

Figure 5.1 shows two different production practices, and is different from the graphs shown in earlier chapters. The earlier graphs showed input on the horizontal axis and output on the vertical axis. In Figure 5.1, each axis represents one input in the production process. Points within the quadrant represent output, and help answer a different question about production. The issue centers on selecting the profit-maximizing combination of two inputs, rather than the optimal level of one input.

### 5.2 Isoquants

The two points shown in Figure 5.1 can represent two points on an Isoquant, which relates two variable inputs to a given level of output.

- Isoquant $=$ a line indicating all combinations of two variable inputs that will produce a given level of output.


Figure 5.1 Production process for a flour mill in Chicago, Illinois.

The prefix "iso" refers to "same, or equal," and "quant" refers to the numerical value of output. Therefore, the term isoquant means, "equal quantity of output," and an isoquant is a line on which every point refers to the same level of output. Figure 5.1 shows two possible production methods for the flour mill. Suppose that there are several other combinations of labor and capital that could produce the same level of output, as shown in Figure 5.2.

Every point on the isoquant, the curved line in Figure 5.2, represents the same level of output, $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$ ( $1005-\mathrm{lb}$ bags of flour). The isoquant shows that capital and labor are substitutable: a flour mill can use any combination of K and L on the isoquant to produce the same quantity of flour. Efficient firm managers will recognize the potential for substitution among inputs, and will select the profit-maximizing combination of inputs.


Figure 5.2 Isoquant for a flour mill in Chicago, Illinois.

## Examples of isoquants

Numerous combinations of inputs can produce a given quantity of most agricultural products. Corn and soybean producers in Iowa can use different combinations of land, machinery, chemicals, and labor to produce given quantities of corn and soybeans. Wheat producers make choices when selecting the appropriate amount of machinery to use. Figure 5.3 introduces another feature of isoquants. Several isoquants, each representing a different level of output, are often drawn together as a "map."

The isoquants farther from the origin represent larger outputs than the ones that are close to the origin. Moving outward from the origin and passing through isoquants shows this increase in output and also the combination of inputs needed to produce each level of product. Output increases with movement to the northeast in the graphs, since more inputs result in more outputs $[\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{X})]$.

### 5.3 Relative prices

Different agricultural production techniques stem from different levels of technology. Agricultural producers can select between labor-intensive methods or capital-intensive technology, as shown in Figure 5.4.

The production technology represented by point A in Figure 5.4 shows a relatively large amount of labor and small amount of capital $\left(\mathrm{L}_{\mathrm{A}}, \mathrm{K}_{\mathrm{A}}\right)$. Producers in many lowincome nations may use this labor-intensive technology. Producers in high-income nations typically use a capital-intensive production process in agriculture ( $\mathrm{L}_{\mathrm{B}}, \mathrm{K}_{\mathrm{B}}$ ), as shown at point B in Figure 5.4. Why do producers in different nations use drastically different types of technology? The answer is relative prices. In regions where labor is less expensive than capital, more labor is used. In areas where labor is expensive, machines and chemicals substitute for labor because they can produce agricultural products in a less expensive manner.


Figure 5.3 Isoquant map for an Oklahoma wheat farm.


Figure 5.4 Isoquant for a hypothetical agricultural product.

Agricultural policy in the United States has paid direct subsidies to agricultural producers since 1933. Maintaining family farms has been one major goal of this policy. This policy has resulted in an agriculture that is more labor-intensive than it would be without the subsidies. Why? Because the subsidies keep some small family farms in business, which prevents more labor from migrating out of agriculture and into other pursuits.

Several forces push businesses to different points on the isoquant. Lack of financial resources pushes toward more labor and less machinery. The advance of technology encourages the adoption of the newest machine and the newest variety of insecticide. Where does the adoption and substitution stop? Relative prices define the end of the struggle. Agricultural producers ask, "How much does it cost to buy labor and capital?" They select the optimal combination of inputs based on these relative prices.

American agricultural firms are therefore likely to move toward using capital-intensive production techniques such as GIS (Geographical Information Systems, a satellite system) and computerized combines. In Africa, labor is relatively less expensive than capital. The opportunity cost of labor in many Sub-Saharan African nations is quite low, near zero in some places. Job opportunities are not high for a relatively unskilled and uneducated workforce. Therefore, the low-income nations of Africa, as well as low-income nations in other parts of the world, typically use labor-intensive techniques such as hand plowing, hoeing, weeding, and harvesting. This sounds inefficient to American producers, but these labor-intensive techniques can still be optimal, since relative prices guide the decision (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5 helps explain the ongoing migration of labor out of agriculture in high-income nations. As labor has become more expensive over time due to increases in productivity and education levels, agricultural producers have replaced labor by increasing their use of machinery. This is the major result of the analysis to this point:

## THE CHOICE OF TECHNIQUES DEPENDS ON RELATIVE PRICES.



Plate 5.3 Labor-intensive potato harvest.
Source: Usosr/Shutterstock
Agribusiness firms will use relative prices when choosing combinations of inputs that minimize their costs of production.

## Examples: choosing the right production techniques

Car washes are different in different parts of the country. In rural areas and in small towns like Bozeman, Montana, car washes use capital-intensive production techniques. There are few workers, and fully automated machines do the work of cleaning the car. In urban areas such as New York City or Chicago, people, not machines, often wash a dirty car. This is due


Figure 5.5 Isoquant location comparison across nations.
to relative prices. Labor is cheaper and more abundant in urban areas, so many of the car washes hire the low-skilled labor. If the price of labor increases over time, car wash owners would shift to more machines and less labor. Why? Because of the shift in relative prices.

## Quick Quiz 5.4

How will McDonald's respond to changes in relative prices?

If the minimum wage increases, McDonald's must pay a higher price for labor, and the fast food company will substitute out of labor and use more machines. Could a fast food restaurant really do this? Yes, the decision depends on relative prices.

## Quick Quiz 5.5

Explain how an automatic drink dispenser at a fast food restaurant, and agricultural tractors and combines that are driven by technology, are the result of relative prices.

Agricultural producers and agribusinesses make choices regarding the degree of mechanization based on relative costs. In the Great Plains, farming is practiced on a very large scale, with huge machines (tractors, combines, seed drills) working on thousands of acres. Contrast this with smaller farms in New England and California that have more labor available to them.

### 5.4 Isoquant types

The production processes of firms are highly diverse: contrast the lemonade stands run by neighborhood children with the production of a good as complex as a John Deere combine. The relationships between inputs and outputs are varied and complex. This section describes several possible types of isoquants, which reflect the variety of ways that agricultural producers and agribusinesses convert inputs into output.

## Perfect substitutes

Perfect Substitutes are interchangeable inputs. High Fructose Corn Syrup (HFCS) is a perfect substitute for sucrose (sugar) in soda. Soda producers such as Coca-Cola and Pepsi can use either sweetener without any noticeable effect on the product.

- Perfect Substitutes $=$ inputs that are completely substitutable in the production process (see Substitutes).

The graph in Figure 5.6 shows an isoquant for perfect substitutes. The isoquant is a straight line, since the two inputs substitute without impact.


Figure 5.6 Isoquant for perfect substitutes.

Other perfect or nearly perfect substitutes include: (1) cane sugar and beet sugar (no difference in the chemical composition), (2) bag seed and bulk seed, (3) 5-lb bags of flour and $10-\mathrm{lb}$ bags of flour.

## Quick Quiz 5.6

Are John Deere combines and CASE-IH combines perfect substitutes?

## Box 5.1 John Deere

Deere \& Company, known by its brand name John Deere, was founded by John Deere in 1837 and is headquartered in Moline, Illinois. John Deere is the world's leading manufacturer of agricultural machinery. In 2010, it was listed as 107th in the Fortune 500 ranking. Deere \& Company agricultural products, sold under the John Deere name, include agricultural equipment: tractors, combine harvesters, cotton harvesters, balers, planters, and sprayers. The company also produces construction equipment, forestry equipment, diesel engines, lawn mowers, and snow blowers. John Deere also provides financial services and other related activities. The company employs over 55,000 persons, earns revenue of $\$ 26$ billion (2010), and has a net income of $\$ 3.9$ billion (2010). The company's products are recognized by green color, with yellow trim, and the deer logo.

Sources: John Deere. http://www.deere.com. Fortune 500. http://money.cnn.com "2010 Form 10-K, Deere \& Company." United States Securities and Exchange Commission.

## Perfect complements

Perfect Complements are resources that must be used together. Some examples come close. Think of a tractor and a plow: the plow is worthless without the tractor to pull it. The tractor is more versatile, so the complementarity is not perfect. Shoes are another example: except in very rare cases, the left shoe needs to complement the right shoe. Nuts and bolts are often perfect complements.

- Perfect Complements $=$ Goods that are produced together using the same collection of resources (beef and hides) or inputs that must be used together in a fixed ratio (one tractor and one plow).

The isoquant of perfect complements is a right angle, showing that extra units of one input are not useful if not paired with the other input. The right angles in Figure 5.7 are isoquants. Every point on the vertical portion of each isoquant produces the same level of output. Similarly, every point on the horizontal part of an isoquant refers to the same level of output. Adding more of one of the two inputs will have no effect on the output levels. If an extra unit of $\mathrm{X}_{1}$ is added, it must be accompanied by one unit of $\mathrm{X}_{2}$ before it becomes a useful input. Using $X_{1}$ and $X_{2}$ together increase the total product and movement to a higher isoquant.

All points on an isoquant represent the same level of output. If an agricultural producer has only one tractor, it doesn't matter how many plows he or she has: the tractor can only pull one plow. Similarly, if there were only one plow, any additional tractors would be wasted, as depicted in Figure 5.7.

## Imperfect substitutes

Imperfect Substitutes are the "typical" case. They are inputs that can be substituted one for another, but not perfectly. Skilled and unskilled labor are examples. These two inputs are useful in many parts of a production process, but they are not perfect substitutes.


Figure 5.7 Isoquant for perfect complements.

- Imperfect Substitutes $=$ inputs that are incomplete substitutes for each other in the production process (see Substitutes).

Due to the Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns, it takes larger and larger amounts of one input to substitute for equal reductions of the other inputs. This gives the isoquant a shape that is convex (bowed toward the origin).

At point A in Figure 5.8, a firm has many workers, but only one machine. Suppose that output would remain constant if the firm purchased one more machine and used three fewer workers. At point B (Figure 5.8) a firm has many machines, but only one worker. At this point, the firm could replace several machines by hiring one additional worker and output would be unchanged. Imperfect substitutes provide the ability to substitute between inputs. Because there are many different ways of producing goods, firm managers can select the optimal combination based on relative prices of the inputs.

## Imperfect substitutes example

Soil and chemicals are imperfect substitutes when used in crop production. Many individuals believe that soil is necessary for the commercial production of food and fiber. In fact, crops can grow without soil using water in which an appropriate mix of chemicals has been dissolved. Soil and agrochemicals are close to perfect substitutes because producers can use chemicals to replace soil.

This should not be surprising to anyone who has visited Epcot Center at Disney World in Florida, where a small number of crops grow hydroponically (in chemical-infused water). It should also not surprise anyone familiar with agriculture in the vast open spaces of the US: the Great Plains, California's Central Valley, or the Great Basin. Large parts of these areas use sand with very little soil to grow crops. With modern irrigation technology, producers can use center-pivot irrigation systems to drip nutrients into the sand (these are the big circles seen from an airplane). Figure 5.9 shows an isoquant and substitution possibilities between imperfect substitutes: soil and chemicals.


Figure 5.8 Isoquant for imperfect substitutes.

Box 5.2 Center-pivot irrigation
Center-pivot irrigation is a method of watering crops by using a sprinkler that rotates around a pivot. Center-pivot irrigation was invented in 1949 by farmer Frank Zybach, of Dalhart, Texas. The center pivot consists of segments of galvanized steel or aluminum pipe, joined together and supported by trusses, mounted on wheeled towers, with sprinklers positioned along its length. The machine moves in a circular pattern and is fed with water under pressure from the pivot point at the center of the circle. One complete rotation typically requires three days.

Center pivots are usually less than 500 meters ( 1640 feet) in length (circle radius) with the most common size being the standard $1 / 4$ mile $(400 \mathrm{~m})$ machine. Most center pivot systems now have drops with sprinkler heads positioned close to the crop, thus limiting evaporative losses and wind drift. Drops can also be used with drag hoses or bubblers that deposit the water directly on the ground between crops. This type of system is known as LEPA (Low Energy Precision Application).

For center-pivot irrigation to be used, the field needs to be relatively flat. However, one major advantage of center pivots over alternative systems is the ability to function in undulating country. This advantage has resulted in increased irrigated acreage and water use in hilly areas, including parts of the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, the Sahara, and the Middle East.

Sources: "Center-Pivot Irrigation System Modification to Provide Variable Water Application Depths." ddr.nal.usda.gov
NASA/Goddard Space Flight Center. (April 28, 2012). "NASA’s Landsat Satellites See Texas Crop Circles-Of the Irrigation Kind." ScienceDaily. Retrieved April 28, 2012.


Plate 5.4 Center-pivot irrigation.
Source: B Brown/Shutterstock


Figure 5.9 Substitutability of soil and chemicals in grain production.

Many forces cause movements along this isoquant. Soil erosion is a big issue in agriculture, since cultivating the soil increases soil loss from wind and water erosion. Severe soil loss has caused producers in some areas to switch out of soil replacing it with chemicals (hydroponic agriculture). New technologies such as "low-till" and "no-till" planting systems help reduce the threat of erosion and allow grain to be planted without having to plow the soil. These new technologies allow for the use of more soil, but often require higher chemical use.

Box 5.3 No-till agriculture
No-till farming is a technique of growing crops without tilling the soil. No-till is used to increase the amount of water and organic matter (nutrients) in the soil, and decrease erosion. It increases the amount and variety of life in and on the soil but often requires increased chemical use for weed control.

In no-till farming the seeds are directly deposited into untilled soil which has retained the previous crop residues. Special no-till seeding equipment opens a narrow slot into the residue-covered soil. The slot is just wide enough to put the seeds into the ground and cover them with soil. The aim is to move as little soil as possible in order not to bring weed seeds to the surface and not stimulating them to germinate. No other soil tillage is done during the growth of the crop. The residues from the previous crops remain largely undisturbed at the soil surface as mulch.

Adequate weed management is the key to successful application of the system. Weed control is performed using herbicides and also through the adoption of appropriate crop rotations including the use of adapted, aggressive species of cover crops. Some of the environment-relevant effects of no-tillage include erosion control,
improvement of water quality, increased water infiltration which leads to reduced flood hazard, and climate-related consequences through carbon sequestration in the soil may appear after several years of continuous, uninterrupted application. Globally, the no-tillage technology is used on over 100 million hectares under a wide variety of climate and soil conditions.

Sources: CTIC (2011). Conservation Technology Information Center homepage. http://www. ctic.purdue.edu/media/pdf/TillageDefinitions.pdf
No-Tillage. http://www.rolf-derpsch.com/notill.htm

Another example of imperfect substitutes is from production agriculture in the United States. The federal government has taken millions of highly erodible acres out of agricultural production through the Conservation Reserve Program (CRP). However, when fewer acres are in production, producers substitute out of soil and into chemicals by applying higher levels of agrochemicals to the acres remaining in production.

### 5.5 Optimal input decisions

The preceding pages and examples beg the question,"What is a systematic way to choose the optimal combination of inputs for use in a production process?" Cost minimization is related to profit maximization, since lowering costs results in increasing profits ( $\pi=\mathrm{TR}-$ TC ). Relative prices drive the decision regarding what inputs to use, and changes in relative prices result in shifts out of the relatively expensive input into the relatively inexpensive input.

## Box 5.4 Conservation Reserve Program

The Conservation Reserve Program (CRP) is a voluntary program for agricultural landowners. Through CRP, a farmer can receive annual rental payments and costshare assistance to establish long-term, resource conserving covers on eligible farmland. Participants enroll in CRP contracts for 10 to 15 years, and receive annual rental payments based on the agriculture rental value of the land. The program provides cost-share assistance for up to 50 percent of the participant's costs in establishing approved conservation practices.

CRP protects millions of acres of American topsoil from erosion and is designed to safeguard the nation's natural resources. By reducing water runoff and sedimentation, CRP protects groundwater and helps improve the condition of lakes, rivers, ponds, and streams. Acreage enrolled in the CRP is planted to resource-conserving vegetative covers, making the program a major contributor to increased wildlife populations in many parts of the country.

Source: USDA. Farm Service Agency. Conservation Programs. http://www.fsa.usda.gov/FSA/

## The marginal rate of technical substitution

The slope of an isoquant defines the Marginal Rate of Technical Substitution (MRTS). It reflects how well one input substitutes for another.

- Marginal Rate of Technical Substitution [MRTS] = the rate at which one input can be decreased as the use of another input increases to take its place. The slope of the isoquant. MRTS $=\Delta \mathrm{X}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}$.

A graph provides the best way to gain understanding of what the MRTS is all about.
The slope of the isoquant in Figure 5.10 shows the MRTS between inputs $X_{1}$ and $X_{2}$. In this graph, input $X_{2}$ is on the $y$-axis, and $X_{1}$ is on the $x$-axis, so the slope of the isoquant equals $\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X}=\Delta \mathrm{X}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}$. In the case of imperfect substitutes, as in Figure 5.10, the slope becomes less steep as the combination of $X$ and $Y$ changes in response to substituting $X_{1}$ for $\mathrm{X}_{2}$. The value of MRTS changes with moves along the isoquant. When moving from point A to point B, the firm keeps output constant by reducing $X_{2}$ by one unit (from 3 to 2 on the vertical scale), and increasing $X_{1}$ by one unit (from 1 to 2 on the horizontal scale). This results in a calculated MRTS of negative one:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{MRTS}(\mathrm{AB})=\Delta \mathrm{X}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}=(2-3) /(2-1)=-1 . \tag{5.5}
\end{equation*}
$$

The MRTS must always be a negative number, since isoquants based on two inputs that are imperfect substitutes must always be downward sloping for rational producers.

The move from A to B means that the firm can select a wide variety of input combinations that will yield the same level of output. In fact, any point on the isoquant will, by definition, result in the same level of output. So, the movement from A to B represents a shift out of input $\mathrm{X}_{2}$ and into input $\mathrm{X}_{1}$.

A move from point B to C will yield a smaller MRTS, because the slope of the isoquant becomes less steep with the move. This new MRTS (relating to the move from point B to point $C$ ) is calculated as:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{MRTS}(\mathrm{BC})=\text { slope of isoquant }=\Delta \mathrm{X}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}=(1-2) /(4-2)=-1 / 2=-0.5 . \tag{5.6}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 5.10 Marginal rate of technical substitution between two inputs.

The slope of the isoquant, or MRTS, is crucial to determining which combination of inputs a firm will choose. The isoquant describes input combinations that are technically feasible. Economic information (the prices of the two inputs) allows this technical information to determine the cost-minimizing levels of input use. In the next section, we will switch from the technical information relating to input productivity to relative prices of the inputs.

## The Isocost Line

How will a profit-maximizing producer determine how many pounds of fertilizer, or what labor-intensive method, or capital-intensive technique is most profitable? The producer does so by combining the technical information contained in the isoquant with cost information summarized by the Isocost Line. The prefix "iso" means the "same, or equal" and the term, "cost" refers to the value placed on inputs. Therefore, the term isocost means "equal costs," and an isocost line is a line on which every combination of inputs has the same value or costs.

- Isocost Line = a line indicating all combinations of two variable inputs that can be purchased for a given level of expenditure.

Consider an agricultural implement dealer facing a $\$ 10$ /hour price of labor, a $\$ 100 /$ machine price of capital and total expenditures equal to $\$ 1000$. This is enough information to use in developing an algebraic equation for an isocost line:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{X}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{2} \mathrm{X}_{2} \tag{5.7}
\end{equation*}
$$

Given "economic data" from the example, this becomes:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TC}=(\$ 10 / \text { hour }) * \mathrm{X}_{1}+(\$ 100 / \text { machine }) * \mathrm{X}_{2}=10 \mathrm{~L}+100 \mathrm{~K} \tag{5.8}
\end{equation*}
$$

where $X_{1}$ is labor ( L ) and $\mathrm{X}_{2}$ is capital ( K ). The terms in this equation rearrange to yield the equation of a line: $y=b+m x$, where $b$ is the $y$-intercept and $m$ is the slope. This is done to isolate the term on the vertical axis ( K in this example) on the left-hand side of the equation. Total expenditures (TC) equal $\$ 1000$, so:

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{TC}=10 \mathrm{~L}+100 \mathrm{~K}, \text { and }  \tag{5.9}\\
& 1000=10 \mathrm{~L}+100 \mathrm{~K} . \tag{5.10}
\end{align*}
$$

To isolate $K$ on the left side of the equation, subtract 10 L from both sides:

$$
\begin{equation*}
1000-10 \mathrm{~L}=100 \mathrm{~K} \tag{5.11}
\end{equation*}
$$

Reverse sides to move K to the left-hand side:

$$
\begin{equation*}
100 \mathrm{~K}=1000-10 \mathrm{~L} \tag{5.12}
\end{equation*}
$$

Finally, divide both sides by 100 to get:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{K}=10-0.1 \mathrm{~L} \tag{5.13}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 5.11 Equilibrium for input combination.

This is the equation for the isocost line. This line is graphically correct with Figure 5.11: the $y$-intercept is equal to 10 and the slope is equal to $0.1(=10 / 100)$. This simple algebra can be used for any two-variable isocost line. In summary:

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{X}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{2} \mathrm{X}_{2}  \tag{5.14}\\
& \mathrm{P}_{2} \mathrm{X}_{2}=\mathrm{TC}-\mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{X}_{1}  \tag{5.15}\\
& \mathrm{X}_{2}=\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{P}_{2}+\left(-\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}\right) * \mathrm{X}_{1} . \tag{5.16}
\end{align*}
$$

The slope of the isocost line equals $\left(-\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$, and the y -intercept equals $\left(\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$. This equation contains the information on relative prices, and helps locate the optimal, costminimizing combination of inputs for a business firm.

## Equilibrium: the tangency of the isoquant and the isocost line

The "test" here is to help an agricultural implement dealer find the optimal combination of machines and workers for the firm to employ. This requires combining the isoquant and the isocost line in the same graph, as in Figure 5.11. To find the optimal combination of inputs, the firm will locate at the point of tangency of the isoquant and the isocost line (the only point where the two lines are barely touching). In Figure 5.11, this occurs at the point $(50,5)$, where the firm purchases 50 hours of labor and 5 machines.

Note that this point is exactly "in the middle" of the isocost line. This is due solely to the location of the hypothetical isoquant, and is not always the point where the firm will locate. The actual point depends on the technology (represented by the isoquant) and the relative prices (represented by the isocost line).


Plate 5.5 Modern tractor and plow.
Source: Dmitry Kalinovsky/Shutterstock

The firm's objective is to minimize costs for a given level of output. It can meet this objective by finding an Equilibrium point at the tangency, where the slope of the isoquant is equal to the slope of the isocost line. Equilibrium is a point where the firm is doing as well as it possibly can, given the situation, and does not desire to change.

- Equilibrium $=$ a point or situation from which there is no tendency to change.

Once the manager locates the equilibrium point, he or she has no forces pushing for change: the firm is "at rest." The equilibrium condition can be shown algebraically to be where the slope of the isoquant $\left(=\right.$ MRTS $\left.=\Delta \mathrm{X}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}\right)$ is equal to the slope of the isocost line $\left(=-P_{1} / P_{2}\right)$.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\Delta X_{2} / \Delta X_{1}=-P_{1} / P_{2} . \tag{5.17}
\end{equation*}
$$

We can rearrange this equation (by cross-multiplication) to find the equilibrium condition for optimal input use:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{P}_{2} \Delta \mathrm{X}_{2}=-\mathrm{P}_{1} \Delta \mathrm{X}_{4} . \tag{5.18}
\end{equation*}
$$

This equation shows that in equilibrium, the changes in expenditures on each input are equal. The relationship states that a firm manager will continue to substitute inputs until the amount spent for the input added is just equal to the amount saved by reducing the amount spent on the other input. To make this idea clear, consider the case when the equality in the equilibrium condition above does not hold:


Figure 5.12 Disequilibrium example for input combination.

If $P_{2} \Delta X_{2}>-P_{1} \Delta X_{1}$, then more $X_{1}$ should be used, because the cost of adding one more unit of $X_{2}$ is greater than the cost saved by decreasing the use of $X_{1}$.

If $P_{2} \Delta X_{2}<-P_{1} \Delta X_{1}$, then more $X_{2}$ should be used, because the cost of adding one more unit of $X_{1}$ is greater than the cost saved by decreasing the use of $X_{2}$.

This equilibrium condition indicates that the optimal, cost-minimizing, combination of inputs occurs when the physical rate of substitution (MRTS) is equal to the economic rate of substitution (the price ratio). The equilibrium condition provides the least-cost solution for the firm.

At point A in Figure 5.12, the firm is not in equilibrium, since the slope of the isoquant (MRTS) is greater (steeper) than the price ratio:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{P}_{2} \Delta \mathrm{X}_{2}>-\mathrm{P}_{1} \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1} . \tag{5.19}
\end{equation*}
$$

This inequality signals to the manager to substitute out of the expensive input $\left(\mathrm{X}_{2}\right)$ and into the less expensive input $\left(\mathrm{X}_{1}\right)$. This substitution will continue until point E is reached, where $\Delta X_{2} / \Delta X_{1}=-P_{1} / P_{2}$. At point $E$, the firm is in equilibrium.

## Quick Quiz 5.7

What is the definition of equilibrium? Why is point E in Figure 5.12 an equilibrium point?

Figure 5.12 shows that through the process of input substitution, the firm reaches a lower isocost line ( $\mathrm{I}_{0}$ ), with a cost saving of $\$ 200(\$ 1000-\$ 800)$. The next step inquires about a corn producer's selection of inputs.

## Example: corn producer near Newton, Iowa

The goal of a corn producer near Newton, Iowa, is to minimize costs. The producer's objective is to produce 100 bushels of corn at the lowest possible cost. The production of corn requires $N$ inputs ( $\mathrm{X}_{1}, \mathrm{X}_{2}, \mathrm{X}_{3}, \ldots, \mathrm{X}_{\mathrm{N}}$ ), and the two most expensive inputs are land ( $\mathrm{X}_{1}$ ) and fertilizer $\left(\mathrm{X}_{2}\right)$. Focusing on these two major inputs requires holding quantities of all other inputs constant. The corn producer's production function is:

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{f}\left(\mathrm{X}_{1}, \mathrm{X}_{2} \mid \mathrm{X}_{3} \ldots \mathrm{X}_{\mathrm{N}}\right), \text { where }  \tag{5.20}\\
& \mathrm{X}_{1}=\text { land (acres), and }  \tag{5.21}\\
& \mathrm{X}_{2}=\text { fertilizer (lbs) } \tag{5.22}
\end{align*}
$$

The objective is to find the optimal combination of land and fertilizer to use to produce 100 bushels of corn in Iowa. Figure 5.13 shows an isoquant that reflects all combinations of inputs (land and fertilizer) that produce the same level of output (corn).

The slope of the isoquant is the marginal rate of technical substitution $=\mathrm{MRTS}=\Delta \mathrm{X}_{2}$ I $\Delta X_{1}$. Since land and fertilizer are substitutes, there are many combinations of the two inputs that will meet the objective and produce 100 bushels.

## Quick Quiz 5.8

Explain why fertilizer and land are substitutes in the production of corn. Are they perfect or imperfect substitutes? Explain why.


Figure 5.13 Equilibrium for input combination.

The producer will want to locate the cost-minimizing combination of inputs for the production of 100 bushels of corn. She or he can do this with the use of the isocost line. To minimize the costs of producing 100 bushels, the corn producer locates the tangency point of the isoquant and isocost lines: the point where the slope of the isoquant equals the slope of the isocost line (MRTS = price ratio):

$$
\begin{equation*}
\Delta \mathbf{X}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}=-\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2} . \tag{5.23}
\end{equation*}
$$

The equilibrium point in this hypothetical example is where the changes in expenditures from substituting land and fertilizer along the isoquant are equalized: the money released from the sale of land is equal to the cost of the fertilizer needed to make up for the lost land.

$$
\begin{equation*}
-\mathrm{P}_{2} \Delta \mathrm{X}_{2}=\mathrm{P}_{1} \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1} . \tag{5.24}
\end{equation*}
$$

If the change in expenditure for one input were greater than the change in the other input, the producer could lower costs by moving toward the equilibrium point.

Interestingly, the equilibrium condition for selecting the optimal combination of inputs follows the same logic as the profit-maximizing condition of input use. Recall that the profitmaximizing rule for input use is to set the marginal revenue product ( $\mathrm{MRP}=\mathrm{MPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$ ) equal to the marginal factor $\operatorname{cost}\left(\mathrm{MFC}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}\right)$ :

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{MRP}=\mathrm{MFC}  \tag{5.25}\\
& M P P * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}  \tag{5.26}\\
& (\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X}) * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}  \tag{5.27}\\
& \Delta \mathrm{Y} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\Delta \mathrm{X} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}} \tag{5.28}
\end{align*}
$$

Equation (5.28) shows that the profit-maximizing condition results in an equilibrium where the incremental increase in revenue $\left(\Delta Y^{*} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}\right)$ is equal to the incremental increase in input costs ( $\Delta \mathrm{X} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}$ ). The next section shows how producers (input users) react to changes in the price of inputs.

### 5.6 Optimal responses to price changes

Relative prices drive the economic decisions of producers in their quest to maximize profits and/or minimize costs. Since prices are continuously changing, the question becomes, "How do producers respond to changes in prices?" Economic intuition says that when it is possible, shift out of expensive inputs and into less expensive inputs. A contemporary choice of this kind comes up with respect to finding the correct combination of agrochemicals and land to use in the production process.

The discussion of isoquants and isocost lines focused on setting the MRTS equal to the slope of the isocost line, or the price ratio $\left(\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$. The equilibrium condition highlights the importance of relative prices in the economy: if the price of one input changes, it changes the price ratio, and results in a new equilibrium combination of inputs for producers.

## Price change for the farm implement manufacturer

Consider the farm implement manufacturer (John Deere) to see how input price changes affect input selection. This firm uses labor ( $\mathrm{L}=$ workers), and capital ( $\mathrm{K}=$ machines) to produce implements. The price of labor is $\$ 10 /$ hour, the price of machines is $\$ 100 /$ hour, and total expenditures are $\$ 1000$, as can be seen in Figure 5.14.

Suppose the wage rate increases from $\$ 10 /$ hour to $\$ 20 /$ hour, shifting the isocost line from $\mathrm{I}_{0}$ to $\mathrm{I}_{1}$. Focus attention on the shift in isocost lines by recalling the algebraic equation $(y=b+m x)$ of the isocost lines:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{X}_{2}=\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{P}_{2}+\left(-\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}\right) \mathrm{X}_{1} . \tag{5.29}
\end{equation*}
$$

The y-intercept of the isocost line $\left(\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$ remains unchanged, because the total expenditures (TC) and the price of machines $\left(\mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$ have remained unaltered. The slope $\left(-\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$, however, becomes steeper due to the increase in the price of labor $\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}\right)$. The slope of $\mathrm{I}_{0}$ is equal to the price ratio prior to the price change: $-\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}=-10 / 100=-0.1$. After the wage increase, the price ratio increases to: $-\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}=-20 / 100=-0.2$. This change is shown in Figure 5.14. The addition of isoquants in Figure 5.15 provides information on the firm's need to change its input mix in response to the change in relative prices.

If the total expenditures of the firm remain constant at $\$ 1000$, the firm ends up on a lower isoquant, showing that production drops due to the increase in input price. This reflects the discussion in the previous chapter: if the price of an input increases, production costs increase, and the firm lowers its level of output. The price change also alters relative prices (the slope of the isocost line), and results in a substitution out of labor and into capital.

The corn producer's goal was to produce 100 bushels of corn at the lowest possible cost. If the price of land increases, the slope of the isocost will change, but this firm manager will desire to remain on the same isoquant, to remain at the production goal of 100 bushels. The price change will cause a shift in the cost-minimizing combination of inputs, shown in Figure 5.16.


Figure 5.14 Isocost shift due to a wage increase for farm implement manufacturer.


Figure 5.15 Equilibrium change due to a wage increase for implement manufacturer.

The increase in the price of land causes the slope of the isocost line to become steeper. To remain on the same isoquant, the producer will shift out of the more expensive input (land) and into the less expensive input (fertilizer) in order to reach a new equilibrium at $\left(\mathrm{E}_{2}\right)$. At the new equilibrium, fewer acres of land are employed, and more fertilizer.

## Example: the impact of gambling on input selection in Minnesota

The general principles outlined in the previous sections are useful in exploring any changes in relative prices, including unusual situations like the impact of gambling casinos on the


Figure 5.16 Equilibrium change due to a land price increase.
optimal selection of inputs to use in agriculture. Minnesota is the point of reference, but the issue could appear in any number of places.

Over the past few years, several large gambling casinos have located in the Midwest, including Minnesota. These casinos, often built on agricultural land, reduce the number of acres available for agricultural production in this area. The casinos employ several hundred persons. Many have moved to the area and purchased houses. The increase in visitors has also increased the demand for hotel rooms, restaurants, gasoline stations, and convenience stores. As a result, the business climate in these areas has improved dramatically. The casinos have also caused an increase in the price of land, due to their own needs for buildings and parking space and the increase in the population of the area. Graphical analysis helps understand how gambling has affected the use of land and agrochemicals in Minnesota agriculture (Figure 5.17).

If the price of land $\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}\right)$ increases, the price ratio increases, and the isocost line becomes steeper. To produce the same amount of agricultural output, or remain on the same isoquant, the producers in the area must use more chemicals to replace the land that has been lost.

## Relative prices rule!

Relative prices determine the optimal level of output (Chapter 3), the optimal level of inputs to use (Chapter 4), and the cost-minimizing combination of inputs to use (Chapter 5).


Plate 5.6 Impact of gambling on land price near casino.
Source: Lipik/Shutterstock


Figure 5.17 Impact of casinos on equilibrium use of land and chemicals.

Chapter 6 will show how relative prices also determine the most profitable combination of outputs to produce. Relative prices run the entire market-based economy, since the decisions of business firms are all determined by the relative prices of scarce resources.

### 5.7 Summary

1. A firm will select inputs based on relative prices.
2. There are many different combinations of inputs that can produce the same level of output.
3. An isoquant is a line that represents all combinations of two variable inputs that will produce a given level of output.
4. Different nations use drastically different production practices based on relative prices. When labor is cheap relative to capital, a labor-intensive production practice will be used.
5. Agribusiness firms will choose combinations of inputs that minimize their costs of production for a given level of output.
6. Perfect substitutes are inputs that can be interchanged completely. The isoquant for perfect substitutes is a straight line.
7. Perfect complements are inputs that must be used together in a fixed ratio. The isoquant for perfect complements has an "L" shape.
8. Imperfect substitutes are inputs that substitute for each other incompletely. The isoquant for imperfect substitutes is convex to the origin.
9. The Marginal Rate of Technical Substitution (MRTS) is the rate one input can be decreased as the use of another input increases. The MRTS is the slope of the isoquant.
10. The isocost line indicates all combinations of two variable inputs that can be purchased at the same level of expenditure.
11. To find the optimal combination of inputs, the firm will locate at the point where the isoquant is tangent to the isocost line. At this point, the marginal rate of technical substitution equals the relative price ratio.
12. An equilibrium is a point from which there is no tendency to change.
13. Changes in relative prices result in shifts in the isocost line, and changes in the equilibrium combination of inputs. Firms will substitute out of relatively expensive inputs and into relatively less expensive inputs.
14. Relative prices rule: relative prices determine the optimal level of output, the optimal level of inputs, and the cost-minimizing combination of inputs to use.

### 5.8 Glossary

Complements in Production. Goods that are produced together using the same collection of inputs.
Equilibrium. A point from which there is no tendency to change.
Imperfect Substitutes. Inputs that are incomplete substitutes for each other in the production process.
Isocost Line. A line indicating all combinations of two variable inputs that can be purchased for a given level of expenditure.
Isoquant. A line indicating all combinations of two variable inputs that will produce a given level of output.
Marginal Rate of Technical Substitution [MRTS]. The rate at which one input can be decreased as the use of another input increases to take its place. The slope of the isoquant. MRTS $=\Delta \mathrm{X}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}$.
Perfect Complements. Goods that are produced together using the same collection of resources (beef and hides) or inputs that must be used together in a fixed ratio (one tractor and one plow).
Perfect Substitutes. Inputs that are completely substitutable in the production process.
Relative Price. The prices of goods relative to each others. (Example: The price of wheat increased relative to the price of corn).
Substitutes in Production. Goods that compete for the same resources in the production process (wheat and barley). Or inputs that can replace each other in the production process (land and fertilizer).

### 5.9 Review questions

1. To draw an isoquant, the graph must show:
a. one input on each axis
b. one input and one output
c. one output on each axis
d. cost of production on the vertical axis
2. Each point on the isoquant shows:
a. the same level of output
b. the same level of profit
c. the same level of inputs
d. the same level of expenditures
3. Relative prices are captured in the:
a. equilibrium point
b. isoquant
c. isocost line
d. vertical axis
4. The optimal combination of inputs depends on:
a. land grant university recommendations
b. tradition
c. resource availability
d. relative prices
5. In the wide open spaces of the American West, farms are likely to be:
a. larger than in the Eastern US
b. smaller than in the Eastern US
c. the same size as in the Eastern US
d. cannot determine from the information given
6. Sugar and High Fructose Corn Syrup (HFCS) are:
a. perfect substitutes
b. perfect complements
c. imperfect complements
d. imperfect substitutes
7. A pen and a pencil are:
a. substitutes
b. complements
c. unrelated
d. irreplaceable
8. Capital and labor are:
a. perfect complements
b. perfect substitutes
c. imperfect substitutes
d. unrelated
9. If the price of the input on the x -axis decreases, then the slope of the isocost line will:
a. become steeper
b. become less steep
c. shift out parallel
d. shift in parallel
10. Labor-intensive agricultural production practices are most likely to occur in:
a. Florida
b. Kansas
c. Texas
d. Sub-Saharan Africa


Plate 6.1 Optimal output selection.
Source: Jim Parkin/Shutterstock

## 6 Optimal output selection

## Synopsis

This chapter covers the intuition of profit maximization, and how this intuition can be used to improve both personal and professional decision making. Emphasis is on economic decision making, or comparing costs against benefits in all choices. The concepts discussed here include how an agribusiness firm selects outputs under continuously changing prices. The production possibilities frontier is defined and explained, as is the marginal rate of product substitution, and the isorevenue lines used to find the optimal output combination. The chapter concludes with a brief review of profit-maximization rules for input use, outputs, and input combination.

### 6.0 Introduction

Agriculture and the agricultural economy are changing rapidly as new technologies such as no-till production, Global Positioning Systems (GPS), sophisticated machinery, and biotechnology have been introduced and adopted by agricultural producers. With constant change, producers spend great amounts of time searching for the commodities that are best for their available resources. Agricultural producers and agribusinesses must be prepared to deal with rapid and large changes in relative prices. In the Midwestern Corn Belt states, large increases in corn and soybean acres have followed the biofuel-driven increases in the prices of these two crops since 2008.

Agribusinesses are also changing. As mergers and consolidations take place, large agribusiness corporations shift into new product lines, and sometimes abandon old ones. On farms and in factories, the decisions about which products to produce are made using a combination of technical and economic information. This chapter is devoted to understanding how firms, farm and non-farm, make decisions about which outputs to produce and sell.

### 6.1 The Production Possibilities Frontier (PPF)

Most firms can produce more than one output. Farm managers worldwide often must choose between several competing crops: wheat, corn, milo, soybeans, and hay. Animals, primarily beef, hogs, and chickens, are also alternative sources of income on some farms. Packing plants have numerous outputs that could be produced, depending on the relative profitability of each output. They could grind all of their meat into hamburger, or slice it into steaks. Most business firms that are able to produce any of several outputs require some guidance when making final decisions regarding which products bring the most economic benefit to the firm.

Relative prices continue as important variables in economic decisions. Other important variables include diversification and risk minimization. Firms and businesses will often make production choices based on reducing their exposure to risk, or relying too heavily on a single product. These need to be mentioned even though the main focus continues to be relative prices.

A Production Possibilities Frontier (PPF) describes a firm's possible combinations of outputs.

- Production Possibilities Frontier [PPF] = a curve depicting all possible combinations of two outputs that can be produced using a constant level of inputs.

A farmer-stockman in the Northern Great Plains provides an example of how managers make decisions regarding the optimal combination of outputs. Suppose farmer-stockmen can allocate their resources to the production of two outputs: wheat $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{1}\right)$ or cattle $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{2}\right)$. The production function or the technical relationship between inputs $(\mathrm{X})$ and outputs $(\mathrm{Y})$ is adaptable to include multiple outputs:

$$
\begin{equation*}
Y_{1}, Y_{2}=f\left(\mid X_{1}, X_{2}, X_{3}, \ldots, X_{N}\right) \tag{6.1}
\end{equation*}
$$

Here, all inputs are held fixed, and are used to produce two outputs, $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$ (wheat) and $\mathrm{Y}_{2}$ (cattle). The firm under consideration has fixed resources (K, L, A, and M). Variables listed to the right of the vertical line in equation 6.1 indicate that these variables are available in fixed quantities, "holding all else constant," or ceteris paribus.

## Quick Quiz 6.1

What are the four inputs $\mathrm{K}, \mathrm{L}, \mathrm{A}$, and M ? Name the four items that comprise capital.

The firm assumed in Figure 6.1 allocates these resources between the two outputs: raising cattle $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{2}\right)$ or growing wheat $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{1}\right)$. If the decision maker allocates all of the resources to cattle, then the firm produces all cattle and no wheat. If all of the resources go to wheat, the firm produces all wheat and no cattle. The firm can also select an intermediate point where some resources are devoted to each of the two possible products. Figure 6.1 shows all of the possible combinations of outputs that can be produced with a fixed level of inputs. The units for cattle are measured in hundredweight (cwt is the abbreviation of hundredweight, or one hundred pounds), and the units for wheat are bushels (bu).

Point A represents complete specialization in beef, and point C shows output when all productive resources are committed to wheat. Point B represents a situation that divides resource use between cattle and wheat production. Point $D$ is attainable by the firm, but such a combination of products is irrational, because it does not make use of all available resources. Points inside (below) the PPF are physically possible to achieve, but can be improved upon by selecting combinations of wheat and cattle located on the PPF. Point E is not physically attainable, given the fixed level of resource use, as it lies outside of the PPF.

## The shape of the production possibilities frontier

The Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns causes the PPF to be concave to the origin (bowed out). The reason is that the first unit of input used for either beef or wheat is the most productive. Adding more units of inputs causes the productivity level to decrease.


Figure 6.1 Production possibility frontier for a farmer-stockman.

Specialization of a firm's resources into what it does best allows the firm to use its best grazing acres to produce cattle and the best farmland to produce wheat. The PPF is concave to the origin because specialization allows the inputs to move to their most productive use. If the resources were not specialized, the PPF would be a straight line, since output could not be increased by specialization. Finding the profit-maximizing combination of output requires use of information contained in the PPF and information on the economic value of the two outputs (relative prices).

## Quick Quiz 6.2

Explain why economists emphasize relative prices.

If the level of inputs changes or technological change occurs, the PPF will shift. For example, if the farmer-stockman increased the number of acres in the farm, then the PPF would shift out and to the right, as shown in Figure 6.2. Technological change may also result in an outward shift of the PPF, since it is a change in the relationship between inputs and outputs. Technological change results in more output produced with the same level of inputs.

## Quick Quiz 6.3

What is another way of stating the impact of technological change?


Figure 6.2 The impact of technological change on the production possibility frontier.

Technological change in both cattle production and wheat production results in an outward shift in the PPF (Figure 6.2).

A shift in the PPF will also occur if technological change affects only one output. If a new variety of wheat comes from university wheat breeding programs, the PPF will shift out for wheat, but remain in place for cattle, as shown in Figure 6.3.


Figure 6.3 Technology change on one output of production possibility frontier.

With this type of technological change, the y-intercept remains the same, because if all of the firm's resources are devoted to the production of cattle, the total quantity produced will remain the same. If the resources are all devoted to wheat, however, more bushels of output will result from the same level of inputs. The technical change favored wheat and the PPF will shift to the right. The firm will be able to produce more of both outputs, since resources previously devoted to wheat will now become available for beef production. But how does the firm select the optimal, or profit-maximizing, combination of outputs? The rate of change in the PPF provides the key.

### 6.2 The Marginal Rate of Product Substitution (MRPS)

The slope of the PPF at any point reveals the rate of substitution between the two outputs at that point. This rate is the Marginal Rate of Product Substitution (MRPS). It represents the decrease in one output $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{1}\right)$ that must occur if the other output $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{2}\right)$ is to increase.

## Quick Quiz 6.4

Why must one output decrease if the other increases?

- Marginal Rate of Product Substitution [MRPS] = the rate at which one output must decrease as production of an other output is increased. The slope of the production possibilities frontier (PPF) defines the MRPS. MRPS $=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}$.

In the present case, the slope of the production possibilities frontier is the "rise over the run," or the change in cattle production required by the desired change in wheat production: $\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}$. The MRPS represents the physical tradeoff that the farmer-stockman must make when determining the optimal allocation of inputs between the two products.

Figure 6.4 extends the study of the concave-shaped PPF by calculating the MRPS at different points along the PPF for cattle and wheat.

The rate of substitution between outputs (MRPS) changes with movement along the Production Possibilities Frontier (PPF). When the PPF is concave to the origin, the MRPS is increasing in magnitude from left to right. Start at point A, the point of complete specialization in cattle. At this point, the resources available for cattle production yield five hundredweight (cwt) of cattle but no wheat. If the firm takes enough resources from cattle production to reduce cattle output by one unit (from 5 to 4 cwt ), cattle resources switch to wheat production. Figure 6.4 shows that the resources taken from cattle production will yield three bushels if used for wheat. The MRPS, or the slope of the PPF, measures this movement out of cattle and into wheat:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{MRPS}(\mathrm{AB})=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}=(4-5) /(3-0)=-1 / 3 . \tag{6.2}
\end{equation*}
$$

The first inputs used in wheat production are the most productive. As the firm adds more inputs, productivity per unit of resource declines. As cattle production is reduced one more unit from four bushels to three bushels, wheat production increases, but not as much as it did between points A and B . Using the MRPS as a measure, the move from B to C shows:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{MRPS}(\mathrm{BC})=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}=(3-4) /(4-3)=-1 \tag{6.3}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 6.4 Production possibility frontier for a farmer-stockman.

The absolute value of the MRPS has increased from one-third to one, reflecting decreasing returns. As the firm continues to switch resources from cattle to wheat, the productivity continues to decline:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{MRPS}(C D)=\Delta Y_{2} / \Delta Y_{1}=(0-3) /(5-4)=-3 . \tag{6.4}
\end{equation*}
$$

The MRPS increases when the production functions are subject to decreasing returns. In all economic situations, inputs will be subject to decreasing returns, resulting in a PPF that is concave to the origin. Remember, though, that the PPF derives from the production functions of the two outputs. The shape of the PPF and its slope (MRPS) depend on the production function, or the physical relationship between inputs and outputs $[Y=f(X)]$. With the physical production possibilities in place and understood, attention turns to the economic relationships that determine the profit-maximizing combination of outputs.

### 6.3 The isorevenue line

To complete the firm's search for the profit-maximizing combination of outputs requires combining the physical production information in the PPF with the economic information in the relative prices. Market price information allows a firm to select the optimal combination of output. Relative prices provide the firm with information about the value of producing a good. In the farmer-stockman example, the firm is interested in allocating inputs between cattle and wheat: how many cattle to raise, and how much wheat to grow. The firm can determine this by looking at the revenue earned from the production and sale of beef and grain. An Isorevenue Line provides the revenue information in the same way that the isocost line helped with cost information in Chapter 5.

- Isorevenue Line = a line depicting all combinations of two outputs that will generate a constant level of total revenue.

An isorevenue line for the farmer-stockman can be graphed using assumptions about the price of wheat [ $\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}\right)$ is $\left.\$ 100 / \mathrm{bu}\right]$, and the price of cattle $\left[\left(\mathrm{P}_{2}\right)\right.$ is $\left.\$ 50 / \mathrm{cwt}\right]$. Recall the definition of total revenue (TR):

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{Y}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{2} \mathrm{Y}_{2}  \tag{6.5}\\
& \mathrm{TR}=100^{*} \mathrm{Y}_{1}+50^{*} \mathrm{Y}_{2} \tag{6.6}
\end{align*}
$$

To illustrate a specific isorevenue line, let $\mathrm{TR}=\$ 500$. Figure 6.5 shows an isorevenue line. As in the case of the isocost line, there are an infinite number of isorevenue lines, one for each dollar value of total revenue. The isorevenue line is shown using mathematics to find the profit-maximizing level of output. The algebraic equation $(y=b+m x)$ for the isorevenue line derives from the definition of total revenue:

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{Y}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{2} \mathrm{Y}_{2},  \tag{6.7}\\
& \mathrm{P}_{2} \mathrm{Y}_{2}=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{Y}_{1}  \tag{6.8}\\
& \mathrm{Y}_{2}=\mathrm{TR} / \mathrm{P}_{2}+\left(-\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}\right) * \mathrm{Y}_{1} . \tag{6.9}
\end{align*}
$$

Equation (6.9) shows that the $y$-intercept is equal to $T R / P_{2}$. The $y$-intercept of an isorevenue line is the situation where all of the revenue comes from the good on the $y$-axis (cattle in Figure 6.5). In this situation, no wheat is sold, so $Y_{1}=0$, and $T R=P_{2} Y_{2}$. Given this, it can be shown that the quantity of cattle sold is $Y_{2}=T R / P_{2}$. The slope of the isorevenue line


Figure 6.5 Isorevenue line for a farmer-stockman.
represents relative prices, and is equal to the price ratio $\left(-P_{1} / P_{2}\right)$. The slope of the isorevenue line contains all of the economic information that the firm needs to choose the profit-maximizing combination of outputs.

## Quick Quiz 6.5

The derivation of the equation of the isorevenue line is similar to the derivation for the isocost line. Derive the algebraic equation for the isocost line.

To complete the firm's search for the profit-maximizing combination of goods requires combining the physical production information in the PPF with the economic information in the relative prices.

### 6.4 The optimal output combination

To maximize profits, the firm will want to reach the highest isorevenue line possible, consistent with the technical information from the PPF and the relative price information summarized in the isorevenue line. Since higher levels of revenue appear on lines to the northeast, the profit-maximizing firm will locate on the isorevenue line that is tangent to the PPF, represented by point E in Figure 6.6.

This point of tangency shows where the slope of the PPF (the MRPS) is equal to the slope of the isorevenue line (the price ratio). Point E is an equilibrium point for the firm; the firm can do no better than point E given current prices and the current stage of technology.

## Quick Quiz 6.6

Why is point E an equilibrium point for the firm?


Figure 6.6 Optimal output combination.

The profit-maximizing rule for optimal output selection is to set the MRPS equal to the slope of the isorevenue line, or the output price ratio:
MRPS = slope of isorevenue line,

$$
\begin{align*}
& \Delta Y_{2} / \Delta Y_{1}=-P_{1} / P_{2},  \tag{6.11}\\
& \Delta Y_{2} * P_{2}=-\Delta Y_{1} * P_{1} . \tag{6.12}
\end{align*}
$$

This is a familiar result. The firm's manager should shift resources toward the output with the highest revenue. Intuition alone is sufficient to indicate that the firm loses its hold on equilibrium as soon as it moves away from this point. The strategy to maximize profits is to employ resources in the output that generates the highest returns.

If $\Delta Y_{2} * P_{2}>-\Delta Y_{1} * P_{1}$, then the firm should move out of $Y_{1}$ and into $Y_{2}$,
and
if $\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} * \mathrm{P}_{2}<-\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1} * \mathrm{P}_{1}$, then the firm should move out of $\mathrm{Y}_{2}$ and into $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$.

The graph in Figure 6.7 demonstrates this position. Point A is a feasible point of production, since it lies on the PPF. However, the point is not a profit-maximizing point for the firm, since higher revenue is available at point E . To see this, note that at point A , the slope of the isorevenue line is steeper than the slope of the PPF (the MRPS). The following relationship holds at point A:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{MRPS}(\mathrm{A})<\text { the price ratio, } \tag{6.13}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 6.7 Locating the profit-maximizing point.

$$
\begin{align*}
& \Delta Y_{2} / \Delta Y_{1}<-P_{1} / P_{2}  \tag{6.14}\\
& \Delta Y_{2} * P_{2}<-\Delta Y_{1} * P_{1} . \tag{6.15}
\end{align*}
$$

The profitable strategy for this firm is to reduce the inputs devoted to $Y_{2}$, and shift them to the production of $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$. At point A , the revenue associated with good $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$ is higher than the revenue earned from the production and sale of $\mathrm{Y}_{2}$.

The firm will continue to shift resources out of $Y_{2}$ and into $Y_{1}$ until it reaches the equilibrium point E . At E , the firm cannot earn higher revenue from the production of the two goods: E is an optimal, profit-maximizing point. If the price of one output changes, the price ratio will shift, and the isorevenue lines will have a different slope. The firm will then shift resources between outputs until it reaches the new equilibrium.

### 6.5 Price changes and the optimal output combination

Relative prices allocate resources in a market economy.

## Quick Quiz 6.7

What are the three types of economic organization? How does each allocate resources?

In the past several years, the price of corn has increased relative to the price of other grains. This has caused a major shift of agricultural land use in the United States. Land has moved out of wheat, soybeans, milo, and cotton production and into the production of corn. The production possibilities frontier in Figure 6.8 shows how grain producers have shifted resources from wheat to corn in response to the change in relative prices.


Plate 6.2 Corn and ethanol.
Source: Jim Barber/Shutterstock


Figure 6.8 Locating the profit-maximizing point between wheat and corn.
At point A, grain farmers will produce $\mathrm{Y}_{1}{ }^{*}$ bushels of wheat and $\mathrm{Y}_{2}{ }^{*}$ bushels of corn. The initial prices of wheat $\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}\right)$ and corn $\left(\mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$ define the slope of the isorevenue line $\left(-\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$. When the relative price of corn increases, the denominator of the price ratio increases, resulting in a decrease in the slope of the isorevenue line. Point A becomes less profitable after the price change.

Box 6.1 Biofuels
A biofuel is a type of fuel whose energy is derived from biological carbon fixation. Biofuels have become increasingly popular in recent years, because of higher oil prices, the desire for energy independence, concern over greenhouse gas emissions from fossil fuels, and support from government subsidies.

Bioethanol is an alcohol made by fermentation, mostly from carbohydrates produced in sugar or starch crops such as corn or sugarcane. Cellulosic biomass, derived from non-food sources such as trees and grasses, is also being developed as a feedstock for ethanol production. In its pure form ethanol can be used as a fuel for vehicles, but it is usually used as a gasoline additive to increase octane and reduce the volume of harmful vehicle emissions. Bioethanol is widely used in the US and in Brazil.

Biodiesel is made from vegetable oils and animal fats. Biodiesel in its pure form can be used as a fuel for vehicles but it is usually used as a diesel additive to reduce
levels of particulates, carbon monoxide, and hydrocarbons from diesel-powered vehicles. Biodiesel is produced from oils or fats and is the most common biofuel in Europe.

Source: Demirbas, A. (2009). "Political, Economic and Environmental Impacts of Biofuels: A Review." Applied Energy 86: S108-S117. doi:10.1016/j.apenergy.2009.04.036.

Grain producers relocate to point B by shifting resources out of wheat and into corn. This is what has happened in the past few years due to biofuels. Corn and soybean acres are at an all-time high, and there has been a reduction in acres planted to wheat! Economic theory has done a good job of explaining this shift in the outputs in many grain-producing areas.

### 6.6 Review of profit-maximization rules

The first six chapters of this book have outlined profit-maximizing and cost-minimizing rules for the optimal use of inputs and the optimal combinations of outputs. There is a striking symmetry between the profit-maximizing and cost-minimizing rules developed for use by a business firm. This brief section reviews the profit-maximizing rules for:

1. The optimal level of input use (Chapter 4),
2. The optimal level of output (Chapter 4),
3. The optimal input combination (Chapter 5), and
4. The optimal output combination (Chapter 6).

## Rule for optimal input use

To maximize profits by selecting the proper level of input use, set the marginal benefits (the marginal revenue product $=$ MRP) equal to the marginal costs (the marginal factor cost $=$ MFC). Recall the definitions: MRP $=\mathrm{MPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$, and $\mathrm{MPP}=\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X}$.

$$
\begin{align*}
& M R P=M F C  \tag{6.16}\\
& M P P * P_{Y}=P_{X}  \tag{6.17}\\
& (\Delta Y / \Delta X) * P_{Y}=P_{X}  \tag{6.18}\\
& \Delta Y * P_{Y}=\Delta X * P_{X} \tag{6.19}
\end{align*}
$$

The profit-maximizing rule states that the firm manager should continue to use an input until the additional benefits of using the input to produce and sell a good $\left(\Delta \mathrm{Y}^{*} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}\right)$ are equal to the additional costs of employing the unit of input $\left(\Delta \mathrm{X}^{*} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}\right)$.

## Rule for optimal output production

To maximize profits by selecting the level of output, set the marginal benefits (the marginal revenue $=M R$ ) equal to the marginal costs $(=\mathrm{MC})$. Next, recall the definitions: $\mathrm{MC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$, and $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$, assuming a competitive industry. Total costs are the input price times the quantity of input utilized ( $\mathrm{TC}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}{ }^{*} \mathrm{X}$ ).

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}  \tag{6.20}\\
& \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}  \tag{6.21}\\
& \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\Delta\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}} * \mathrm{X}\right) / \Delta \mathrm{Y}  \tag{6.22}\\
& \Delta \mathrm{Y} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}=\Delta \mathrm{X} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}} \tag{6.23}
\end{align*}
$$

The profit-maximizing rule states that the firm manager should increase output until the additional benefits of production $\left(\Delta \mathrm{Y} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}\right)$ are equal to the additional costs of producing one more unit of output $\left(\Delta X * P_{X}\right)$. Compare this result with that for the optimal level of input rule above.

## Rule for optimal input combination

To minimize costs by selecting the optimal combination of inputs, the firm manager will set the slope of the isoquant (MRTS) equal to the slope of the isocost line (the price ratio). Recall the definition: MRTS $=\Delta \mathrm{X}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}$.

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { MRTS }=\text { slope of isocost line }  \tag{6.24}\\
& \text { MRTS }=-\mathbf{P}_{1} / P_{2}  \tag{6.25}\\
& \Delta \mathbf{X}_{2} / \Delta X_{1}=-P_{1} / P_{2}  \tag{6.26}\\
& -\Delta \mathbf{X}_{2} * P_{2}=\Delta X_{1} * P_{1} \tag{6.27}
\end{align*}
$$

The cost-minimizing rule states that the firm manager should purchase inputs until the additional expenditures on each input are equal.

## Rule for optimal output combination

To maximize profits by selecting the optimal combination of outputs, the firm manager will set the slope of the production possibility frontier (MRPS) equal to the slope of the isorevenue line (the price ratio). Next, recall the definition: MRPS $=\Delta \mathrm{X}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}$.

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { MRPS }=\text { slope of isorevenue line }  \tag{6.28}\\
& \text { MRPS }=-P_{1} / P_{2}  \tag{6.29}\\
& \Delta Y_{2} / \Delta Y_{1}=-P_{1} / P_{2}  \tag{6.30}\\
& -\Delta Y_{2} * P_{2}=\Delta Y_{1} * P_{1} \tag{6.31}
\end{align*}
$$

The profit-maximizing rule states that the firm manager should produce output until the additional revenues from each output are equal.

## Thinking like an economist

Relative prices drive all economic decision making: firms determine what to produce, how to produce, and what quantity to produce based on relative prices. The main idea behind thinking like an economist is to weigh the benefits and costs of every activity. If the benefits outweigh the costs, then the activity should be undertaken. This holds true for all aspects of production, as shown in Chapters 2 through 6. The next chapter shifts the focus from producers to consumers. Consumers make economic choices in much the same way that producers do: a consumer will buy a good if the benefits outweigh the costs.

### 6.7 Summary

1. The Production Possibilities Frontier (PPF) is a curve that represents all combinations of two outputs that can be produced with a constant level of inputs.
2. The production possibilities frontier is concave to the origin due to the Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns.
3. Technological change results in an outward shift in the production possibilities frontier.
4. The Marginal Rate of Product Substitution (MRPS) is the rate of decrease required in one output in order for the output of another product to be increased. It is also the slope of the production possibilities frontier.
5. An isorevenue line depicts all combinations of the two outputs that generate a constant level of total revenue.
6. To find the revenue-maximizing combination of outputs, a firm will reach the highest isorevenue line possible by locating at the tangency between the production possibilities frontier and the isorevenue line.
7. Relative price changes result in shifts in the isorevenue line and a reallocation of resources.

### 6.8 Glossary

Isorevenue Line. A line showing all combinations of two outputs that will generate a constant level of total revenue.
Marginal Rate of Product Substitution [MRPS]. The rate at which one output must decrease as production of another output is increased. The slope of the production possibilities frontier (PPF) defines the MRPS. MRPS $=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}$.
Production Possibilities Frontier [PPF]. A curve depicting all possible combinations of two outputs that can be produced using a constant level of inputs.

### 6.9 Review questions

1. The production possibilities frontier shows:
a. all combinations of two inputs that can produce a constant level of output
b. all combinations of two outputs that can be produced with a constant level of inputs
c. all levels of one output that can be produced with varying levels of inputs
d. an isoquant
2. A point located inside the PPF is:
a. efficient and attainable
b. efficient but not attainable
c. not efficient but attainable
d. neither efficient nor attainable
3. A point located outside of the PPF is:
a. efficient and attainable
b. efficient but not attainable
c. not efficient but attainable
d. neither efficient nor attainable
4. The Marginal Rate of Product Substitution refers to:
a. the physical tradeoff between inputs
b. the physical tradeoff between outputs
c. the economic tradeoff between inputs
d. the economic tradeoff between outputs
5. The MRPS is:
a. constant along the PPF
b. increasing in absolute value along the PPF
c. decreasing in absolute value along the PPF
d. increasing or decreasing, depending on if there is increasing or decreasing returns
6. The slope of the PPF is due to:
a. the isoquant
b. relative prices
c. the production functions of the two outputs
d. the cost of inputs
7. The isorevenue line is derived from:
a. the isoquant
b. relative prices
c. the production functions of the two outputs
d. the cost of inputs
8. The profit-maximizing combination of outputs can be found at the tangency of:
a. the PPF and the isorevenue line
b. the PPF and the isocost line
c. the isocost and isoquant lines
d. the isoquant and isorevenue lines


Plate 7.1 Consumer choices.
Source: Studio online/Shutterstock

## 7 Consumer choices

## Synopsis

In a market economy, consumers are the driving force behind all production decisions, since successful business firms "give consumers what they want." This chapter enhances the understanding of how consumers decide what to purchase. Economists consider consumers to be rational, or purposeful and consistent. This assumption allows economists to predict and explain consumer choices. In particular, they are able to make strong predictions about how consumers respond to changes in income and relative prices. The Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility explains why consumers prefer variety. Realworld examples include meat consumption in the US and China, and the Diamond-Water Paradox.

### 7.0 Introduction

The circular flow diagram in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1) summarized an economy composed of two groups: producers and consumers. The next several chapters of this book explained the profit-maximizing behavior of producers. Very little was said about consumers. That leaves the question, "What role do consumers play in a market economy?" Consumers spend their incomes on the goods and services produced by firms. In a market economy, consumers are the driving force behind all production decisions, since producers will give consumers what they want by responding to relative prices. This chapter explains the behavior of consumers, and the following chapters explain the interactions between producers and consumers in domestic and international markets. The lessons begin with a study of rational behavior: the consumers' counterpart of profit maximization.

### 7.1 Rational behavior

Economic logic assumes that all human behavior is purposeful and consistent. The term Rational Behavior in economics is different from the dictionary definition of the term. The dictionary definition states that an individual's rational behavior is "fully competent, or sane." In economics, rational means that individuals do the best they can, given the constraints they face. Rational behavior is purposeful and consistent.

- Rational Behavior = individuals do the best that they can, given the constraints they face. Rational behavior is purposeful and consistent.

Suppose that students seeking a good grade were to skip class in order to play a video game. Is this rational? It would be hard to claim this as, "rational," using the dictionary definition of the word, since it is counter to the objective of the students to perform well. However, according to the economic definition, this behavior would be rational if the benefits of the activity outweighed the costs. Any behavior is considered to be rational, as long as its benefits outweigh its costs.

Another way to think about rational behavior is that individuals do the best that they can, given the constraints that they face. Consumers maximize their own happiness given a budget. For example, a college professor gets a paycheck twice a month, and uses the income to purchase food, clothes, housing, water, electricity, toothpaste, etc., as long as each purchase adds to her satisfaction. In this way, consumers maximize their satisfaction given a budget constraint. Notice the similarities with how economists describe producer behavior: producers maximize profits given input and output prices, and technology. Casting the consumers' problems in the same terms, all individuals (consumers) do the best that they can by maximizing satisfaction, given the constraints that they face: income and prices.

The study of consumer behavior begins with consumers who have preferences for some goods over others. Examples are everywhere. Which is preferred:

- Pizza or cheeseburgers?
- Wranglers or Levis?
- McDonald's or Burger King?
- Hamburgers or sushi?
- White bread or wheat bread?
- House in the country or high-rise apartment?
- Mercedes or Kia?
- Fur stole or wool coat?
- Small liberal arts college or large state university?

Box 7.1 Behavioral economics

Economics as a social science assumes that all economic decision making is "rational." Behavioral Economics integrates irrational, emotional, and psychological aspects into models of decision making and market outcomes. This approach allows for human behavior to be subject to emotion, error, poor judgment, inconsistency, and lack of knowledge. Behavioral models of individual and institutional behavior typically include insights from psychology in economic models.

This tradition has a long history, including Adam Smith's 1759 work, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, which included psychological explanations of individual behavior and the nature of morality and ethics. Behavioral economics highlights the use of heuristics, or simple rules of thumb, in decision making, rather than strict logic. The field also emphasizes how decision makers "frame" their choices based on past experience and emotion. The behavioral approach also emphasizes inefficiencies and anomalies that arise from non-rational behavior.

Behavioral economics has been controversial, since some behavioral economists focus on the divergence between the rationality assumption of standard economics and the non-rational assumptions of the behavioral approach. However, social scientists are in search of the truth, and the insights from the behavioral approach can advance our understanding of individual decision making and market outcomes. Simplifying assumptions in science are not meant to be factual, but rather a method of organizing our thoughts about the complex real world. The objective of science is to explain and predict. If a new model or new approach can make better, more useful, explanations and predictions, then it will be adopted and integrated into a field such as economics.

Source: "Behavioral Economics." The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics Online (2008).

Consumer choices about what goods to buy depend on these preferences and the relative prices of goods and services. The benefits of consuming a good come from the satisfaction that comes from consuming it. The costs of consuming a good are the total monetary and non-monetary costs of obtaining the good: the price plus such things as the time costs associated with the purchase of the good (having to drive to Walmart, locate the good, and then stand in line to pay for it, etc.). A consumer will purchase a good if the benefits, or the gains in satisfaction, are greater than the costs of obtaining it.

This way of thinking provides simple information for firms that desire to maximize profits. Therefore, manufacturers and merchants rely on consumers so they must always:

- Pay attention to what consumers want, since consumer preferences determine what they buy, and
- Pay attention to prices, since consumer decisions stem from relative prices.

Therefore, successful, profitable firms are the ones that do the best job of providing consumers with what they want. The next section relates to the formation of consumer preferences.

### 7.2 Utility

The specialized language of economics makes broad use of the word "utility." It means much more than just usefulness. It takes on a meaning of satisfaction, or happiness, or fulfillment. If an object has utility in an economic sense, then it is bringing some kind of reward to its owner or the person who is using it. Food has utility because it keeps people alive. A football game has utility because it entertains the spectators. Social friends have utility because they are there to help or to be helped. In language that is more straightforward:

- Utility $=$ satisfaction derived from consuming a good.

Utility is a concept applicable to all goods and services, whether or not they move through markets. Consumers increase their utility by purchasing new CDs, clothes, appendectomies, houses, vacations, or trucks. Utility can also come from nonmarket goods or
experiences: babies, singing in a choir, love, gossiping with the neighbor, or watching the sunset. What is it that gives babies, singing, and gossiping the capacity to confer "utility?" The next section is devoted to answering that question.

## Cardinal and ordinal utility

About 200 years ago, Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and a number of other economists struggled to find a way to measure utility. They tried to assign an actual numerical value to the amount of satisfaction that each good or service produced and conferred on its user. These economists developed a hypothetical unit, called a "util," to measure consumers' levels of happiness, or satisfaction.

- Utils = hypothetical units of satisfaction derived from consumption of goods or services.

Assigning quantitative measures to levels of satisfaction yields a measure called Cardinal Utility.

- Cardinal Utility $=$ assigns specific, but hypothetical, numerical values to the level of satisfaction gained from the consumption of a good. The unit of measurement is the hypothetical util.

Recall that cardinal numbers are the simple numbers used for counting: $1,2,3, \ldots, 10,14,19$, etc. These early economists and other social scientists tried to develop the util as a measure of satisfaction assignable to each good. Their list might include:

- $\quad$ Apple $=20$ utils
- Orange $=10$ utils
- Hamburger $=50$ utils
- Beethoven symphony download $=100$ utils
- New clothes $=200$ utils
- New automobile $=40,000$ utils.

These early scientists and scholars soon found that assigning utils was impossible. People cannot assign a meaningful value to the level of satisfaction because the measures of satisfaction differ between individuals, and are not observable. Since science requires accurate and measurable observation, the early scholars concluded that they could not use cardinal utility measures to quantify an individual's feelings or level of satisfaction. Once economists and others realized that measuring utility was impossible, they turned attention to Ordinal Utility, or ranking goods in order of preference (A is preferred to B, B is preferred to C, C is preferred to D, etc.). Ordinal utility replaced the earlier concept of cardinal utility.

- Ordinal Utility $=$ a way of considering consumer satisfaction in which goods are ranked in order of preference: first, second, third, etc.

Ordinal preferences do not depend on specific numbers or values. Instead, the rankings of goods and services with respect to the satisfaction they provide relative to other goods allow economists to observe consumers and develop principles of human behavior to help
understand consumer choices. Cardinal utility continues to provide examples of how consumer behavior works, as shown in the next section.

## Positive and normative economics

Recall from Chapter 1 that economists do not make value judgments about the utility (satisfaction) that consumers derive from goods. Whatever it is that consumers desire, economists take as factual without bringing their own preferences or opinions to bear on the situation. Economists make no normative statements about what consumers desire to buy.

## Quick Quiz 7.1

Define, explain, and compare positive and normative economics.

## Quick Quiz 7.1a

You are an economist assigned to study the price of soybeans. Will you use positive methods or normative methods?

## Quick Quiz 7.1b

You are an economist assigned to study consumer preferences for soybeans. Will you use positive methods or normative methods?

## Utility, total utility, and marginal utility

Economists use the term Utility to refer to the amount of satisfaction that a consumer receives from the consumption of a good. In this use, the utility of a good stems from answers to questions such as, "How much satisfaction (utility) did you get from consuming those strawberries?" Marginal Utility (MU) is the additional amount of satisfaction gained from consuming one more unit of a good and Total Utility (TU) is the cumulative satisfaction received from the entire collection of the good or service, in this case strawberries.

- Marginal Utility $[\mathbf{M U}]=$ the change in the level of utility when consumption of a good is increased by one unit. $\mathrm{MU}=\Delta \mathrm{TU} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.
- Total Utility [TUJ = the total level of satisfaction derived from consuming a given bundle of goods and services.

Applying these concepts to a hypothetical example of consumer behavior enhances understanding. The example here is drinking bottles of cold water after a long, hot day of work. In this case, one major prediction regarding consumer behavior is that "first is best." The first unit of a good consumed yields the most satisfaction. The second unit is less satisfying. Additional satisfaction, or utility, comes from each unit consumed, but typically, the amount of satisfaction from each successive bottle of water diminishes.

To demonstrate this idea, consider the relationship between the quantity of a good consumed (Y) and the satisfaction derived from consuming it. Think of picking peaches in California's Sacramento Valley. Suppose that you have worked all day and are hot, tired,
and thirsty (picking tree fruits is hard and dirty work most often done in the heat of the summer). The orchard owner brings the picking crew a large cooler filled with bottles of cold drinking water. Table 7.1 summarizes the satisfaction that you receive from drinking the water at the end of the hot day of hard work. Cardinal utility forms the basis for developing a numerical example of how consumers make decisions.

## Quick Quiz 7.2

Define and explain the concepts of cardinal and ordinal utility.

Table 7.1 Total and marginal utility derived from drinking cold water on a hot day

| $Y=$ Quantity <br> Consumed (bottles) |
| :--- |$\quad T U=$ Total Utility (utils) $\quad M U=$ Marginal Utility (utils/bottle) Consumed (bottles)


| 0 | 0 | - |
| :--- | ---: | :---: |
| 1 | 10 | 10 |
| 2 | 16 | 6 |
| 3 | 19 | 3 |
| 4 | 20 | 1 |
| 5 | 20 | 0 |
| 6 | 18 | -2 |

Box 7.2 California agriculture
California agriculture is truly amazing. The state has a larger and more diverse farm sector than any of the other states. In 2010, California farms had cash receipts equal to USD 37.5 billion. The state accounted for 16 percent of national receipts for crops, and 7 percent of the US revenue for livestock and livestock products. Over 400 different commodities are grown in California, including olives, honey, pecans, pistachios, avocados, Christmas trees, wool, wheat, figs, artichokes, corn, and cotton. The state produces nearly half of US-grown fruits, nuts, and vegetables. Nine of the nation's top ten producing counties are in California. The top five California commodities are: (1) milk and cream, (2) grapes, (3) almonds, (4) nursery products, and (5) cattle and calves.

Johnston and McCalla, economists at the University of California at Davis, identified seven major forces driving California agriculture: (1) producers in California serve high-value and emerging markets, mostly distant and foreign, (2) California agriculture is highly dependent on land and water resources, (3) California agriculture is characterized by the absence of water in the right place, providing the incentive to irrigate, (4) California agriculture has always depended on a large supply of agricultural field labor from Asia and the Americas, (5) California agriculture has grown rapidly and almost continuously, although it has been periodically buffeted by natural
catastrophes such as floods and droughts, and economic shocks such as the Great Depression, and various recessions, (6) California agriculture requires high levels of management skills-both technical and economic; it has always been dominated by large-scale operations that have grown in complexity and sophistication, and (7) agriculture in California has always been on the technological frontier in developing, modifying, or "borrowing" new technologies, such as large-scale mechanical technology, irrigation equipment, horticulture/plant varieties, pest control, food processing, and wine making.
Sources: USDA/NASS Statistics by State, California Ag Statistics, 2010. US Census Bureau. Census of Agriculture. 2007.
Johnston, Warren E., and McCalla, Alex F. (2004). "Whither California Agriculture: Up, Down or Out? Some Thoughts about the Future." Giannini Foundation Special Report 04-1.

The first bottle of water brings great satisfaction: 10 utils. The second bottle brings additional satisfaction, since the total utility increased to 16 utils. However, the additional satisfaction gained from the second bottle is lower: the marginal utility is six additional utils gained from the consumption of the second bottle. This makes perfect sense: the first bottle is the most satisfying. In keeping with earlier notation, the variable Y denotes the total output of a firm and the output is now being consumed.

Looking at the rate of change in total utility ( $\mathrm{MU}=\Delta \mathrm{TU} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$ ) allows calculation of the marginal utility. The move from no bottles to one bottle changes TU from zero to 10 utils $(\Delta \mathrm{TU}=(10-0)=10)$, and the change in quantity consumed is equal to one util $(\Delta \mathrm{Y}=(1-0)$ $=1$ ). Thus, the marginal utility at this level of consumption is equal to 10 utils/bottle: $\mathrm{MU}=\Delta \mathrm{TU} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}=10 / 1=10$.

As more bottles are consumed, total utility increases, but at a decreasing rate. This is due to the consumer's increasing level of satisfaction. The fifth bottle does not provide any additional satisfaction, so the consumer is fully satisfied and indifferent between drinking the bottle or not.

## Quick Quiz 7.3

Have you ever had enough water so that when you are asked if you would like another bottle, you say, "I could take it or leave it?" Use economic terminology to describe this situation.

Something interesting occurs with consumption of the sixth drink. It moves the consumer past the point of indifference to one of dissatisfaction. Table 7.1 shows this where the marginal, or additional, satisfaction becomes negative. The sixth bottle makes the consumer feel worse than if he or she did not drink it at all. Remember that a rational consumer would never undertake any activity in which the costs outweigh the benefits, so the rational consumer in the example would not accept the sixth bottle of water.


Plate 7.2 Bottled water.
Source: Picsfive/Shutterstock

## Quick Quiz 7.4

Would anyone ever be irrational enough to drink more than the utility-maximizing level of bottles of water, or any other beverage?

Graphs of the TU and MU functions look similar to, and have some of the same characteristics as some of the graphs used in earlier chapters. Since the MU represents the rate of change in TU, it also represents the slope of the TU function (recall that the slope of any function is "rise over run," or $m=\Delta y / \Delta x$ ).

## Quick Quiz 7.5

Explain why TU and MU are drawn on separate graphs.


Figure 7.1 Total utility from consuming water on a hot day.


Figure 7.2 Marginal utility from consuming water on a hot day.

Figure 7.1 shows that as consumption of water increases, the level of utility (satisfaction) increases, but at a diminishing rate. In the example, the consumer becomes satiated at five bottles; any additional consumption of water will result in a decrease in total utility. The marginal utility graph in Figure 7.2 shows the additional utility gained from the consumption of one more bottle of water. Marginal utility decreases with additional consumption of the good. This decreasing rate of marginal utility is the topic of the next section.

### 7.3 The Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility

The previous section showed that as the consumption of water increases, marginal utility decreases. Each additional unit consumed gives the consumer less additional utility than the one before. This does not mean that total utility declines: four is preferred to three; more is better than less. However, more is better than less at a declining rate. At some point, the consumer can consume too much of a good: water becomes a noneconomic good at the
point where its marginal utility becomes negative. This pattern of consumer utility is pervasive; so pervasive that economists have referred to it as a "law."

- Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility = marginal utility declines as more of a good or service is consumed during a given time period.

There is no actual proof of this; it is just intuition that appears to be so widespread that it is called a "law." This law is powerful enough to explain a great deal about the way consumers behave. The law of diminishing marginal utility implies that consumers will not spend all of their income on one good, because the marginal utility of continuing to buy the same good declines. Instead, consumers use their money to buy a variety of goods.

### 7.4 Indifference curves

Understanding consumer behavior requires considering the properties of consumer preferences. As in earlier cases, understanding consumer behavior requires several assumptions. The assumptions simplify the real world to provide greater understanding of consumer choices. The major assumptions associated with the study of consumer behavior include:

- Assumption \#1. Preferences for goods and services are complete.

When given any two goods, a consumer can determine if he or she prefers A to $\mathrm{B}, \mathrm{B}$ to A , or is indifferent between A and B. Let the symbol, " $\succ$ " mean "is preferred to," and the symbol, " $\prec$ " mean, "is less preferred to," and the symbol, " $\sim$ " mean, "is indifferent to." Completeness of preferences requires that for any two goods, A and B , the consumer can tell if:

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{A} \succ \mathrm{~B}(\mathrm{~A} \text { is preferred to } \mathrm{B}),  \tag{7.1a}\\
& \mathrm{B} \succ \mathrm{~A}(\mathrm{~B} \text { is preferred to } \mathrm{A}), \text { or } \tag{7.1b}
\end{align*}
$$

$\mathrm{A} \sim \mathrm{B}$ (the consumer is indifferent between A and B$).$
Complete preferences allow economists to study all goods, since the consumer is able to rank how any good compares to all other goods in the generation of utility.

## - Assumption \#2. Consumers are consistent.

Using the same notation as above, consistency of preferences means that:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\text { If } \mathrm{A} \succ \mathrm{~B} \text { and } \mathrm{B} \succ \mathrm{C} \text {, then } \mathrm{A} \succ \mathrm{C} \text {. } \tag{7.2}
\end{equation*}
$$

"Transitive preferences," or simply "transitivity," means that consumers do not change their preferences haphazardly. Economists assume that consumer behavior is purposeful and consistent, so purchases must be consistent. This can be a difficult assumption in the real world since the transitivity among a few goods, or the entire universe of goods, applies only in one place, time, and context.

Consumer behavior is complicated, and known to be quite changeable. A quick look at selecting which political candidate to support helps make this point. One voter may choose the Democratic candidate until the Republican candidate makes a series of promises that are attractive to the voter. Two problems arise. First, if one candidate makes new promises, is the voter still comparing the same two goods? Second, the transitivity requirement must hold for only a brief moment. The result of these problems places boundaries around the notion of indifference. Nonetheless, it is an important attribute needed for the study of consumer preferences to move ahead.

## - Assumption \#3. Nonsatiation: More is preferred to less.

Consumers can never have enough! This assumption states that a consumer will always want more of a good. It states that a consumer will never consume "too much" of a good, and reach the point where marginal utility becomes negative.

These three assumptions are basic to models about consumer preferences. The objective of developing such models is to explain and then to predict consumer behavior. Relative prices drive a market economy. This simple notion received much attention in earlier chapters. It should not be surprising that consumer behavior must respond to the same rigorous questions: "What happens when prices change?"

## Consumer responses to relative price changes

Suppose that freezing weather in Florida kills a significant fraction of the nation's citrus fruit crop. The frost results in reduced supplies of citrus fruit and the prices of oranges, grapefruit, lemons, and limes increase accordingly. How will consumers respond to the increase in the price of citrus fruit?


Plate 7.3 Florida oranges.
Source: Devi/Shutterstock

Box 7.3 Florida oranges
Florida is a major agricultural state, and ranks first in the United States in the value of production of oranges, grapefruit, tangerines, sugarcane for sugar and seed, squash, watermelons, sweet corn, fresh-market snap beans, fresh-market tomatoes, and freshmarket cucumbers. In 2007-08 Florida, with its 65 million orange trees, accounted for 70 percent of total US citrus production. California produced 27 percent of US citrus, and Texas and Arizona produced the remaining 3 percent. In 2007, Florida had over 5500 commercial orange farms, utilizing approximately 560,000 acres. In the United States, 90 percent of the orange juice consumed is from Florida oranges.

Globally, orange production is greatest in Brazil, the US, and Mexico, while China produces mandarins and India grows lemons and limes. The first citrus seeds planted and cultivated in the New World were under the supervision of Christopher Columbus in what is now Haiti in 1493. Oranges with their high level of Vitamin C helped prevent scurvy in sailors during long sea voyages.

Sources: USDA/NASS Statistics by State, Florida Ag Statistics, 2010.
US Census Bureau. Census of Agriculture. 2007.

Economists assume that consumers maximize their own utility, subject to a budget constraint. This is a serious assumption, since consumers of all ages and stations in life are constantly buffeted by forces explicitly designed to change the choices they make as consumers or citizens. Advertising aims explicitly at changing consumer preferences. Political rhetoric works the same way, and ever-present peer pressure causes consumers to make frequent changes in the pattern of their purchases.

The question here narrows in the hope that lessons from economics can help sort out what happens when the relative prices of consumer goods (food, clothing, books, vacuum cleaners, entertainment, etc.) change. When this occurs, consumers shift their purchases into the less expensive goods and away from the more expensive goods. Indifference Curves help show this movement between goods.

## Indifference curves

The word, "indifferent" means that an individual, a consumer in this case, does not have a preference between two outcomes; it doesn't matter one way or the other. An indifference curve is a graphed function that shows all combinations of two goods that provide exactly the same degree of satisfaction to a consumer. Since each point provides the same satisfaction, the consumer is indifferent between any two points on the curve. If a friend asks, "What would you like to do tonight?" and you respond, "I don't care," then you are indifferent. Similarly, when you cannot decide between a new yellow shirt and a new blue shirt, you are indifferent.

An indifference curve shows a consumer's willingness to trade one good for another. If a consumer has a case of Pepsi, how many bottles is he willing to trade to get one hamburger? Similarly, if a Texas cattle producer raises cattle and has a freezer full of meat, how many pounds of beef would she trade for two pounds of fruit and vegetables? The indifference
curve shows exactly how a consumer is willing to trade one good against another. The formal definition of an Indifference Curve is:

- Indifference Curve = a line showing all possible combinations of two goods that provide the same level of utility (satisfaction).


## Indifference curve example: pizza and Coke

Pizza and Coke make a highly regarded snack or even a simple dinner, but the proportions between the two may change depending on the purpose: snack or dinner. A given consumer may be indifferent between several combinations of these popular foods. The indifference curve $\mathrm{I}_{0}$ in Figure 7.3 shows a group of points, each representing the same degree of satisfaction. A consumer is indifferent between any pair of points on the curve. The indifference curve represents consumer preferences for only two goods: slices of pizza and bottles of Coke. The shape of the indifference curve comes from the fact that the supply of each of the goods is limited. Put another way, the curve takes its shape from the scarcity associated with the two goods.

## Quick Quiz 7.6

Define the concept of scarcity, and explain why it is the foundation of economics.

Coke is scarce at point B . At this point, the consumer has a more-than-adequate amount of pizza and very little Coke. Therefore, he is willing to give up several slices of pizza in exchange for one Coke. The opposite is true at point A. Where Coke is plentiful and pizza is scarce, the consumer is willing to give up several Cokes to obtain one slice of pizza.


Figure 7.3 An indifference curve for pizza and Coke.

These tradeoffs make the indifference curve convex to the origin, reflecting the Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility: the first unit of consumption of a good is the most highly valued. There are four properties of all indifference curves, as explained below.

## Four properties of indifference curves

Downward Sloping,
Everywhere Dense,
Cannot Intersect, and
Convex to Origin.
Explanations for these four properties follow.

1. Downward Sloping. By assumption, more is preferred to less. Figure 7.4 shows that this must be true. If an indifference curve were upward sloping, then a point such as B, with more of both goods than point A, would, by definition, produce the same level of utility $\left(\mathrm{I}_{0}\right)$ as point A , which has lower amounts of both goods.

An indifference curve that slopes upward (Figure 7.4) violates the definition of "indifference." Point B shows more of both goods than point A, but since it lies on the same indifference curve as point A, it seemingly produces the same level of utility. This cannot be true. This reasoning applies to all combinations of two goods, and it follows that all real-world indifference curves are downward sloping. Put another way, the property of nonsatiation (more is preferred to less) insures that indifference curves must be downward sloping. A consumer must give up some of one good in order to get the


Figure 7.4 Proof that an indifference curve cannot be upward-sloping.
other good. The slope of the indifference curve represents the consumer's willingness to trade, or sacrifice, one good for another.
2. Everywhere Dense. This property means that there is an indifference curve through every single point in the positive quadrant. Every combination of the two goods produces some level of satisfaction. The term, "everywhere dense" means that there are an infinite number of isoquants in the plane.

## Quick Quiz 7.7

Why do we only draw some of the indifference curves in the graphs?
3. Cannot Intersect. Indifference curves cannot intersect, since that would mean that two different levels of utility were equal to each other at the point of intersection. To untangle this problem, assume that two indifference curves intersect, as in Figure 7.5.

First, notice that points A and B are on the same indifference curve ( $\mathrm{I}_{1}$ ). Each point provides the same level of utility. Next, notice that points B and C are on the same indifference curve ( $I_{2}$ ), so they each represent the same level of utility. If A and B have equal levels of utility, and $B$ and $C$ have equal levels of utility, then it follows that $A$ and C must have equal levels of utility ( $\mathrm{A}=\mathrm{B}$ and $\mathrm{B}=\mathrm{C}$, so $\mathrm{A}=\mathrm{C}$ ). However, Figure 7.5 shows that combination A produces a higher level of utility than combination C , since A has more of each good than C.

Therefore, indifference curves cannot intersect. A contradiction follows if they do. The equations, $\mathrm{A} \sim \mathrm{C}$ and $\mathrm{A} \succ \mathrm{C}$ cannot both be true at the same time. Therefore, indifference curves must not touch, since each curve represents a different level of utility.
4. Convex to Origin. This property states that the indifference curves must bend toward the origin (be convex to the origin). This is due to the Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility: the first unit of a good is the most satisfying! The graph in Figure 7.6 shows this.


Figure 7.5 Proof of why indifference curves cannot intersect.


Figure 7.6 The Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility.

The Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility is used to show that if a consumer has many pairs of pants (point A: 6 pairs of pants, 1 shirt), she is willing to trade 3 pairs of pants for one additional shirt (point B: 3 pairs of pants, 2 shirts). On the other hand, if the consumer had 5 shirts and only one pair of pants (point C), she would be willing to give up two shirts for the second pair of pants (point D: 2 pairs of pants and 3 shirts). A consumer's willingness to trade one good for another depends on how much of each good he or she has. The first unit provides the higher level of satisfaction, and consumption of subsequent units provide less additional utility, as shown in Figure 7.6.

## Indifference curves for substitutes and complements

Consider the case of two goods that are Perfect Substitutes, meaning that the consumer is indifferent between the consumption of either good. Suppose a consumer is purchasing shirts that are identical in every aspect other than color. If the consumer is indifferent between blue shirts and green shirts, then these two goods are perfect substitutes in consumption, as shown in Figure 7.7.

- Perfect Substitutes = goods that are completely substitutable, so that the consumer is indifferent between the two goods (see Substitutes).

The indifference curve for perfect substitutes is a straight line with a constant slope. In Figure 7.7, the consumer is indifferent between any combination of blue and green shirts that adds up to three shirts. This indifference curve is a special case, since it is not convex to the origin. The consumer is willing to trade one good for the other at a constant rate, so the goods are, in a way, the same good-"shirts." The opposite case of perfect substitutes is Perfect Complements.

- Perfect Complements $=$ Goods that must be purchased together in a fixed ratio (see Complements).


Figure 7.7 Perfect substitutes in consumption.

Here, consuming one of the two goods requires consuming some of the other good at the same time. For example, except in rare cases, consuming a left shoe commits a person to consume a right shoe (Figure 7.8). The level of utility along indifference curve $\mathrm{I}_{0}$ does not increase when the consumer buys additional right shoes to go with one left shoe. Left and right shoes must be consumed together in order to produce satisfaction for the consumer. Similarly, as left shoes accumulate without the right shoes that match them, the utility level stays constant. Utility increases only with the purchase of one of each good: a right shoe and a left shoe. This is also a special case of an indifference curve, since the curve is not convex to the origin. Almost all goods are "imperfect substitutes," meaning that they can be substituted with each other, but not perfectly. Convex indifference curves characterize these goods.


Figure 7.8 Perfect complements in consumption.

### 7.5 The marginal rate of substitution

The slope of the indifference curve reflects the rate of change between goods and is called the Marginal Rate of Substitution (MRS).

- Marginal Rate of Substitution [MRS] = the rate of exchange of one good for another that leaves utility unchanged. The MRS defines the slope of an indifference curve. $\mathrm{MRS}=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}$.

The term, "marginal" refers to a small change. The term, "substitution" refers to the tradeoff between the goods. Thus, the MRS is the number of units of good $Y_{2}$ that must be given up per unit of good $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$, if the consumer is to remain indifferent, or retain the same level of satisfaction.

## The Diamond-Water Paradox

The literature of economics includes many examples of unusual relationships existing between goods. Among these is a paradox simply called the Diamond-Water Paradox. The issue is very simple: why is water, an absolute necessity to life, so inexpensive (often free), while diamonds, stones used as romantic baubles and egoistic ornamentation, but which have only a few industrial uses, are expensive?

## Quick Quiz 7.8

Can you use simple economic reasoning to explain the Diamond-Water Paradox?


Plate 7.4 Diamond-water paradox.
Source: Sebastian Duda/Shutterstock


Figure 7.9 The "Diamond-Water Paradox".

The economic answer to the paradox centers on scarcity. Diamonds are valuable because they are scarce, whereas water is inexpensive because it is relatively plentiful. Would people ever give up diamonds for water? It sounds unlikely, but the transaction would take place if you had only diamonds and no water. Would anyone give up water for diamonds? Certainly, if they had enough water to meet their needs. The graph in Figure 7.9 shows this.

The slope of the indifference curve in Figure 7.9 is easily interpreted to be the marginal rate of substitution (MRS) between the two goods. The MRS between points A and B shows the willingness of a consumer to trade diamonds for water.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{MRS}(\mathrm{AB})=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}=(3-5) /(2-1)=-2 . \tag{7.4}
\end{equation*}
$$

At point A, diamonds are relatively plentiful, so the consumer is willing to give up two diamonds for one more gallon of water. But what happens to the Marginal Rate of Substitution when the consumer trades for one more unit of water?

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{MRS}(\mathrm{BC})=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}=(2-3) /(3-2)=-1 \tag{7.5}
\end{equation*}
$$

The absolute value of the rate of substitution has declined, as shown in Figure 7.9, where the slope of the indifference curve has decreased. This reflects the fact that as water becomes more plentiful (less scarce) the consumer is willing to give up fewer diamonds to acquire more water. The calculation of the MRS for the next gallon of water is:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\operatorname{MRS}(\mathrm{CD})=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}=(1-2) /(6-3)=-1 / 3 \tag{7.6}
\end{equation*}
$$

The MRS continues to fall in absolute value with the consumption of more units of water. Previous sections of this chapter established the connection between the Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility and the convexity of the indifference curve.

Another example of the tradeoffs that occur between goods is the time allocation of a college student. Suppose that there are two ways for a college student to spend time: (1) studying, and (2) relaxing. The possibilities are depicted in Figure 7.10. If a student has


Figure 7.10 Time allocation for a college student.
been working all of the time, he may be willing to give up several hours of work to get the first hour of play. As a student increases the amount of play, extra hours of play become less valuable, as shown in Figure 7.10.

The indifference curve in Figure 7.10 shows that it is possible that some students may eventually settle at a position somewhere near the middle of the graph. The notion of "balance" suggests that a student will want to consume some of each good. An indifference curve reflects consumer preferences. However, consumers must spend within their limits, or, in language that is more technical, they must comply with a budget constraint, the theme of the following section. After studying the budget constraint, it will be combined with indifference curves to find a utility-maximizing (most satisfying) equilibrium point that combines what consumers want with what they can afford.

## Quick Quiz 7.9

What is an equilibrium?

### 7.6 The budget constraint

Indifference curves are everywhere present in a graph drawn with the satisfaction provided by one good shown on each axis. This collection of indifference curves (as in Figure 7.11) is called an indifference curves map.

The indifference curves shown in Figure 7.11 each include a group of points that represent combinations of the two goods. In addition, each point (combination) on a single curve yields the same amount of satisfaction. Given the assumption that more is preferred to


Figure 7.11 An indifference curve map.
less, the level of utility increases as one moves to the northeast from curve $\mathrm{I}_{0}$, to curve $\mathrm{I}_{1}$, to curve $\mathrm{I}_{2}$. The consumer's budget limits him to considering only those combinations on the highest indifference curve. The consumer is constrained by a budget. Utility, or consumer preference, is represented by the indifference curves, and the budget constraint represents the amount that the consumer has to spend on the goods.

- Budget Constraint $=$ a limit on consumption determined by the size of the consumer's budget and the prices of goods.

A line added to the indifference curve map shows the consumer's budget constraint. Assume that a consumer spends all of his income on only the two goods (food and clothes) in Figure 7.12. Define the variables of a budget constraint as:

$$
\begin{align*}
& M=\text { income }(\$)  \tag{7.9a}\\
& \left.Y_{1}=\text { food (calories }\right)  \tag{7.9b}\\
& P_{1}=\text { price of food }(\$ / \text { calorie })  \tag{7.9c}\\
& \left.Y_{2}=\text { clothes (outfits }\right)  \tag{7.9d}\\
& P_{2}=\text { price of clothes }(\$ / \text { outfit }) . \tag{7.9e}
\end{align*}
$$

The budget line stems from the assumption that the consumer spends all of his income on food and clothes. The equation for the line states that income must be greater or equal to the combined expenditures on food $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{1}\right)$ and clothing $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{2}\right)$.

$$
\begin{equation*}
M \geq \mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{Y}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{2} \mathrm{Y}_{2} \tag{7.10}
\end{equation*}
$$

If all income is spent on food and clothing, then the inequality in Equation 7.10 becomes an equality:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{Y}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{2} \mathrm{Y}_{2} . \tag{7.11}
\end{equation*}
$$

This equality (the budget constraint) shows that the amount of money available (M) is exactly equal to the amount spent on food and clothing. Some specific numbers illustrate a budget constraint.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{M}=\$ 100 / \text { month } ; \mathrm{P}_{1}=\$ 1 / \text { calorie } ; \mathrm{P}_{2}=\$ 20 / \text { outfit. } \tag{7.12}
\end{equation*}
$$

This information defines a line on the graph in Figure 7.12, showing combinations of food and clothing affordable with the given budget.

The y-intercept shows the affordable quantity of clothing if all of M goes for clothing. The x-intercept shows the maximum amount of food that M can purchase. The x-intercept is found by calculating how many calories of food could be purchased at an income level of $\$ 100 /$ month, and a price of food equal to $\$ 1 /$ calorie $\left(\mathrm{M} / \mathrm{P}_{1}=\$ 100 /(\$ 1 /\right.$ calorie $)=100$ calories $)$.

The $y$-intercept is found by calculating how many outfits of clothing could be purchased if all of the income were spent on clothing ( $\mathrm{M} / \mathrm{P}_{2}=\$ 100 /(\$ 20 /$ outfit $)=5$ outfits). Finding these two intercepts and connecting them with a straight line, provides a "picture" of the budget constraint. The slope of this Budget Line is the "rise over the run," or $\Delta y / \Delta x=\Delta Y_{2} /$ $\Delta Y_{1}=-5 / 100=-0.05$.

- Budget Line $=$ a line indicating all possible combinations of two goods that can be purchased using the consumer's entire budget.

The equation of a line is given by: $y=b+m x$, where $b$ is the $y$-intercept and $m$ is the slope. The equation of a budget constraint leads to derivation of the equation for the budget line. This derivation should look familiar: it is similar to the derivation of the isocost and isorevenue lines used to study the behavior of producers (Chapter 5).

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{Y}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{2} \mathrm{Y}_{2} \tag{7.13a}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 7.12 The budget constraint.

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{P}_{2} \mathrm{Y}_{2}=\mathrm{M}-\mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{Y}_{1}  \tag{7.13b}\\
& \mathrm{Y}_{2}=\left(\mathrm{M} / \mathrm{P}_{2}\right)+\left(-\mathrm{P}_{1} \mathrm{P}_{2}\right) \mathrm{Y}_{1} . \tag{7.13c}
\end{align*}
$$

The y-intercept (b) is equal to $\mathrm{M} / \mathrm{P}_{2}$, equal to $\$ 100 /(\$ 20 /$ outfit) $=5$ outfits (this confirms the above calculation). The calculation of the slope of the budget line, is confirmed by $m=\Delta y / \Delta x=-P_{1} / P_{2}=$ relative prices. The slope of the budget constraint represents the relative prices of the two goods. The Opportunity Set is the triangle formed by the budget line, as in Figure 7.13.

- Opportunity Set = the collection of all combinations of goods within the budget constraint of the consumer.

The triangle formed by the axes and the budget line is called the opportunity set, because any combination of goods in the set is within the given budget and affordable. Points such as "A" that are outside of the opportunity set are not feasible: the consumer does not have enough money to afford them.

A consumer will desire to maximize utility, subject to the budget constraint as shown in Figure 7.13. The consumer will desire to locate as far to the northeast as possible while staying within the opportunity set. The next section shows how a consumer will select the utilitymaximizing point by combining the preference information from the indifference curves with budget information in the budget line.

### 7.7 Consumer equilibrium

The term "equilibrium" describes a situation where there is no tendency to change. When an economy is in equilibrium, producers and consumers are doing the best that they can, given the constraints that they face. In equilibrium, producers are maximizing profits subject to technology and prices, and consumers are maximizing utility, subject to a budget constraint and prices. Equilibrium is an "optimal" point.

A "map" of indifference curves summarizes consumer preferences. The curves represent the tradeoffs between food $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{1}\right)$ and clothes $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{2}\right)$. The slope of an indifference


Figure 7.13 The opportunity set.
curve is the Marginal Rate of Substitution (MRS), which represents a consumer's relative preferences for the two goods, $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{Y}_{2}$. It answers the question, "How many units of $Y_{1}$ am I willing to give up to receive an additional unit of good $Y_{2}$ ? This depends on the consumer's preferences for each good. The MRS reflects the Marginal Utility for each good, and defines how much additional satisfaction a consumer can receive from each unit of the good.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{MRS}=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}=\mathrm{MU}_{1} / \mathrm{MU}_{2} . \tag{7.14}
\end{equation*}
$$

A consumer will want to reach the highest possible level of satisfaction. This optimal, or highest, level of utility will be the highest indifference curve that is still within the opportunity set, or the indifference curve that is tangent to the budget line.

Point E in Figure 7.14 represents the consumer's optimum, or equilibrium point. In this example, the equilibrium combination includes 50 calories of food and 2.5 outfits. This equilibrium point is arbitrarily set at the "half-way" mark on the budget constraint between the vertical (food) and horizontal (clothing) axes. However, there are numerous possible equilibria, each depending on the location of the consumer's indifference curve. Regardless of how many indifference curves come under consideration, the optimal, or equilibrium point, from which there is no tendency to change, always appears at the point where the indifference curve is tangent to the budget line.

The slope of the budget line represents relative prices, as it is equal to the price ratio $\left(-P_{1} / P_{2}\right)$. The budget line represents what the consumer can buy. The slope of the indifference curve defines the consumer's preferences. This graphical analysis is a story about a shopping trip taken in order to match two things:

1. What the shopper can afford (the budget constraint), and
2. What the shopper prefers to consume (the indifference curve).

The mathematical equation for the equilibrium reflects this story:
Slope of the indifference curve $=$ slope of the budget line


Figure 7.14 Consumer equilibrium.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{MRS}=\text { price ratio } \tag{7.15b}
\end{equation*}
$$

$$
\begin{align*}
& \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}=\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}  \tag{7.15c}\\
& \mathrm{MU}_{1} / \mathrm{MU}_{2}=\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}  \tag{7.15d}\\
& \mathrm{MU}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{1}=\mathrm{MU}_{2} / \mathrm{P}_{2} \tag{7.15e}
\end{align*}
$$

This equilibrium condition states that a consumer should equalize the additional utility gained from the consumption of a good (MU) per price of the good for all goods. If a consumer can gain more satisfaction from one unit of cost from one good than from another good, then the consumer should shift consumption into the higher utility good and out of other, lower utility goods. This allows the consumer to reach the highest indifference curve possible, while remaining within the budget constraint.

### 7.8 The demand for meat in Phoenix, Arizona

Learning about consumer behavior helps observers understand real-world issues in the agricultural economy. Currently, there is an important issue in the red meat industry: the per-capita consumption of beef in the US has declined rather steadily (the US population consumed an average of 59.7 pounds of beef per capita in 2010: the lowest rate of beef consumption per capita in at least 55 years). Economists argue about whether this decrease stems from price changes (beef is expensive relative to meats such as pork and chicken) or health issues (some consumers perceive red meat to be unhealthy).


Plate 7.5 Demand for meat in Phoenix, Arizona.
Source: Gresei/Shutterstock

## Consumer equilibrium for the Phoenix consumer

A simple model of consumer behavior helps analyze this issue. Assume that the budget for weekly expenditures on meat is 20 dollars ( $\mathrm{M}=\$ 20$ ), the price of beef is four dollars per pound $\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}=\$ 4 / \mathrm{lb}\right)$, and the price of chicken is two dollars per pound $\left(\mathrm{P}_{2}=\$ 2 / \mathrm{lb}\right)$. Figure 7.15 shows the budget line for the Phoenix consumer.

## Quick Quiz 7.10

Locate the opportunity set in Figure 7.15.

The opportunity set for meat tells how much beef and chicken the consumer could purchase if all of the consumer's income were spent on one good. If the entire budget was spent on beef, the consumer could purchase five pounds of meat (x-intercept, $\mathrm{M} / \mathrm{P}_{1}=\$ 20 / \$ 4 /$ $\mathrm{lb}=5 \mathrm{lbs})$.

If, alternatively, the consumer spent all of the income on chicken, 10 pounds of chicken could be purchased (y-intercept, $\mathrm{M} / \mathrm{P}_{2}=\$ 20 / \$ 2 / \mathrm{lb}=10 \mathrm{lbs}$ ). The opportunity set reflects what is possible for the consumer to purchase.

The indifference curves represent the consumer's preferences. The slope of the indifference curve is the marginal rate of substitution ( $\mathrm{MRS}=\mathrm{MU}_{1} / \mathrm{MU}_{2}$ ). The slope of the budget line reflects relative prices, and is equal to $-\mathrm{P}_{1} / \mathrm{P}_{2}$. The equilibrium for purchases of meat occurs where the MRS is equal to the relative price ratio, as shown in Figure 7.15. At the equilibrium point (E), the Phoenix meat eater consumes 2.5 pounds of beef and 5 pounds of chicken.

## An increase in income for the Phoenix consumer

If the local Phoenix economy expands, wages and salaries paid to the workers in the area will rise. This, in turn, allows these consumers to spend more money on meat. Suppose that total meat expenditures rise from $\mathrm{M}_{0}=\$ 20 /$ week to $\mathrm{M}_{1}=\$ 40 /$ week.


Figure 7.15 Phoenix consumer equilibrium.


Figure 7.16 Effect of an increase in income on Phoenix consumer equilibrium.

This increase in income is good for consumers; it is good for the beef industry, and good for beef producers in the US and other beef-producing nations. Figure 7.16 shows the impact of the increase in income on the consumer's meat purchases.

The original consumer equilibrium for the beef eater in Phoenix $\left(\mathrm{E}_{0}\right)$ is 2.5 pounds of beef and 5 pounds of chicken. After the income increase, the equilibrium shifts to 5 pounds of beef and 10 pounds of chicken $\left(E_{1}\right)$.

## Quick Quiz 7.11

What defines the location of the equilibrium point on the budget line?

An increase in income will have an impact on the beef industry. When income levels increase, consumers typically spend more money on "luxury" goods such as beef. Changes in income have a large impact on consumption.

## Box 7.4 Meat consumption in China

Many agricultural economists believe that economic growth in China will result in a huge increase in the demand for both meat products and grain products imported from the US. Chapter 1 of this book notes that meat consumption in Japan grew rapidly in the years following World War II due in large part to increases in the level of living. If China follows the same pattern, it is likely that meat consumption will increase enormously. This would increase the consumption of meat and grain products, since conventional meat production requires seven pounds of grain to produce one pound of meat. Thus, beef producers in the US are very interested in the economic development of China.

Source: FAOSTAT. United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

## Quick Quiz 7.12

Can you think of any goods that would have a decrease in consumption when income levels increase?

## The impact of general inflation on the Phoenix consumer

A simultaneous and continued increase in all prices in an economy is referred to as a general inflation. Chapter 1 includes a short discussion indicating that inflation would not affect the economy at all, since the price of labor (wages and salaries) would increase at the same rate as the prices of all other goods and services. If all prices in the economy double, for example, including wages and salaries, then the consumption and production of goods and services would remain unchanged. In the real world, inflation does not increase all prices in a uniform and simultaneous fashion.

The simple model of consumer behavior sheds light on this issue by investigating the logic behind it. The price and income data below reflect a general inflation where all prices double. The subscripts refer to the good ( $1=$ beef; $2=$ chicken ) and the superscripts refer to time periods zero and one.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { Before: } & \text { After: } \\
\mathrm{M}^{0}=\$ 20 / \text { week } & \mathrm{M}^{1}=\$ 40 / \text { week } \\
\mathrm{P}_{1} 0=\$ 4 / \mathrm{b} & \mathrm{P}_{1}{ }^{1}=\$ 8 / \mathrm{b} \\
\mathrm{P}_{2}{ }^{0}=\$ 2 / \mathrm{b} & \mathrm{P}_{2}^{1}=\$ 4 / \mathrm{b}
\end{array}
$$

The budget line $\left(M=P_{1} Y_{1}+P_{2} Y_{2}\right)$ will be identical before and after the inflation.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { Before: } & \text { After: } \\
20=4 \mathrm{Y}_{1}+2 \mathrm{Y}_{2} & 40=8 \mathrm{Y}_{1}+4 \mathrm{Y}_{2} \\
2 \mathrm{Y}_{2}=20-4 \mathrm{Y}_{1} & 4 \mathrm{Y}_{2}=40-8 \mathrm{Y}_{1} \\
\mathrm{Y}_{2}=10-2 \mathrm{Y}_{1} & \mathrm{Y}_{2}=10-2 \mathrm{Y}_{1}
\end{array}
$$

Since the budget line remains unchanged, the equilibrium does not change. The general inflation has no effect on the economy. Relative prices have not changed, so nothing happens.

## The impact of a change in beef prices on the Phoenix consumer

The situation is different for changes in relative prices. Suppose that the cost of production for beef deceases due to technological changes in packing plants. Prior to the change, $\mathrm{P}_{1}{ }^{0}=$ $\$ 4 / \mathrm{lb}$ and after the change, $\mathrm{P}_{1}{ }^{1}=\$ 2 / \mathrm{lb}$. The price and income data are as follows, where the subscript refers to the good ( $1=$ beef; $2=$ chicken ) and the superscript refers to time periods zero and one.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\mathrm{M}^{0}=\$ 20 / \text { week } & \mathrm{P}_{1}{ }^{0}=\$ 4 / \mathrm{lb} & \mathrm{P}_{2}{ }^{0}=\$ 2 / \mathrm{lb} \\
\mathrm{M}^{1}=\$ 20 / \text { week } & \mathrm{P}_{1}^{1}=\$ 2 / \mathrm{lb} & \mathrm{P}_{2}^{1}=\$ 2 / \mathrm{b}
\end{array}
$$

The budget constraint changes, since the relative prices of beef and chicken change. The slope of the budget line is the relative price ratio.


Figure 7.17 Decrease in beef price effect on Phoenix consumer equilibrium.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { Before: } & \text { After: } \\
20=4 \mathrm{Y}_{1}+2 \mathrm{Y} & 20=2 \mathrm{Y}_{1}+2 \mathrm{Y}_{2} \\
\mathrm{Y}_{2}=10-2 \mathrm{Y}_{1} & \mathrm{Y}_{2}=10-\mathrm{Y}_{1}
\end{array}
$$

In Figure 7.17, the consumer equilibrium before the price change is $\left(\mathrm{E}_{0}\right), 2.5$ pounds of beef, and 5 pounds of chicken. After the price change, the budget line shifts to reflect an increase in purchasing power, since the price of beef is lower. The y-intercept remains at 10 , since both income $(\mathrm{M})$ and the price of chicken $\left(\mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$ have remained unchanged. The $x$-intercept shifts from 5 pounds ( $\mathrm{M}^{0} / \mathrm{P}_{1} 0=\$ 20 / \$ 4 / \mathrm{lb}=5 \mathrm{lbs}$ ) to 10 pounds $\left(\mathrm{M}^{1} / \mathrm{P}_{1}{ }^{1}=\right.$ $\$ 20 / \$ 2 / \mathrm{lb}=10 \mathrm{lbs}$ ).

The consumer equilibrium after the technological change $\left(\mathrm{E}_{1}\right)$ moves to four pounds of beef and six pounds of chicken, as shown by the tangency of the indifference curve and the budget line (MRS = the price ratio). The consumer can expand the consumption of both goods, although the price of chicken remains constant. This is because of the increase in the consumer's purchasing power associated with the price decrease. The price of beef has a strong effect on consumer purchases of both beef and chicken.

The technological change increased the amount of beef sold in Phoenix. Any circumstance that causes a relative price decrease will result in more of the good being sold. Cattle producers are better off, since consumers purchase more beef (note that the price of cattle does not decrease, just the price of meat in the grocery store). Conversely, any factor that increases the relative price of beef in the grocery store will have an adverse effect on the cattle producers.

## The impact of a change in chicken prices on the Phoenix consumer

Does a change in the price of chicken affect the beef market? Definitely, yes. Just as the beef price decline caused an increase in the consumption of both beef and chicken, a change in the price of chicken will affect both the beef and the chicken markets since


Figure 7.18 Decrease in chicken price effect on Phoenix consumer equilibrium.
they are substitutes. Suppose that there is a decrease in the relative price of chicken from $\$ 2 / \mathrm{lb}$ to $\$ 1 / \mathrm{lb}$ :

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\mathrm{M}^{0}=\$ 20 / \text { week } & \mathrm{P}_{1}{ }^{0}=\$ 4 / \mathrm{lb} & \mathrm{P}_{2}{ }^{0}=\$ 2 / \mathrm{lb} \\
\mathrm{M}^{1}=\$ 20 / \text { week } & \mathrm{P}_{1}{ }^{1}=\$ 4 / \mathrm{lb} & \mathrm{P}_{2}{ }^{1}=\$ 1 / \mathrm{b}
\end{array}
$$

The budget line shifts due to the price change.

Before:
$20=4 \mathrm{Y}_{1}+2 \mathrm{Y}_{2}$
After:
$\mathrm{Y}_{2}=10-2 \mathrm{Y}_{1}$
$20=4 \mathrm{Y}_{1}+\mathrm{Y}_{2}$

$$
\mathrm{Y}_{2}=20-4 \mathrm{Y}_{1}
$$

Figure 7.18 shows that the $x$-intercept does not change, but the budget line pivots upward and outward; the original equilibrium ( $\mathrm{E}_{0}: 2.5 \mathrm{lbs}$ beef; 5 lbs chicken) and the equilibrium after the price change ( $\mathrm{E}_{1}: 2 \mathrm{lbs}$ beef; 12 lbs chicken). With the price decrease of chicken, the consumer substitutes out of the more expensive product (beef) and into the less expensive product (chicken). Beef and chicken are substitutes: consumers will shift their purchases toward the less expensive product.

Relative prices rule. Any change in the relative price of beef will affect the quantity of beef purchased, whether the real change as opposed to the relative change is a change in the price of beef or a change in the price of chicken.

## Quick Quiz 7.13

Are beef and chicken substitutes or complements in consumption? Why? Are beef and chicken perfect substitutes or imperfect substitutes in consumption? Why?

## Conclusions for the beef industry based on consumer theory

Given the above example, what conclusion stems from the demand for beef in Phoenix, Arizona? Let the quantity of beef purchased by consumers be the demand for beef, $Q^{d}{ }_{b e e f}$. The demand for beef is a function of income as are the prices of beef and chicken: $\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}{ }_{\text {beef }}=\mathrm{f}\left(\mathrm{M}, \mathrm{P}_{1}, \mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$. A summary of this analysis appears below.

1. $\mathrm{P}_{1} \downarrow$ : The price of beef decreases:
$\mathrm{P}_{1} \downarrow$ : $\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}{ }_{\text {beef }}$ increases
2. $\mathrm{P}_{2} \downarrow$ : The price of chicken decreases:
$\mathrm{P}_{2} \downarrow: \mathrm{Q}_{\text {beef }}^{\mathrm{d}}$ decreases
3. $\mathrm{M} \uparrow$ : Income increases:
$\mathrm{M} \uparrow$ : $\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}{ }_{\text {beef }}$ increases.
Armed with knowledge of the demand for beef, an economist can provide advice to the beef industry:

- Lower production costs in every way possible. Lower $\mathrm{P}_{1}$ to sell more beef.
- Pay attention to consumer preferences: especially to the prices of competing products such as chicken $\left(\mathrm{P}_{2}\right)$.
- Look to consumer groups with growing incomes (M) for new markets: low-income nations.

These three statements apply to any good, with the basic message for producers to pay careful attention to their consumers. This chapter has identified the optimal, utility-maximizing point for the consumer. The model of consumer behavior yielded the major determinants of consumer demand: relative prices and income. The next chapter explains how markets work. Supply and demand curves show the interaction of sellers and buyers. Chapter 8 is a study of markets.

### 7.9 Summary

1. In economics, we assume that individuals are rational. Rational behavior indicates that individuals do the best that they can, given the constraints that they face. Rational behavior is purposeful and consistent.
2. Utility is the satisfaction derived from consuming a good.
3. Cardinal utility assigns specific values to the level of satisfaction gained from the consumption of a good.
4. Ordinal utility ranks consumer satisfaction from the consumption of a good.
5. Total utility is the level of satisfaction derived from consuming a given bundle of goods and services. Marginal utility is the change in the level of utility as consumption of a good is increased by one unit.
6. The Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility states that MU declines as more of a good is consumed.
7. Three assumptions about consumer behavior are: (1) preferences are complete, (2) consumers are consistent, and (3) more is preferred to less (nonsatiation).
8. An indifference curve is a line showing all of the combinations of two goods that provide the same level of utility.
9. Indifference curves have four properties: (1) downward-sloping, (2) everywhere dense, (3) can't intersect, and (4) convex to the origin.
10. Perfect substitutes are goods that a consumer is indifferent between. Perfect complements are goods that must be purchased together in a fixed ratio. Most goods are imperfect substitutes, meaning that they can be substituted for each other, but not perfectly.
11. The Marginal Rate of Substitution (MRS) is the rate of exchange of one good for another that leaves utility unaffected and the slope of the indifference curve. The slope of the indifference curve is equal to the marginal valuation of the two goods.
12. The budget constraint is the limit imposed on consumption by the size of the budget and the prices of the two goods.
13. A consumer maximizes utility by locating at the tangency of the indifference curve and the budget line.
14. The opportunity set includes all combinations of goods within the budget constraint of the consumer.

### 7.10 Glossary

Budget Constraint. A limit on consumption determined by the size of the budget and the prices of goods.
Budget Line. A line indicating all possible combinations of two goods that can be purchased using the consumer's entire budget.
Cardinal Utility. Assigns specific, but hypothetical, numerical values to the level of satisfaction gained from the consumption of a good. The unit of measurement is the hypothetical util (see Ordinal Utility).
Complements in Consumption. Goods that are consumed together (e.g. peanut butter and jelly, see Substitutes in Consumption).
Complements in Production. Goods that are produced together (e.g. beef and leather, see Substitutes in Production).
Indifference Curve. A line showing all possible combinations of two goods that provide the same level of utility (satisfaction).
Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility. Marginal utility declines as more of a good or service is consumed during a given time period.
Marginal Rate of Substitution [MRS]. The rate of exchange of one good for another that leaves utility unchanged. The slope of an indifference curve. $\mathrm{MRS}=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}$.
Marginal Utility [MU]. The change in the level of utility when consumption of a good is increased by one unit. $\mathrm{MU}=\Delta \mathrm{TU} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.
Opportunity Set. The collection of all combinations of goods within the budget constraint of the consumer.
Ordinal Utility. A way of considering consumer satisfaction in which goods are ranked in order of preference: first, second, third, etc. (see Cardinal Utility).
Perfect Complements. Goods that must be purchased together in a fixed ratio (see Complements).
Perfect Substitutes. Goods that are completely substitutable, so that the consumer is indifferent between the two goods (see Substitutes).
Rational Behavior. Individuals do the best that they can, given the constraints they face. Rational behavior is purposeful and consistent.
Substitutes in Consumption. Goods that are consumed either/or (e.g. wheat bread and white bread, see Complements in Consumption).
Substitutes in Production. Goods that compete for the same resources in production (e.g. wheat and barley, see Complements in Production).

Total Utility [TU]. The total level of satisfaction derived from consuming a given bundle of goods and services.
Utility. Satisfaction derived from consuming a good.
Utils. Hypothetical units of satisfaction derived from consumption of goods or services.

### 7.11 Review questions

1. An individual who stays up so late that he feels sick the next day is:
a. rational
b. irrational
c. not an economic individual
d. cannot tell from the information given
2. Placing a numerical value on the consumption of a piece of apple pie is an example of:
a. normative economics
b. cardinal utility
c. ordinal utility
d. positive economics
3. Modern economics uses which type of consumer theory?
a. cardinal utility
b. ordinal utility
c. total utility
d. public utility
4. Marginal utility refers to:
a. the extra level of electricity from a public utility
b. the level of satisfaction from consuming a good
c. utility derived from consuming a good
d. a change in utility when consumption is increased by one unit
5. When a consumer is indifferent between consuming an additional unit of a good:
a. TU is negative
b. MU is equal to zero
c. TU is equal to zero
d. MU is negative
6. All of the following are assumptions about consumer behavior except:
a. complete preferences
b. consistent consumers
c. nonsatiation
d. relativity
7. Indifference curves are convex to the origin due to:
a. the Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility
b. the Law of Diminishing Returns
c. relative prices
d. the Law of Demand
8. A tractor and a plow are:
a. substitutes
b. complements
c. perfect substitutes
d. not enough information to answer
9. Peanut butter and jelly are:
a. substitutes
b. complements
c. perfect substitutes
d. not enough information to answer
10. The indifference curve represents:
a. consumer income
b. consumer preferences
c. what consumers can afford
d. what consumers actually purchase
11. An increase in the price of chicken will affect:
a. the amount of chicken purchased
b. the amount of beef purchased
c. the relative price of beef and chicken
d. all of the other three answers
12. A general inflation will lead to:
a. a decrease in the consumption of beef
b. an increase in the consumption of beef
c. no change in the consumption of beef
d. unemployment
13. If income decreases then the consumption of beef will:
a. increase
b. decrease
c. not change
d. not enough information to answer


Plate 8.1 Supply and demand.
Source: JohnKwan/Shutterstock

## 8 Supply and demand

## Synopsis

This chapter explains the two most famous building blocks of economics, supply and demand. These tools are crucial to understanding markets and how they function to allocate goods and resources. The supply curve is derived. We then explore what causes firms to produce goods, what resources to use in production, and how the firms respond to changes in prices of either inputs or outputs. Attention then turns to demand. The Law of Demand is a major feature of economics. Consumer responses to changes in relative prices, income, and other variables are carefully explained and explored.

### 8.0 Introduction

Chapters 1 through 7 describe and explain the behavior of individual economic units. These economic actors use specific methods to locate the optimal point in their economic decisions. Producers select the profit-maximizing combinations of inputs and outputs, and consumers purchase combinations of goods to maximize their own utility or satisfaction. Consumers determine what to purchase based on maximizing satisfaction, given income and relative prices. This chapter shows the explicit connection between individuals and markets by deriving market, or aggregate, supply and demand curves. The chapter also explains the determinants of market supply and demand, and introduces the concept of elasticity, or responsiveness, of producers and consumers to changes in prices and other economic conditions. Chapter 9 shows how supply and demand curves interact to determine the prices and quantities of goods.

### 8.1 Supply

A supply function shows the relationship between the quantity of a good and its price. Points on a supply function represent the quantity that will be placed on the market at each price.

- Supply $=$ the relationship between the price of a good and the amount of a good available at a given location and at a given time.

In more formal terms, supply refers to a direct functional relationship between the price and quantity of a good:

$$
\begin{equation*}
Q^{s}=f(P) \tag{8.1}
\end{equation*}
$$

where $Q^{s}$ is the quantity supplied of a good, and $P$ is the price of the good. When the price of a good increases, the quantity supplied of a good also increases.

## The individual firm's supply curve

In the next several chapters, the notation $Q^{s}$ denotes the market, or aggregate (total) level of quantity supplied, and $q^{s}$ denotes a single firm's contribution to $Q^{s}$. This allows a distinction between graphs for single firms and graphs for an entire market supply. As we will see below, market supply is the aggregated supply of all individual firms that produce and sell the same product.

Understanding supply and demand at the aggregate, or market, level, requires understanding the component parts of an individual firm's supply curve. Specifically, deriving the supply curve for an entire market begins with a study of the costs incurred by an individual firm, as shown in Figure 8.1.

An individual profit-maximizing producer will continue to produce a good until $\mathrm{MR}=$ MC. The situation shown in Figure 8.1 relates to a firm in a competitive industry. The firm has no control over price. The price is fixed, constant, and equal to the MR line associated with each price: $\mathrm{P}_{0}, \mathrm{P}_{1}$, and $\mathrm{P}_{2}$.

## Quick Quiz 8.1

Why does the assumption of competition result in a fixed price? Why is the price equal to the MR?

For example, at a given point in time, price $P_{2}$ is fixed and given, and the firm cannot change the price. At the market price of $\mathrm{P}_{2}$ in Figure 8.1, this single firm will maximize profits by setting $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$, or $\mathrm{P}=\mathrm{MC}$ at $\mathrm{q}_{2}$ units of output. If the firm were to produce one more unit of output ( $\mathrm{q}_{2}+1$ ), the additional (marginal) costs would increase to a level above the marginal revenue line, and profits would decrease. At one less unit of output ( $\mathrm{q}_{2}-1$ ), profits would fall, since marginal revenue would be higher than the marginal costs.


Figure 8.1 Individual firm short run supply curve.

The individual firm will always set price equal to MC, so the MC curve defines the relationship between the price of a good and the quantity supplied by the individual firm. Since supply refers to a direct, functional relationship between the price and the quantity supplied of a good, the marginal cost curve represents the supply curve of the individual firm. This is true for all prices, as long as the price is above the shutdown point.

## Quick Quiz 8.2

Define the shutdown point for a firm in the short run and the long run (see Chapter 3).

In the short run, the firm will continue to produce as long as the price is greater or equal to the average variable cost ( $\mathrm{P} \geq$ AVC). At prices below AVC, the firm will shut down because costs are higher than revenue. The price $\mathrm{P}_{1}$ in Figure 8.1 defines the shutdown price. For all prices above $P_{1}$, the individual firm's supply curve is equal to the MC curve, and for all prices below $\mathrm{P}_{1}$, the supply curve is equal to zero (the heavy line on the vertical axis below $\mathrm{P}_{1}$ in Figure 8.1).

- Supply Curve for an Individual Firm = the firm's marginal cost curve above the minimum point on the average variable cost curve.

Notice that there are two segments to the individual firm's supply curve: (1) above the shutdown point, supply is equal to the marginal cost curve, and (2) below the shutdown point, the supply curve is equal to zero. In the long run, the shutdown point is the ATC curve, since $\mathrm{ATC}=\mathrm{AVC}$ in the long run, as in Figure 8.2.

## Quick Quiz 8.3

Why does ATC = AVC in the long run? Draw an individual firm's long run supply curve.


Figure 8.2 Individual firm long run supply curve.

## The market supply curve

Aggregating all the supply curves of the individual firms in the market yields the market supply curve (sometimes called the industry, or aggregate, supply curve). Figure 8.3 provides the derivation of such a supply curve.

The term, "horizontal summation" refers to the aggregation of the quantity supplied by each firm into the market supply curve. Figure 8.3 shows the aggregation procedure for three firms, taken as representative of all firms in an entire market. The ellipsis (...) represents the numerous other firms that are in the same market, but are not included in the diagram due to lack of space.

Adding together the MC curve of each of the firms in the industry yields the market supply curve shown in the far right graph. Each of the three graphs to the left refers to an individual firm, represented by the symbol, "q." The "Q" represents the market supply curve, to indicate that the units scale (measurement on the horizontal axis) for the total market is much larger than the units scale for the individual firms.

At an initial price of $P_{1}$ dollars per unit, firm A sets MR $=\mathrm{MC}$, and produces two units of output. Firm B follows the same behavioral rule, and produces four units of output. Similar logic causes firm C to produce five units of output. Adding together all of the individual firm supply curves (including those that are not in the graph) yields the point on the market supply curve for price $P_{1}$ :

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Q}_{1}=\mathrm{q}_{\mathrm{A}}+\mathrm{q}_{\mathrm{B}}+\ldots+\mathrm{q}_{\mathrm{C}} . \tag{8.2}
\end{equation*}
$$

Following this horizontal summation procedure for different price levels produces a market supply curve $\left(Q^{s}\right)$. Keep in mind that only three of the numerous firms appear in the example. The definition of the Market Supply Curve is:

- Market Supply Curve $=$ the relationship between the price and quantity supplied of a good, ceteris paribus, derived by the horizontal summation of all individual supply curves for all individual producers in the market.

Summarizing data on how each individual firm in a market will adjust production levels to changes in price produces a hypothetical market supply schedule, as shown in Table 8.1. Real-world supply schedules would look very much the same, with real data substituted for hypothetical prices and quantities.


Figure 8.3 Derivation of a market supply curve.

Table 8.1 The hypothetical market supply of bread in New York City

| Price $(P)(\$ /$ loaf $)$ | Quantity Supplied $\left(Q^{s}\right)$ (1000 loaves) |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1 | 10 |
| 2 | 20 |
| 3 | 30 |
| 4 | 40 |
| 5 | 50 |

The definition of the supply schedule is straightforward:

- Supply Schedule = a schedule showing the relationship between the price of a good and the quantity of a good supplied.

The information from the supply schedule leads to a graph of a market supply curve that summarizes the relationship between the price and quantity supplied of a good.

## The Law of Supply

The key information provided in a supply schedule is that when the price of a good increases, the quantity supplied increases, due to the profit-maximizing behavior of individual firms. This positive, or direct, relationship between price and quantity supplied is so pervasive in market economies that economists are comfortable calling it a "law":

- Law of Supply = the quantity of goods offered to a market varies directly with the price of the good, ceteris paribus.


Plate 8.2 Bread supply.
Source: Senk/Shutterstock


Figure 8.4 Market supply curve for bread in New York City.

The information contained in the supply schedule is the basis for a market supply curve, as shown in Figure 8.4.

There is an unusual but universal feature of this market supply graph. Economists study supply (the behavior of producers) and demand (the behavior of consumers). When they graph a supply curve, they are graphing the relationship between the price and quantity supplied of a good. Price is the independent variable, since it causes (determines) the quantity of a good sold. Price causes quantity supplied.

$$
\begin{align*}
& P \Rightarrow Q^{s}\left(P \text { causes } Q^{s}\right),  \tag{8.3a}\\
& P=\text { independent variable },  \tag{8.3b}\\
& Q^{s}=\text { dependent variable, and }  \tag{8.3c}\\
& Q^{s}=f(P) . \tag{8.3d}
\end{align*}
$$

The study of competitive industries in Chapter 4 showed that producers in such industries take prices as given, and respond by deciding how much to sell. Individual firms are too small relative to the entire market to have any effect on the price of a good. Therefore, price causes quantity supplied.

Mathematicians locate the independent variable on the horizontal ( x ) axis and the dependent variable on the vertical (y) axis. For example, Figure 8.5 shows the physical relationship between precipitation and the yield of wheat.

$$
\begin{align*}
& x \Rightarrow y(x \text { causes } y)  \tag{8.4a}\\
& y=f(x)  \tag{8.4b}\\
& x=\text { fixed }=\text { independent variable, and }  \tag{8.4c}\\
& y=\text { dependent variable. } \tag{8.4d}
\end{align*}
$$



Figure 8.5 Wheat yield as a function of precipitation.

Economists draw supply and demand curves "backward" because Alfred Marshall, the first economist to draw supply and demand curves, drew them that way. Marshall lived in England, and in 1890 was among the first economists to study the relationship between price and quantity using graphical analysis. Economists have not changed. Analysts and students have continued to use these graphs and labels since Marshall's time, even though it breaks with the mathematicians' tradition of placing the independent variable on the horizontal axis and the dependent variable on the vertical axis.

In Figure 8.4, price is the independent variable, but it is on the vertical axis. Quantity supplied is the dependent variable, on the horizontal axis. Be aware when working with graphs of supply and demand that the graphs are "backward," since price is the independent variable.

In summary, a market supply curve shows the positive relationship between the price and quantity supplied of a good. The Law of Supply states that when the price of a good increases, the quantity supplied will also increase, holding all else constant.

To maximize profits, individual firms will produce greater levels of output when prices are high. A graph of market supply (Figure 8.4) isolates the relationship between price and quantity supplied by holding everything in the economy constant (ceteris paribus). Only the price and quantity supplied of a good can vary. The market supply curve provides an abundance of information about how a market economy functions. The next section expands and explains that information.

### 8.2 The elasticity of supply

The profit-maximizing behavior of business firms leads to a positive (upward sloping) relationship between the price and quantity supplied of a good. The rate of change in one variable in response to a change in the other variable is of critical importance. It comes down to the question, "How much will quantity supplied increase (decrease) for a given increase (decrease) in the price?" The term, "elasticity" describes this relationship, and understanding the relationship is important to understanding how a market economy functions.

## Elasticity defined

Elasticity is a measure of the responsiveness of one variable to a small change in another variable.

- Elasticity $=$ the percentage change in one economic variable resulting from a percentage change in another economic variable.

The elasticity of supply measures how quantity supplied changes when the price of a good increases 1 percent:

- Elasticity of Supply = the percentage change in the quantity supplied in response to a percentage increase in price.

Mathematically, the elasticity of supply ( $\mathrm{E}^{s}$ ) is given by:

$$
\begin{equation*}
E^{s}=\left(\% \text { change in } Q^{s}\right) /(\% \text { change in } P)=\% \Delta Q^{s} / \% \Delta P . \tag{8.5}
\end{equation*}
$$

## Elasticity classifications

The formula, $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{s}}=\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \% \Delta \mathrm{P}$, shows that the price elasticity of supply is the responsiveness (measured by the percentage change) in quantity supplied, given a 1 percent change in the good's own price.

The price elasticity of supply measures the movements along a supply curve. A hypothetical example of the supply curve for bread in New York City appears in Figure 8.4. The degrees of responsiveness of producers to price changes fall into three categories: (1) Inelastic Supply, (2) Elastic Supply, and (3) Unitary Elastic Supply.

An Inelastic supply curve is one that shows relatively small changes in quantity supplied in response to changes in price: a 1 percent change in price results in a less than 1 percent change in quantity supplied. Mathematically, this is equivalent to $\% \Delta Q^{s}<\% \Delta P$, or $E^{s}<1$.

- Inelastic Supply = a change in price brings about a relatively smaller change in quantity supplied.

An Elastic supply curve is one that shows a relatively large change in quantity supplied in response to changes in price: a 1 percent change in price results in a larger than 1 percent change in quantity supplied. Mathematically, this is equivalent to $\% \Delta Q^{s}>\% \Delta \mathrm{P}$, or $\mathrm{E}^{s}>1$.

- Elastic Supply $=$ a change in price brings about a relatively larger change in quantity supplied.

The third category of elasticity is Unitary Elastic, which takes its name from an elasticity of supply equal to one. This means that the percentage change in quantity supplied is equal to the percentage change in the price of a good $\left(\% \Delta Q^{s}=\% \Delta P\right.$, or $\left.E^{s}=1\right)$.

- Unitary Elastic Supply = the percentage change in price brings about an equal percentage change in quantity supplied.

The percentage change of a variable is the change in the variable ( $\Delta x$ ), divided by the level of the variable $(\Delta x / x)$. If a student's test scores improve from 80 points to 90 points, the percentage change in tests scores would be: $\left(\mathrm{t}_{1}-\mathfrak{t}_{0}\right) / \mathrm{t}_{0}=(90-80) / 80=10 / 80=0.125$. Similarly, the percentage change in quantity supplied is equal to $\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}$, and the percentage change in price is equal to $\Delta \mathrm{P} / \mathrm{P}$ :

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{s}}=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}\right) /(\Delta \mathrm{P} / \mathrm{P})=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \Delta \mathrm{P}\right) *\left(\mathrm{P} / \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}\right) \tag{8.6}
\end{equation*}
$$

The degree of price-responsiveness of a firm depends on the flexibility of the firm's production processes as it responds to a change in price. In the immediate run, the firm has very little flexibility, so supply is very inelastic. Over a longer time period, the firm has more opportunities to make production choices and changes, so supply becomes more elastic.

Suppose that due to an increase in the cost of flour, the price of bread in New York City suddenly increases from $\$ 1 /$ loaf to $\$ 2 /$ loaf. What is the elasticity of supply? Start with the mathematical expression for the supply elasticity:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{s}}=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}\right) /(\Delta \mathrm{P} / \mathrm{P})=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \Delta \mathrm{P}\right) *\left(\mathrm{P} / \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}\right) . \tag{8.7}
\end{equation*}
$$

Data in Table 8.1 show that if bread costs $\$ 1 /$ loaf, 10,000 loaves are supplied to the market. When the price rises to $\$ 2 /$ loaf, 20,000 loaves are produced. So, $\Delta Q^{s}=20,000-10,000=$ 10,000 , and $\Delta \mathrm{P}=\$ 2 /$ loaf $-\$ 1 /$ loaf $=\$ 1 /$ loaf. These numbers substitute directly into the elasticity formula, but what numbers for " $Q$ "" and " $P$ " are the correct ones to use? The initial values of price and quantity ( $\$ 1 /$ loaf and 10,000 ) yield a different number for the supply elasticity than ending values ( $\$ 2 /$ loaf and 20,000 loaves). Therefore, it is common practice to use the average values of prices and quantities to calculate the elasticity of supply over relatively small changes in price. This practice leads to the calculation of what is called the "arc elasticity."

- Arc Elasticity = a formula that measures responsiveness along a specific section (arc) of a supply or demand curve, and measures the "average" price elasticity between two points on the curve.

To calculate the arc elasticity, use the average value of price and quantity in the formula for price elasticity. Let $Q^{s *}$ and $P^{*}$ be the average values of price and quantity:

$$
\begin{align*}
& Q^{s *}=\left(Q_{1}^{s}+Q_{0}^{s}\right) / 2, \text { and }  \tag{8.8a}\\
& P^{*}=\left(P_{1}+P_{0}\right) / 2 . \tag{8.8b}
\end{align*}
$$

Substitution of these terms into the elasticity equation results in:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{s}}=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \Delta \mathrm{P}\right)^{*}\left(\mathrm{P}^{*} / \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}\right)=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \Delta \mathrm{P}\right)^{*}\left[\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{0}\right) /\left(\mathrm{Q}_{1}^{\mathrm{s}}+\mathrm{Q}_{0}^{\mathrm{s}}\right)\right] . \tag{8.9}
\end{equation*}
$$

The twos in the denominators drop out, since there is a two in both the numerator and the denominator. This formula yields the elasticity of supply of bread for a price increase from $\$ 1 /$ loaf to $\$ 2 /$ loaf, where "lf" is the abbreviation for "loaf:"

$$
\begin{align*}
E^{s}= & \left(\Delta Q^{s} / \Delta \mathrm{P}\right)^{*}\left[\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{0}\right) /\left(\mathrm{Q}_{1}^{\mathrm{s}}+\mathrm{Q}_{0}^{\mathrm{s}}\right)\right] \\
= & {[(20,000 \text { lf }-10,000 \text { lf }) /(\$ 2 / \text { lf }-\$ 1 / \text { lf })]^{*} } \\
& {[(\$ 2 / \text { lf }+\$ 1 / \text { lf }) /(20,000 \text { lf }+10,000 \text { lf })] }  \tag{8.10}\\
= & {[10,000 \text { lf } / \$ 1 / \text { lf }] *[\$ 3 / \text { lf } / 30,000 \text { lf }] } \\
= & (10,000 / 30,000) *(3 / 1)=1 .
\end{align*}
$$

The supply elasticity of bread in New York City is unitary elastic.

## Quick Quiz 8.4

Define and explain the terms elastic, inelastic, and unitary elastic.

Interestingly, there are no units for elasticity. All of the loaves and dollars cancel each other out, since they appear in both the numerator and the denominator:

## ELASTICITIES HAVE NO UNITS!

This feature of elasticities is highly desirable, since it allows analysts to compare responsiveness to economic change across all goods and services in a uniform fashion. Comparing the change in the quantity available of two different goods such as apples and hamburgers to a change in price of a good is impossible, since different goods have different units. Calculating elasticities enables an observer to compare the responsiveness of any goods, since the units are identical: they are unitless.

## Own-price and cross-price supply elasticities

It is possible to calculate elasticities of supply for changes in price, and for changes in any other economic variable. The most commonly used elasticity is the Own-Price Elasticity of Supply.

- Own-Price Elasticity of Supply = measures the responsiveness of the quantity supplied of a good to changes in the price of that good.

Another common elasticity is the Cross-Price Elasticity of Supply, which measures the responsiveness of quantity supplied of one good to a change in the price of a related good. A related good is any good that has an impact on the production of the good under consideration. Slaughtering cattle yields two major products: beef and hides (leather). If the price of hides increases, this will affect not only the quantity of hides supplied, but also the quantity of beef supplied.

- Cross-Price Elasticity of Supply = a measure of the responsiveness of the quantity supplied of a good to changes in the price of a related good.


## The relationship between elasticity and slope

To get a better idea about how to calculate supply elasticities, assume that there are only two firms in the soft drink industry: Coke and Pepsi. Hypothetical price and quantity supplied information are presented in Table 8.2.

The arc elasticity of supply for Coke is:

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{E}_{\text {coke }}^{\mathrm{s}}=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \Delta \mathrm{P}\right) *\left[\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{0}\right) /\left(\mathrm{Q}_{1}^{\mathrm{s}}+\mathrm{Q}_{0}^{\mathrm{s}}\right)\right] \\
& \mathrm{E}_{\text {coke }}^{\mathrm{s}}=[(50-25) /(0.75-0.50)] *[(0.75+0.50) /(50+25)]  \tag{8.11}\\
& \mathrm{E}_{\text {coke }}^{\mathrm{s}}=[25 / 0.25] *[1.25 / 75]=100 * 0.0167=1.67 .
\end{align*}
$$

Table 8.2 Price and quantity supplied data for Coke and Pepsi

| Soda Price (\$/can) | Coke $Q^{s}$ (mil cans) | Pepsi $Q^{s}$ (mil cans) | Soda Market (mil cans) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 0.50 | 25 | 20 | 45 |
| 0.75 | 50 | 25 | 75 |

The supply of Coke is elastic, meaning that a 1 percent increase in the price of Coke results in a 1.67 percent increase in the quantity of Coke supplied. This means that Coke has a relatively flexible production function, and is able to respond to changes in price. Using the data in Table 8.2, the arc elasticity of supply for Pepsi is calculated:

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{E}_{\text {pepsi }}^{\mathrm{s}}=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \Delta \mathrm{P}\right) *\left[\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{0}\right) /\left(\mathrm{Q}_{1}^{\mathrm{s}}+\mathrm{Q}_{0}^{\mathrm{s}}\right)\right] \\
& \mathrm{E}_{\text {pepsi }}^{\mathrm{s}}=[(25-20) /(0.75-0.50)] *[(0.75+0.50) /(25+20)]  \tag{8.12}\\
& \mathrm{E}_{\text {pepsi }}^{\mathrm{s}}=[5 / 0.25]^{*}[1.25 / 45]=20 * 0.0278=0.55 .
\end{align*}
$$

The elasticity of supply of Pepsi is relatively inelastic. A 1 percent increase in the price of Pepsi results in only a 0.55 percent increase in the quantity of Pepsi supplied. Compared to Coke, Pepsi's production process is less flexible, and therefore, the company is less able to respond to changes in price. Calculation of the market elasticity of supply follows the same steps as calculation of the individual firm's supply elasticities. The market elasticity of supply lies between the two individual firm elasticities, since the market is comprised of only the two firms.

$$
\begin{align*}
\mathrm{E}_{\text {market }}^{s} & =\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{s} / \Delta \mathrm{P}\right) *\left[\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{0}\right) /\left(\mathrm{Q}_{1}^{s}+\mathrm{Q}_{0}^{\mathrm{s}}\right)\right] \\
& =[(75-45) /(0.75-0.50)] *[(0.75+0.50) /(75+45)]  \tag{8.13}\\
\mathrm{E}_{\text {market }}^{s} & =[30 / 0.25] *[1.25 / 120]=120 * 0.0104=1.25 .
\end{align*}
$$

As expected, the soda market supply elasticity is between the individual firm elasticities: $0.55<1.25<1.67$.

## Quick Quiz 8.5

Is the market supply for soda elastic or inelastic? Explain.

## Quick Quiz 8.6

What is arc elasticity? Hint: see "Elasticity classifications" above.


Figure 8.6 Elasticities of supply for two firms.

Figure 8.6 shows two supply curves with different elasticities. The elasticity of supply reflects how responsive a firm is to a change in price. The slope of the supply function reflects this.

In Figure 8.6, the firm with the more elastic supply ( $\mathrm{q}_{\mathrm{B}}^{\mathrm{s}}$ ) has a flatter slope than the firm with the more inelastic supply $\left(q_{A}^{s}\right)$. Firm $A$ is less responsive to the price increase from $P_{0}$ to $P_{1}$, and increases output from $q_{A}^{0}$ to $q_{A}^{1}$. Firm $B$ is more responsive to the change in price, and increases output from $q_{B}^{0}$ to $q_{B}^{1}$. The own-price elasticity of a firm, or the responsiveness of a firm to a change in price, depends on the ability of the firm to adjust inputs and outputs in response to a change in price.

Although the price elasticity of supply relates to the slope of the supply curve, it is not equal to the slope:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\text { Slope }=\Delta y / \Delta x=\Delta P / \Delta Q, \quad \text { Elasticity }=(\Delta Q / \Delta P) *(P / Q) \tag{8.14}
\end{equation*}
$$

When two supply curves share the same graph, an observer can easily determine which curve is more elastic by looking at the relative slope of the two curves. However, this is not an accurate test for curves on different graphs, because the slope depends on the scale of the graph. A steeply sloped curve may be elastic: it depends on the scale used for the graph.

### 8.3 Change in supply; change in quantity supplied

This section introduces terminology useful when working with supply curves. The terms supply and quantity supplied actually refer to two different things. This is a common source of confusion to newcomers to the world of elasticities. With a little practice, however, the terms become less intimidating, and very useful in determining the impact of economic variables on the quantity of a good placed on the market. A change in the price of a good causes a movement along a supply curve. This movement is referred to as a Change in Quantity Supplied:

- Change in Quantity Supplied = a change in the quantity of a good placed on the market due to a change in the price of the good. A movement along the supply curve.


Figure 8.7 Market supply of hamburgers in Elko, Nevada.
The changes in the market supply of hamburgers in Elko, Nevada shown in Figure 8.7 make this clear.

The supply curve shows the increase in the number of hamburgers supplied to the market in Elko after a rise in price. In Figure 8.7, the price of hamburgers increases from $\mathrm{P}_{0}$ to $\mathrm{P}_{1}$. This causes a movement from $\mathrm{Q}_{0}$ to $\mathrm{Q}_{1}$ along the given supply curve. The movement reflects a change in the quantity supplied. This change in price and quantity does not reflect changes in any of the variables (production techniques, extent of market, labor prices, manufacturing


Plate 8.3 Hamburger demand.
Source: Robertlamphoto/Shutterstock
technology, and the like) used in the "manufacture" of a hamburger. It reflects the response to an increase in price: that is all. Because the change takes into consideration only the starting and ending prices and the starting and ending quantities, the existing supply curve records all known information related to the change. The curve showing the supplier's capabilities stays in place. This does not represent a change in supply.

The graph of the market supply curve for hamburgers holds everything constant other than the price and quantity supplied. Therefore, if anything other than the price of hamburgers changes, it causes a shift in the entire supply curve, or a Change in Supply:

- Change in Supply = a change in the quantity of a good produced due to a change in one or more economic variables other than the price of the good. A shift in the supply curve.

Figure 8.8 shows a change in supply.
A rightward shift in the supply curve represents an increase in supply, since more hamburgers will reach the market at each price. Similarly, a shift in the supply curve to the left would show a decrease in supply (fewer hamburgers at each price). The increase in supply in Figure 8.8 could result from an increase in the technology available to the firm, or a decrease in production costs. Shifts in the entire supply function represent a change in nonprice determinants of supply. These supply determinants are explained in the next section.

### 8.4 Determinants of supply

The supply of a good results from the interaction of many economic variables. The list of supply determinants generally considered to be most important includes such things as (1) input prices, (2) production technology, (3) prices of related goods, and (4) the number of sellers. Therefore, a formula for a supply curve for a good includes own price ( P ), input prices $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{i}}\right)$, technology ( T$)$, prices of other, related goods $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{o}}\right)$, the number of sellers $(\mathrm{N})$, and a category "Other," representing all other determinants of supply:

$$
\begin{equation*}
Q^{s}=f\left(P \mid P_{i}, T, P_{0}, N, \text { Other }\right) . \tag{8.15}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 8.8 An increase in the supply of hamburgers in Elko, Nevada.

A graph of a supply curve condenses all of the determinants into the relationship between the quantity supplied of a good $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{s}\right)$ and the own price of the $\operatorname{good}(\mathrm{P})$, while all other variables are held constant (the ceteris paribus assumption).

## Quick Quiz 8.7

Why are all variables other than the price held constant?

The nonprice determinants of supply are often called "supply shifters," because a change in any one of them results in a shift in the entire supply curve (a change in supply). However, if only the price of a good changes, the result is a movement along the supply curve, or a change in quantity supplied.

## Input prices

The prices that firms pay to purchase inputs have a direct effect on the cost of production (Chapter 3). These prices multiplied by the quantities of inputs purchased represent the costs paid by the producing firm. Since the individual firm's supply curve is the marginal cost curve on any level of output above the shutdown point, any increase in the price of an input will increase the cost of production and hence shift the supply curve upward and to the left.

## Quick Quiz 8.8

How is the shutdown point defined? How is the break-even point defined?

Figures 8.9 and 8.10 show how an increase in input prices shifts the supply curve. The comparison allows thinking of the decrease in supply in two ways. First, Figure 8.9 shows that if the price of ground beef increases, the supply of hamburgers shifts upward and to the left, since the marginal cost of a hamburger increases. This results in a decrease in supply.

## Quick Quiz 8.9

Explain why this is not a decrease in quantity supplied.

At a given price of hamburgers $\left(\mathrm{P}_{0}\right)$, the firm will decrease its output of hamburgers from $\mathrm{Q}_{0}$ to $\mathrm{Q}_{1}$ in response to the increase in the price of ground beef. An increase in the price of an input causes an increase in the cost of production which results in a decrease in supply, or a shift of the supply curve to the left.

Figure 8.10 shows the same shift in the supply curve of hamburgers due to the increase in the price of ground beef, but the interpretation differs. In this case, the firm raises the price of hamburgers from $\mathrm{P}_{0}$ to $\mathrm{P}_{1}$ to cover the cost of production at the given level of output, $\mathrm{Q}_{0}$.

## Technology

In brief terms, technological change allows the production of more output with the same level of inputs, or the same level of output produced with fewer inputs (Chapter 2). Either way,


Figure 8.9 A decrease in the supply of hamburgers in Elko, Nevada, at constant price.
improved technology will lower the cost of production for every level of output. The entire supply curve shifts to the right.

## Quick Quiz 8.10

Does a shift in the supply curve indicate a change in supply or change in quantity supplied?

Figure 8.11 shows technological change that allows the firm to produce a greater quantity at the same cost.

A rightward shift in supply is an increase in supply. More output produced at the same price, or the same level of output produced at a lower price.


Figure 8.10 A decrease in the supply of hamburgers in Elko, Nevada, at constant quantity.


Figure 8.11 The impact of technological change on the supply of hamburgers.

## Prices of related goods

In the real world, many firms produce more than one good. Multi-product firms will choose which good or goods to produce based on relative prices.

## Quick Quiz 8.11

Graph the firm's optimal output selection.

Changes in relative prices affect goods that are related in the production process. A meat processing plant produces both beef and leather. If the price of leather increases, it will affect (1) the quantity supplied of leather, and (2) the supply of beef. Test your knowledge of the difference between a change in supply and a change in quantity supplied by explaining why an increase in the price of beef affects (1) the quantity supplied of beef, and (2) the supply of leather.

Complements in Production are defined as follows:

- Complements in Production $=$ goods that are produced together (e.g., beef and leather).

The Cross-Price Elasticity of Supply ( $\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{Y} 1 \mathrm{Y} 2}^{\mathrm{s}}$ ) for complements in production is positive: if the price of one of the complements increases, it results in an increase in the supply of the complementary good:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{Y} 1 \mathrm{Y} 2}^{\mathrm{s}}=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}^{\mathrm{s}} / \Delta \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}\right) *\left[\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}{ }^{0}+\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}{ }^{1}\right) /\left(\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}^{\mathrm{s}}{ }^{0}+\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}^{\mathrm{s}}{ }^{1}\right)\right]>0 . \tag{8.16}
\end{equation*}
$$

Substitutes in Production are the opposite of complements in production. Two goods competing for the same resources are substitutes in the production process:

- Substitutes in Production $=$ Goods that compete for the same resources in the process production (wheat and barley). Or inputs that can replace each other in the production process (land and fertilizer).

The cross-price elasticity of demand for substitutes in production is negative:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{Y} 1 \mathrm{Y} 2}^{\mathrm{s}}=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}^{\mathrm{s}} / \Delta \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}\right) *\left[\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}_{2}}^{0}+\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}^{1}\right) /\left(\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}^{\mathrm{s}}{ }^{0}+\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}^{\mathrm{s}}{ }^{1}\right)\right]<0 . \tag{8.17}
\end{equation*}
$$

An increase in the price of a substitute (e.g., barley) causes a decrease in the supply of its substitute good (e.g., wheat). The price change causes farm managers to shift resources into the good with the now relatively higher price, and out of the good with the now relatively lower price. Restated, the increase in the price of a substitute good results in a decrease in the supply of its substitute good.

## Number of sellers

The impact of the number of sellers is direct: more sellers result in a larger supply of a good when they bring new resources into the production of a good. If this is the case, the supply curve will shift to the right, reflecting an increase in supply. If firms exit the industry and take productive resources with them, the supply curve shifts to the left, resulting in a decrease in supply.

There are many other determinants of supply, or "supply shifters." In agriculture, the weather is an important determinant of supply. When weather conditions are favorable, agricultural output increases, resulting in a shift in supply. Government programs can also shift the supply curves of agricultural goods. Government subsidies result in a shift in supply to the right, and increased taxes shift supply curves to the left.

### 8.5 Demand

While supply curves stem from the marginal cost curves of individual producers, demand curves derive from decisions made by consumers when they decide which goods and services to buy. Demand reflects the purchases that consumers make as they strive to maximize utility, given prices and income. Demand is a technical term that describes consumer purchases:

- Demand = consumer willingness and ability to pay for a good.

The good's price is the most important determinant of demand. A Demand Curve is a graphic representation of the relationship between the price of a good and the quantity demanded of that good. These curves are the common way to demonstrate consumer demand.

- Demand Curve $=$ a function connecting all combinations of prices and quantities consumed for a good, ceteris paribus.

This section shows the derivation of an individual consumer's demand curve, then finds the market demand curve by adding together all the individual curves.

## The individual consumer's demand curve for macaroni and cheese in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

The goal here is to derive an individual consumer's demand curve. Begin by assuming that a college student in Pittsburgh has $\$ 40 /$ week to spend on food. The student purchases two


Plate 8.4 Macaroni and cheese.
Source: Matt Antonino/Shutterstock
types of food: macaroni and cheese $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{1}\right)$, which initially costs $\$ 2 /$ box $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}=\$ 2 / \mathrm{box}\right)$, and pizza $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{2}\right)$, which costs $\$ 5 /$ pizza $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}=\$ 5 /\right.$ pizza $)$. Suppose that the grocery store lowers the price of macaroni and cheese from the initial price of $\$ 2 /$ box to $\$ 1 /$ box, and later, to $\$ 0.50$ / box. These data can be used to derive the relationship between the price of macaroni and cheese and the quantity demanded $\left(Q^{d}\right)$. The data help answer the question, "How do changes in price affect the quantity demanded of a good?"

The student's budget for food is $\$ 40 /$ week so income (M) equals $\$ 40 /$ week. In this case, "income" refers to the amount of money allocated to food purchases in a given time period. The following facts allow an observer to graph the consumer's equilibrium as shown in Figure 8.12. The small circles indicate the consumer's equilibrium points at each price level:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\mathrm{Y}_{1}=\text { mac-n-cheese } & \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}=\$ 2 / \text { box }, \\
\mathrm{Y}_{2}=\text { pizza } & \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}=\$ 5 / \text { pizza } . \tag{8.18b}
\end{array}
$$

The graph shows the budget line for the student:

$$
\begin{align*}
& \mathrm{M}=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}_{1}} \mathrm{Y}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}_{2}} \mathrm{Y}_{2}  \tag{8.19a}\\
& \mathrm{Y}_{2}=\left(\mathrm{M} / \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}\right)+\left(-\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 1} / \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}\right) * \mathrm{Y}_{1}  \tag{8.19b}\\
& \mathrm{Y}_{2}=(40 / 5)+(-2 / 5) * \mathrm{Y}_{1}=8-0.4^{*} \mathrm{Y}_{1} . \tag{8.19c}
\end{align*}
$$

The $y$-intercept $\left(M / P_{Y 2}\right)$ is equal to eight, and the slope is negative 0.4 , as shown in Figure 8.12. Consumer equilibrium is located where the Marginal Rate of Substitution (MRS),


Figure 8.12 Derivation of a demand curve for macaroni and cheese.
or the slope of the indifference curve, is equal to the price ratio, or the slope of the budget line. In Figure 8.12, this initial equilibrium is at the point ( 10,4 ), or 10 boxes of macaroni and cheese, and 4 pizzas.

As the price of macaroni and cheese falls, the consumer's opportunity set increases. Figure 8.12 shows that the consumer can purchase more of both goods when the price of macaroni and cheese falls, since the consumer's purchasing power increases. By lowering the price of a good and observing how the quantity purchased of a good changes, the grocer can derive the relationship between price and quantity demanded, or a demand curve.

## Quick Quiz 8.12

What is the opportunity set in Figure 8.12?

Table 8.3 is a compilation of data needed to derive a Demand Schedule for the Pittsburgh student.

- Demand Schedule = information on prices and quantities purchased.

A demand curve is the relationship between the price and quantity of a good purchased, or:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Q}_{\text {mac chesese }}^{\mathrm{d}}=\mathrm{f}\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}, \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}, \mathrm{M}\right) . \tag{8.20}
\end{equation*}
$$

The consumer's equilibrium points identified in Figure 8.12 and Table 8.3 lead to the derivation of the demand curve for the student, if everything other than the price of macaroni and cheese is held constant. Figure 8.13 shows the resulting demand curve.

The demand curve in Figure 8.13 includes the same information that appears in the consumer equilibrium graph in Figure 8.12. The variable on the $y$-axis is now the price of macaroni and cheese $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}\right)$ rather than the quantity of pizza $\left(\mathrm{Y}_{2}\right)$, as in Figure 8.12.

Table 8.3 Price and quantity data for student consumption choices

| Price of Mac-n-Cheese <br> $\left(P_{1}=\$ / b o x\right)$ | Quantity of Mac-n-Cheese <br> $\left(Y_{1}=\right.$ boxes $)$ | Quantity of Pizza $\left(Y_{2}=\right.$ pies $)$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | 10 | 4 |
| 1 | 15 | 5 |
| 0.5 | 20 | 6 |

The demand curve depicted in Figure 8.13 displays the relationship between the price of macaroni and cheese, and the quantity purchased of the good, ceteris paribus. The mathematical expression for this is:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Q}_{\text {mac checse }}^{\mathrm{d}}=\mathrm{f}\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 1} \mid \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}, \mathrm{M}\right) . \tag{8.21}
\end{equation*}
$$

A similar process allows derivation of demand curves for all pairs of goods and services.

## The market demand curve

Deriving a market demand curve requires summing all of the individual demand curves in the market. As in the case with supply curves, this summation (or aggregation) requires specific steps to complete. The individual consumer demands (q) are summed horizontally to obtain the market demand curve ( $\mathrm{Q}^{d}$ ) as shown in Figure 8.14.

The market demand curve for any product is the horizontal summation of all of the individual demand curves, in this case, consumers A, B, and C. Note that there are many consumers whose demand curves do not appear in Figure 8.14: the ellipsis (...) represents all of the remaining consumers in the market. To add demand curves horizontally, take a given price such as $P_{1}$, and sum the quantities demanded by each consumer at that price.

Following Figure 8.14, consumer A buys 3 loaves, B purchases 6 loaves, and C buys 7 loaves. Adding all of these quantities together yields the total quantity of bread purchased $\left(Q^{d}=3+6+\ldots+7\right)$. Next, select a different price and repeat the horizontal summation


Figure 8.13 Demand curve for macaroni and cheese.


Figure 8.14 Derivation of a market demand curve.
process. The Market Demand Curve is the outcome of this procedure. It appears on the right-hand side of Figure 8.14.

- Market Demand Curve $=$ the relationship between the price and quantity demanded of a good, ceteris paribus, derived by the horizontal summation of all individual consumer demand curves for all individuals in the market.


## The Law of Demand

An increase in the price of a good results in a lower quantity of the good purchased. This regularity of consumer behavior is the Law of Demand:

- Law of Demand = the quantity of a good demanded varies inversely with the price of the good, ceteris paribus.

Restated, the Law of Demand says that, "Demand Curves Slope Down." This is true for all individual consumers, as well as all market demand curves. There can be exceptions to this Law, but these occur only in rare and extreme circumstances.

Figure 8.15 shows a demand curve for steak dinners in Philadelphia. A move from right to left along the curve indicates that as the good becomes increasingly scarce, it increases in value. This is consistent with the Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility: the first steak dinner is the best (provides the most utility). As consumers eat more steak dinners, the satisfaction derived from each successive steak dinner decreases.

Supply (a concept dealing with producer behavior) and demand (derived from consumer behavior) are of critical interest and importance in economics. Graphing a supply curve or a demand curve demonstrates the relationship between price and quantity. As has been noted, these graphs are conventionally drawn with price (the independent variable) on the vertical axis, and quantity demanded (the dependent variable) on the horizontal axis.

## Quick Quiz 8.13

Why do economists draw supply and demand curves "backward?"


Figure 8.15 The demand for steak dinners in Philadelphia.


Plate 8.5 Steak dinner.
Source: Kasai Bialasiewicz/Shutterstock

Price causes quantity demanded:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
P \rightarrow Q^{d} & P=\text { independent variable }, \\
Q^{d}=f(P) & Q^{d}=\text { dependent variable } \tag{8.22b}
\end{array}
$$

Consumers of commonly purchased goods take prices as given and decide how much to buy. Assuming a competitive economy, each individual consumer is so small relative to the market that it cannot affect the price of a good. Therefore, price causes quantity demanded.

## Quick Quiz 8.14

Why does the assumption of competition result in constant prices faced by an individual buyer?

To summarize, the demand curve captures the relationship between the price of a good ( P ), and the quantity demanded $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right)$, ceteris paribus. The Law of Demand states that if the price of a good increases, then the quantity demanded will decrease, ceteris paribus. The next section deals with elasticity of demand, a concept used to indicate how responsive consumers are to changes in prices and other economic variables.

### 8.6 The elasticity of demand

"Elasticity," introduced earlier in this chapter, measures the changes in one variable that come in response to changes in another variable. The price elasticity of demand tells how responsive the quantity demanded is to a change in price. The price elasticity of demand answers the question, "How much does quantity demanded change when price changes?" Figure 8.16 makes this clear.

When the price of steak dinners falls from $\mathrm{P}_{0}$ to $\mathrm{P}_{1}$, the Law of Demand states that consumers in Philadelphia (and most other places!) will purchase more steak dinners. The price elasticity of demand tells how many more steak dinners consumers purchase after a drop in price. The price elasticity of demand relates to the slope of the demand curve. The major determinant of the elasticity of demand is the availability of substitutes.


Figure 8.16 A price change for the demand for steak dinners in Philadelphia.

Box 8.1 Tobacco in North Carolina
Tobacco production and processing are among the most historically important industries in North Carolina. However, as globalization has increased and barriers to free trade in agricultural products have been reduced or eliminated, overseas production of tobacco has resulted in challenges for tobacco producers in North Carolina and the Southeast United States.

Settlers brought tobacco from Virginia to North Carolina as early as 1663 . Tobacco became one of the most important crops in North Carolina agriculture, and tobacco remains an important part of the economy, representing 15 percent of the total value of all crops grown in North Carolina. Processing is also an important industry in North Carolina. The state ranks first in tobacco production.

Philip-Morris produces approximately one-half of all cigarettes and has a cigarette factory in North Carolina. RJ Reynolds is currently North Carolina's second-largest tobacco company. The livelihood of US tobacco farms is threatened by foreign tobacco production and decreased demand for tobacco products. In October 2004, Congress eliminated tobacco quotas, reducing profitability for smaller tobacco producers, as imported tobacco has increased from 690 million USD in 2004 to 752 million USD in 2011, shifting the tobacco supply curve to the right and causing the price to fall.

Sources: US Census Bureau: Foreign Trade Division, USA Trade Online. US Import and Export Merchandise trade statistics.

## THE AVAILABILITY OF SUBSTITUTES DETERMINES THE ELASTICITY OF DEMAND.

If there are very few substitutes for a good, then consumers will find it difficult to "substitute out" of goods that are more expensive and into less expensive goods. However, if there are substitutes available, then the consumer's reaction to a price change will be responsive, or elastic, to the change in price. Think of cigarettes. The many brands available make it easy to respond by switching to another brand when the price of a common brand increases.


Figure 8.17 Price elasticity of demand for Marlboros and all cigarettes.

Suppose that a hypothetical student, who is a smoker, is studying for a final exam, and finds herself in need of nicotine. The student goes to the convenience store to purchase cigarettes. All brands have an initial price of $\$ 3 /$ pack. Suppose further that the price of Marlboro cigarettes increases to $\$ 5 /$ pack, whereas all other brands continue to sell for $\$ 3 /$ pack. The student is likely to be responsive to this change in price, because there are many substitutes available: if the price of Marlboros is relatively higher, then the student could shift her purchase to Lucky Strikes or Camels, for example.

On the other hand, if the price of all brands of cigarettes increases to $\$ 5 /$ pack, then the student is likely to purchase a pack anyway, even though the price has increased. Why? Because the demand for goods like cigarettes is very inelastic (when a smoker needs a smoke, she needs a smoke). The left panel of Figure 8.17 shows that if the price of one specific brand of cigarettes increases, then consumers shift out of the relatively expensive brand and into relatively less expensive brands. The right-hand panel shows the demand for all cigarettes. There, a price increase does not result in a large substitution out of cigarettes, since there are no good substitutes (the student needs nicotine). In the first case, the price difference was large enough to cause the student to make a change. She responded to the change, so her demand for the cigarettes was elastic. In the second case, all brands were assumed to be enough alike to make a switch unnecessary. The purchaser was unresponsive so demand for the product was inelastic. In general, the elasticity of demand depends on the availability of substitutes, or how willing consumers are to switch their purchases to another good.

## Quick Quiz 8.15

Which is more elastic (responsive) to changes in price: oranges or apples? How about oranges and fruit?


Plate 8.6 Cigarettes.
Source: Minerva Studio/Shutterstock

The elasticity of demand for narrowly defined goods is greater than for more broadly defined goods, since there are more substitutes available. For example, if the price of blue shirts (narrowly defined) increases, buyers will switch into green shirts, but if the price of all shirts (broadly defined) increases, consumers have few other options. Therefore, the elasticity of demand for blue shirts is greater than the elasticity of demand for all shirts. Next, we turn to calculation of demand elasticities.

## The own-price elasticity of demand

The definition of own-price elasticity of demand is:

- Own-Price Elasticity of Demand $=$ the percentage change in the quantity demanded in response to a percentage change in price.

The formula for calculating the price elasticity of demand at a single point on a demand curve is:

$$
\begin{equation*}
E^{\mathrm{d}}=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}} / \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right) /(\Delta \mathrm{P} / \mathrm{P})=\left(\Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}} / \Delta \mathrm{P}\right) *\left(\mathrm{P} / \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right) \tag{8.23}
\end{equation*}
$$

Economists calculate elasticities rather than slopes of demand functions because the slopes of curves are not directly comparable. Recall that it is not possible to graph variables measured in different units in the same quadrant. In Figure 8.18, it appears that purchases of apples are more responsive to price changes than purchases of oranges. Actual calculations of the elasticities are necessary to show if this is the case. The reason is that the units of the graphs are different for apples and oranges.

Compare apples and oranges, by recalling Box 7.3 relating to Florida oranges in the previous chapter.

Elasticities are unitless, and therefore attractive to social scientists who make comparisons among elasticities across all goods. The definition of price elasticity makes this clear:

$$
\begin{equation*}
E^{d}=\left(\Delta Q^{d} / \Delta P\right) *\left(P / Q^{d}\right) \tag{8.24}
\end{equation*}
$$

Since the price $(\mathrm{P})$ and quantity demanded $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{d}\right)$ appear in the numerator and the denominator, the units of each cancel, leaving no units for an elasticity calculation. Hence, economists use elasticities rather than slopes to measure the responsiveness of consumer purchases to changes in prices and other economic variables. These unitless elasticities allow an unbiased comparison of the response to price changes of apples and oranges.

To summarize the discussion, elasticities represent how responsive consumers are to changes in price. An elastic demand curve represents consumers who are more responsive to price changes, and an inelastic demand curve represents consumers who are less responsive to price changes. The elasticities are comparable across all goods. The major determinant of the elasticity of demand is the availability of substitutes. If substitutes are available, then, when the price of a good increases, consumers buy something else.

The price elasticity of demand explains many market-related situations. For example, gasoline stations in college towns often charge higher prices for gasoline the day before the beginning of Spring Break. On this day, when several thousand students are preparing to leave town, the demand for gasoline is relatively inelastic. Station owners know this, and

Box 8.2 Washington apples
Currently, the State of Washington has over 175,000 acres of irrigated apple orchards located on the eastern slope of the Cascade Mountains. The area produces 10 to 12 billion apples each year. Settlers first planted the orchards in the 1820s. The rich soil from volcanic ash, plentiful sunshine, and arid climate provide excellent growing conditions for tree fruits such as apples and pears. The arid climate results in fewer insect and disease problems, making commercial apple production attractive. Today, the typical apple orchard is 50 acres, but some are up to 3,000 acres. An estimated 35 to 40 thousand pickers work in the fields during the annual apple harvest. US consumers eat an average of 19 pounds of fresh apples each year, compared to about 46 pounds consumed each year by Europeans. More than half of the fresh crop of eating apples grown in the US are from the orchards in Washington State.

Production practices have evolved continuously, as new technologies and new varieties have been developed and adopted. Recently, high-density plantings use dwarf trees to bring apples into production faster, and allow growers to respond more rapidly to changes in consumer tastes and preferences. Smaller trees also reduce the need for labor and equipment during the harvest season. Controlled Atmosphere (CA) storage occurs in large, airtight warehouses with reduced oxygen levels and temperatures held constant at 32-36 degrees Fahrenheit. This allows for a constant supply of fresh apples throughout the year.

Although there are more than 7,500 varieties of apples worldwide, the top nine varieties of apples grown in Washington state include Red Delicious, Golden Delicious, Gala, Fuji, Granny Smith, Braeburn, HoneyCrisp, Cripps Pink, and Cameo. The Red Delicious variety represents about 30 percent of apples grown in the state, but accounts for 48 percent of apples exported to other countries.
Source: Washington State Apple Commission. http://www.bestapples.com/index.aspx


Plate 8.7 Washington apples.
Source: Kissofdeath/Shutterstock


Figure 8.18 Demand for apples and oranges.
increase the price of fuel to take advantage of the fact that the students will pay higher prices in order to fulfill their vacation plans.

Veterinarians often charge higher prices for rich people with poodles than for poor people with mixed-breed mutts. Why? Because wealthier people are more likely to be willing and able to pay higher prices for vet services than poor people are. The elasticity of demand for medical services is lower (more inelastic) for rich persons than for poor.

Airline tickets usually cost more if purchased on the same day as the flight. Why? Because travelers who have not made flight arrangements prior to the day of the flight have an inelastic demand for airline travel. They are flying in response to an emergency or an urgent situation, and are willing to pay higher prices for the flight. The elasticity of demand for airline tickets becomes more inelastic as the day of the flight approaches. Airlines take advantage of this by increasing prices as flight time approaches.

For practice using the elasticity concept, consider the calculation of an arc elasticity of the demand for wheat. The definition of the price elasticity of demand is:

$$
\begin{equation*}
E^{d}=\% \Delta Q^{d} / \% \Delta P=\left(\Delta Q^{d} / \Delta P\right) *\left(P / Q^{d}\right) . \tag{8.25}
\end{equation*}
$$

Calculating the price elasticity of demand requires knowledge of the changes in price and quantity. In words, this is equivalent to the percentage change in quantity demanded that has come in response to a percentage change in price. Suppose that the price of wheat increases from $\$ 3 / \mathrm{bu}$ to $\$ 5 / \mathrm{bu}$, resulting in a decrease in the quantity of wheat demanded from $\mathrm{Q}_{1}=20$ billion bushels to $\mathrm{Q}_{2}=16$ billion bushels.

$$
\begin{align*}
& P_{1}=\$ 3 / \mathrm{bu} \quad \mathrm{Q}_{1}=20 \text { billion bushels }  \tag{8.26a}\\
& P_{2}=\$ 5 / \mathrm{bu} \quad \mathrm{Q}_{2}=16 \text { billion bushels. }  \tag{8.26b}\\
& \Delta \mathrm{P}=\mathrm{P}_{2}-P_{1}=5-3=2  \tag{8.27a}\\
& \Delta \mathrm{Q}=\mathrm{Q}_{2}-\mathrm{Q}_{1}=16-20=-4 . \tag{8.27b}
\end{align*}
$$

The next step in the calculation requires selection of a price and a quantity to plug into the formula. Which P is correct: $\mathrm{P}_{1}$ or $\mathrm{P}_{2}$ ? Since using either of these prices would yield


Figure 8.19 The demand for wheat.
a different result, use the average price. The arc elasticity formula shows how this happens:

$$
\begin{equation*}
E^{\mathrm{d}}=\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}} / \% \Delta \mathrm{P}=\left[\left(\mathrm{Q}_{2}-\mathrm{Q}_{1}\right) /\left(\mathrm{P}_{2}-\mathrm{P}_{1}\right)\right] *\left[\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{2}\right) /\left(\mathrm{Q}_{1}+\mathrm{Q}_{2}\right)\right] . \tag{8.28}
\end{equation*}
$$

This formula uses the average (or mean) prices and quantities for the price and quantity levels. Since the average price is equal to $\left[\left(\mathrm{P}_{1}+\mathrm{P}_{2}\right) / 2\right]$, and the average quantity is equal to $\left[\left(\mathrm{Q}_{1}+\mathrm{Q}_{2}\right) / 2\right]$, the twos cancel out, resulting in Equation 8.28 given above.

The Law of Demand states that if the price increases, consumers will purchase less wheat. Therefore, the sign of the price elasticity of demand will always be negative. The magnitude of the elasticity depends on the availability of substitutes for wheat. Consumers could switch from wheat bread and flour tortillas to corn bread and corn tortillas, for example. The elasticity formula quantifies the responsiveness of consumers to a change in the price of wheat and puts the result pertaining to a change in consumer behavior into a single easily understood number:

$$
\begin{align*}
E^{d} & =\left(Q_{2}-Q_{1}\right) /\left(P_{2}-P_{1}\right) *\left(P_{1}+P_{2}\right) /\left(Q_{1}+Q_{2}\right) \\
& =(16-20) /(5-3) *(3+5) /(20+16)=-0.44 \tag{8.29}
\end{align*}
$$

The Law of Demand states that the sign of the price elasticity of demand must always be negative. The absolute value of the elasticity converts the elasticity to a positive number, as in Equation 8.30:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\left|E^{\mathrm{d}}\right|=0.44 \tag{8.30}
\end{equation*}
$$

This elasticity provides a summary of how much quantity demanded changes given a change in price. The price elasticity relates to the demand curve shown in Figure 8.19. The absolute value less than one $(=0.44)$ of the price elasticity of wheat indicates that the demand for wheat is relatively inelastic. There are few good substitutes for wheat in this case.

## Responsiveness classifications

The relative magnitude of the price elasticity of demand for different goods provides useful information. For example, the quantity demanded of food remains relatively constant, since food is a physiological necessity. If the price of food increases, most consumers continue to eat approximately the same amount. In more formal terms, the demand for food is inelastic because the quantity demanded does not vary with changes in price. Examples of common goods with inelastic demands include necessities of all types (food, housing, medicines, tobacco, gasoline, toothpaste, newspapers, and the like).

- Inelastic Demand = a change in price brings about a relatively smaller change in quantity demanded.

Recall the definition of elasticity:

$$
\begin{equation*}
E^{d}=\% \Delta Q^{d} / \% \Delta P \tag{8.31}
\end{equation*}
$$

In the case of a good with an inelastic demand, the percentage change in price is greater than the percentage change in quantity demanded $\left(\% \Delta Q^{d}<\% \Delta P\right)$. Therefore, when demand for a good is inelastic, the absolute value of the price elasticity of demand is less than one, $\left|E^{d}\right|<1$, as shown in Figure 8.20.

The demand for food depicted in Figure 8.20 is inelastic, or relatively unresponsive to a change in price: the magnitude of the elasticity of demand is relatively small. If the price of the good increases by 1 percent, then the quantity demanded will decrease by less than 1 percent.

Consider how consumers respond to changes in the price of expensive meals in upscale restaurants. If the restaurant increases the price of one specific item on the menu, customers will switch away from the relatively high-cost meal and select lower-cost menu items. Since substitutes are available, consumers are responsive to changes in price. Menu items are goods with elastic demand.

- Elastic Demand = a change in price brings about a relatively larger change in quantity demanded.


Figure 8.20 Demand for an inelastic good: food.


Figure 8.21 Demand for an elastic good: blue cheese salad dressing.

A 1 percent increase in the price of a good with an elastic demand results in a greater than 1 percent decrease in the quantity demanded. In the case of elastic demand, $\left|E^{d}\right|>1$, since $\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}>\% \Delta \mathrm{P}$. In a graph of an elastic demand such as for blue cheese salad dressing, the percentage change in quantity demanded is larger than the percentage change in price.

Substitutes exist for the blue cheese salad dressing, so the demand for this item is elastic. Recall that the demand for food as a whole is inelastic, since there are no good substitutes. Even so, there are food items whose demand is elastic, and these might include Florida oranges, Idaho potatoes, McDonald's Big Macs, avocados, and fresh peaches in season.

## Quick Quiz 8.16

Explain why each of the goods listed above has an elastic demand.

The third and last category of price elasticity of demand is Unitary Elastic Demand.

- Unitary Elastic Demand $=$ the percentage change in price brings about an equal percentage change in quantity demanded.

Mathematically, the formula for unitary elasticity is:

$$
\begin{equation*}
E^{d}=\Delta Q^{d} / \Delta P^{*}\left(P_{1}+P_{2}\right) /\left(Q_{1}+Q_{2}\right)=1 . \tag{8.32}
\end{equation*}
$$

In this case, the quantity demanded of the good falls by the same percentage as the increase in price. Table 8.4 summarizes the three categories of the price elasticity of demand.

The magnitude of the price elasticity depends on the availability of substitutes. Alternative purchases typically become more available over time, resulting in the demand for a particular product becoming more elastic. Consumers become more responsive to changes in prices as time passes. Suppose that the price of electricity increases. An individual consumer cannot typically change sources of electricity in the short run. Therefore, the demand for electricity

Table 8.4 Demand elasticity classifications

| Unitary | $\left\|\mathrm{E}^{d}\right\|=1$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Inelastic | $\left\|\mathrm{E}^{d}\right\|<1$ |
| Elastic | $\left\|\mathrm{E}^{d}\right\|>1$ |

in the short run is inelastic: households purchase the same level of kilowatt-hours (kwh), that is, they are likely to stay at approximately the same level even when prices increase.

Over time, and within some limits, consumers can substitute out of electricity by purchasing natural gas furnaces, water heaters, and kitchen appliances. Some households may even invest in solar power, wind power, and other alternative sources of power. Since consumers have more choices as time passes, the demand for electricity becomes more elastic over time.

## The elasticity of demand and total revenue

A business firm's pricing strategy is based on the price elasticity of demand for its product. Consider a firm that is attempting to maximize total revenue (TR $=P^{*} Q$, where $P$ is the per unit price and Q is the quantity sold). Figure 8.22 shows the demand curves for a product with an inelastic demand and a product with an elastic demand. The inelastic demand case suggests that a firm can increase total revenue by decreasing output and increasing price: added revenue from the price increase will outweigh the decrease in output sold. Alternatively, with the help of some familiar equations:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{PQ} \tag{8.33a}
\end{equation*}
$$

$$
\begin{equation*}
\Delta \mathrm{TR}=\Delta(\mathrm{PQ})=\Delta \mathrm{P} \Delta \mathrm{Q} \tag{8.33b}
\end{equation*}
$$

we can see that when demand is inelastic, as it is in the left graph of Figure 8.22, the positive price increase $(\Delta \mathrm{P})$ is larger than the decrease in quantity sold $(\Delta \mathrm{Q})$, so reductions in quantity sold result in an increase in total revenue. Given an inelastic demand, a firm will reduce output to increase revenue. Making the product scarce causes total revenue to increase.

The strategy of reducing output backfires for a firm facing an elastic demand: the reduction in quantity would be greater than the price increase, resulting in a decrease in total revenue. This is because the decrease in quantity $(\triangle \mathrm{Q})$ is larger than the increase in price $(\Delta \mathrm{P})$. This is shown in the right graph of Figure 8.22.

## Quick Quiz 8.17

Describe the impacts on total revenue of an agricultural policy that reduces the number of acres of land planted to wheat in the US.

The relationship between the price elasticity of demand and total revenue explains why business firms are so interested in the elasticity of demand for the goods sold by the firm. An effective pricing strategy requires knowledge of how customers will respond to a change in price: it requires knowledge regarding the elasticity of demand for the products it sells.


Figure 8.22 Demand for inelastic and elastic goods.

## Own-price and cross-price demand elasticities

Elasticities of demand are associated with (1) the good's own price, and (2) the price of a related good. Recall that the own-price elasticity of demand measures the responsiveness of the quantity demanded of a good to changes in the price of that good. A related good is one that has an impact on the consumption of another good. The Cross-Price Elasticity of Demand measures how the demand of one good changes when the price of a related good changes.

- Cross-Price Elasticity of Demand = a measure of the responsiveness of the quantity demanded of a good to changes in the price of a related good.

The cross-price elasticity is written as $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{d}} \mathrm{Y}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}=\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{Y} 2} / \% \Delta \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}$. This formula states that the cross-price elasticity of demand is the percentage change in quantity demanded of good $\mathrm{Y}_{2}$ given a percentage change in price of good $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$. If two goods $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{Y}_{2}$ are unrelated, then the change in the price of $Y_{1}$ has no effect on the consumption of good $Y_{2}$, and the crossprice elasticity is equal to zero ( $\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{Y} 1 \mathrm{Y} 2}$ ). There are two types of related goods in consumption: Substitutes and Complements.

- Substitutes in Consumption = goods that are consumed on an "either/or" basis such as wheat bread and white bread.

Corn and milo are substitutes in consumption for feeding cattle. A feedlot operator can purchase either of these two feed grains, since they are nearly nutritionally equivalent. If the price of corn increases, then the demand for milo increases, as feedlots substitute out of corn and into milo. Thus, the cross-price elasticity of demand is positive for substitutes:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{Y} 1 \mathrm{Y} 2}^{\mathrm{d}}=\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}^{\mathrm{d}} / \% \Delta \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}>0 . \tag{8.34}
\end{equation*}
$$

Electric appliances (stoves, furnaces, and hot water heaters), and natural gas appliances are frequently substitutes. Most homes in the northern United States have either gas or electric
appliances (sometimes both), depending on the relative prices of natural gas and electricity. Within some limits gasoline and bicycles are substitutes. As the price of gasoline rises, short-distance commuters switch to bicycles.

Complements in Consumption are goods consumed together, for example bread and butter, or biscuits and gravy, or a dress shirt and a necktie.

- Complements in Consumption $=$ goods that are consumed together (e.g., peanut butter and jelly).

If the price of bread increases, consumers will purchase less bread and, as a consequence, they need less butter. The demand for butter decreases when the price of bread increases. This means that the cross-price elasticity of butter with respect to bread is negative:

$$
\begin{equation*}
E_{\mathrm{Y}_{1} \mathrm{Y}_{2}}^{\mathrm{d}}=\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{Y}_{2}}^{\mathrm{d}} / \% \Delta \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}_{1}}<0 . \tag{8.35}
\end{equation*}
$$

Unrelated goods might include ice cream, houses, and laptops. The number of homes purchased is likely unrelated to the price of ice cream or the price of laptops. Consequently, the price of houses has no impact on the demand for ice cream or the demand for laptop computers. In these cases, the Cross-Price Elasticity of Demand is equal to zero.

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{Y}_{1} \mathrm{Y}_{2}}^{\mathrm{l}}=\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{Y}_{2}}^{\mathrm{d}} / \% \Delta \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}_{1}}=0 . \tag{8.36}
\end{equation*}
$$

## The relationship between elasticity and slope

As with supply curves, the elasticity of demand relates to the slope of the demand curve, but is not equal to it. Use caution when comparing the slopes of two demand curves in


Plate 8.8 Peanut butter and jelly.
Source: Jorge Salcedo/Shutterstock
different graphs. The slope may reflect different scales on the horizontal and vertical axes, and thus be misleading. Elasticities across goods are comparable only when the actual elasticities are calculated.

### 8.7 Change in demand; change in quantity demanded

Earlier in this chapter, data from a consumer equilibrium graph showed that successively lowering the price of macaroni and cheese increased the quantity purchased. This showed that the demand curve is a function of the relationship between price and quantity demanded, ceteris paribus (holding all else constant). The demand curve reflects a consumer's willingness and ability to purchase a good at each of several prices for the good.

The demand curve for high-quality Certified Angus Beef (CAB) demonstrates the difference between a change in demand and a change in quantity demanded. A change in the price of beef results in a movement along an existing demand curve. This movement along the curve represents a change in the quantity demanded. If the price of beef decreases while all else is held constant, consumers will eat more beef.

## Quick Quiz 8.18

Why does the quantity of beef demanded decrease when the price of beef increases?

- Change in Quantity Demanded = when a change in the quantity of a good purchased is a result of a change in the price of the good. A movement along the demand curve.

The movement along the demand curve is due to a change in the price of the good, or a change in quantity demanded, as depicted in Figure 8.23.

If anything other than the good's own price changes, then there is a shift in demand, known as a Change in Demand.

- Change in Demand = when a change in the quantity of a good purchased is a result of a change in an economic variable other than the price of the good. A shift in the demand curve.


Figure 8.23 Increase in the quantity demanded of Certified Angus Beef.


Figure 8.24 An increase in the demand for Certified Angus Beef.

An increase in income causes the entire demand curve to shift out (to the right), since an increase in purchasing power will result in consumers buying more beef at every price. This is a change in demand due to consumers being able to afford to eat more beef, as shown in Figure 8.24.

## Examples of demand changes

1. The Price of Corn and the Demand for Soda

What does the price of corn have to do with the price of soda? Corn is a major input in the production of soda (High Fructose Corn Syrup, HFCS, is the sweetener used for most sodas), so as the price of corn increases, the price of soda increases. Does this cause a shift or a movement in demand? It causes a change in the price of soda, so the result is a movement along the demand curve for soda, seen in Figure 8.25.

## 2. The Impact of Cold Weather on Cattle

Very cold weather can kill or slow the growth of cattle. This "weather event" reduces the number of cattle available for slaughter. This, in turn, results in an increase in the price of beef, which causes a movement along the demand curve, as shown in Figure 8.26.


Figure 8.25 A decrease in the quantity demanded of soda.


Figure 8.26 A decrease in the quantity demanded of beef.

## 3. The Price of Milo's Impact on the Demand for Corn

Milo and corn are near perfect substitutes: either grain is suitable for use in a feedlot to fatten cattle. An increase in the relative price of milo results in a movement along the demand curve for milo, and a shift in the demand for corn, or an increase in the demand for corn (Figure 8.27).

## 4. College

The tuition at public colleges (universities) in the United States is a topic of great concern. Suppose that tuition is considered to be the "price" of a college degree. An increase in tuition will result in a movement along the demand curve, or a change in quantity demanded, as shown in Figure 8.28. Some students will shift out of college and into employment when the price of college increases.

## 5. The Effect of a Decrease in Income on the Demand for Veterinary Services

If an economic variable other than the price changes, it results in a change in demand, or a shift in the demand curve, as seen in Figure 8.29. If the income level in a community declines, for example, then the purchasing power of individuals and households


Figure 8.27 Change in demand and change in quantity demanded.


Figure 8.28 An increase in tuition, the price of college.
falls and less money is available to spend on veterinary services. Individuals and families will forego veterinary services such as preventative medicine and annual check-ups. These services may seem "optional" for pets when spendable income is low.

### 8.8 Determinants of demand

The own price of a good $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\text {own }}\right)$ is the most important determinant of demand. Other determinants of demand include the price of related goods ( $\mathrm{P}_{\text {related goods }}$ ), income $(\mathrm{M})$, tastes and preferences (TP), expectations of future prices (EP), and population (Pop) as written in this demand function:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}=\mathrm{f}\left(\mathrm{P}_{\text {owa }} \mid P_{\text {related goods }}, \mathrm{M}, \mathrm{TP}, \mathrm{EP}, \mathrm{Pop}\right) . \tag{8.37}
\end{equation*}
$$

There are other determinants as well, but this list includes the most important ones. All need additional discussion. The first demand determinant is the good's own price. The Law of Demand says that if the price of a good increases, then the quantity demanded decreases, ceteris paribus.


Figure 8.29 A decrease in the demand for veterinary services.

## Quick Quiz 8.19

When the price of a good changes, is it followed by a change in demand or a change in quantity demanded?

## Prices of related goods

A second determinant of demand appeared under "Own-price and cross-price demand elasticities" above. There it was shown that substitutes in consumption are goods that can be purchased on an "either/or" basis. Corn and milo are both feed grains, and are substitutes in the production of beef. Depending on the relative prices of the two grains, feedlot managers will purchase either one. If the price of corn increases, consumers (feedlots) substitute out of corn and into milo. If the price of corn increases, the quantity demanded of corn decreases, and the demand for milo increases.

Complements in consumption are goods that are used together, such as bread and butter. If the price of butter increases, the quantity demanded of butter decreases, and the demand for bread will decline as well.

## Income

Changes in income levels have a significant impact on the demand for goods and services. Think of the vast differences between the types of goods that a homeless person consumes compared to the consumption habits of a very wealthy person. Increases in the level of living have a huge impact on the type and magnitude of goods and services that consumers purchase.

The relationship between income and consumption is highly important to agriculture. As the level of living increases, purchases shift from goods such as ramen noodles and macaroni and cheese to steak and roses. The demand for agricultural goods produced in the United States strongly depends on the levels of income in other countries.

Over a century ago, a German statistician named Ernst Engel studied the relationship between income and consumer expenditures. His studies resulted in a functional relationship between income and consumption called the Engel Curve and written:

$$
\begin{equation*}
Q^{d}=f\left(M \mid P_{\text {own }}, P_{\text {related goods }}, T P, E P, \text { Pop }\right) . \tag{8.38}
\end{equation*}
$$

Box 8.3 US wheat exports
On average, about 120 million metric tons of wheat enter international markets each year. Approximately one-fourth of this total ( 30 million metric tons) comes from the United States. A metric ton is 1000 kilograms, or approximately 2204 pounds. Much of the wheat exported from the United States goes to low-income nations. In a lowincome nation in Sub-Saharan Africa or Asia, incomes are at or near subsistence levels. Therefore, any increase in income increases expenditures on food. When income levels rise in Korea, China, or Pakistan, the US exports more wheat to these countries, increasing the incomes of wheat producers in the United States.

Source: USDA/ERS.

- Engel Curve $=$ the relationship between income and quantity demanded, ceteris paribus.

Engel studied the consumption patterns of individuals, which led him to discover a relationship now called Engel's Law.

- Engel's Law = as income increases, the proportion of income spent on food declines, ceteris paribus.

Notice that Engel's Law says that the proportion of income spent on food, not the total dollars spent on food. This means that as people become wealthier, they spend more dollars on food, but the proportion of income spent on food increases at a declining rate. Engel's Law has major implications for agriculture. It implies that as income increases, production agriculture decreases in importance relative to the rest of the economy. This is what has happened over the course of US history. In the pre-Revolutionary years, nearly every European who settled in what is now the United States was a farmer. Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, less than 2 percent of the US population is engaged in farming. Engel was right. As levels of living in the United States increased, agriculture lost importance as a part of the overall economy.

Engel's law can be observed in the hypothetical Engel curve for food in Figure 8.30. The curve shows the relationship between income $(M)$ and the quantity of food purchased $\left(Q^{d}\right)$. Near the origin, where income is equal to zero, a one dollar increase in income likely results in a one dollar increase in expenditures for food, since food is a necessity.

At low levels of income, most of the budget goes for food. As income levels increase, purchases of food continue to increase (the slope of the Engel curve is positive), but at a decreasing rate, reflecting the increasing purchase of nonfood items. At a certain point, food purchases reach a maximum and begin to fall, indicating that wealthy individuals may not spend as high a proportion of their incomes on food as individuals with lower levels of income. Statistical evidence shows that this is true.

## Quick Quiz 8.20

Does the Engel curve show that middle-income families purchase less food than lowincome families? Explain why or why not.


Figure 8.30 An Engel curve for food.

An example introduced in Section 8.5 provides a closer look at Engel's Law by showing the derivation of two Engel curves. The college student in the example purchases only two goods: macaroni and cheese (mac-n-cheese, $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$ ), and pizza ( $\mathrm{Y}_{2}$ ). The student has a weekly income of $\$ 40$, the price of macaroni and cheese is two dollars per box for ( $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}=\$ 2 /$ box $)$, and the price of pizza is five dollars per pizza pie ( $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}=\$ 5 / \mathrm{pie}$ ). To summarize:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\mathrm{M}=\$ 40 / \text { week } & \\
\mathrm{Y}_{1}=\text { mac-n-cheese } & \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 1}=\$ 2 / \text { box } \\
\mathrm{Y}_{2}=\text { pizza } & \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y} 2}=\$ 5 / \text { pie } . \tag{8.39c}
\end{array}
$$

The objective here is to show how the consumer's equilibrium purchases change with a change in income. This requires increasing the income available for food expenditures from $\$ 40 /$ week to $\$ 60 /$ week, and then to $\$ 80 /$ week, as in Figure 8.31.

The small circles in Figure 8.31 indicate the consumer's equilibrium points at each income level. The student buys more pizza as income is increased. The graph also shows increases in the consumption of macaroni and cheese when income increases from $\$ 40 /$ week to $\$ 60 /$ week. However, when income increases to $\$ 80 /$ week, the purchases of macaroni and cheese decline.

## Quick Quiz 8.21

What determines the shape and location of the budget lines drawn for each level of income?


Figure 8.31 Derivation of Engel curves for macaroni and cheese and pizza.

Table 8.5 Consumer purchases and income

| M Income (\$/week) | $Y_{1} Q^{d}$ mac-n-cheese (boxes) | $Y_{2} Q^{d}$ pizza (pies) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 40 | 10 | 4 |
| 60 | 15 | 6 |
| 80 | 10 | 12 |

The Engel curve depicts the relationship between income and quantity demanded. The data in Table 8.5 form the bases of Engel curves for both macaroni and cheese and pizza, as depicted in Figure 8.32.

Recall that the relationship between income (M) and quantity demanded, holding all else constant, can be written as a mathematical expression:

$$
\begin{equation*}
Q^{d}=f\left(M \mid P_{o w n}, P_{\text {related goods }}, T P, E P, \text { Pop }\right) \tag{8.40}
\end{equation*}
$$

The graph on the right side of Figure 8.32 shows how pizza consumption increases as income increases. The relationship between income and pizza purchases is positive, meaning that increased income leads to increased purchases of pizza. Economists call the type of good whose consumption increases as income increases a Normal Good.

- Normal Good = a good whose consumption increases in response to an increase in income.

Normal goods might include such goods as food, clothing, and automobiles. Other goods exhibit decreased consumption levels as income increases: Inferior Goods. Inferior goods could include used clothing, or macaroni and cheese. As incomes rise, consumers substitute out of inferior goods and into normal goods.

- Inferior Good $=$ a good whose consumption declines in response to an increase in income.



Figure 8.32 Engle curves for macaroni and cheese and pizza.

The left side of Figure 8.32 shows that the consumption of macaroni and cheese increases as income increases from $\$ 40 /$ week to $\$ 60 /$ week (macaroni and cheese is a normal good in this range), but declines as income rises from $\$ 60$ to $\$ 80$ per week (macaroni and cheese is an inferior good in this range). As people earn more money, they first increase their consumption of inexpensive foods (e.g., macaroni and cheese, ramen noodles, spaghetti). When income reaches a certain level, consumers begin to shift out of inexpensive foods and into more expensive foods, such as steak and seafood.

A Luxury Good is a good purchased at an increasing rate when income increases. Pizza consumption as shown in Figure 8.32 is an example. A luxury good is a specific type of normal good, since the relationship between income and quantity consumed is positive.

- Luxury Good $=$ a good whose consumption increases at an increasing rate in response to an increase in income.

A Necessity Good is also a normal good, but one where consumption increases at a decreasing rate as income increases:

- Necessity Good = a good whose consumption increases at a decreasing rate in response to an increase in income.

The relationship between income and consumption is crucial to farmers and to other producers of goods or services. Taking food as perhaps the best example, as the level of living increases in low-income nations such as Haiti and Korea, consumers substitute out of less expensive calorie sources, such as grains, and into more expensive sources such as beef and chicken. This increase in meat consumption has a large, positive effect on the incomes of food producers in the United States.

Some meat consumed in Asia originates in the United States. It takes approximately seven pounds of grain to produce one pound of beef. Therefore, increases in Asia's consumption of US meat increases the demand for feed grains, which are major crops produced in the Great Plains region of the US. Any increase in the development of low-income nations that leads to an increase in income will enhance the demand for meat consumption, which in turn will result in an increase in the well-being of producers in the United States.

Economists summarize the relationship between income and consumption with the Income Elasticity of Demand.

- Income Elasticity of Demand = the percentage change in the demand for a good in response to a one percent change in income.

The mathematical formula for the income elasticity of demand is:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}=\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}} / \% \Delta \mathrm{M}=(\Delta \mathrm{Q} / \mathrm{Q}) /(\Delta \mathrm{M} / \mathrm{M}) \tag{8.41}
\end{equation*}
$$

The formula above is a "point elasticity" that can be used to find the income elasticity of demand at any point on an Engel curve. The arc elasticity formula is:

$$
\begin{equation*}
E^{m}=\% \Delta Q^{d} / \% \Delta M=(\Delta Q / \Delta M) *\left(M_{1}+M_{2} / Q_{1}+Q_{2}\right) \tag{8.42}
\end{equation*}
$$

The income elasticity of demand allows the classification of goods into three categories, based on the responsiveness of consumers to changes in their incomes (Table 8.6).

Table 8.6 Good responsiveness to income

| Normal Goods | $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}>0$ | $\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}>0$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Luxury Goods | $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}>1$ | $\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}>\% \Delta \mathrm{M}$ (normal good) |
| Necessity Goods | $0<\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}<1$ | $\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}<\% \Delta \mathrm{M}$ (normal good) |
| Inferior Goods | $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}<0$ | $\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}<0$ |

The study of the relationship between income and consumption leads to one important conclusion. Agricultural producers and agribusinesses can improve their economic situation by following the saying, "Give the consumers what they want!" As the level of living increases in the United States, consumers will shift out of inferior goods, and into luxury goods. In agriculture, luxury goods include organic fruits and vegetables, free-range chicken, and hormone-free beef.

An economist recommends that agricultural producers and agribusinesses not waste time or effort opposing this type of good, just "Give the consumers what they want!" and revenue will increase. There is a large and increasing demand for expensive agricultural goods in high-value markets. This is related to the changing tastes and preferences of consumers who live in nations that have a high level of living.

Box 8.4 Natural and organic beef
As incomes rise, consumers have increasingly demanded meat products perceived to be healthier and less harmful to the environment. Natural and organic beef products are more popular, and are likely to become even more widespread over time. Currently, natural beef comprises a small but growing percentage of the total beef market, at approximately 5 percent of all beef consumed in the US. Producers of natural beef may use a USDA label if: (1) the product is minimally processed, (2) the product contains no artificial ingredients, and (3) the product contains no preservatives. The company or organization owning the brand name of this beef is responsible for the administration and regulation of these requirements. Natural beef contains no antibiotics or growth hormones.

Organic beef is a much more stringent label, requiring no antibiotics or growth hormones, and no feed that includes non-organic sources such as fertilized pastures or agricultural chemicals such as herbicides. Certification is administered and monitored by the USDA, and requires a great deal of time, effort, and documentation. Natural and organic beef products are more expensive than conventional beef products. Understandably, organic beef is typically much more expensive than natural beef, due to the high cost of acquiring organic feed grain.

Beef cattle producers must carefully weigh the benefits of natural and organic beef (price premiums) with the additional costs of modifying their production practices.

Source: "Natural and Organic Beef." University of Arkansas. FSA3103. http://www.uaex.edu/ Other_Areas/publications/PDF/FSA-3103.pdf

## Tastes and preferences

The tastes and preferences of consumers are a major determinant of the demand for goods in the US; while this is true, it is also true that tastes and preferences change over time: sometimes quickly. Tobacco provides an example. Tobacco use has dropped dramatically for the entire population in the US, although smoking among young persons is higher now than it was thirty years ago. Food safety has become a much more important determinant of consumer demand for agricultural products, due to outbreaks of salmonella in poultry and E. coli in beef. Organic fruits and vegetables are a small but rapidly growing sector of the food market. Consumer tastes and preferences are always changing, based on trends, relative prices, fads, and other factors.

## Expectations of future prices

The expectations of future prices also have an impact on the demand for a good. If the expectation were for the price of gold to increase, would you buy or sell gold? If you could buy gold today at $\$ 1000 /$ ounce, and sell it later for $\$ 1700 /$ ounce, you could make a huge return on your investment. This is why the expected future prices of agricultural products affect demand today. If the price of a good or commodity is expected to decrease, then the demand for the good will decrease, as consumers wait to purchase until the price decreases. Traders working at the Chicago Board of Trade, the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, and the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) earn their living by buying and selling goods and commodities; they guess whether the prices will rise or fall and make purchases and sales accordingly. This "futures trading" is a major subject area of agricultural economics.

## Population

Population is the final determinant of demand mentioned here. Population growth has a direct and important impact on consumption: more people buy more goods, particularly necessities such as food. The result is similar to an increase in income in low-income nations. If the population of Ethiopia increases, then Ethiopia's demand for wheat will increase.

The last few pages have dealt with the determinants of demand. Chapter 9 uses much of this information to explain how markets operate. The supply and demand curves from this chapter merge into one graph, to aid the study of the interaction between producers and consumers.

### 8.9 Summary

1. Supply is the amount of a good available in a given location, at a given time, and at a given price.
2. The marginal cost curve above the minimum Average Variable Cost curve is the supply curve of the individual firm.
3. The horizontal summation of all individual supply curves yields the market supply curve.
4. A supply schedule is a table showing the relationship between the price of a good and the quantity of a good supplied.
5. The Law of Supply states that the quantity of goods offered to a market varies directly with the price of a good, ceteris paribus.
6. An elasticity is the percentage change in one economic variable with respect to a percentage change in another economic variable.
7. The elasticity of supply is the percentage change in the quantity supplied with respect to a percentage change in price $\left[\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{s}}=\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}} / \% \Delta \mathrm{P}\right]$. An inelastic supply curve is relatively unresponsive to changes in price ( $\mathrm{E}^{s}<1$ ); an elastic supply curve is relatively responsive to changes in price ( $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{s}}>1$ ); a unitary elastic supply curve is one where a percentage change in price results in an equal percentage change in quantity supplied ( $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{s}}=1$ ).
8. The elasticity of supply becomes more elastic as time passes.
9. Elasticities are unitless and can be compared across different goods.
10. The own-price elasticity of supply measures the responsiveness of quantity supplied of a good to changes in the price of that good.
11. The cross-price elasticity of supply measures the responsiveness of quantity supplied of a good to changes in the price of a related good.
12. The change in quantity supplied occurs when the change in quantity of a good sold is a result of a change in the price of a good. Graphically, this is a movement along a supply curve.
13. A change in supply occurs when the change in quantity of a good sold is a result of a change in an economic variable other than the price of a good. Graphically, a shift in the supply curve.
14. Determinants of supply include: (1) input prices, (2) technology, (3) prices of related goods, and (4) the number of sellers.
15. Complements in production are goods that are produced together. Substitutes in production are goods that compete for the same resources in production.
16. Demand is the consumer willingness and ability to pay for a good.
17. The demand curve is a function connecting all combinations of prices and quantities consumed for a good, ceteris paribus.
18. The demand schedule presents information on price and quantities purchased.
19. The market demand curve is the horizontal summation of all individual demand curves.
20. The Law of Demand states that the quantity of a good demanded varies inversely with the price of a good, ceteris paribus.
21. The price elasticity of demand relates how responsive quantity demanded is to changes in price $\left[\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{d}}=\% \Delta \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}} / \% \Delta \mathrm{P}\right]$. An inelastic demand curve is one where a percentage change in price results in a relatively smaller percentage change in quantity demanded $\left(\left|\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{d}}\right|<1\right)$. An elastic demand is one where a percentage change in price results in a larger percentage change in quantity demanded $\left(\left|\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{d}}\right|>1\right)$. A unitary elastic demand curve is one where the percentage change in price results in an equal percentage change in quantity demanded $\left(\left|\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{d}}\right|=1\right)$.
22. The own-price elasticity of demand measures the responsiveness of the quantity demanded of a good to changes in the price of the same good.
23. The cross-price elasticity of demand measures the responsiveness of the quantity demanded of a good to changes in the price of a related good.
24. Substitutes in consumption are goods that are consumed "either/or." Complements in consumption are goods that are consumed together.
25. A change in quantity demanded results from a change in the price of a good. A change in quantity demanded is a movement along the demand curve.
26. A change in demand results from a change in an economic variable other than the price of a good. A change in demand is a shift in the demand curve.
27. Demand is determined by: (1) the price of the good, (2) prices of related goods, (3) income, (4) tastes and preferences, (5) expectations of future prices, and (6) population.
28. An Engel curve shows the relationship between consumer income and the quantity of good consumed, ceteris paribus. Engel's Law states that as income increases, the proportion of income spent on food declines.
29. The income elasticity of demand is the percentage change in the demand for a good in response to a percentage change in consumer income $\left[E^{m}=\% \Delta Q^{d} / \% \Delta M\right]$.
30. A normal good is one whose consumption increases in response to an increase in income $\left(\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}>0\right)$. The consumption of an inferior good declines in response to an increase in income ( $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}<0$ ). A luxury good's consumption increases at an increasing rate in response to an increase in income ( $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}>1$ ), while a necessity good's consumption increases at a decreasing rate in response to an increase in income $\left(0<\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}<1\right)$.

### 8.10 Glossary

Arc Elasticity. A formula that measures responsiveness along a specific section (arc) of a supply or demand curve, and measures the "average" price elasticity between two points on the curve.
Change in Demand. When a change in the quantity of a good purchased is a result of a change in an economic variable other than the price of the good. A shift in the demand curve.
Change in Quantity Demanded. When a change in the quantity of a good purchased is a result of a change in the price of the good. A movement along the demand curve.
Change in Quantity Supplied. A change in the quantity of a good placed on the market due to a change in the price of the good. A movement along the supply curve.
Change in Supply. A change in the quantity of a good produced due to a change in one or more economic variables other than the price of the good. A shift in the supply curve.
Complements in Consumption. Goods that are consumed together (e.g., peanut butter and jelly).
Complements in Production. Goods that are produced together (e.g., beef and leather).
Cross-Price Elasticity of Demand. A measure of the responsiveness of the quantity demanded of a good to changes in the price of a related good.
Cross-Price Elasticity of Supply. A measure of the responsiveness of the quantity supplied of a good to changes in the price of a related good.
Demand. Consumer willingness and ability to pay for a good.
Demand Curve. A function connecting all combinations of prices and quantities consumed for a good, ceteris paribus.
Demand Schedule. Information on prices and quantities purchased.
Elastic Demand. A change in price brings about a relatively larger change in quantity demanded.
Elastic Supply. A change in price brings about a relatively larger change in quantity supplied.
Elasticity. The percentage change in one economic variable resulting from a percentage change in another economic variable.
Elasticity of Demand. The percentage change in the quantity demanded in response to a percentage change in price.
Elasticity of Supply. The percentage change in the quantity supplied in response to a percentage increase in price.
Engel Curve. The relationship between income and quantity demanded, ceteris paribus.

Engel's Law. As income increases, the proportion of income spent on food declines, ceteris paribus.
Income Elasticity of Demand. The percentage change in the demand for a good in response to a 1 percent change in income.
Inelastic Demand. A change in price brings about a relatively smaller change in quantity demanded.
Inelastic Supply. A change in price brings about a relatively smaller change in quantity supplied.
Inferior Good. A good whose consumption declines in response to an increase in income.
Law of Demand. The quantity of a good demanded varies inversely with the price of the good, ceteris paribus.
Law of Supply. The quantity of goods offered to a market varies directly with the price of the good, ceteris paribus.
Luxury Good. A good whose consumption increases at an increasing rate in response to an increase in income.
Market Demand Curve. The relationship between the price and quantity demanded of a good, ceteris paribus, derived by the horizontal summation of all individual consumer demand curves for all individuals in the market.
Market Supply Curve. The relationship between the price and quantity supplied of a good, ceteris paribus, derived by the horizontal summation of all individual supply curves for all individual producers in the market.
Necessity Good. A good whose consumption increases at a decreasing rate in response to an increase in income.
Normal Good. A good whose consumption increases in response to an increase in income.
Own-Price Elasticity of Demand. The percentage change in the quantity demanded in response to a percentage change in price.
Own-Price Elasticity of Supply. Measures the responsiveness of the quantity supplied of a good to changes in the price of that good.
Substitutes in Consumption. Goods that are consumed on an "either/or" basis (e.g., wheat bread and white bread).
Substitutes in Production. Goods that compete for the same resources in the production process (wheat and barley). Or inputs that can replace each other in the production process (land and fertilizer).
Supply. The relationship between the price of a good and the amount of a good available at a given location and at a given time.
Supply Curve for an Individual Firm. The firm's marginal cost curve above the minimum point on the average variable cost curve.
Supply Schedule. A schedule showing the relationship between the price of a good and the quantity of a good supplied.
Unitary Elastic Demand. The percentage change in price brings about an equal percentage change in quantity demanded.
Unitary Elastic Supply. The percentage change in price brings about an equal percentage change in quantity supplied.

### 8.11 Review questions

1. The individual firm supply curve is:
a. the horizontal summation of the market supply curve
b. the MC curve above the maximum ATC
c. the MC curve above the minimum ATC
d. the MC curve above the minimum AVC
2. The market supply curve is:
a. the MC curve above the minimum ATC
b. the horizontal summation of all individual firm supply curves
c. the vertical summation of all individual firm supply curves
d. not enough information provided to answer
3. The Law of Supply states that:
a. producers will always maximize profits
b. the price of a good and quantity supplied have a positive relationship
c. supply equals demand
d. the Law of Diminishing Returns affects supply
4. An elasticity measures:
a. how prices affect inflation
b. the Law of Supply
c. how economics influences the stock markets
d. how responsive one variable is to another variable
5. Relative to the elasticity of apples, the elasticity of fruit is:.
a. more elastic
b. less elastic
c. the same level of elasticity
d. not enough information provided to answer
6. If the price of a good increases 1 percent, and quantity supplied increases 2 percent, then the supply of the good is:
a. elastic
b. inelastic
c. unitary elastic
d. cannot tell from the information given
7. If a change in the price of apples results in a change in the quantity supplied of oranges, then the goods are:
a. own-price elastic
b. cross-price elastic
c. related
d. unrelated
8. If the price of fish increases, then there is a change in:
a. the supply of fish
b. the quantity supplied of fish
c. the amount of fish sold
d. cannot tell from the information given
9. Each of the following is a determinant of supply except:
a. number of sellers
b. technology
c. tastes and preferences
d. input prices
10. An individual demand curve for pizza can be derived with the following:
a. prices of pizza, one other good, and income
b. price of pizza and two other goods
c. income
d. price of pizza
11. If the price of milo increases:
a. consumers will buy more milo
b. consumers will buy less milo
c. consumers will buy the same amount of milo
d. cannot tell with the information given
12. Which has the least elastic demand curve?
a. apples
b. fruit
c. food
d. oranges
13. If a firm faces an inelastic demand curve, then it will desire to:
a. maintain output at the current level
b. increase output to increase revenue
c. decrease output to increase revenue
d. purchase more inputs
14. If the price of pork increases, then the following will result:
a. a change in pork demand and a shift in pork demand
b. a change in pork demand and a movement along the pork demand curve
c. a change in quantity of pork demanded and a shift in pork demand
d. a change in quantity of pork demanded and a movement along the pork demand curve
15. If the price of gold is expected to increase in the future, then:
a. the demand for gold will increase today
b. the demand for gold will decrease today
c. the quantity demanded of gold will increase today
d. the quantity demanded of gold will decrease today
16. The income elasticity of demand for food is:
a. $0<\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}<1$
b. $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}<0$
c. $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}>1$
d. $\mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{m}}=0$


Plate 9.1 Markets.
Source: Joel Shawn/Shutterstock

## 9 Markets

## Synopsis

Markets bring buyers and sellers together to exchange goods and services. Markets provide efficient, self-correcting institutions that provide goods that producers want to sell and consumers want to buy. In this chapter, market equilibrium and mathematical models of supply and demand are introduced and explained. Comparative statics lead to the analysis and understanding of changes in supply and demand. The models explained here provide timely, important, and interesting explanations of real-world events. Price policies including price supports and price ceilings are analyzed, with real-world examples highlighting the consequences of agricultural price policies in low-income and high-income nations.

### 9.0 Introduction

Prices of goods and services make up the heart and soul of a free market economy. Producers who understand how and why the prices of goods and resources change over time can use this information to increase profitability. Consumers make better choices if they understand market forces that determine price changes. This chapter describes and explains how buyers and sellers interact in markets: the foundation of a market-based economic system.

### 9.1 What is a market?

A Market is an institution or a process that allows buyers and sellers to interact. A market is not necessarily a Marketplace, which is a physical location where buyers and sellers go to exchange goods. It can be a farmer's market, or the commodity trading pits of the Chicago Board of Trade.

- Marketplace $=$ a physical location where buyers and sellers meet to trade goods.

A Market can be located in a physical space such as a shopping mall in Salt Lake City, Utah, but it need not be. Buying and selling goods on the Internet from a firm such as Amazon or eBay makes the Internet into a market, even though the buyers and sellers are not in the same physical location and may never exchange a word. A market appears wherever there is interaction between buyers and sellers of a good:

- $\quad$ Market $=$ the interaction between buyers and sellers.

This interaction between buyers and sellers determines the price of a good, and the quantity of the good that changes hands. One key feature of markets is that they are voluntary. Individual buyers and sellers determine quantities and prices. The next section describes how the voluntary actions of numerous producers and consumers lead to equilibrium in a market.

Please keep in mind that this chapter's lessons relating to supply, demand, and prices are presented under the assumption that all other economic conditions are held constant during the negotiations over potential prices and quantities of the good being traded. This assumption, called the ceteris paribus assumption, was presented in Chapter 1 and has been mentioned frequently in each successive chapter. The assumption is necessary to allow focusing attention on a single item of interest, which in economics is almost always the price or quantity of a good. Using this assumption simplifies the complicated real world, making it easier to understand.

### 9.2 Market equilibrium

Markets work by bringing together producers who desire to sell their product at the highest possible price, and consumers who desire to purchase goods at the lowest possible price. Although the goals of buyers and sellers are opposite from one another, voluntary trades allow for the objectives of both groups to be met. This section describes how the behavior of numerous individual buyers and sellers converge on a price or quantity from which there is no tendency to change, or Equilibrium.

- $\quad$ Equilibrium $=$ a point from which there is no tendency to change.

The market supply and market demand curves derived in Chapter 8 appear together on a single graph in Figure 9.1. The market supply curve ( $\mathrm{Q}^{s}$ ) is the horizontal sum of all of the individual firms' supply curves. It represents the quantity of a good that all producers taken together are willing and able to offer for sale at each of a series of prices. The voluntary nature of the supply curve is evidence that firms freely offer a quantity of a good to the market in order to maximize their profits.

The market demand curve ( $\mathrm{Q}^{d}$ ) depicts the horizontal sum of all individual consumer demand curves. Individual demand curves show the quantity of a good that a consumer is willing and able to pay for at each of a range of prices. The market demand curve stems from the voluntary behavior of many consumers seeking to maximize their individual levels of satisfaction.

The Market Equilibrium occurs at the intersection of the supply curve and the demand curve at point E in Figure 9.1. At this point, the quantity supplied ( $\mathrm{Q}^{s}$ ) by firms at a given price is equal to the quantity demanded ( $\mathrm{Q}^{d}$ ) by consumers at the same price.

- Market Equilibrium = the point where the quantity supplied by producers at a given price is equal to the quantity demanded by consumers at that same price.

At point E (and only at point E ), the following market equilibrium condition holds:

$$
\begin{equation*}
Q^{*}=Q^{s}=Q^{d} . \tag{9.1}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 9.1 Market equilibrium.

Only one price equates the quantity of a good supplied by producers with the quantity purchased by consumers. This price is the Equilibrium Price, shown by point P* in Figure 9.1.

- Equilibrium Price $=$ the price at which the quantity supplied equals the quantity demanded.

The equilibrium price is also the Market Price, since it is the price determined in the market and agreed to by buyers and sellers.

- Market Price $=$ the price where quantity demanded is equal to quantity supplied.

The Equilibrium Quantity is Q*, where the quantity supplied is identical to the quantity demanded.

- Equilibrium Quantity = the point where quantity supplied is equal to quantity demanded.

The intersection of supply and demand determines the market equilibrium. Why not another price or quantity? Every price other than $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ is not an equilibrium price, and every quantity other than $Q^{*}$ is not an equilibrium quantity. Any point other than point E in Figure 9.1 is a Disequilibrium point unsatisfactory to either buyers or sellers or both. In disequilibrium, freely operating market forces come into play to cause the market to move toward the equilibrium point, E.

- Disequilibrium = a market situation in which the market price does not equalize supply and demand.

The voluntary behavior of buyers and sellers will result in a movement toward equilibrium (point E), where the quantity supplied equals the quantity demanded. Consider the hypothetical market for wheat depicted in Figure 9.2.


Figure 9.2 Market forces in a wheat market.

The supply curve in the wheat market $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{s}\right)$ shows the quantity of wheat that wheat producers will offer for sale at each of a range of prices. Intuitively, the supply curve represents the cost of wheat production. Low-cost producers are located to the left, where the supply curve is low, and high-cost producers are located to the right, at higher prices.

## Quick Quiz 9.1

How is the supply curve for wheat derived for an individual firm? For the industry?

The demand curve for wheat $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right)$ shows the quantity of wheat that buyers will buy at each of a range of prices. In the wheat market, the major consumers are millers who purchase wheat then grind it into the flour used for baking bread or tortillas. The demand curve for this wheat represents the consumers' willingness and ability to pay for it. Scarcity causes the demand curve to slope downward from left to right. As more wheat becomes available, millers offer lower prices to meet their needs for wheat.

## Quick Quiz 9.2

How is the demand curve for wheat derived?

## Quick Quiz 9.3

Why is everything other than price (and quantity) held constant in a graph of supply and demand? How does this simplification affect the study of the market for wheat?

The price of wheat always gravitates toward the equilibrium point, E. Suppose that the price of wheat is $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{h}}$. At this relatively high price of wheat, the Law of Demand indicates that consumers (flour millers) will purchase only a small quantity of the grain. Specifically, at price $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{h}}$, they will purchase $\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{lo}}$ million bushels of wheat. Wheat suppliers, however, expand wheat production when the price of wheat is high. They will provide $\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{hi}}$ million bushels to the market when the price reaches $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{hi}}$. At price $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{h}}$, the quantity supplied $\left(\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{hi}}\right)$ exceeds the quantity demanded $\left(\mathrm{Q}_{10}\right)$. This situation yields a Surplus, which is the horizontal distance between $\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{hi}}$ and $\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{lo}}$ in Figure 9.2.

- Surplus $=$ a market situation in which producers are willing to supply more of a good than consumers are willing to purchase at a given price $\left(Q^{s}>Q^{d}\right)$.

A surplus occurs at any price higher than the equilibrium price ( $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ ). In a surplus situation, there is more wheat available for sale than flour millers are willing to purchase. Consider the manager of a grain elevator (the grain storage facility) somewhere in the Northern Great Plains. A larger-than-usual harvest has resulted in a full elevator and a huge pile of wheat "stored" on the ground. No millers are buying any wheat at the current high price ( $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{hi}}$ ). Pressure develops for the elevator manager to sell the wheat as quickly as possible, since rain or moisture will cause the wheat grains to sprout, which lowers the value of the wheat. What does the manager do? She lowers the price of wheat to sell it.

As the price of wheat drops from $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{hi}}$, suppliers (wheat producers and elevators) reduce the quantity of wheat offered to the market, and consumers increase the quantity demanded of wheat as shown along the demand curve. Suppliers lower the price of a good until they are able to sell their product, and eliminate the surplus. The price continues to drop until the quantity of wheat supplied $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{s}\right)$ comes in line with the quantity of wheat demanded $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right)$. This occurs only at the equilibrium price $\left(\mathrm{P}^{*}\right)$ and the equilibrium quantity $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{*}=\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}=\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right)$.


Plate 9.2 Wheat surplus.
Source: Carroteater/Shutterstock

This story holds true not only for wheat crops, but also for any good or service. If the price of a good is greater than the equilibrium price, producers (sellers) will continue to lower the price until the market price is the equilibrium price. Any price higher than $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ is a disequilibrium price, since there is a tendency to move toward the equilibrium point (E). Once at equilibrium, there is no tendency to change, since quantity supplied is equal to quantity demanded and there is no surplus. Buyers and sellers agree on quantity and price.

If the price of wheat falls to $P_{10}$, wheat suppliers will cut back production to $Q_{10}$, and wheat consumers (millers) will increase quantity demanded to $\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{hi}}$. This situation results in a Shortage, since the quantity demanded $\left(\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{hi}}\right)$ is greater than the quantity supplied $\left(\mathrm{Q}_{10}\right)$. The shortage is the horizontal distance between $\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{lo}}$ and $\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{hi}}$ in Figure 9.2.

- Shortage $=$ a market situation in which consumers are willing and able to purchase more of a good than producers are willing to supply at a given price ( $\left.\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}<\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right)$.

Shortages occur at all prices below the equilibrium price ( $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ ). Suppose a flour miller has contracted with several bread bakers for a large quantity of flour. At the price $P_{10}$, the miller is unable to acquire any wheat, due to the shortage. What should he do? Offer a higher price to increase the amount of wheat available. The increase is shown along the supply curve. As the price increases, the quantity demanded decreases along the demand curve. The price will continue to be "bid up" by wheat consumers until it reaches the equilibrium point E, and the shortage disappears. This occurs in the market for wheat, and in the market for any good or service where a shortage occurs. Any price below $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ is a disequilibrium price. The independent actions of buyers and sellers cause the price to gravitate toward its equilibrium point.

At any price other than the equilibrium price, market forces (the behavior of buyers and sellers) will bring the price back into equilibrium at the market equilibrium price and quantity. Walmart behaves in a similar way. It places items on sale by lowering price when a store has a surplus (price too high) in its inventory. Walmart does not reorder this item. If the shelves are empty, Walmart shoppers request more of the good, because they cannot purchase the quantity desired. There is a shortage (price too low), and Walmart increases the price and reorders more of the good until the equilibrium is reached. In this simple way, Walmart has become the most successful retailer in the world by using simple economic principles.

This simple supply and demand model can help predict price movements in the economy. Individuals who become reasonably expert at such predictions often become grain merchandisers, commodity traders, or stockbrokers. The individuals in these professions often use simple and intuitive supply and demand models to "buy low and sell high." Even in other businesses, the tools related to supply and demand are useful in determining how market forces will affect the price and quantity of inputs and outputs.

### 9.3 Comparative statics

The study of markets provides managers of business firms with a powerful method of understanding and analyzing how prices of the firm's inputs and outputs change over time. This knowledge can lead to improved decision making, and higher levels of profit for the firm. The interaction of supply and demand results in an equilibrium market price and quantity. The study of the impacts of changes in supply and demand relationships is called Comparative Statics, a method of comparing one equilibrium point with another.

- Comparative Statics = a comparison of market equilibrium points before and after a change in an economic variable.

The study begins with the impacts of changes in demand, then moves to changes in supply, and, finally, to simultaneous changes in both supply and demand. Careful consideration of these comparative static examples provides useful insight into analyzing any economic policy, change, or situation.

## Changes in demand

The large and enduring increases in China's per capita income are likely to continue to have a positive impact on the demand for beef and grain produced in the United States. Consumers with increasing income levels tend to substitute out of inexpensive calorie sources such as grains, and into more expensive sources such as beef and seafood. Figure 9.3 shows this increase in demand.

The outward shift in the demand curve (from $\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}{ }_{0}$ to $\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}$ ) is a change in demand (not a change in quantity demanded), since the source of the change is a nonprice variable (the increase in per capita income in China). The equilibrium point in Figure 9.3 changes from $\mathrm{E}_{0}$ to $E_{1}$ because of the change in demand. As the demand curve shifts upward and to the right, it sweeps across the supply curve from one equilibrium point to another. The change increases the price of beef from $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ to $\mathrm{P}^{*}{ }_{1}$, causing a change in quantity supplied, or a movement along the supply curve, as shown in Figure 9.3.

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A SHIFT IN DEMAND RESULTS IN:
(1) A CHANGE IN DEMAND, and
(2) A CHANGE IN QUANTITY SUPPLIED.
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An increase in demand, as shown in Figure 9.3, results in an increase in the equilibrium price and quantity of beef. Any economic variable that increases demand for a good will result in a higher price and a larger quantity of the good moving through the market. This could be


Figure 9.3 An increase in the demand for beef.
due to an increase in income or population, an expectation that the good's price will increase even more in the future, or a change in consumer tastes and preferences, to name a few possible sources of increases in demand.

Box 9.1 The substitution of beef, pork, and chicken in the US
To what extent do consumers actually "substitute," or switch from one meat product to another? This question was researched using data from US consumers in 1995 by Brester and Schroeder. Price elasticities for the own prices and cross prices were estimated for beef, pork, and poultry. The results show that meats are most responsive to changes in their own price, with elasticities ranging from -0.33 (poultry) to -0.69 (pork). This means that if the price of meat increases by 1 percent, the quantity demanded of the meat will decrease by the percentage shown in the table. Cross-price elasticities measure the responsiveness of consumers to a change in the price of a related good. The substitution between meats is relatively small in percentage terms; however, the dollar value of the substitution is large, since even small elasticities can have large aggregate effects in high-volume commodity markets.

| Price elasticities of meat demand |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | $P_{\text {beef }}$ | $P_{\text {pork }}$ | $P_{\text {poultry }}$ |
| $\mathrm{Q}_{\text {beef }}$ | -0.56 | 0.10 | 0.05 |
| $\mathrm{Q}_{\text {pork }}$ | 0.23 | -0.69 | 0.04 |
| $\mathrm{Q}_{\text {poultry }}$ | 0.21 | 0.07 | -0.33 |

Source: Brester, Gary W. and Schroeder, Ted C. (1995)."The Impacts of Brand and Generic Advertising on Meat Demand." American Journal of Agricultural Economics 77(4): 969-979.

A decrease in demand will have the opposite results. The demand curve will shift to the left, causing a decrease in both the equilibrium price and quantity traded of the good. A decrease in the relative price of chicken causes consumers to substitute out of other meats and into chicken. This results in a decrease in the demand for beef, as shown in Figure 9.4.

Again, the shift in the demand curve represents a change in demand and a change in quantity supplied (movement along the supply curve). The equilibrium price and quantity of beef decrease in this situation.

## Supply changes

Petroleum products are a major input in the production of agricultural products such as corn. An increase in the price of petroleum stemming from increases in demand from growing economies such as China and India will be accompanied by higher costs of production faced by domestic US producers. The corn producers' marginal cost curves will shift upward due to this increase in the price of petroleum products. The market supply curve shown in Figure 9.5 is the horizontal sum of all individual firms' marginal cost curves.


Plate 9.3 Beef demand.
Source: Marc Dietrich/Shutterstock


Figure 9.4 A decrease in the demand for beef.
This leftward shift in the supply curve is a change in supply (not a change in quantity supplied), since the source of the change is a nonprice variable (an increase in the price of an input rather than a change in the price of corn). The equilibrium point changes from $\mathrm{E}_{0}$ to $\mathrm{E}_{1}$ because of the change in supply. As the supply curve shifts upward and to the left, it moves


Figure 9.5 A decrease in the supply of corn.
across the demand curve from the original equilibrium point to a new equilibrium point. This increases the price of corn from $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ to $\mathrm{P}^{*}{ }_{1}$, and as a result causes a change in quantity demanded, or a movement along the demand curve, as shown in Figure 9.5.

## A SHIFT IN SUPPLY RESULTS IN:

(1) A CHANGE IN SUPPLY, and
(2) A CHANGE IN QUANTITY DEMANDED.

The shift in supply in Figure 9.5 is a decrease in supply, since at every price the quantity of corn supplied decreases. This can lead to confusion, since the upward shift in the supply curve represents a decrease in supply. The quantity axis measures the "increase" or "decrease" in supply. The corn supply curve shifted to the left, reflecting a decrease in supply. This decrease in supply resulted in an increase in the equilibrium price, and a decrease in the equilibrium quantity of corn. Any economic variable that decreases the supply of a good will result in a higher price and lower quantity of the good bought and sold. This type of shift could be due to a number of things, including an increase in the cost of an input, a tax on corn production, or bad weather that has a negative impact on growing conditions.

An increase in supply will have the opposite effects: the supply curve will shift downward and to the right, causing a decrease in the equilibrium price, and an increase in the equilibrium quantity of the good. If plant geneticists develop a new variety of corn that yields more bushels per acre than older corn varieties, this technological change results in an increase in supply, or a rightward shift in the supply curve, shown in Figure 9.6.

Again, the shift in the supply curve represents a change in supply and a change in quantity demanded (movement along the demand curve). The equilibrium price decreases and the equilibrium quantity of corn increases in this situation. Changes in the production of a good affect the market price and quantity of a good.


Plate 9.4 Corn supply.
Source: Fotokostic/Shutterstock


Figure 9.6 An increase in the supply of corn.

Box 9.2 African agriculture and food aid
In the 1960s, most Sub-Saharan African nations were food exporters; today, most of these nations import millions of tons of food each year. Much of the world's hunger and poverty are concentrated in Sub-Saharan Africa. Cereal yields have declined since the 1970s, and are now approximately one-third of those in South Asia. Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa is subject to conflict, drought, a lack of government commitment
to agriculture, and decreasing international aid. This tragic situation provides the opportunity for one of the greatest future increases in the welfare of humanity.

Environmental challenges include poor soil quality in many regions, and drought. In Asia, irrigation provided the foundation for the introduction of high-yielding cereal varieties. In Africa, 96 percent of available arable land lacks irrigation. International aid to Africa has dropped since the 1980s, when a shift occurred in aid away from agriculture toward health, education, and governance. The World Bank has contributed to African agriculture, but the strategy has been criticized for its lack of political support in recipient nations.

Some critics have emphasized that African governments have become too dependent on international food aid. Between 1981 and 2000, national government funding for agricultural science fell by 27 percent in Africa, and many governments in SubSaharan Africa allocate less than 1 percent of their national budgets to the sector. This could be due to a reliance on international aid. A successful strategy for increasing Africa's food production is likely to include the development of high-yielding crops, enhanced training in agricultural science, increased government commitment to agriculture, and enhanced efficiency of agricultural markets and infrastructure.

Food aid plays a unique role in reducing hunger and poverty. When famine or persistent hunger occurs, international food aid can be used to provide food to those in need. The provision of calories to hungry individuals provides a life-saving benefit that is difficult to fault. However, food aid has costs as well as benefits. The supply of large amounts of food to a given location shifts the supply curve of food to the right, decreasing the price of food. While this is a benefit to food consumers, it lowers the food price, and thus the incentive for local producers to produce more food. Food aid can save lives in the short run, but it can decrease food availability and result in continuing dependence on food aid in the long run. Many experts promote income assistance or food vouchers, which would allow food to be purchased within Africa, instead of shipped from the US or the EU. This would increase the demand for food, based on an increase in purchasing power, resulting in upward price pressure, and increasing the incentive for local food production.

Sources: Hanson, Stephanie (2008). Backgrounder: African Agriculture. Council of Foreign Relations. May 28. Retrieved July 25, 2012.
Paarlberg, Robert (2008). Starved for Science: How Biotechnology is Being Kept Out of Africa. Harvard University Press.

## Simultaneous supply and demand changes

Examples in the previous two sections focused on one change at a time. In the real world, supply and demand curves are constantly changing, being pushed and pulled by changes in a large number of economic forces occurring simultaneously throughout the economy and the world. In agricultural markets, supply and demand shift due to weather, input and product prices, exports, imports, expectations regarding the future, and numerous other factors. This section considers the situation when supply and demand change simultaneously. In some ways, this is more realistic than the response to changes in a single variable.

The production of agricultural products has grown over time, due to the introduction of many new foods, changes in tastes, and technological change. Consumption of food and fiber has also grown because of increases in population and increased family income. These changes are shown in the same graph, in Figure 9.7.


Figure 9.7 Increases in the supply and demand of food.

If the supply and demand curves shift by equal quantities over time, the equilibrium changes from $E_{0}$ to $E_{1}$, as shown in Figure 9.7. In this situation, the equilibrium price remains constant at $\mathrm{P}^{*}$, while the equilibrium quantity increases from $\mathrm{Q}^{*}{ }_{0}$ to $\mathrm{Q}^{*}{ }_{1}$.

Figure 9.8 shows the case appropriate to most agricultural markets in the United States, where increases in production have outpaced increases in consumption. When supply growth outpaces demand growth, the equilibrium price of food decreases, and the equilibrium quantity of food increases. In US agriculture since the mid-1940s, the price of agricultural products has decreased in relation to most other goods. During the same period, the output of agricultural commodities has increased tremendously due to the huge productivity gains associated with mechanization, chemical and fertilizer use, and plant and animal breeding. These long-term forces taken together have made consumers better off, since more food and fiber is available at a lower price. If demand increases at a faster rate than supply, then the equilibrium price will increase, reflecting the increase in scarcity of the good.

## Quick Quiz 9.4

Graph a situation where the demand of a good increases faster than the supply for the good. What happens to the equilibrium price and quantity of the good?

### 9.4 Price policies

In many nations, including the United States, the government intervenes in agricultural markets in response to political pressure from either agricultural producers or consumers of food and fiber. The government has the authority to legislate the retail prices of food and agricultural commodities. If the government believes that the market price of an agricultural product is too low, it can pass a law that mandates a Price Support for the good. Since this policy


Figure 9.8 Supply increase outpaces demand increase.
increases the price, it will be promoted by producers. On the other hand, if the government believes that the market price of a good is too high, it can put a Price Ceiling, likely sponsored by consumers. This form of government intervention has been common in agricultural markets for many years.

## Price supports

When the prices of agricultural goods are low, producers often place pressure on politicians to "do something about low commodity prices." A common reaction of governments is to pass a law that sets a Price Support, or a minimum price, below which the market price cannot go. In recent years, price support policies have been used to increase the prices of milk, grains, cotton, and other agricultural products both in the US and in nations throughout the world.

- Price Support = a minimum price set by the government for a specified good or service.

When a price is higher than the market price, a surplus results, as above in Figure 9.2. The government must enforce this market price intervention, otherwise the surplus would quickly set in motion market forces that would take the market back to the equilibrium point, where the quantity supplied equals the quantity demanded.

## Quick Quiz 9.5

What causes this surplus?

Figure 9.9 shows a hypothetical price support for wheat, which in this example is higher than the equilibrium market price ( $\mathrm{P}^{\mathrm{s}}>\mathrm{P}^{*}$ ).


Figure 9.9 A price support for wheat.

A federal law saying that all wheat must be sold at a price at or above the price support level would force an increase in the price of wheat as shown in Figure 9.9. This increase in price results in an increase in quantity supplied, as producers respond to the price incentive to produce more wheat, and move upward along the supply curve. This is a change in quantity supplied, rather than a change in supply, since the price is the cause of the change. Similarly, the price rise causes a decrease in quantity demanded, due to consumers' response to the increase in price. The consumers' action causes movement along the demand curve.

If free markets were allowed to operate, the surplus $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{s}>\mathrm{Q}^{d}\right)$ would result in downward pressure on the price of wheat until the original equilibrium is reached. Moreover, the government must enforce this price support by removing the surplus if it expects to maintain the price at $P^{s}$. The government must stand ready to purchase any quantity of wheat at the price support level, to keep producers from lowering the price. The government purchases the entire surplus $\left(\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{hi}}-\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{l}}\right)$, and removes this wheat from the market. The government has several options regarding the use or disposal of the surplus wheat. These include:

1. Give it away to US consumers through domestic food programs,
2. Give it away to foreign consumers through food aid programs,
3. Export the wheat to consumers in other nations (perhaps at a below-market price), or
4. Destroy the wheat (e.g., dump it in the ocean).

At various times, the US government has practiced each of the four strategies. Domestic food programs include school breakfasts and school lunches.

Note that if the price support $\left(\mathrm{P}^{\mathrm{s}}\right)$ were lower than the equilibrium market price $\left(\mathrm{P}^{*}\right)$, the government would take no action. This is because the law requires the purchase of wheat at or above the price support level, and since the market price is above the price support level, the law is not in effect, or not "binding."

The price support is good for wheat producers, since they receive a higher-than-marketequilibrium price for a larger-than-market-equilibrium number of bushels produced. The price support hurts consumers, since they must pay a price higher than the equilibrium market price. Moreover, the consumers as taxpayers are made worse off, since they must provide the money used to purchase the surplus and then find some way to deal with what they have purchased.

Between 1933 and 1996, the United States had a complicated system of price supports. Price supports became damaging for US agriculture in the mid-1990s because the price supports raised the price of agricultural goods above the free-market, world price level. Since over half of all wheat and feed grains produced in the United States is exported, the price supports were making US food products expensive relative to exports from other nations. The US was losing export opportunities with other nations, due to its artificially high prices for food and feed grains. Modifications in the commodity price laws in 1996 brought US agriculture closer to a free market. Price supports remain, but they are minimum prices put in place to protect producers in times of low commodity prices, to act as a "safety net" that saves producers from low prices.

## Price ceilings

At times, food prices increase, and in times of economic recession or depression, governments may intervene in the attempt to keep food affordable. In such a circumstance, a "ceiling" on food prices can protect consumers from excessively high food prices. Price ceilings are a government-mandated maximum price.

- Price Ceiling $=$ a maximum price set by the government for a specified good or service.

When prices rise rapidly, consumers often pressure their legislators to "do something about the high prices." In the 1970s, food prices rose rapidly, creating pressure for the government to help the consumer through market price interventions. President Richard Nixon placed price ceilings on beef and many other food products. Figure 9.10 shows the impacts of such a price ceiling on meat producers and consumers.

With the imposition of the price ceiling on meat, producers and consumers cannot buy or sell meat at any price above the maximum price $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\max }\right)$. If the price ceiling were set at a price greater than the equilibrium price, nothing would happen. When the price ceiling $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\text {max }}\right)$ is set below the market price ( $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ ), however, it has consequences. The price decrease causes movements along both the supply and demand curves.

At a lower price, consumers purchase more meat due to the Law of Demand, resulting in an increase in quantity demanded from $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$ to $\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{hi}}$. Producers reduce the quantity of meat


Figure 9.10 A price ceiling for meat.
supplied at the lower price. The result is a reduction in meat supplied from $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$ to $\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{l} 0}$. This creates a shortage ( $\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}<\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}$ ).

This form of government intervention is interesting because the policy may or may not make consumers better off than they were prior to the mandated price ceiling. The reason is that there is less meat available to consumers at the low price of $\mathrm{P}_{\max }$. Profit-maximizing producers will decrease the supply of meat at the lower price, creating a shortage. If the law does not allow price increases, then the shortage will not self-correct through a process of consumers bidding up the price back to the equilibrium level, where the quantity supplied equals the quantity demanded.

When the price ceiling is in place, the consumers who are able to purchase meat are better off, because they pay a lower price for meat. However, there is a group of consumers who are unable to locate and purchase meat due to the shortfall in production. This group of consumers is worse off because the policy restricts their access to meat.

Markets are enormously useful and adaptable institutions. Government intervention into markets typically has unanticipated consequences which distort the market mechanism. In the case of the price support, put in place to assist producers, the taxpayers and consumers must pay a large sum of money to the recipients of the price support. A price ceiling results in a shortage of the good, and some unsatisfied consumers. Government intervention takes away the "self-correcting" nature of markets, which will always result in the attainment of equilibrium, or a situation where the quantity supplied is equal to the quantity demanded.

### 9.5 Mathematical models (optional)

Economics includes three ways to describe market phenomena: (1) graphs, (2) "stories," or verbal explanations, and (3) mathematical models. The previous sections used graphs and stories to describe the market for wheat. Simple algebra is another way to describe this market. The mathematical model presented below uses the same information to describe and analyze situations related to supply and demand.

The following equation represents the supply of wheat:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{P}=5-0.1 \mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}} \tag{9.2}
\end{equation*}
$$

where P is the price of wheat in dollars per bushel, and $\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}$ is the quantity supplied of wheat in millions of bushels. This equation is called an Inverse Supply Function, since price (the independent variable) is a function of quantity supplied (the dependent variable). Mathematically, a supply function could be described as: $Q^{s}=f(P)$, since price is given and producers determine how much to produce given the independent variable, price. As before, price is measured along the vertical axis and quantity supplied is on the horizontal axis. Using the Inverse Supply Function, $P=f\left(Q^{s}\right)$, makes a function easier to graph.

- Inverse Supply Function = a supply function that is represented with price (the independent variable) as a function of quantity supplied (the dependent variable): $\mathrm{P}=\mathrm{f}\left(\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}\right)$.

Similarly, define an Inverse Demand Function as a demand function with the dependent variable ( $\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}$ ) and the independent variable $(\mathrm{P})$ reversed:

- Inverse Demand Function = a demand function that is represented with price (the independent variable) as a function of quantity demanded (the dependent variable): $P=f\left(Q^{d}\right)$.

Suppose that is the inverse demand function for wheat:

$$
\begin{equation*}
P=5-0.1 Q^{d}, \tag{9.3}
\end{equation*}
$$

To find equilibrium, set the two equations equal to each other, since $P=P$ :

$$
\begin{equation*}
1+0.1 Q^{s}=5-0.1 Q^{d} \tag{9.4}
\end{equation*}
$$

Next, recall that in equilibrium, $Q^{*}=Q^{s}=Q^{d}$, so replace the quantities supplied and demanded with the equilibrium quantity:

$$
\begin{equation*}
1+0.1 \mathrm{Q}^{*}=5-0.1 \mathrm{Q}^{*} \tag{9.5}
\end{equation*}
$$

Now subtract one from each side of the equation, and add $0.1 Q^{*}$ to each side of the equation to get:

$$
\begin{equation*}
0.2 \mathrm{Q}^{*}=4, \text { or } \mathrm{Q}^{*}=20 \text { million bushels of wheat. } \tag{9.6}
\end{equation*}
$$

Substituting this equilibrium quantity $\left(Q^{*}\right)$ into the inverse supply function yields the equilibrium price:

$$
\begin{equation*}
P=1+0.1 Q^{s}=1+0.1(20)=1+2=\$ 3 / \mathrm{bu} \text { of wheat. } \tag{9.7}
\end{equation*}
$$

Check this result by plugging the equilibrium quantity into the inverse demand equation:

$$
\begin{equation*}
P=5-0.1 Q^{d}=5-0.1(20)=5-2=\$ 3 / \mathrm{bu} \text { of wheat. } \tag{9.8}
\end{equation*}
$$

The equilibrium in the wheat market is $\left(\mathrm{P}^{*}=\$ 3 / \mathrm{bu}\right.$ of wheat, $\mathrm{Q}^{*}=20$ million bushels of wheat). This same result found graphically requires graphing the supply and demand functions, and locating the equilibrium at the intersection of supply and demand (Figure 9.11).

Economists use this type of mathematical model to study agricultural markets. Price and quantity data coming from markets such as the Kansas City Board of Trade or the Chicago Mercantile Exchange enable the study of how changes in policies, weather, or any other economic variable will influence the prices and quantities of agricultural goods.

A model such as this helps an analyst determine the implications of how a change in the price of wheat will affect the wheat market. For example, suppose that the price of wheat increases to a level above the equilibrium level to $\$ 4 / \mathrm{bu}$. Both the graph in Figure 9.11 and the mathematical model provide information telling that a price above the equilibrium level will increase production, decrease consumption, and result in a surplus. To calculate the levels of quantity supplied and demanded, simply plug in the price of $\$ 4 / \mathrm{bu}$ into the inverse supply and inverse demand equations:

$$
\begin{equation*}
4=1+0.1 Q^{s} \tag{9.9a}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 9.11 Quantitative wheat market equilibrium.

$$
\begin{equation*}
3=0.1 Q^{s} \tag{9.9b}
\end{equation*}
$$

$Q^{s}=30$, so
$Q^{s}=30$ million bushels of wheat,
$1=0.1 Q^{d}$
$Q^{d}=10$ million bushels of wheat.
The surplus quantity $\left(Q^{s}-Q^{d}\right)$ can also be calculated:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\text { Surplus }=\left(Q^{s}-Q^{d}\right)=30-10=20 \text { million bushels of wheat. } \tag{9.10}
\end{equation*}
$$

This procedure also helps calculate a below-equilibrium price that leads to a shortage. Suppose that the price of wheat drops to $\$ 2 / \mathrm{bu}$. The inverse supply and inverse demand equations yield the following estimates of quantities:

$$
\begin{equation*}
2=1+0.1 Q^{s} \tag{9.11a}
\end{equation*}
$$

$$
\begin{equation*}
1=0.1 Q^{5} \tag{9.11b}
\end{equation*}
$$

$Q^{s}=10$ million bushels of wheat,

$$
\begin{align*}
& 2=5-0.1 Q^{d}  \tag{9.11d}\\
& 3=0.1 Q^{d} \tag{9.11e}
\end{align*}
$$

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}=30 \text { million bushels of wheat. } \tag{9.11f}
\end{equation*}
$$

The shortage quantity $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}-\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}\right)$ can also be calculated:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\text { Shortage }=\left(Q^{d}-Q^{s}\right)=30-10=20 \text { million bushels of wheat. } \tag{9.12}
\end{equation*}
$$

This procedure also helps calculate changes in supply or demand brought about by economic variables. The next two chapters will provide additional information related to markets. They will show how outcomes depend on the number of firms in a market, or market structure.

### 9.6 Summary

1. A market is an institution where buyers and sellers interact. A marketplace is a physical location where buyers and sellers meet to exchange goods.
2. The interaction between buyers and sellers determines the price of a good and the quantity of the good purchased and sold.
3. Market equilibrium is the point where the quantity supplied at a given price is equal to the quantity demanded. The equilibrium price is the price at which quantity supplied equals quantity demanded. The equilibrium quantity is the point where quantity supplied equals quantity demanded.
4. Disequilibrium is a market situation in which the market price does not equate supply and demand.
5. Economic forces will result in the price always gravitating toward the equilibrium price.
6. A surplus is a market situation where quantity supplied is greater than quantity demanded.
7. A shortage is a market situation where quantity demanded is greater than quantity supplied.
8. The inverse supply function is represented by a price as a function of quantity supplied. The inverse demand function is represented by a price as a function of quantity demanded.
9. Comparative statics is a comparison of market equilibrium points before and after a change in an economic variable.
10. A price support is a minimum price set by the government for a specified good or service.
11. A price ceiling is a maximum price set by the government for a specified good or service.

### 9.7 Glossary

Comparative Statics. A comparison of market equilibrium points before and after a change in an economic variable.

Disequilibrium. A market situation in which the market price does not equalize supply and demand.
Equilibrium. A point from which there is no tendency to change.
Equilibrium Price. The price at which the quantity supplied equals the quantity demanded.
Equilibrium Quantity. The point where quantity supplied is equal to quantity demanded.
Inverse Demand Function. A demand function that is represented with price (the independent variable) as a function of quantity demanded (the dependent variable): $P=f\left(Q^{d}\right)$.
Inverse Supply Function. A supply function that is represented with price (the independent variable) as a function of quantity supplied (the dependent variable): $P=f\left(Q^{s}\right)$.
Market. The interaction between buyers and sellers.
Market Equilibrium. The point where the quantity supplied by producers at a given price is equal to the quantity demanded by consumers at that same price.
Market Price. The price where quantity demanded is equal to quantity supplied.
Marketplace. A physical location where buyers and sellers meet to trade goods.
Price Ceiling. A maximum price set by the government for a specified good or service.
Price Support. A minimum price set by the government for a specified good or service.
Shortage. A market situation in which consumers are willing and able to purchase more of a good than producers are willing to supply at a given price $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}<\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right)$.
Surplus. A market situation in which producers are willing to supply more of a good than consumers are willing to purchase at a given price $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}>\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right)$.

### 9.8 Review questions

1. If the quantity supplied is greater than quantity demanded, there is:
a. trade deficit
b. equilibrium
c. shortage
d. surplus
2. If the price is higher than the equilibrium price, then:
a. quantity demanded is greater than quantity supplied
b. quantity supplied is greater than quantity demanded
c. the price will increase over time
d. cannot answer with information given
3. An inverse demand function:
a. is incorrect
b. has price as a function of quantity demanded
c. has quantity demanded as a function of price
d. must be inverted to graph the function
4. An increase in income results in:
a. no change in demand
b. a change in quantity demanded
c. a shift in demand
d. a movement along the demand curve
5. An increase in the price of fertilizer will alter the market for wheat by:
a. a leftward shift in demand
b. a rightward shift in demand

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c. a leftward shift in supply
d. a rightward shift in supply
6. A price support results in:
a. off-farm migration
b. shortages
c. surpluses
d. lower prices
7. A price ceiling will result in:
a. higher returns to producers
b. higher prices
c. surpluses
d. shortages


Plate 10.1 The competitive firm.
Source: Dmitriy Shironosov/Shutterstock

## 10 The competitive firm

## Synopsis

The chapter examines market structure with emphasis on four characteristics of perfect competition. The discussion centers on the efficiency found in competitive industries with special attention given to the implications that this has for perfectly competitive firms. The chapter describes strategies for perfectly competitive firms, with timely, relevant examples from agriculture and agribusiness. Since competitive firms are price takers, and have no influence over price, their best strategy is to lower production costs by being early adopters of new technologies.

### 10.1 Market structure

The previous chapter described how the interaction of buyers and sellers determines the market price and quantity of a good or service in a market economy. Here, attention turns to Market Structure, or how an industry is organized.

- Market Structure = the organization of an industry, typically defined by the number of firms in an industry.

Market structure, also referred to as "industrial organization," has a major influence on the prices and quantities of goods and services sold in a market. In general, the number of sellers in an industry is an important indicator of market structure. If there are only a few firms in an industry, their behavior and business strategies will be quite different from the behavior and strategies of firms in an industry with numerous competitors.

The number of firms in an industry varies considerably in a free market economy, especially an economy as large and complex as that of the United States. In the US, residents in a given town or city often purchase electricity from a single firm with no option to purchase power from an alternative source. Software for the nation's computers is provided primarily by Microsoft, with a few other options such as Linux. Fast food is available from numerous sources including McDonald's, Burger King, KFC, Taco Bell, Wendy's, and many others. In addition, clothing purchases come from huge chain stores (Macy's), small locally owned stores, catalogs, used clothing stores operated by churches and charities, and the Internet.

The US automobile industry is dominated by three large firms (General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler), originally called the "Big Three," but now often referred to as the "Detroit Three." This name change is due to the growth in dominance of non-US automobile producers such
as Toyota, Volkswagen, Hyundai, and many others. When the agricultural giant Archer Daniels Midland (ADM) buys soybeans to crush into oil, it can purchase beans from thousands of independent soybean growers found mainly in the Midwest and Great Plains. Together with Bunge and Cargill, ADM crushed approximately three-quarters of all US-grown soybeans in recent years. When grocery stores and restaurants seek to purchase steaks for their customers, over 80 percent of their meat purchases are from four large meatpackers: Tyson, Cargill, Swift, and National Beef Producers. Smithfield Foods dominates hog production with over 1.2 million sows in 2005, perhaps more in the years since then. The next-largest US hog producer is Triumph Foods, with 399,800 sows in 2005.

The diversity of market structures, and the frequent changes in ownership and management of processing and handling firms have attracted the attention of economists interested in the causes and consequences of the number of firms that comprise an industry. These analysts have organized the types of market structures, or industrial organizations, into several categories, as listed in Table 10.1.

The discussion of market structure begins with Monopoly, the extreme case of a single firm in an industry. In fact, a monopoly is an industry with only one firm.

- Monopoly = a market structure characterized by a single seller. The firm is the industry.

The firm is the industry. In many locations, the local utility company is the sole source of natural gas and electricity. Consumers cannot purchase these types of energy from any other firm. Most towns and cities use locally operated monopolies to provide such things as water, natural gas, electricity, sewage disposal, and landline phone service. These products are essential to everyone in the community. However, these firms require a huge investment in infrastructure, and they often lend themselves to some degree of government control or oversight. As a result, they are called "public utilities" and they exist in a peculiar web of regulations, typically one firm per location. At the other end of the market structure spectrum is Perfect Competition. In a competitive market structure, the industry has numerous firms producing an identical product.

- Perfect Competition = a market or industry with four characteristics: (1) numerous buyers and sellers, (2) ahomogeneous product, (3) freedom of entry and exit, and (4) perfect information.

Oligopoly and Monopolistic Competition lie between these two extremes. Oligopoly is an industry composed of a few firms, such as the automobile industry. Monopolistic Competition is a market structure that combines some features of monopoly with some

Table 10.1 Market structure (industrial organization)

| Structure | Number of Firms | Examples |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Monopoly | Single Seller | Electricity Company; Water |
|  |  | Company |
| Oligopoly | Few Sellers | Automobiles; Beef Packing |
| Monopolistic Competition | Many Sellers of Branded Goods | Gasoline Stations; Grocery Stores <br> Perfect Competition |
|  | Numerous Sellers | Agricultural Commodities: <br> wheat, corn |

characteristics of competition. In a monopolistically competitive industry, many firms produce similar, but not identical, products. Toothpaste, soap, clothing, and many kinds of retailing are examples.

The next two chapters explain how the behavior and performance of an industry depend crucially on its market structure. Competitive firms strive to maximize profits, taking prices as fixed and given. Monopolists maximize profits by selecting and manipulating the price of the product. Firms located between the two extremes of monopoly and competition have some ability to influence price, usually within a narrow range. The ability to set the price of output is referred to as Market Power.

- Market Power $=$ the ability to affect the price of output. A firm with market power faces a downward-sloping demand curve.

While individual competitive firms have no market power, monopolists have complete market power. Business firms in agriculture and agribusiness are often in competitive industries. This chapter is devoted to a discussion and analysis of firms in perfect competition.

### 10.2 Characteristics of perfect competition

The behavior and outcomes of competitive firms depend on four characteristics mentioned above. These are: (1) numerous buyers and sellers, (2) a homogeneous product, (3) freedom of entry and exit, and (4) perfect information. Real-world firms seldom if ever completely meet all four of these characteristics, making the concept of a perfectly competitive firm an idealized case. However, small farms and the shore-bound commercial fishery are industries that come close to the competitive model. Firms in industries that closely match the model are studied to provide analysts with a greater understanding of firm behavior in order to make useful predictions about how prices change and how competitive firms respond to price changes. The implications of each of the four characteristics of a competitive firm require special examination. This is best done by using assumptions to simplify the complex real world to reduce a situation or issue or characteristic to its most important elements.

## Homogeneous product

Firms in a perfectly competitive industry all produce an identical, or Homogeneous Product. This means that a consumer cannot look at a product and determine which firm produced it. Thousands of dairies produce milk. A consumer cannot determine (or does not care) which of several dairies produced the gallon of milk in the dairy case of the local grocery store. In most respects, milk is milk and the dairy that produced it is not an issue.

- Homogeneous Product $=$ a product that is the same no matter which producer produces it. The producer of a good cannot be identified by the consumer.

Most major agricultural products are homogeneous products: wheat, corn, and soybeans are identical across all producers as are walnuts, blueberries, and mushrooms. It is difficult to ascertain which beef packer processed the meat on display in the deli section of a grocery store. However, cattle can be distinguished by a brand, which gives livestock buyers the ability to identify the producer of the cattle. This information makes livestock a nonhomogeneous product, although many characteristics of the cattle industry are competitive.

Homogeneous products allow customers to be indifferent between producers. Since the products are identical, customers will purchase from the seller who is selling at the lowest price. Competitive industries do not include firms that struggle with each other to win over customers. The customers focus only on the price of the good.

## Numerous firms

A perfectly competitive industry has numerous firms. The question, "How many is numerous?" has no objective answer, but the term has a special meaning. "Numerous firms" means that there are so many firms in the industry, and each individual firm is so small relative to the size of the industry, that no single firm has any influence over the prices of inputs or outputs.

Consider a wheat producer in Colorado. This individual farmer's wheat output is so tiny relative to the overall wheat market that the price of wheat would not be affected regardless of how many bushels of wheat were produced in this farmer's fields or even if he produced no wheat at all. This is true of every wheat producer in every state, no matter how large or small the individual farm. The wheat industry can be described as having "numerous" firms.

## Perfect information

All firms in a perfectly competitive industry have access to complete information about prices, quantities on the market, advances in technology, and what other firms in the industry are doing. There are no secrets in a competitive industry. This characteristic means there is a level playing field for firms in a competitive industry.

- Perfect Information = a situation where all buyers and sellers in a market have complete access to technological information and all input and output prices.

All competitive firms are aware of all market-related information. This is true for most agricultural commodities. Producers have access to market information provided by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), and reported in major newspapers. Firms also have access to the Land Grant University Complex, and a large number of highly specialized commodity organizations and grower organizations. All producers can share in knowledge related to technology, and production techniques are typically public information.

## Freedom of entry and exit

Firms in a perfectly competitive industry can enter or exit the industry at any time. Potential entrants can enter the industry without legal or economic Barriers to Entry and Exit.

- Barriers to Entry and Exit = legal or economic barriers that hinder or prevent a new firm from entering or exiting an industry.

A profitable industry will attract potential entrants to enter and share in the high earnings. If a profitable industry is subject to a barrier to entry, then other firms will not be able to enter. However, the economist's definition of barriers to entry is highly specific. It refers to legal barriers, rather than some circumstance that makes entry difficult. Starting a new farm
operation is challenging, expensive, and requires a significant amount of effort. While this may make it difficult to enter, or impossible for some, it is not a "barrier to entry" in the economic sense, since anyone could start the process of borrowing or acquiring money and the requisite skill to start a farm or agribusiness.

An example of an industry that is protected by barriers to entry is the electricity market in the Northwest US. Pacific Power, a division of PacificCorp, has the legal right to produce and sell electricity in many parts of California, Oregon, and Washington. In 2012, it provided electrical power to nearly one million residential and commercial customers. No other firm can lawfully enter the market and sell electricity in areas served by Pacific Power. Other firms and industries may have the technical knowledge, economic knowledge, and the generating capacity to sell electricity in Pacific Power's area. They cannot because they lack the freedom of entry requirement to become a part of a competitive industry in the region. Walmart and other big-box stores such as Target or BestBuy attempt to locate in many areas, but local governments often do not allow these stores the legal right to enter the local market. These are examples of barriers to entry into an industry. Competitive firms can enter and exit at will: think of the restaurant business in New York City, or of corn producers in Nebraska.

The four characteristics of a perfectly competitive industry form the basis for models of competitive firms and industries. This modeling helps analysts understand how firms behave, how specialized resources can or should be used, and how managers of firms in competitive industries can increase their profitability.

### 10.3 The perfectly competitive firm

Each competitive firm in a perfectly competitive market is a Price Taker that can exert no influence over output prices. The wheat seller takes whatever price the buyer offers.

- Price Taker = a firm so small relative to the industry that the price of output is fixed and given, no matter how large or how small the quantity of output it sells.

A price taker is a firm that has no market power. It must take input and output prices as given and fixed. Even though competitive firms exert no influence on product prices the prices themselves fluctuate in response to forces outside the firms' control.

Firms that have market power are Price Makers. These firms have at least some ability to influence the price of outputs because of the large size of the firm relative to the market. They produce and sell enough product to affect the price of the good.

- Price Maker = a firm characterized by market power, or the ability to influence the price of output. A firm facing a downward-sloping demand curve.

Restated using the language of earlier chapters, a price maker is a firm that faces a down-ward-sloping demand curve. These price maker firms are the subject of Chapter 11.

## The demand curve facing a competitive firm

A competitive firm is small relative to the industry, so small that it cannot influence the price of the product that it sells. Consider an individual rice producer in Jackson County, Arkansas. Figure 10.1 shows the relationship between the rice market (on the left) and the individual
rice producer in Jackson County (on the right). The interaction of all (aggregated) rice producers and consumers appears in the supply and demand curves on the left. Market forces will establish an equilibrium price at the intersection of supply $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}\right)$ and demand $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right)$. In equilibrium, a quantity of $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$ billion cwt are produced and sold at a price of $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ dollars per hundredweight (cwt). The demand curve slopes downward due to the Law of Demand and the supply curve slopes upward due to the Law of Supply (Chapter 8).


Figure 10.1 Rice market and individual producer.


Plate 10.2 Rice.
Source: FrameAngel/Shutterstock

## Quick Quiz 10.1

What does the market demand curve show? How is the market demand for rice derived?

## Quick Quiz 10.2

How is the market supply of rice derived?

The units shown on the graph are crucial. Farmers produce rice over most of the world, so the rice market is global in scope and is very large. The units for quantity of rice in the rice market graph are in billions of hundredweight ( Q ).

The graph on the right side of Figure 10.1 represents the individual firm. The individual rice producer is so small that the quantity produced on the one farm is measured by numbers of hundredweight ( $q$ ). The demand curve facing the individual firm is perfectly elastic (horizontal). This means that the price elasticity of demand for one and every producer is infinite. The first hundredweight of rice sold by a producer will receive the same price as the last $\left(\left|\mathbb{E}^{\mathrm{d}}\right|=\infty\right)$. The demand curves in Figure 10.2 show why this is true.

The demand curve in the left-hand panel is perfectly inelastic: the consumer purchases the same quantity, regardless of price. No substitutes exist for this good. This demand is perfectly inelastic $\left(\left|E^{d}\right|=0\right)$. In the next panel, the demand curve is inelastic $\left(\left|E^{d}\right|<1\right)$, since consumers do not make large changes in the quantity demanded in response to price changes. The third panel shows an elastic demand $\left(\left|E^{d}\right|>1\right)$, where consumers are responsive to price. If the price increases by even a small amount, the quantity demanded decreases significantly. Finally, the right-hand panel depicts a perfectly elastic demand curve $\left(\left|\mathrm{E}^{d}\right|=\infty\right)$.

When demand is perfectly elastic, the price is the same regardless of the quantity purchased. This is the defining characteristic of the perfectly competitive industry. The good is homogeneous, so consumers do not care which firm supplies the good. If the individual rice farmer in Figure 10.1 tried to raise the price of rice by one cent above the market price, $\mathrm{P}^{*}$, no buyer would purchase the farmer's rice at the higher price, since there is a large quantity of rice available at the market price, $\mathrm{P}^{*}$. At any price higher than $\mathrm{P}^{*}$, the demand facing this firm would fall to zero.


Figure 10.2 Elasticity of demand over time.

If one individual firm were to charge a price slightly lower than the equilibrium price, all of the consumers in the market would flock to the producer charging the lower price. The demand facing a competitive firm is perfectly elastic, since consumers are extraordinarily responsive to price. Any rational producer would not charge less than the market price, since the firm can always receive $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ dollars per hundredweight of rice. The elastic, or horizontal, demand curve facing the individual producer reflects the ability to sell as much or as little produce as desired at the prevailing market price. The firm is so small relative to the market that the quantity it supplies does not affect the market price.

To see this, consider how large the quantity of rice is for the individual farmer relative to the world rice market. The quantity of rice in the right-hand panel of Figure 10.1 is trivial compared to the billions of hundredweight of rice traded in the world market at the equilibrium price shown in the left panel.

The demand curve (D) facing the competitive rice farmer in Figure 10.1 is identical to the price line $\left(\mathrm{P}^{*}\right)$, since the firm can sell as much or as little rice as it desires at the market price. The revenue of a competitive firm is calculated using the fixed and given market price. Total Revenue: (TR) is the market price ( P ) multiplied by the quantity produced $(\mathrm{q})$ and sold by the firm:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P} * \mathrm{q} . \tag{10.1}
\end{equation*}
$$

Total Revenue for the rice producer is the rectangle defined by the price ( $0 \mathrm{P}^{*}$ ) and the quantity sold $\left(0 q^{*}\right)$, as shown in Figure 10.3. Average Revenue (AR) is the per-unit level of revenue earned by the firm:

$$
\begin{equation*}
A R=T R / q=P^{*} q / q=P . \tag{10.2}
\end{equation*}
$$

The Average Revenue for the rice producer is equal to the price $(P=A R)$. Lastly, the Marginal Revenue (MR) for the competitive firm is the change in TR ( $\Delta T R$ ) brought about by a small change in quantity sold ( $\Delta q)$. Price does not change, and $\Delta T R=\Delta(P q)=P \Delta q$, so the only source of change in revenue must come from changes in the quantity sold $(\mathrm{q})$ :

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{MR}=\Delta \mathrm{TR} / \Delta \mathrm{q}=\Delta(\mathrm{Pq}) / \Delta \mathrm{q}=\mathrm{P} \Delta \mathrm{q} / \Delta \mathrm{q}=\mathrm{P} \tag{10.3}
\end{equation*}
$$



Figure 10.3 Revenues for a perfectly competitive firm.

Marginal Revenue is also equal to price for the product of the competitive firm because the additional (marginal) revenue that the firm receives from the sale of one unit of output is always equal to the constant price $\left(\mathrm{P}^{*}\right)$. The demand curve for the firm is a horizontal line at the same level as average revenue, marginal revenue, and the equilibrium market price so $\mathrm{D}=\mathrm{AR}=\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{P}^{*}$.

## Profit maximization for a competitive firm

A firm will maximize profits by setting marginal revenue equal to marginal cost $(M R=M C)$. This profit-maximizing condition holds true for the competitive firm, shown in Figure 10.4.

Figure 10.4 shows the typical U-shaped cost curves, together with the market price derived from the intersection of market supply and market demand for a rice-producing firm. The rice producer in Arkansas maximizes profits by meeting the two conditions of profit maximization: (1) MR = MC, and (2) MC must cut MR from below. The profit-maximizing level of output is $\mathrm{q}^{*}$, which satisfies the two conditions. The large rectangle represents total revenue accruing to the rice producer. Total revenue is found by multiplying the equilibrium price by the equilibrium quantity ( $\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P}^{*} \mathrm{q}^{*}$ ). Profits are found by subtracting all costs of production from the total revenue ( $\pi=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}$ ). Total costs are found by substituting the output level $\left(\mathrm{q}^{*}\right)$ into the ATC curve. This is because ATC $=\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{q}$, so TC $=$ ATC* q . The level of profits for the rice producer is the rectangle denoted by $\pi$ in Figure 10.4. The firm in the diagram is earning positive economic profits.

## Quick Quiz 10.3

What is the difference between accounting profits and economic profits? Hint: see Chapter 3.


Figure 10.4 Profits for a perfectly competitive firm.

### 10.4 The efficiency of competitive industries

Perfectly competitive industries have many desirable features. The most important of these concerns efficiency. Competition among industries results in efficiency of resource use in the economy.

- Efficiency $=$ a characteristic of competitive markets, indicating that goods and services are produced at the lowest possible cost and consumers pay the lowest possible prices.

Efficiency is a desirable result of competition. The industry uses scarce resources in such a way as to produce goods and services at the lowest possible cost. Prices charged by competitive firms are no higher than the cost of production (MC). The numerous firms and homogeneous product criteria guarantee this result. If a competitive firm were to try to charge a price higher than the competitive market price, customers would quickly shift to producers charging the lower market price. Consumers will never be "gouged" by producers trying to raise the price above the competitive level.

The second characteristic of perfectly competitive industries that leads to efficient market outcomes is the freedom of entry and exit. When an industry is earning high levels of profits, new firms will enter the industry to produce the profitable good or service. This eliminates the possibility of market power, or monopoly prices, in a competitive industry. When a competitive firm is unprofitable, it will drop out of the industry to find a more profitable way to use its resources. As more firms leave, the industry supply diminishes (the supply curve shifts upward and to the left) and prices to the consumer increase.

The agricultural sector of the United States has been subject to decreasing farm numbers since the mid-1930s, when the nation had 6.8 million farms. The number in 2007 stood at about 2.2 million. Why? Because the opportunities to earn a living outside of agriculture became greater than the opportunities inside of agriculture for many individuals and families. In recent years (2010-12), an economic recession in the overall economy, together with growing demand for agricultural commodities, has reversed this trend. The returns to agriculture and agribusiness have been high, relative to positions available in other sectors of the economy.

In an economy with freely operating markets, resources flow to their highest (most profitable) use. The efficiency captured by the producer allows production at the lowest possible cost per unit. Consumers enjoy this efficiency because it allows them to purchase goods at very low prices, much lower than would be the case under monopolistic conditions.

The retail fresh flower market in New York City provides an example of how this flow of resources takes place. The New York flower market depicted in Figure 10.5 shows market situations for the entire market as well as for a hypothetical individual florist, "Frank's Flowers."

The left-hand panel in Figure 10.5 represents the aggregate market for flowers in New York City. The supply curve reflects all of the florists in the market, and the demand curve represents all of the consumers. The intersection of supply and demand at $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ determines the market price for flowers. All of the florists in the area charge the same price of $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ per dozen flowers, or customers will shift their business to the firms that charge $\mathrm{P}^{*}$. This result is the perfectly elastic demand curve facing Frank and other individual flower shops in the area.


Figure 10.5 Flower market and individual flower producer.


Plate 10.3 Flower market.
Source: Cristi180884/Shutterstock

## Quick Quiz 10.4

List and describe the four factors of production for Frank: K, L, A, and M.

## Quick Quiz 10.5

What are opportunity costs? Why are economic profits equal to zero an acceptable outcome for Frank?

Frank sells flowers (in dozens) by setting marginal revenue ( $\mathrm{D}=\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{P}^{*}$ ) equal to marginal cost (MC) at a quantity q* dozen flowers. Economic profits are equal to zero, indicating that the resources employed by Frank (K, L, A, and M) are all earning exactly their opportunity cost.

Figure 10.5 shows a market equilibrium (left side), and a firm equilibrium (right side). The quantity supplied equals the quantity demanded in the market, the firm (which is one of many similar firms) is earning zero economic profits, and the price is equal to the marginal cost. The efficiency that results from this outcome is considered to be highly desirable because the resources employed by Frank's firm, including Frank himself, are earning at least as much as they could earn in their next-best use. Consumers are paying the exact cost of production for a dozen flowers.

Suppose there is an increase in the population of New York City. Figure 10.6 demonstrates how the New York flower market responds.

The demand for flowers increases with the increase in New York City's population. The shift in demand results in a movement along the supply curve to the new equilibrium point, showing an increase in quantity supplied. The new equilibrium price is $P_{1}{ }^{*}$ and the new quantity is $\mathrm{Q}_{1}{ }^{*}$.

The increase in price translates into increased economic profits for Frank's shop. The right panel of Figure 10.6 shows the positive economic profits in the rectangle denoted $\pi$, where $\pi=$ TR -TC. The market price increased from $\mathrm{P}_{0} *$ to $\mathrm{P}_{1}{ }^{*}$, while the costs of production remained the same as they were prior to the population increase.


Figure 10.6 An increase in demand for flowers.

Frank's and every other florist in New York City will earn positive economic profits. The positive profits that result from population growth help explain economic behavior in other locations even where conditions may not be the same. The analysis in Figure 10.6 shows why businesses in a college town favor (1) increased enrollment at the college, (2) a good football team, (3) an active industrial park that hires graduates, (4) new golf courses, and (5) new housing developments that will attract new individuals and families. Population growth is a good thing for businesses!

The flower story, however, is not over. The high level of earnings by Frank's and the other florists will result in entry of other florists and floral-related businesses. This means that college graduates with a degree in Horticulture or Landscape Design will locate in New York City to take advantage of the profitable conditions. The entry of new firms will shift the supply curve of flowers to the right (an increase in supply) as long as positive economic profits exist. The supply of flowers will continue to shift to the right until the original price $\left(\mathrm{P}_{0}{ }^{*}\right)$ is reached, as shown in Figure 10.7.

The increase in supply results in an increase in the equilibrium level of output from $\mathrm{Q}_{1}{ }^{*}$ to $\mathrm{Q}_{2}{ }^{*}$, and a decrease in the equilibrium price back to the original level, $\mathrm{P}_{0}{ }^{*}$. This lowers the price line facing Frank's, since the new florists in New York City take some of Frank's original business. Frank's still maximizes profits by setting marginal revenue equal to marginal cost at the new but lower price, $\mathrm{P}_{0}{ }^{*}$, and produces the original level of output, $\mathrm{q}_{0}$ *. Frank's is now back at its original equilibrium point. Frank's positive economic profits attracted new firms that attracted some of Frank's customers and reduced profits back to the equilibrium level: zero economic profits.


Figure 10.7 An increase in supply following an increase in demand for flowers.

Box 10.1 Cut flower production
Cut flowers are big business. In the past two decades, floriculture, the cultivation of ornamental and flowering plants, has become one of the fastest growing sectors in

US agriculture. In 2010, floriculture sales in the United States exceeded $\$ 35$ billion. Slightly more than two-thirds (by dollar volume) of the fresh flowers sold in the US were produced in other countries. By value of flower sales to the United States, the top three nations that export cut flowers to the US are Colombia ( 65 percent), Ecuador ( 16 percent), and the Netherlands ( 6 percent). Most domestic production comes from California ( 76 percent), followed by Washington State ( 9 percent), Oregon (3 percent), and New Jersey (3 percent).

Floral crops are typically grown in greenhouses or covered areas, and are usually sold in bunches or as bouquets. The most popular cut flowers are roses, carnations, gladioli, and pompon chrysanthemums. Flower demand is highly seasonal. Sales are highest in February through May and in the fall. Cut flower sales peak on Valentine's Day and Mother's Day; and poinsettias are sold between Thanksgiving and Christmas. Since cut flowers are highly perishable, they require cool temperatures and storage conditions to prolong their quality. The increasingly automated US floral industry deals with the year-round production of high-value crops such as Easter lilies, orchids, and forest azaleas. Automation in greenhouses such as extended exposure to natural and artificial light accelerates plant production.

Flower sales are highly dependent on consumer income, and cut flowers are a luxury good (Chapter 8). Cut flower sales are higher for consumers with high incomes, and sales are highly responsive to fluctuations in consumer income. Most of the recent increase in cut flower sales in the US depends on imported stocks of flowers. About 40 percent of the imports are roses, followed by carnations ( 10 percent), and chrysanthemums (10 percent). Low production costs and a strong US dollar drive the import market. During the 1980s and 1990s, production of the major cut flowers shifted from US growers to Central and South America, to take advantage of yearround production, lower labor costs, and lower energy costs for heating and lighting greenhouses.

The US cut flower industry faces two major trends, the major growth in massmarket sales in big discount stores and supermarkets, and highly automated production (growing) operations resulting from the rising cost of labor. This is the substitution of capital for labor highlighted in Chapter 5. A related trend is the movement of farmers out of traditional agricultural commodities into contract floriculture: a movement along the production possibility frontier (PPF) due to change in relative prices (Chapter 6). Many former tobacco farmers in the Southeast US have contracted with large retailers such as Home Depot and Walmart. Many US companies have invested in flower farms in South America to supply the growing US demand for flowers.

Source: "Industry and Trade Summary: Cut Flowers." US International Trade Commission. February 2003. http://www.usitc.gov/publications/332/pub3580.pdf

The analysis can also show how a decrease in demand results in the exit of firms from an industry. In Frank's case, if the demand for flowers fell, the result would be a lower market price for flowers, which would lower the perfectly elastic demand curve facing the flower shop. If the price drop is small, and price remains above the shutdown point ( $\mathrm{P}>\min \mathrm{AVC}$ ), then Frank's would stay in business to minimize costs in the short run. However, if price
falls below the shutdown point, Frank's would have to shut down, and exit the industry. In this case, the resources originally employed by Frank's would move to other industries.

## Quick Quiz 10.6

Use a two-panel graph of a competitive market and a firm to show the impact of an increase in the price of chicken on the beef market.

The exit of scarce resources from unprofitable industries is efficient from a societal point of view, although it can be devastating to the persons involved. In a free market economy, the consumers determine what to produce and what not to produce. If the demand for a good is not sufficient for the number of firms producing it, then some firms will close and resources will flow out of the unprofitable industry and into enterprises with higher earning opportunities.

This chapter focuses on the behavior of a competitive firm. To this point it has explained how competition brings about desirable results for society. The next section investigates strategies that competitive firms use to maximize profits in the long run.

### 10.5 Strategies for perfectly competitive firms

Competitive firms are price takers, so the development of an elaborate pricing strategy would be a waste of the firm's manager's resources. Since the market determines the price through the supply and demand conditions in the entire market, the price is outside the control of the individual competitive firm. Similarly, the goods produced by competitive firms are homogeneous, so competition through quality differences or branding does not matter to the competitive firm. This means that advertising and other marketing activities are not profitable for competitive firms.

These conditions and qualifications are desirable and help make life less complicated for producers and consumers. Producers do not waste money on advertising and marketing, and consumers pay only the costs of producing and distributing the good. If price and product quality are outside the firm's control, what can a competitive firm do to maximize its earnings in the long run? It can concentrate on minimizing costs.

A competitive firm's best strategy is to lower its costs of production at every opportunity. This could involve adopting new technologies, or purchasing inputs at the lowest possible price. In a competitive industry, firms must continue to keep up with the other firms to stay in business. If other firms reduce costs, the firm will have to match these cost reductions or face lower profits in the future. This helps explain why agricultural producers constantly search for new technologies in the form of new equipment, new farm management practices, and new farming methods. Indeed, the history of agriculture is one of continuous technological innovation and adoption.

Technological change allows for higher levels of output from the same level of inputs. Figure 10.8 traces the impact of a firm in the flower business adopting a new technology.

The technological change lowers the costs of production from $\mathrm{MC}_{0}$ to $\mathrm{MC}_{1}$. This allows the florist to go from a position of zero economic profits at the original equilibrium $\left(\mathrm{q}_{0}{ }^{*}\right)$ to positive economic profits at the new equilibrium ( $\mathrm{q}_{1}{ }^{*}$ ). If Frank's Flowers adopts this technology before the other florists in New York City, Frank will earn positive economic profits.


Figure 10.8 Early adoption of technology: a perfectly competitive firm.

These high earnings, however, will attract new entrants into the industry. The new entrants will increase the supply of flowers in the market until the market price drops to a new equilibrium price at the minimum point on the ATC curve. Therefore, profits are temporary in a competitive industry. Positive profits encourage entry, and entry causes supply to increase until the profits are dissipated.

The conclusion or lesson of this analysis is that the early adopters of a new technology capture the benefits of the advance. Firms not adopting the technology must leave the business, as their costs remain high while the market price drops. The best strategy recommendation for a firm in a competitive industry, such as an agricultural firm, is for it to develop and adopt technology as rapidly as possible. These businesses must continuously adopt more efficient production methods in order to remain profitable in the long run.

The nation's Land Grant Universities such as Kansas State University, Texas A\&M University, the University of Wisconsin, and dozens of others conduct much of the agricultural research done in the United States. The research, often partially funded by producer groups such as the Oregon Livestock Association or the North Dakota Wheat Growers, helps find the best strategy for firms in competitive industries struggling to remain on the cutting edge. The suggested strategy often includes using the most up-to-date production technology. Not only do producers who adopt technology benefit, but the consumers of agricultural products also benefit from research and development of food and fiber, since technological change places downward pressure on the price of these goods.

Economists have a great deal of confidence in the ability of markets to allocate scarce resources efficiently. Resources move into industries where profits are high, and resources exit industries where profits are negative. The process of adjustment to new methods and new market conditions makes society better off. Producers earn the maximum profits possible by investing factors of production in the most profitable areas, and consumers pay the lowest possible prices for goods and services.

To be sure, the real world is more complicated than the stories, examples, and models presented in this chapter. Few industries exactly meet the four qualifications of perfect competition. Many real-world industries have fewer firms than the competitive ideal. Similarly, few industries include only firms that produce homogeneous products. Wheat, milk, and
soybeans may be close to homogeneous no matter where they are produced, but a bouquet of red roses from Frank's may differ from the flowers purchased down the street. The next chapter describes the performance of markets that do not qualify as perfectly competitive. The differences are large and consequential for both buyers and sellers.

### 10.6 Summary

1. The market structure of an industry refers to the number of sellers in the industry.
2. A monopoly has only a single firm in an industry.
3. A perfectly competitive industry has numerous firms that produce an identical product.
4. An oligopoly is composed of a "few" firms.
5. Monopolistic competition combines some factors of monopoly with some characteristics of competition. Monopolistic competitors produce similar, but not identical, products.
6. Market power is the ability of a firm to set price. Monopolists have complete market power; competitive firms have no market power.
7. A perfectly competitive firm has four characteristics: (1) numerous buyers and sellers, (2) a homogeneous product, (3) freedom of entry and exit, and (4) perfect information.
8. A homogeneous product is identical to the output of all firms in the industry, regardless of the firm that produces it.
9. A price taker is a firm so small relative to the industry that it has no influence over price. A price maker has the ability to influence price.
10. Perfect information is a situation where all buyers and sellers in a market have complete access to all technological and market information.
11. Barriers to entry and exit of a firm into an industry are legal or economic barriers to the entrance of a firm into an industry or to the exit of a firm from an industry.
12. The demand curve facing an individual competitive firm is perfectly elastic.
13. Profit-maximization conditions for a competitive firm are $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$ and MC cuts MR from below.
14. Efficiency is a condition indicating that production of goods and services occurs at the lowest cost and consumers pay the lowest possible prices. Efficiency is consistent with all resources earning their opportunity costs.
15. A competitive firm's best strategy for maximizing profits is to minimize costs.

### 10.7 Glossary

Barriers to Entry and Exit. Legal or economic barriers that hinder or prevent a new firm from entering or exiting an industry.
Efficiency. A characteristic of competitive markets, indicating that goods and services are produced at the lowest possible cost and consumers pay the lowest possible prices.
Homogeneous Product. A product that is the same no matter which producer produces it. The producer of a good cannot be identified by the consumer.
Market Power. The ability to affect the price of output. A firm with market power faces a downward-sloping demand curve.
Market Structure. The organization of an industry, typically defined by the number of firms in an industry.
Monopolistic Competition. A market structure defined by: (1) many sellers, (2) a product with close, but differentiated, substitutes, (3) some freedom of entry and exit, and (4) some availability of knowledge and information.

Monopoly. A market structure characterized by a single seller. The firm is the industry.
Oligopoly. A market structure characterized by a few large firms.
Perfect Competition. A market or industry with four characteristics: (1) numerous buyers and sellers, (2) ahomogeneous product, (3) freedom of entry and exit, and (4) perfect information.
Perfect Information. A situation where all buyers and sellers in a market have complete access to technological information and all input and output prices.
Price Maker. A firm characterized by market power, or the ability to influence the price of output. A firm faces a downward-sloping demand curve.
Price Taker. A firm so small relative to the industry that the price of output is fixed and given, no matter how large or how small the quantity of output it sells.

### 10.8 Review questions

1. Which type of firm has complete market power?
a. monopoly
b. competitive firm
c. oligopoly
d. monopolistic competition
2. Which good is a homogeneous product?
a. furniture
b. automobile
c. wheat
d. toothpaste
3. A competitive firm is:
a. an oligopolist
b. price maker
c. price taker
d. monopolist
4. The demand curve facing an individual firm in a competitive industry is:
a. perfectly elastic
b. perfectly inelastic
c. the aggregate demand curve
d. equal to the supply curve
5. Competition results in:
a. monopoly prices
b. prices higher than the cost of production
c. cut-throat price wars that leave consumers worse off
d. efficient prices
6. A competitive firm's best strategy for maximizing profits is to:
a. set a monopoly price for the product
b. differentiate the product
c. reduce output to increase price
d. minimize costs


Plate 11.1 Market power.
Source: Tan Kian Khoon/Shutterstock

## 11 Market power

## Synopsis

This chapter explores the causes and consequences of market power, the ability to charge prices higher than the competitive equilibrium price. Monopoly, monopolistic competition, oligopoly, and cartels are market structures characterized by market power. Examples from agriculture include the international wheat trade, beef packers, and fruit and vegetable marketing orders.

### 11.1 Market power

Competitive markets depend on free, voluntary trade between buyers and sellers to assure efficiency in resource use. This chapter discusses noncompetitive markets in which individual firms can influence the price charged for their products. This occurs when there are so few firms in the industry that each one can affect product prices by altering the quantity of goods they place on the market. When there are only a few firms, the rivalry among them does not necessarily result in competitive outcomes similar to those discussed in Chapter 10. Discussion now turns to situations where free markets may not, and most likely will not, yield efficient outcomes. When efficiency is absent, consumers pay more for products than manufacturers spent to make them. In more formal terms, buyers pay more than a product's cost of production in order to obtain a good. In addition, potential entrants may find it difficult or be unable to enter an industry. The discussion begins with an explanation of Market Power.

Market power is the ability of a firm to set the price of a good higher than the cost of production. A firm with market power can influence the price of its product, or the competitive market price.

- Market Power = the ability to affect the price of output. A firm with market power faces a downward-sloping demand curve.

When there are numerous firms in an industry, price competition forces each firm to charge the competitive market price, $\mathrm{P}=\mathrm{MC}$. If a competitive firm raises the price of the good it produces, it will sell nothing because its customers immediately shift their purchases to other firms that are selling the same product at the lower competitive price.

When there are only a few firms in an industry, individual firms may be able to charge a price higher than the competitive price, forcing consumers to pay more than the product's cost of production. Since this outcome is inefficient, the US government has legislated
against the blatant use of market power. In 1890, the United States passed the Sherman Antitrust Act (1890) to protect consumers from firms that used excessive amounts of market power. Giant firms like Standard Oil and the American Tobacco Company were among the first to be regulated by these antitrust laws. Why? Because they used their immense market power to set prices of their products at a level above the cost of production. They, and others, made huge profits from their price-setting activities. Since these practices placed a heavy burden on other sectors of the economy, the government took steps to limit the price-setting abilities of monopoly firms.

### 11.2 Monopoly

A Monopoly is easy to define and understand because the entire industry is a single firm. No other firm produces the same or similar goods.

- Monopoly $=$ a market structure characterized by a single seller. The firm is the industry.


## Quick Quiz 11.1

Is McDonald's a monopoly, since it is the only firm that produces and sells a Big Mac?

While it is true that McDonald's is the only firm that sells the Big Mac, McDonald's is not a monopolist, since many firms produce hamburgers, many of which are close substitutes for Big Macs. A monopoly is the only producer of a good that has no close substitutes. In a monopoly, the firm is the industry. Since the monopolist is not subject to competition, the monopolist is considered to be a Price Maker, instead of a Price Taker:

- Price Maker = a firm characterized by market power, or the ability to influence the output price. A price-making firm faces a downward-sloping demand curve.

A monopoly has characteristics that differ from those of a competitive firm. These two types of market structure are on opposite ends of a spectrum (recall Table 10.1). Table 11.1 compares the characteristics of the two types of industrial structure.

Table 11.1 shows the reasons why the monopoly's situation is different from that of a firm in a competitive industry. The monopoly firm produces a good for which there are no close

Table 11.1 Monopoly and competition

| Monopoly | Competitive Firm |
| :--- | :--- |
| One Seller | Numerous Sellers |
| No Close Substitutes | Homogenous Product |
| Barrier to Entry and Exit | Freedom of Entry and Exit |
| Unavailability of Information | Perfect Information |

substitutes, whereas a competitive firm produces a good that is identical in every way to the product of the numerous other firms. Competitive firms are characterized by freedom to enter and exit the industry, whereas potential entrants into the monopoly industry face a legal or financial barrier that does not allow a firm to produce and sell the same product as the existing monopolist. Lastly, the monopoly can withhold market information from others, the opposite of the perfect information situation of competitive firms. Recall that in the perfectly competitive case, all firms are assumed to know everything about technology and prices.

The profit-maximizing behavior of a monopolist is quite different from the behavior exhibited by a competitive firm. The demand curve facing the local electricity company (or perhaps the local natural gas company) provides a useful starting place. Businesses and firms in most locales must purchase electricity from the same company, since that firm has a legal monopoly on the sale of electricity in the local area. The status of the legal monopoly is not hard to understand. Electricity reaches residential and commercial areas through extensive and complex distribution networks of wires and cables. If two companies delivered electric power to the same area, a second set of wires and cables would be needed. A second delivery system would be expensive; more expensive than local consumers would like to pay or could afford to pay. The problem is avoided by the formation of a delivery area in which only one company is given the authority to deliver electric power. The firm, called a "public utility," is the industry in this area, so its market demand curve is the same as the demand curve facing the firm. For every practical purpose, this locally sanctioned power delivery firm is a monopoly that exhibits all of the characteristics shown in Figure 11.1. Electricity is sold in units of kilowatt hours (kwh).


Figure 11.1 The demand curve facing an electricity company.

## Quick Quiz 11.2

How is the market demand curve for electricity derived?

## Quick Quiz 11.3

What does the demand curve facing a competitive firm look like?

The notation for the monopolist's demand curve is unique. Both Q (the market quantity) and $q$ (a firm's quantity) identify the quantity of electricity demanded. The reason is that the delivery company is both the firm and the industry. Several features of a monopoly can now be made clear. The monopolist's goal, like the goal of every competitive firm, is to maximize profits. A monopolist is sometimes perceived by society as a firm that behaves differently from other firms. It may behave differently, but the underlying objective, maximizing profit, is the same.

Although the monopolist is called a "price maker," the monopoly does not have complete control over the price of the firm's product. The monopoly's price-making behavior is subject to the willingness and ability of consumers to purchase the product. These characteristics are represented by the demand curve. If the price of electricity is set higher than consumers are willing to pay, the monopolist will not sell any electricity.

Figure 11.1 shows the demand curve facing a monopolist. The monopolist can either: (1) set a price, and let consumers determine how much to purchase at that price, or (2) set a quantity, and let consumers determine the price. Restated, since the consumers control the slope and location of the demand curve, the monopolist can manipulate either price or quantity, but not both.

Figure 11.1 shows this. If the local power company sets a high price $\left(\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{h}}\right)$, then it will sell only a small quantity of electricity $\left(\mathrm{Q}_{1 \mathrm{o}}\right)$. If the monopolist sets a low price $\left(\mathrm{P}_{1 \mathrm{l}}\right)$, then it will sell a large quantity of electricity $\left(\mathrm{Q}_{\mathrm{h}}\right)$. Contrast this with the competitive case, where any firm in the industry can sell as much or as little as it desires at a constant price. The monopolist is not a price taker, so must determine a price at which to sell the product while keeping in mind the constraints imposed by consumer demand. Note that real-world electricity firms are highly regulated, and make price and quantity decisions under government supervision. For simplicity, the example presented here is for an unregulated monopolist; examples of unregulated monopolies are difficult to find.


Plate 11.2 Electricity distribution.

## Box 11.1 Electricity

Electricity is used 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and is an important input into most economic and social activities in advanced countries. The availability of electricity is constant and reliable, so people do not usually consider how dependent they are on electrical power. In the 1820s and early 1830s, Michael Faraday, a British scientist, discovered the fundamental principles of electricity generation and management. Farraday's basic method of generating the power was based on moving a loop of wire or a disc of copper between the positive and negative poles of a magnet. This method is still used today, using a turbine. When the blades on the shaft of a turbine are rotated, the generator produces electricity through a process called magnetic induction. Commercial electricity is all produced using turbines, with the main differences being the size of the generator and the source of power used to turn the blades.

Electricity has been generated at central generating stations since 1881. The first power plants were run using water power or coal. Today, in the early twenty-first century, fossil fuels, including coal, natural gas, and petroleum, are the major sources of energy used in electricity production. These fuels are used to convert water into steam, and a steam turbine is used to produce electricity. In 2009, coal produced approximately 45 percent of all electricity produced in the US, and natural gas around 23 percent.

Coal is abundant in the US, and provides the lowest cost of producing electrical power. However, coal-fired electricity plants produce by-products of carbon dioxide, nitrous oxides, particulates, and mercury. Modern technology and "scrubbers" have reduced these emissions, but coal-generating plants still account for 40 percent of all carbon dioxide emissions. As population and incomes rise, the demand for electricity is likely to increase significantly. This need will be met mostly with coal.

Natural gas is the cleanest burning fossil fuel, but is more expensive than coal. A new technology, "hydraulic fracturing," or "fracking" involves injecting fluid into rock reserves to allow the natural gas underneath to escape. Electricity is also produced using nuclear energy. The US now (2012) has 65 nuclear power plants ( 104 reactors) that produce 20 percent of the nation's power. Nuclear plants have low operating costs. Hydropower provides about 6 percent of the nation's energy. Renewable forms of electricity production include geothermal, solar, and wind.

Electric utilities provide the delivery of electricity to consumers. Electricity transmission, distribution, and electrical power storage and recovery using pumped storage methods are normally carried out by the electric power industry.

Source: Wikipedia. "Electricity Generation." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electricity_generation

A monopoly firm's cost structure is the same as for any other type of firm. The cost curves are the typical "U-shaped" curves first mentioned in Chapter 3. The revenue for a monopoly, however, differs greatly from the revenue of a competitive firm. To show this, first review the revenue of a competitive firm. Recall that the demand curve facing a competitive firm such as a firm producing wheat is perfectly elastic, or horizontal, as shown by $\mathrm{D}=\mathrm{AR}=\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{P}^{*}$ in Figure 11.2.


Figure 11.2 Revenues for a competitive wheat firm.

Since total revenue is the quantity sold multiplied by the price of the product $\left(\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{P}^{*} \mathrm{Q}\right)$, the total revenue line is upward sloping, and of constant slope (Figure 11.2). The competitive wheat firm can sell any quantity of the wheat it produces, but it must be sold at the given market price, $\mathrm{P}^{*}$. Figure 11.3 shows the demand curve of a monopolistic firm. Suppose that the inverse demand function for electricity is given by:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{P}=10-\mathrm{q}, \tag{11.1}
\end{equation*}
$$

where q is the quantity of electricity sold measured in kilowatt hours (kwh), and P is the price of electricity ( $\$ / \mathrm{kwh}$ ).


Figure 11.3 Price and quantity combinations for the electricity company.

A graph of this demand curve shows why the monopolist is unable to set the price of electricity without regard for the consumers' willingness to pay. The monopolist is constrained by the demand curve. If the electric company charged $\$ 10 / \mathrm{kwh}$, it would not sell any electricity. By lowering the price of electricity to $\$ 8 / \mathrm{kwh}$, the firm will sell 2 kilowatt hours of electricity, for total revenue (TR) equal to $\$ 16$. The Law of Demand reveals that as the price of electricity drops, consumers will purchase more. At a price of $\$ 0 / \mathrm{kwh}$ (electricity is given away free), the company "sells" 10 kilowatt hours of electricity, but the total revenue is zero, since no price is being charged. Table 11.2 shows some of the possible combinations of prices, quantities, and total revenue faced by the firm selling electricity.

The revenue curves for the company are drawn in Figure 11.4. For the monopolist, average revenue can be read directly from the demand curve ( $D=A R$ ), as shown in the upper graph of Figure 11.4. This result is derived from the definition of total revenue ( $\mathrm{TR}=\mathrm{Pq}$ ). Average revenue is the revenue per unit of output, or total revenue divided by the quantity produced and sold:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\mathrm{AR}=\mathrm{TR} / \mathrm{q}=\mathrm{Pq} / \mathrm{q}=\mathrm{P} . \tag{11.2}
\end{equation*}
$$

Since average revenue is equal to the price of the good, the demand curve is identical to the average revenue curve. Recall the relationship between average and marginal. The average always "chases" the marginal. Putting this idea to use, if the average revenue curve is decreasing, then the marginal revenue curve is located below the average revenue curve (Figure 11.4). The marginal revenue curve represents the rate of change, or slope, of the total revenue curve ( $\mathrm{MR}=\Delta \mathrm{TR} / \Delta \mathrm{Q}$ ).

Since marginal revenue is declining, the slope of the total revenue curve declines throughout. The marginal revenue curve crosses the $x$-axis at $q_{0}(=5)$ units of output. This is the same quantity of output at which the slope of the total revenue curve becomes negative. To maximize revenue, the monopolist would sell 5 units of output, since that is the highest level of revenue $(T R=25)$ that the firm can earn.

The firm, however, must also consider the costs of production in deciding what level of output will maximize its profit. Depending on the firm's cost structure, it may be too costly for the firm to produce 5 units of output. Figure 11.5 shows the typical U-shaped cost curves

Table 11.2 Revenue for the electricity company

| Price <br> $(\$ / k w h)$ | Quantity <br> $(k w h)$ | Total <br> Revenues $(\$)$ | Average Revenue <br> $(\$ / k w h)$ | Marginal Revenue <br> $(\$ / k w h)$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 10 | 0 | 0 | - | - |
| 9 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| 8 | 2 | 16 | 8 | 7 |
| 7 | 3 | 21 | 7 | 5 |
| 6 | 4 | 24 | 6 | 3 |
| 5 | 5 | 25 | 5 | 1 |
| 4 | 6 | 24 | -1 |  |
| 3 | 7 | 21 | 3 | -3 |
| 2 | 8 | 16 | 2 | -5 |
| 1 | 9 | 9 | 1 | -7 |
| 0 | 10 | 0 | -9 |  |



Figure 11.4 Revenues for the monopolist: an electricity company.
together with the average revenue and marginal revenue curves. The profit-maximizing strategy for the monopolist is to set $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$, with MC cutting MR from below.

This profit-maximizing solution is an example of incremental decision making. The firm sets $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$ at $\mathrm{q}^{*}$ kilowatt hours of electricity. The profit-maximizing price of electricity is found by taking the quantity $\left(\mathrm{q}^{*}\right)$ where $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$, and using the demand curve to find $\mathrm{P}^{*}$.

At this quantity, the firm earns positive economic profits by selling $q^{*}$ kilowatt hours of electricity at $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ dollars per kilowatt hour. Profits are equal to the rectangle denoted $\pi$ below $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ and above ATC*, to the left of $\mathrm{q}^{*}$.

## Quick Quiz 11.4

What would happen if the electricity company in Figure 11.5 charged a price higher than $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ ? A price lower than $\mathrm{P}^{*}$ ?

Profits are maximized at $q^{*}$ kilowatt hours. If one additional unit of electricity were produced and sold, the size of the profit rectangle would decrease, since the MC curve is higher than the MR curve at all quantities greater than $\mathrm{q}^{*}$. If electricity sales dropped by one unit, profits would be lower, since $\mathrm{MR}>\mathrm{MC}$ at all quantities to the left of $\mathrm{q}^{*}$.


Figure 11.5 Profit maximization by an electricity company.

Monopolists search for the maximum profits by offering different prices, and discovering what the demand and total revenue are at each price. The monopolist's solution is to restrict output to a level lower than the competitive market output level to receive a price above that which would be charged by a competitive firm. By restricting output, the monopolist is making its good less available, and thus, more valuable. Notice in Figure 11.5 that the price charged by the monopolist is significantly higher than the cost of production (MC) at quantity $\mathrm{q}^{*}$. This is one major reason why economists and society favor competitive markets over monopoly. The monopoly solution is inefficient, since price is greater than the cost of production.

Monopolies exist for several reasons, including: (1) large fixed costs (public utilities), (2) locational monopolies (electricity distributors), (3) limited markets for highly specialized goods (fine jewelry, art), and (4) patents or licenses. Certain kinds of firms must incur large fixed costs prior to the sale of any product at all. These firms are called Natural Monopolies.

- Natural Monopoly = a situation where a single firm has large fixed costs, making it most efficient (lowest cost) for production to be concentrated in a single firm.

Think of a firm that sells and distributes electricity. Prior to selling electricity, the firm must build and operate a power generator (a huge dam or a nuclear generator), together with an expensive distribution network that includes poles, huge amounts of wire, switches, and transformers. These items are large and costly to install and maintain. The marginal cost of producing one additional kilowatt hour is quite small relative to these large fixed costs, but it does no good to produce even one kilowatt hour of electricity if the firm cannot deliver it to a purchaser. The firms that incur these huge fixed costs are poorly suited to provide electricity to only a few customers, but their vast distribution grid allows them to serve many, perhaps thousands of, customers with one generating plant. In a situation like this, only one firm is needed. A second firm producing the same product would increase the distribution costs, and, hence, the price of electricity for consumers. In more technical
terms, price competition between two or more firms would drive price down to the competitive level, where neither firm could remain in business, since costs are greater than revenue.

This is why many public utilities such as electricity, natural gas, local telephone service, mail delivery, and municipal water are either regulated monopolies or goods provided by some level of government. In these cases, huge fixed costs require firms to charge prices greater than marginal costs to recover their production costs, and the large fixed costs.

Firms that own a unique location can act like a monopoly and charge a high price for the uniqueness of the good. The golf course at Pebble Beach, California, for example, has fairways bordering the Pacific Ocean. It is a one-of-a-kind facility and it can act like a monopoly. Prime real estate locations can also charge high prices to willing customers who desire to locate homes and businesses in the areas of highest demand.

Most national governments issue patents to the inventors and originators of new machines, powerful medicines, and even new varieties of plants. The same governments issue copyrights (a kind of patent) on works of literature, music, and art. Patents and copyrights are government licenses issued to the developers of new products and techniques. Any inventor can apply for a patent that grants exclusive use of a product or technique to the inventor for a period of 17 years. This is a legal barrier to entry that gives the firm a monopoly for 17 years, if no close substitutes for the product exist. In 1996, Monsanto, a huge agricultural biotechnology firm, invented, perfected, and was licensed to sell a cotton seed called Bollgard. The seed had built-in biological protection against several weevils (insects) that had been problematic for cotton producers. Monsanto's special seed protected cotton producers from the insects. The same year, Monsanto perfected the herbicide (weed killer) RoundUp. Both Bollgard and RoundUp were extraordinarily good at doing their jobs of killing undesirable pests in agricultural fields. The patent on RoundUp gave Monsanto the exclusive right to produce and sell the product in the United States for 17 years, until the patent expired in 2003.

Patents protect firms and give them the opportunity to recover their high research and development (R\&D) costs required before the product is available on the market. Patents make goods more expensive to consumers, but many argue that research and development would not occur, or be drastically reduced, in a world with no patent protection.

In the real world, few industries fit the strict definitions of monopoly or competition. Instead, real-world industries usually fall somewhere in between these two extreme forms of market structure. The next section explores a market structure that combines aspects of both monopoly and competition.

### 11.3 Monopolistic competition

Many real-world industries include many firms that produce similar, but not identical, goods. Economists describe the structure of firms in a similar-but-not-identical industry as Monopolistic Competition.

- Monopolistic Competition $=$ a market structure defined by: (1) many sellers, (2) a product with close, but differentiated, substitutes, (3) some freedom of entry and exit, and (4) some availability of knowledge and information.

The key ingredient of monopolistic competition is product differentiation, or competition to attract customers by making a good that is different from the other goods but produced by firms in the (same) industry. Almost all consumer products fall into this form of market
structure: gasoline stations, cake mixes, toothpaste, milk, soap, soft drinks, and the like. Many, if not most, items available in big-box stores such as Walmart or Target are manufactured in a monopolistic competitive industry. Since the products are very much alike, advertising and marketing activities become key characteristics of monopolistic competition. Firms attempt to show consumers how their product differs from that of their rivals.

Since the products in a monopolistic competition industry are not homogeneous, the individual firm faces a downward-sloping demand curve. The slope, or elasticity, of demand depends upon the degree of uniqueness of the good, and the consumers' loyalty to the product. Consumers who prefer Colgate toothpaste are willing to pay more for this brand than switch to Crest. If this is true, then the demand for Colgate is relatively inelastic when compared to Crest. On the other hand, if consumers perceive Crest to be a close substitute for Colgate, then the demand curve for Colgate would be relatively elastic.

Box 11.2 Monopolistic competition in the soft drink industry: Coke and Pepsi
On May 8, 1886, a pharmacist named Dr. John Pemberton carried a jug of CocaCola syrup to Jacobs' Pharmacy in downtown Atlanta, Georgia, where after being mixed with carbonated water, it sold for five cents a glass. In the decades since that time, Coca-Cola has evolved from one product, Coca-Cola, to the more than 500 brands of soft drinks available in 2011. The Coca-Cola Company currently sells 1.7 billion soft drinks a day, in more than 200 nations. It is the largest beverage company in the world, with a product portfolio of over 3500 beverage products including sparkling drinks and still beverages such as bottled water, juice, juice drinks, teas, coffees, sports drinks, and energy drinks. The company is headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, and employs roughly 140,000 workers worldwide. It manufactures concentrates, beverage bases, and syrups that are sold to bottlers, who bottle and sell the products. The company reports a 42.0 percent market share in the US, earns $\$ 35$ billion in annual revenue, and had an advertising budget of $\$ 2.9$ billion in 2009.

In the summer of 1898 a pharmacist named Caleb Bradham invented Pepsi-Cola in Bern, North Carolina. Pepsi-Cola and the company behind it, PepsiCo, has grown into a large marketer of beverages, juices, and snack foods. Pepsi-Cola and Frito-Lay merged in 1965. In 2001, the larger PepsiCo merged with The Quaker Oats Company. Today, PepsiCo is a $\$ 29$ billion company, employing more than 150,000 people. PepsiCo sells products in nearly 200 countries, and offers more than 500 beverages, with a 29.3 percent market share in the United States, and advertising expenditures over $\$ 1$ billion each year.

Coke and Pepsi have been engaged in a "marketing war" for decades, as the combined market share for the two companies is over 70 percent of the carbonated soft drink market.

Sources:
Coca-Cola. http://www.coca-cola.com/en/index.html
Pepsi-Cola. http://www.pepsi.com/

While the characteristics of goods across firms differ in monopolistic competition, the prices among similar products do not vary by much. If price differences become large, consumers will switch to the close substitutes offered by competing firms. In other words, firms do not have a great deal of control over price in monopolistic competition. Figure 11.6 shows a graph of such a firm. The demand curve is downward sloping, showing the market power of the monopolistic competitor, in this case the soft drink producer, Coca-Cola. The cost structure of the firm includes the typical "U-shaped" curves.

Figure 11.6 shows that the monopolistic competitor is in a situation similar to that of a monopolist: it sets $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$, produces $\mathrm{q}^{*}$ units of output, and sells them at a price $\mathrm{P}^{*}$. Positive profits are shown by the rectangle between the price $\left(\mathrm{P}^{*}\right)$ and average total cost (ATC*) lines, and to the left of $\mathrm{q}^{*}$. A major difference between a monopolist and a monopolistic competitor is that the monopolistic competitor has less influence over price, and must use other strategies to compete with rival firms that produce similar products.

The monopolistic competitor has two major strategies to increase profits. First, the firm could reduce costs. This is the same as in the case of a competitive firm or a monopoly: do anything possible to lower production costs, including adoption of new technology, adding a new product line, or purchasing inputs at lower prices. Second, the monopolistic competitor can attempt to influence demand through advertising and marketing efforts that strive to show how his or her product is "better" than others in this closely fought marketing battle. If consumers believe that a certain brand of toothpaste will make their teeth whiter and control cavities, then the demand for that brand of toothpaste will shift to the right (increase). This strategy is called, "Nonprice Competition."

- Nonprice Competition $=$ a market situation where firms compete over good characteristics other than price, such as quality, quantity, services, color, taste, etc.

Competition to win customers over to a certain brand is often intense. The automobile manufacturers in Detroit, Michigan, for example, often hold much information privately (or secretly), for fear the other car companies will steal their new products and ideas. Coke and Pepsi do battle on prime-time television and on college campuses in their efforts to convince


Figure 11.6 Profits for monopolistically competitive firm: Coke.
consumers that their product is better than the rival's cola. Coke and Pepsi also attempt to acquire exclusive contracts with colleges and universities, requiring the rival products to not be sold in exchange for money or profit-sharing.

Software companies and technology firms, also operating as monopolistic competitors, compete for the best workers, and to advertise as the first and best firm to sell new and powerful software applications, or "apps."

Monopolistic competition has been used as a criticism of free market capitalism. Under this type of market structure, many resources are "wasted" on advertising and marketing. Millions of dollars are paid to celebrities from the entertainment and sports industries to endorse a large number of products. Command economies, such as China in the 1950s, produced just one type of clothing, and used the resources that market economies use for advertising and marketing to produce other goods. Many individuals believe that the variety of goods offered in a free market economy is not wasteful, but rather provides consumers with information and choices regarding what they might wish to purchase. If consumers were not willing to pay for and pay attention to advertising, the advertising industry would not survive in a market system. Is advertising wasteful? This depends on your viewpoint. Since economists try to purge value judgments from their analyses, the point must be decided on an individual case basis.

Monopolistic competition is a form of market structure that lies between the two extremes of monopoly and competition. It lies close to competition because there are many firms. It is also similar to monopoly since the products of the different firms have special qualities that make them distinct and result in a downward-sloping demand curve. The next section considers a form of market structure that is closer to monopoly, since there are only a few firms in the industry.

### 11.4 Oligopoly

An Oligopoly is a market structure where production activities are conducted by a few large firms.

- Oligopoly = a market structure characterized by a few large firms.

The key characteristics of firms in an oligopoly are that the firms are rivals, even though they form an interdependent group. The behavior of one firm has an impact on the behavior of other firms in the industry. Oligopolists must take into consideration the actions of other firms. Firms in an oligopoly are considered to have market power, and their ability to set price is determined by their own actions and the actions (and reactions) of other firms in the industry.

Taken together, agricultural implement manufacturers operate as an oligopoly. There is much interdependence within the group. Both price and nonprice competition are prevalent. The John Deere farm implement manufacturer must pay close attention to its rival, Case-IH, if it wants to maximize profits, or even if it wants to stay in business. If one of these giant firms lowers the price of certain lines of implements, the other firm, also a giant, will most likely match the new low price in order to retain its customers. If the price is lowered by both firms, then both firms earn lower levels of profits. Both firms would be better off maintaining a higher price. Similarly, if one firm raises its price, it will lose some customers to the other firm, unless the price hike is matched. Profit levels and market shares are determined by all firms in an oligopoly, rather than just the one firm acting alone.

The central strategy of an oligopolist is to form an alliance with the other firms in the industry to maintain prices at a level higher than the competitive market price. Firms are said to Collude when they agree to make decisions as a group.

- Collusion $=$ when the firms in an industry jointly determine the price of the good.

Collusion is a form of monopoly. If all of the firms in an oligopoly agree to act as a single firm, they would be a de facto monopoly and the monopoly pattern for profit maximization would be appropriate. The collusive price and quantity solution would be the monopoly solution. This form of business strategy has been illegal in the United States since passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890.

## Cartels

Cartels are groups of independent firms that join together for the express intent of regulating and controlling their price and production decisions. Cartels arise when several firms in an industry attempt to band together and act like a monopoly.

- Cartel $=$ a group of independent firms that join together to regulate price and production decisions.

While this form of market structure is illegal within the United States (the Sherman Anti-trust Act again), it is legal in some other nations. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is a famous international cartel that limits oil production in its member nations in an attempt to drive up the world price of oil.


Plate 11.3 Oil production.
Source: TebNad/Shutterstock

Box 11.3 The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is a permanent intergovernmental organization created in 1960, to coordinate petroleum supply and price policies among member countries. OPEC includes 12 oil-producing countries as members: Algeria, Angola, Ecuador, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela. The OPEC headquarters are in Vienna, Austria.

OPEC is a cartel: a group of producers that restricts output in an attempt to raise prices above the competitive level. The group meets twice each year to decide overall oil output, and assign output quotas for each member nation. As a cartel, OPEC is faced with enforcement problems: overproduction and price cheating by its members. Each individual member could make itself better off by producing more than its quota, and charging a lower price for oil, since the cartel price is higher than the cost of production. In reality, cheating takes the form of credit discounts or extensions, selling higher grades of oil for a lower-grade price, transportation discounts, side-payments, and rebates.

Economists are suspicious of the ability of OPEC to increase oil prices, as the real price of oil fell from 1974 to 2003. Since then, oil prices have climbed, but much of this increase in oil prices has been due to the increased demand stemming from economic growth in Asia. OPEC's ability to control the price of oil has diminished due to discovery and development of large oil reserves in Alaska, the North Sea, Canada, and the Gulf of Mexico, the opening of Russia to trade, and market modernization. As of November 2010, OPEC members collectively controlled 79 percent of world crude oil reserves and 44 percent of the world's crude oil production, affording them considerable strength in the global market.

Source: OPEC. http://www.opec.org/

Cattle producers and the United States government pay a great deal of attention to the market structure of the beef packing industry, since there is a large concentration of market power in four firms: Tyson, Cargill, JBS, and National Beef (see Chapter 1). The fear is that these firms may form a cartel and attempt to exert detrimental levels of control over livestock producers, processors, and consumers. Figure 11.7 is a hypothetical demonstration of the supply and demand for meat for the industry (on the left), and for an individual packing plant (on the right). Assume that the packers were able to form a cartel, with the objective of reducing output in order to increase the price of beef.

The competitive solution in Figure 11.7 is shown at the intersection of beef supply and beef demand in the market graph on the left ( $\mathrm{P}^{*}, \mathrm{Q}_{\text {comp }}$ ). A cartel, if successful, makes an agreement to restrict the output of meat from $\mathrm{Q}_{\text {comp }}$ to $\mathrm{Q}_{\text {cartel }}$. Since the agreement reduces the quantity of beef, this action drives the price up to $\mathrm{P}_{\text {cartel }}$. Assume that this restricted level of output is 80 percent of the original market. If the four packers collude perfectly, they charge the monopoly price, and act as if they were a single firm. If the real-world firms of Tyson, Cargill, JBS, and National Beef were to actually collude and form a cartel, this action would be illegal.


Figure 11.7 Hypothetical cartel in the meat industry.


Plate 11.4 Cattle feedlot.
Source: Thoma/Shutterstock

## Box 11.4 Meat packing

The meat packing industry operates the slaughtering, processing, packaging, and distribution of meat from animals such as cattle, pigs, sheep, poultry, and other livestock. The industry is primarily focused on producing meat for human consumption, but it
also yields a variety of by-products including hides, feathers, dried blood, and, through the process of rendering, fat such as tallow and protein meals such as meat and bone meal. The meat industry is the largest agricultural sector in the United States. Meat and poultry sales are greater than $\$ 100$ billion annually. The meat processing industry employed a total of 506,000 people in 2005.

The meat packing industry has changed greatly in the past 30 years, due to the movement of packing plants to the Great Plains, where large numbers of feedlots are located. New meat packing companies such as Iowa Beef Processors (IBP, now owned by Tyson) brought new technology and captured economies of scale in large plants located in areas where labor unions did not have a strong history. This, coupled with increasing worker speed and productivity, cutting labor costs, and consolidation, provided new sources of profits to large firms that operated large plants on small margins.

Over the past three decades, the number of immigrant laborers in meat packing plants, and in the Midwestern areas where they are located, has increased dramatically. The industry has been criticized for hazardous working conditions and low pay. The average earnings of production workers in 2010 was $\$ 11.27$ an hour, about 30 percent less than the average wage for all manufacturing jobs in the US.
Source: Wikipedia. "Meat Packing Industry." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meat_packing_ industry

If the four firms were able to agree to cut back on beef production by 20 percent each, they would earn positive economic profits, as shown in the right side of Figure 11.7. The problem with collusive agreements is the constant temptation of each firm to "cheat" once the agreement has been made. At the collusive price, if the single meat packing plant could increase its production of meat slightly, then it could take advantage of the cartel price and sell more output than the agreed to level. If the single firm could do this at the cartel price, it would set $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$ at the intersection of those two curves in the right-hand graph.

There are only a few firms (in the case of beef packers, only four dominant firms) in an oligopoly. Therefore, one firm's cheating behavior puts downward pressure on the price of beef. This in turn erodes the cartel agreement, and leads to a breakup and the price falls back toward the competitive level, limiting the effectiveness of the cartel. The issue is that the cheating firm assumes that all other firms stick to the agreement, an assumption that is inconsistent with the firm's own behavior. If all of the firms cheat on the agreement, then the competitive output and price would result. Thus, any cartel must spend money on monitoring other firms to make sure that they don't violate the original conditions of the agreement.

Strategic behavior among oligopolists can be complicated. The rivalry between firms can lead to aggressive price competition, or effective collusion, or anything in between these two extremes. Volatility is a major feature of oligopoly. Rivalry among firms may maintain a price agreement for a short period, but it is often followed by a price war that keeps the price at a competitive level. The next section discusses the benefits and costs of highly concentrated market structures.

### 11.5 Is big necessarily bad?

There have been a large number of mergers and acquisitions in the agribusiness industry in the past several years. These have occurred on both the factor and the output sides of the markets. Many small firms have merged to form larger firms, which farmers and other market participants often think of as having too much power. It is true that if the large firms in concentrated industries have the ability to use market power to charge higher than competitive prices to consumers, then the consolidation of firms into larger entities would be an inefficient outcome for society. It would result in a transfer of resources from consumers to the large firms.

There are major economic advantages to the production of goods and services by very large firms, however. The primary benefit stemming from growth in firm size is Economies of Scale, which refers to lower production costs at larger levels of output:

- Economies of Scale $=$ when the per-unit costs of production decrease as output increases.

There is a tradeoff between large-scale firms in agricultural production and agribusiness. If these large firms exploit their market power by charging prices above the competitive level, then consolidation could be considered a negative aspect of the agricultural economy. On the other hand, to the extent that large firms capture economies of scale, they are contributing to the efficiency of the economy by producing goods at lower cost relative to smaller firms.

Mergers and large firms are controversial. Some people are likely to emphasize the market power abuses (real or imagined) of a large firm, and others are likely to emphasize efficiency gains. Individual cases of consolidation should be considered on an individual case basis. Even then, it is likely to be very difficult to determine the exact impact on prices and output that will follow after consolidation of small into large entities. Most evidence suggests that large firms do not have a great influence on price, due to the potential competition from other firms. Also, there are huge cost savings associated with large production facilities that allow production at a low cost per unit of output. Thus, in most cases, it is likely that the benefits of bigness outweigh the costs. Just as there are gains to be made from large firms, there are also gains to be made from trading with other nations, a theme developed in the next chapter.

### 11.6 Summary

1. Market power is the ability to affect the price of output. A firm with market power faces a downward-sloping demand curve.
2. Monopoly is a market structure characterized by a single seller.
3. The profit-maximizing condition for a monopolist is when $\mathrm{MR}=\mathrm{MC}$, with MC cutting MR from below.
4. A natural monopoly has large fixed costs.
5. Monopolistic competition is a market structure defined by: (1) many firms, (2) a product of close, but differentiated, substitutes, (3) some freedom of entry and exit, and (4) some availability of knowledge and information.
6. Nonprice competition is when firms compete over good characteristics other than price, such as quality, quantity of services, etc.
7. An oligopoly is a market structure characterized by a few large firms.
8. Collusion occurs when the firms in an industry jointly determine the price of a good.
9. A cartel is a group of independent firms that join together to regulate price and production decisions.
10. Economies of scale exist when per-unit costs of production decrease as output increases.

### 11.7 Glossary

Barriers to Entry and Exit. Legal or economic barriers that hinder or prevent a new firm from entering or exiting an industry.
Cartel. A group of independent firms that join together to regulate price and production decisions.
Collusion. When the firms in an industry jointly determine the price of the good.
Economies of Scale. When the per-unit costs of production decrease as output increases.
Market Power. The ability to affect the price of output. A firm with market power faces a downward-sloping demand curve.
Market Structure. The organization of an industry, typically defined by the number of firms in an industry.
Monopolistic Competition. A market structure defined by: (1) many sellers, (2) a product of close, but differentiated, substitutes, (3) some freedom of entry and exit, and (4) some availability of knowledge and information.
Monopoly. A market structure characterized by a single seller. The firm is the industry.
Natural Monopoly. A situation where a single firm has large fixed costs, making it most efficient (lowest cost) for production to be concentrated in a single firm.
Nonprice Competition. A market situation where firms compete over good characteristics other than price, such as quality, quantity, services, color, taste, etc.
Oligopoly. A market structure characterized by a few large firms.
Price Maker. A firm characterized by market power, or the ability to influence the price of output. A firm facing a downward-sloping demand curve.
Price Taker. A firm so small relative to the industry that the price of output is fixed and given, no matter how large or how small the quantity of output it sells.

### 11.8 Review questions

1. Profit maximization is the goal of which type of firm?:
a. competitive firm
b. monopolist
c. oligopolist
d. all of the other three answers
2. A monopolist produces a good that:
a. is a public utility, such as electricity
b. has no close substitutes
c. has numerous substitutes
d. is inferior
3. A natural monopoly has:
a. numerous competitors
b. large fixed costs

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c. large variable costs
d. zero fixed costs
4. The key characteristics of a monopolistic competitor is:
a. freedom of entry and exit
b. homogeneous product
c. product differentiation
d. monopolistic prices
5. A group of firms that join together to regulate price and production decisions is:
a. the teamsters
b. an oligopoly
c. collusion
d. a cartel
6. Large firms can take advantage of:
a. natural monopoly
b. monopoly pricing strategies
c. economies of scale
d. collusion


Plate 12.1 Agriculture and the global economy.
Source: TFoxFoto/Shutterstock

## 12 Agriculture and the global economy

## Synopsis

This chapter explains why international trade and globalization occur. It also tells why most economists are enthusiastic supporters of free international trade. In simple terms, free trade carries many of the same implications as perfect competition: it is a hard-to-reach objective that can make many individuals better off. The chapter uses examples from food and agriculture to explain the motivations behind international trade. The chapter also explains the principle of comparative advantage as it applies to the globalization of trade in food and agriculture. The chapter ends with an explanation of the importance of diversity in national resources.

### 12.1 Globalization and agriculture

Anyone who watches television news, listens to the radio, or surfs the Internet repeatedly hears terms such as "internationalization," "globalization," and "The Global Economy." This relatively recent focus on international issues stems from the rapid reduction in economic, political, and cultural barriers between nations. Economic examples of globalization include free trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the 2011 free trade agreement between the US and South Korea, and the adoption of the Euro as the official currency of 17 European nations. Most adults in the US are familiar with current events that have international implications. However, the underlying causes and consequences of globalization are often less clearly understood.

With a few notable exceptions, politicians favor free trade between nations. Similarly, elected officials frequently join together to support free trade, while disagreeing on most other issues. Economists have even stronger feelings. They are unyielding proponents, obsessed with the idea of goods flowing freely between nations without obstructions such as Tariffs, Import Quotas or unnecessary searches by government officials. Free markets and free trade are the lifeblood of economists, who typically oppose government interventions in the voluntary exchange of goods and services in both domestic and international markets.

- Trade Barriers = laws and regulations to restrict the flow of goods and services across international borders, including tariffs, duties, quotas, and import and export subsidies.
- Tariff = a tax on imports of a good.
- Import Quota = a trade restriction that sets a physical limit on the quantity of a good that can be imported during a given time period.

Box 12.1 European agriculture
The European Union (EU) is an economic and political confederation of 27 member nations. The EU was first developed as the European Economic Community (EEC) beginning with six members in 1958. In 1993, the EEC became the EU, which is a single market with standardized laws and institutions to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital. The EU also maintains common policies on international trade, agriculture, fisheries, and regional development. Europe is the largest food importer in the world, and among the largest food exporters.

Agriculture within the EU is highly diverse and productive. Europe is approximately the same size as the US, four million square miles. European agriculture includes colder climates such as Sweden and Finland, where wheat, barley, oats, and timber are grown. In the south, Mediterranean nations such as Spain and Italy produce wine, olives, and tomatoes. France is the largest agricultural producer in the EU, with 35 percent of the total land area devoted to agriculture. France produces dairy, wine, beef, wheat, and corn, among many other food products. The Eastern European nations of the EU have agricultural sectors that employ large numbers of workers: in Bulgaria, 36 percent of the workforce is employed in agriculture, and 46 percent in Turkey.

After the devastation of World War II, the EU farm policy focused on providing enough food for a war-torn population. At the beginning of the European Community, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) had objectives of increasing agricultural production, stabilizing markets, providing certainty in food markets, and ensuring adequate incomes for farmers. The policy's high price supports and market interventions did meet these objectives, but also resulted in large and unintended overproduction and surpluses. To dispose of these food surpluses, the community often sold the excess on the world market at prices considerably below the world price. This system was criticized as unfair competition for farmers outside of the EU, especially those in low-income nations.

Since the 1990s, EU agricultural policy has evolved, and the community has implemented policy reforms. The CAP now concentrates on food quality, environmental quality, rural economic development, animal welfare, and food safety. The policy reforms have made the policies less harmful to competing nations.

Sources:
Europa Agriculture. Europa.eu/pol/agr
Stead, David (2010). "Common Agricultural Policy." EH.Net Encyclopedia. January 2. Retrieved July 23, 2012.

### 12.2 Interdependence and gains from trade

It does not take long to notice the advantages of buying and selling goods from other parts of the world. Consider a typical breakfast in a typical US household. It most likely includes coffee produced from beans grown in Brazil and orange juice squeezed from oranges grown in either Florida or Mexico. Similarly, China uses cotton grown in Arizona or Mississippi to make clothes worn in the United States. The Ford pickup trucks in the university parking lot required imported component parts manufactured in several different nations. The paper
used to make the printed versions of this book likely came from trees grown either in the southern United States or Canada.

People living in North America rely on goods produced all over the world, which is a good thing, because it expands the number and variety of goods available for consumption. Similarly, domestic producers acknowledge that international trade allows the US population to be more productive and efficient, since specializing in the production of a limited number of goods brings advantages in the production process.

Adam Smith, an early Scottish economist, stated this in his 1776 book, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. Smith's key argument advocating economic interdependence among nations focused on the advantage that comes by working full time in a specialized area, then using the earnings from this work to purchase goods and services from other specialized workers. Smith's simple insight that an individual should "do what he or she can do best" is the basis for international trade. A modern example of this concept stems from the question, "Should a professional tennis player mow her own lawn?" The tennis player may be an exceptional athlete who has earned millions of dollars playing in lucrative matches. Given her youth and athleticism, it is likely that she would be good at mowing lawns. She may be faster and more efficient at mowing than anyone else in town. In fact, she may even enjoy mowing grass as a way of unwinding from the stress of fame and fortune that stems from the United States Tennis Association (USTA) Tour.

Given her ability as a professional tennis player, she is most likely better off spending her time practicing her tennis game while someone else mows the lawn. She could make herself better off by "trading" a portion of her winnings for lawn care services, and the individual who cuts her lawn is better off by accepting payments for mowing the grass.

Suppose that the football coach at a major football-famous university is an excellent typist, and can type more words per minute than his administrative assistant. Should the coach type his own letters? No. Economic reasoning suggests that the coach should maintain focus on how to win football games, rather than type letters, even though letters are an important part of the coach's position.

The concept, "do what you can do best," appears straightforward. However, it can be difficult to apply. Should farm managers cut their own wheat or hire custom cutters? Should ranchers hire workers to work cattle, or do the work themselves? Should agribusinesses do their own record keeping or hire an accountant? These common questions require answers and explanation.

### 12.3 Gains from trade example: Oklahoma beef and wheat

The best way to understand the source of the gains from trade is to work through a numerical example. Suppose that the year is 1889 , and two rugged individuals have made the decision to homestead in the panhandle region of Oklahoma, near the present town of Goodwell. To make things simple, assume that (1) there are only two persons living in the county: a farmer (wheat), and a rancher (beef), (2) there are only two goods available: beef and wheat, and (3) both individuals like to eat both meat and bread. If the farmer insisted on being selfsufficient, he would only be able to eat bread; if the rancher were self-reliant, she could eat all of the beef that she desired, but would be unable to enjoy bread of any type.

If each person were very good at producing one of the two goods, then it would be easy to show that they could make each other better off by specializing in the production of what they do best and trading with the other person. This is simply Adam Smith's idea of doing what you do well (you have an advantage), and trading for other goods. The concept is


Plate 12.2 Oklahoma beef.
Source: Justin S./Shutterstock
appealing, since humans are born with different abilities and interests. Specialization allows for efficient production and trade allows for a more diverse and interesting consumption package. Both individuals increase their level of satisfaction through specialization and trade: they produce what they are good at and trade for the other good.

This simple exchange becomes more interesting and more realistic when one of the individuals is better at producing both goods: a situation that is probably quite common in real life. Suppose the rancher acquires a homestead of productive, high-quality land. This allows her to be more productive at producing both beef and wheat while the farmer, whose homestead is located on poor-quality land, must continue to produce only a fair, or even poor, wheat crop. Specialization and trade can benefit both parties. Table 12.1 shows the productivity levels of both the farmer and the rancher, assuming that each can work 40 hours a week, and can raise beef, wheat, or a combination of both.

Figure 12.1 shows all possible combinations of beef and wheat that the farmer can produce, given the production possibilities shown in Table 12.1. If the farmer devotes all his effort to beef production, he ends up with two pounds of beef and no wheat. If the farmer

Table 12.1 Production possibilities of the farmer and the rancher

|  | Hours of Effort Needed to <br> Make I Pound of: |  |  | Amount Produced in 40 Hours <br> (in lbs) |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Beef | Wheat | Beef | Wheat |  |
| Farmer | 20 | 10 |  | 2 | 4 |
| Rancher | 1 | 8 |  | 40 | 5 |



Figure 12.1 Farmer's production possibilities.
spent all available hours on wheat production, he would produce four pounds of wheat, but no beef. If the farmer allocates half his time to the production of each product, 20 hours are spent producing beef and 20 hours are devoted to wheat production. Point A in Figure 12.1 shows that in this case, the output of beef equals one pound and the output of wheat equals two pounds.

Figure 12.2 is a graph of the rancher's production possibilities. The rancher can produce more of each product, since she has resources that are more productive. If the rancher divided her time evenly between the two products, she could produce at point B: 20 pounds of meat and 2.5 pounds of wheat. These differences in productivity provide the necessary conditions for both the farmer and the rancher to become better off through specialization and trade.


Figure 12.2 Rancher's production possibilities.

Eventually, the rancher figures out a way to increase the level of consumption of both individuals through trade, and without either person having to work any more hours. Her suggestion goes like this:

The farmer spends 40 hours each week growing wheat (this is what he does best). Specializing in this way the farmer produces four pounds of wheat in a week. The farmer could trade one pound of wheat to the rancher for three pounds of beef in return. This would result in a higher level of consumption for both the farmer and the rancher.

Figure 12.3 shows that with no trade, the farmer is at point A, consuming one pound of beef and two pounds of wheat. If the farmer follows the advice of the rancher, he produces four pounds of wheat, trades one pound of the wheat for three pounds of meat (a trade that both parties favor), and ends at point $\mathrm{A}^{*}$, consuming three pounds of both beef and wheat. The farmer is now in a position to consume more of both goods (Figure 12.3, Table 12.2).

The rancher is also made better off through this trade. The rancher started with no trade, and consumed 20 pounds of beef and 2.5 pounds of wheat (point B in Figure 12.4). After trade, she moves her productive activities toward beef (her specialty) by allocating 24 hours a week to cattle and 16 hours per week to wheat. This allocation of her time results in 24 pounds of beef and two pounds of wheat. The rancher then trades three pounds of


Figure 12.3 Farmer's consumption with trade.

Table 12.2 Outcomes of specialization and trade for the farmer and the rancher

|  | Before Trade |  | After Trade |  | Net Gain |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Beef | Wheat | Beef | Wheat | Beef | Wheat |
| Farmer | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | +2 | +1 |
| Rancher | 20 | 2.5 | 21 | 3 | +1 | +0.5 |



Figure 12.4 Rancher's consumption with trade.
beef for one pound of wheat (recall the rancher's proposal above). Because of the trade, the rancher consumes 21 pounds of beef and three pounds of wheat (shown at point $\mathrm{B}^{*}$ in Figure 12.4 and Table 12.2). The rancher is able to consume more of both products.

What is happening here? By each specializing in what he or she does best, the total production of goods available to the entire Oklahoma Panhandle economy grows and thrives. Although both the farmer and the rancher are better off with trade than without it, trading seems odd because the rancher is actually more productive in the production of both goods. This outcome, making all individuals better off through specialization and trade, holds true in a wide variety of situations and examples. The idea is formalized in the principle of comparative advantage.

### 12.4 The principle of comparative advantage

The key to understanding how interdependence between individuals in an economy, and international trade between nations, can make all trading partners better off is to understand the distinction between Absolute Advantage and Comparative Advantage. These ideas are explained by asking the question from the example in a slightly different way: "Who is better at producing wheat, the farmer or the rancher?" One possible answer is that the rancher is more efficient at producing wheat, since it takes her only eight hours of effort to produce one pound of wheat, whereas it takes the farmer 10 hours to produce the same amount. Economists use the term absolute advantage to compare the productivity of two persons, firms, or nations. Whoever is the more productive (or has the lowest cost of production) has an absolute advantage in the production of a good.

- Absolute Advantage = lower costs of production for a specific good or service.

In the farmer/rancher example, the rancher has an absolute advantage in the production of both beef and wheat. Absolute advantage was one of Adam Smith's great insights.

## Quick Quiz 12.1

Define absolute advantage. Does trade require that each trading partner has a different absolute advantage? Why or why not?

Box 12.2 Adam Smith and absolute advantage
Adam Smith (1723-90), a Scottish philosopher, is considered by many to be the most important economist of all time. In his major work, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776), Smith explained how rational self-interest in a free market economy could lead to economic well-being. The book, considered the first modern work of economics, promoted free markets, free trade, and a capitalistic form of economic organization. Smith explained, "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own self-interest. We address ourselves, not to their humanity but to their selflove, and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantages."

Absolute advantage is one of the many contributions made in The Wealth of Nations. Smith argued that all nations would gain simultaneously if they specialized in accordance to their absolute advantage, and then traded with other nations. This was controversial at the time, since many nations were exporting goods in order to stockpile gold, a form of commercial economic policy called mercantilism. Even though there are possible economic gains stemming from absolute advantage, the gains are not always beneficial for all parties. David Ricardo (1772-1823) extended Smith's idea of absolute advantage to comparative advantage, the foundation for mutually beneficial exchanges.

The centerpiece of Smith's economic thought is the division of labor. The Wealth of Nations describes a pin (nail) factory where ten workers each specializes in different tasks and produce a great number of pins, whereas if each worker performed all of the tasks associated with making a pin, he would produce only a small number of pins. Smith suggested self-interest was the major motivating force that allocated resources to their highest return. This profit-seeking behavior leads to the equality of returns, since all uses of a resource will eventually yield the same rate of return; otherwise, more reallocations of resources will occur.

Smith's work is encyclopedic, but the themes related to self-interest, the division of labor, specialization and trade, and free markets continue to be seminal aspects in modern twenty-first-century economics.

Source: The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics. Library of Economics and Liberty. Adam Smith. http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/bios/Smith.html

The second way to answer the question about who is better at producing wheat is to look at what must be given up to produce one pound of wheat. Using language learned in Chapter 3, what is the Opportunity Cost of a pound of wheat? In the example, each person
has 40 hours per week to allocate to the production of beef and wheat. There is a tradeoff between producing these two goods, since an hour spent producing beef is unavailable for the production of wheat, and vice versa. The opportunity cost to the rancher producing wheat shows the sacrifice of beef required to produce a pound of wheat. Since it takes the rancher one hour to produce one pound of wheat, and one hour to produce eight pounds of beef, every hour that the rancher spends producing wheat takes away the possibility of using that hour to produce eight pounds of beef. Put another way, the "cost" to the rancher of producing one pound of wheat is the lost opportunity (or opportunity cost) associated with giving up eight pounds of beef. Figure 12.4 shows this: the slope of the production possibilities line (rise over run) is equal to eight.

For the farmer, the opportunity cost of producing one pound of wheat is equal to how much beef must be given up to produce one pound of wheat. The farmer requires 10 hours to produce one pound of wheat. If those 10 hours were spent producing beef, he could produce 0.5 pounds of beef, since it requires the farmer 20 hours of time to produce one pound of beef (Table 12.1). The slope of the farmer's production possibilities line in Figure 12.3 shows that the farmer can use some of his resources to produce either one pound of wheat or one-half pound of beef. The slope is equal to 0.5 .

The term, Comparative Advantage indicates that one firm has different comparative advantages from another. The firm with the smaller opportunity costs has the comparative advantage. The concept of comparative advantage works not only for individuals, but also for firms, nations, or blocs of nations such as the European Union (EU).

- Comparative Advantage $=$ the superior productive capacity of one individual, or nation, or region, or industry, relative to all others, based on opportunity cost.


## Quick Quiz 12.2

Define comparative advantage. Which is needed for trade, absolute advantage or comparative advantage?

The producer who has the smallest opportunity cost of producing a good has a comparative advantage in the production of a good. In the rancher/farmer example, even though the rancher has an absolute advantage in the production of wheat, the farmer has the comparative advantage. It is not possible for a single person to have a comparative advantage in both goods. Since the farmer has a comparative advantage in producing wheat, the rancher has the comparative advantage in producing beef.

Box 12.3 David Ricardo and comparative advantage
David Ricardo was born in London in 1772, the third of 17 children. Ricardo's father was a successful stockbroker of Portuguese origin who had recently moved to England. When Ricardo was 21, he eloped to marry Priscilla Anne Wilkinson. This elopement led to David Ricardo's rejection by his father, and his mother never spoke to him again. David, like his father, became a successful stockbroker.

Interestingly, Ricardo was exposed to economics when, at the age of 27, he read Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations. Ricardo maintained his interest in economics and went on to make important contributions to the emerging discipline. He was friends with contemporary economists James Mill, Jeremy Bentham, and Thomas Malthus. Like Smith, Ricardo was a proponent of the free trade of goods between nations, without government intervention. Ricardo opposed England's tariffs on agricultural products (called the Corn Laws). Parliament repealed these tariffs in 1846.

Ricardo's major contribution was the refinement of the theory of comparative advantage, which stated simply that there is a mutual benefit from trade, even if one trading partner is more productive at every activity than the other trading partner. The theory was introduced in his book, Principles of Political Economy, published in 1817. The basic idea of the theory is that a nation that trades for low-cost products is better off than if the nation produced the goods at home. When each nation specializes in the goods that it can produce at lower costs than other nations, all nations can gain from trade. This simple, elegant, and powerful economic model has been used to justify and promote free trade between nations ever since.

Source: The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics. Library of Economics and Liberty. David Ricardo. http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/bios/Ricardo.html

### 12.5 Comparative advantage and trade

Differences in comparative advantage or differences in the opportunity costs between trading partners (individuals, firms, and nations) allow for specialization and eventually lead to gains for all traders. Any time that one person has opportunity costs that are different from another person's, the total production of the two persons will increase if they each specialize in the production of the product in which they have the comparative advantage. Benefits arise because each person is doing what he or she does best, followed by trade. As a result, the total production of both products increases, making all trading parties better off.

The benefits of increasing production for two individuals also hold for groups of individuals, and nations. Nations trade in order to take advantage of other nations doing what they do best. They trade to buy goods and services from a less expensive source. A nation produces and exports the goods and services in which it has a comparative advantage. The United States exports huge tonnages of agricultural products. The Midwest, for example, sells a majority of its wheat and feed grain production overseas and its exports of beef products expands each year.

Box 12.4 Agricultural productivity growth in Brazil
Brazil is a vast nation, with huge agricultural resources and increasing productivity. Brazilian agriculture is highly diverse, and the nation is self-sufficient in food. Brazil is one of the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) nations, characterized by high economic growth that stems partially from rapid growth in agricultural productivity.

The agricultural growth has come about by bringing new land into production, and improving the productivity of crops and livestock through scientific knowledge.

In the 1970s, Brazil was concerned about future food supplies. The nation made the decision to expand agricultural production though scientific research and free trade. Since then, Brazil has become the first tropical agricultural giant. The other large agricultural exporters are all in temperate climates: the US, Canada, Australia, the EU, and Argentina. In less than 30 years, Brazil transformed itself from a net food importer to one of the world's biggest food exporters. Between 1996 and 2006, the total value of Brazil's crops increased 365 percent, and beef exports in 2006 were ten times higher than they had been a decade earlier. Brazil has a comparative advantage in many agricultural products, and is the world's leading exporter of poultry, coffee, orange juice, sugar cane, and ethanol. It is the second largest exporter of soybeans, behind the US.

Brazil has accomplished all of this without the help of large government subsidies. State support accounted for 5.7 percent of total farm income in Brazil during 2005-07, compared to 12 percent in the US and 29 percent in the EU. The massive growth in agriculture was based on investments in agricultural research. Contemporary research has led to improvements of the soil, originally too acidic and low quality, together with advances in crop and livestock genetics. Genetically modified (GM) soybeans have led to increases in soybean production of 10.5 percent each year since 1990. Brazil produced 51 million metric tons of soybeans on 23 million hectares in 2005.

Brazilian farms are many times the size of those found in the US. Critics of the Brazilian agricultural growth have accused Brazil of destroying the Amazonian tropical rainforest to grow food. While some rainforest has been destroyed, most of the new farms are located in the cerrado, or savannah, which are grasslands located some distance from the Amazon. One limitation of Brazilian agriculture is transportation. The fields of Mato Grosso, in the center-west part of the country, are located a long distance from outdated port facilities. Improvements in both rail transport and ports will allow Brazil to become more competitive with US soybean exports, and provides an excellent example of comparative advantage.

Sources:
"Brazil's Agricultural Miracle: How to Feed the World." The Economist. August 26, 2010. Cremaq, Piaui "Brazilian Agriculture: The Miracle of the Cerrado." The Economist. August 26, 2010.

Table 12.3 summarizes the exports and imports of five representative nations, selected to show the diversity of trade between nations. The United States (US) exports and imports a large amount of food, and imports a great deal of clothing. China has truly large exports of manufactured goods and clothing, whereas Brazil is a major net exporter of food. Switzerland imports clothing and other goods, and has a large net export of chemicals and pharmaceuticals. Niger has lower trade volumes, with imports greatly exceeding exports in all categories.

Table 12.4 shows the composition of agricultural trade for the same five nations. The US is a net exporter of grains, including wheat and rice, and meat. The US is a net importer of bananas, coffee, and sugar. Brazil has large net exports of coffee and meat, but imports
Table 12.3 Exports and imports of selected nations, 2010

|  | Exports (USD mil) |  |  |  |  | Imports (USD mil) |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Brazil | China | Niger | Switz | USA | Brazil | China | Niger | Switz | USA |
| Food | 60,836 | 44,168 | 95 | 7,311 | 112,345 | 8,373 | 59,540 | 402 | 10,212 | 97,347 |
| Manufacturers | 71,112 | 1,476,906 | 47 | 172,562 | 943,767 | 134,664 | 894,420 | 835 | 141,963 | 1,369,383 |
| Chemicals | 12,283 | 87,556 | 3 | 74,667 | 189,158 | 32,357 | 149,329 | 277 | 38,085 | 177,010 |
| Machinery | 33,491 | 781,265 | 15 | 40,867 | 522,001 | 71,996 | 550,004 | 326 | 47,253 | 728,143 |
| Textiles | 1,106 | 76,900 | 23 | 1,497 | 12,168 | 3,779 | 17,667 | 34 | 1,991 | 23,375 |
| Clothing | 188 | 129,838 | 1 | 1,366 | 4,694 | 1,356 | 2,513 | 7 | 5,285 | 81,942 |

[^0]Table 12.4 Food exports and imports of selected nations, 2009

|  | Exports (USD mil) |  |  |  |  | Imports (USD mil) |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Brazil | China | Niger | Switz | USA | Brazil | China | Niger | Switz | USA |
| Bananas | 39 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 376 | 0 | 179 | 0 | 102 | 1,891 |
| Cereals | 1,636 | 720 | 11 | 6 | 17,558 | 1,971 | 2,302 | 64 | 268 | 2,304 |
| Coffee | 3,791 | 83 | 0 | 946 | 596 | 14 | 100 | 0 | 421 | 3,872 |
| Dairy \& Eggs | 230 | 185 | 0 | 649 | 1,933 | 273 | 1,291 | 25 | 515 | 1,456 |
| Meat | 11,506 | 1,957 | 0 | 56 | 11,586 | 153 | 2,323 | 0 | 772 | 4,757 |
| Rice | 268 | 525 | 11 | 1 | 2,186 | 272 | 254 | 46 | 72 | 634 |
| Sugar \& Honey | 8,634 | 925 | 8 | 132 | 1,165 | 42 | 789 | 29 | 281 | 3,271 |
| Tobacco | 3,046 | 904 | 8 | 667 | 1,697 | 67 | 1,354 | 40 | 368 | 1,614 |
| Wheat \& Flour | 64 | 102 | 0 | 4 | 5,519 | 1,411 | 588 | 15 | 141 | 840 |

Source: FAOSTAT.
a large amount of wheat. China imports more cereals and dairy products than it exports. Niger has low trade volumes for all food categories. Switzerland is a net meat importer, and net tobacco exporter.

These trade volumes in all goods (Table 12.3) and in agricultural goods (Table 12.4) demonstrate that specialization and gains from trade can lead to large volumes of food and goods being produced in one place, and consumed in another location. Adam Smith argued, and now most economists agree, that this is perhaps the single most important ingredient to a high standard of living: specialization and gain from trade.

### 12.6 Summary

1. Absolute advantage is a situation where one nation has lower costs of production for a specific good or service.
2. Comparative advantage is the superior productive capacity of one nation or region or industry relative to others, based on opportunity cost.
3. Differences in comparative advantage or differences in the opportunity costs between individuals, firms, and nations allow for specialization and gains from trade.

### 12.7 Glossary

Absolute Advantage. Lower costs of production for a specific good or service.
Comparative Advantage. The superior productive capacity of one individual, or nation, or region, or industry, relative to all others, based on opportunity cost.
Import Quota. A trade restriction that sets a physical limit on the quantity of a good that can be imported during a given time period.
Opportunity Cost. The value of a resource in its next-best use. What an individual or firm must give up to do something.
Tariff. A tax on imports of a good.
Trade Barriers. Laws and regulations to restrict the flow of goods and services across international borders, including tariffs, duties, quotas, and import and export subsidies.

### 12.8 Review questions

1. The nation with the lowest cost of production has:
a. a comparative advantage
b. an absolute advantage
c. an unfair advantage
d. a competitive advantage
2. The nation with the lowest opportunity costs of producing a good has:
a. a comparative advantage
b. an absolute advantage
c. an unfair advantage
d. a competitive advantage
3. Trade will most likely take place between two nations that:
a. are very different
b. are much the same
c. are in close proximity to each other
d. have similar access to resources


Plate 13.1 Economics, agriculture, and the environment.
Source: B Brown/Shutterstock

## 13 Economics, agriculture, and the environment

## Synopsis

Natural resources and environmental quality are increasingly important. This is particularly true in agriculture, which is heavily dependent on land, agrochemicals, and water. This chapter explores how rational actors can overuse, or exploit, resources such as cropland, water from an underground aquifer, or grazing land. Externalities such as air and water pollution from agricultural production and processing can result in suboptimal outcomes for society. Possible solutions to the externality problem include bans, taxes, quantitative standards, and subsidies. Private bargaining can also lead to efficient outcomes, under certain circumstances.

### 13.0 Introduction

The impact of agricultural production and processing on the natural environment has become increasingly important over the past several decades. Modern agriculture is characterized by the increased use of inputs such as agrochemicals and fertilizer, which can influence both the environment and human health. As industrialization led to greater levels of air and water pollution, concern for the environment also grew. The desire for environmental quality is the outcome of the large increase in the level of living standards since about 1950. The populations of North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and some other areas, have become wealthy enough to meet the basic needs for food, clothing, and housing. As these needs are met, additional increases in income can be used to achieve higher goals including clean air, clean water, and safe food. Given high levels of economic growth, these issues have taken on increasing importance, and a growing fraction of societal income is devoted to caring for the environment. As low-income nations grow and prosper, they too have become more interested in environmental goals. A clean environment, food safety, human health, and animal welfare are luxury goods, with Engel curves that increase at an increasing rate.

## Quick Quiz 13.1

Define and explain the terms "luxury good" and "Engel curve" (Chapter 8). Explain why environmental goals are a "luxury good."

The modern environmental movement began in 1962 with the publication of Rachel Carson's book, Silent Spring. Carson highlighted the potential problems associated with the use of chemical pesticides in agricultural production. The book received a large amount of attention, and was championed as well as heavily criticized. Carson notified the public of the potential dangers of DDT (dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane) and other chemicals used in agriculture, leading to a growing concern for the environment. This widely read book led to political action and legislation.

In 1968, Garrett Hardin, a professor of Human Ecology at the University of CaliforniaSanta Barbara, wrote, "The Tragedy of the Commons," an article published in Science magazine. Hardin illuminated the failure of market economies to solve a common situation of shared, or commonly owned, resources. Hardin's classic publication resulted in a greater understanding of and concern for environmental resources.

Earth Day gave impetus to the growing number of individuals and groups who supported and promoted environmental goals. Prompted by environmentalists, Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin led the effort to pass legislation for the creation of Earth Day, held on April 22, 1970. The initial efforts of Carson, Hardin, and Nelson led to the formation of the United States Environmental Protection Agency (USEPA), proposed by President Richard Nixon in 1970. Since that time the concern for the environment has grown, and the "green movement" seems likely to have an increasing impact on the agriculture and food industries.

Two major possibilities, the Tragedy of the Commons, and Externalities, lead to important and controversial issues in the area of agriculture and the environment. The "tragedy of the commons," occurs when a publicly owned resource is overused, or exploited, because no one person or institution has exclusive private rights to use the resource. An "externality" is a situation where the production or consumption of a good results in positive or negative impacts to individuals or groups external to the market.

### 13.1 The tragedy of the commons

In the American West, huge tracts of open land are owned by the federal government. Much of this land is dry grassland, best used for grazing sheep or cattle. Other parts of the land area throughout the West are privately owned. A Nevada rancher who owns her own grazing land will behave as a profit-maximizing firm that finds the optimal level of input, in this case land, as discussed in Chapter 4. The rancher will continue to add cattle to the land until the additional benefit (Marginal Revenue Product, MRP) is equal to the additional cost (Marginal Factor Cost, MFC).

## Quick Quiz 13.2

Define the terms, "Marginal Revenue Product" and "Marginal Factor Cost." What are these two terms used for? (See Chapter 4.)

On the publicly owned land, however, a cattle rancher typically pays for a permit to graze cattle on a well-defined part of the range. To better understand the tragedy of the commons, and why the government charges these fees, consider the case when a cattle rancher does not bear any costs for grazing, at least not explicit, monetary costs. For now, assume that
grazing on public land (the "commons") is free and can be used simultaneously by many ranchers.

If all ranchers desire to use the public land for grazing, they will continue to add animals to the land until the additional benefit (MRP) is equal to the additional cost, in this case zero ( $\mathrm{MFC}=0$ ), as seen in Figure 13.1. This can lead to the tragedy of the commons or, in this case, overgrazing, where the resource is depleted beyond beneficial use by ranching. In Figure 13.1, $\mathrm{Q}_{0}$ acres of land would be used if there were no costs associated with land use, and $Q^{*}$ is the profit-maximizing, efficient rate of use. In the long run, $\mathrm{Q}_{0}$ acres will result in depleted resource stocks, since the land would be overgrazed. Resource depletion would shift the MRP curve down and to the left over time, as overgrazed grass is not sustainable.

- $\quad$ Tragedy of the Commons $=$ a situation in which a group of individuals, acting rationally and in their own self-interest, deplete a shared limited resource, resulting in destruction of the resource and a negative outcome for all parties.

The tragedy of the commons is most often described in terms of grazing and overgrazing publicly owned ranch land. However, the effect applies to all commonly owned or shared resources, including public parks and fishing streams. The outcome of the tragedy of the commons seems irrational. After all, the story of the tragedy of the commons asserts that rational, profit-maximizing individuals will use a resource beyond its optimal, sustainable use. The reason is that there are no costs (or very low costs) associated with using the land, so ranchers continue to use the land past the point of sustainability, to exploitation, or overuse. This outcome is typical of public land use for grazing animals, hunting, fishing, and camping. Use of water from an underground aquifer, and deforestation can also result in a similar kind of tragedy.

There are several possible solutions to a tragedy of this kind. The land can be privatized (sold) to individuals for private use. Use can be regulated and held at lower levels of use, or the government can charge the users (for example, cattle owners) a fee for the use of the resource (in this case, grazing land). If a permit is sold for the right to use the resource, the rate of use can be brought back in line with a sustainable rate of resource use $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{*}\right)$, as in Figure 13.1. The user fee ( t ) could be set equal to MFC, which would result in the optimal, sustainable level of resource use, Q*. This analysis explains why the federal government uses permits and user fees for cattle grazing on public lands in the American West.


Figure 13.1 The tragedy of the commons: cattle grazing on public land.

Without these fees, the land would be overgrazed. Figure 13.1 shows this and reflects the tax placed on Atrazine in the example from Chapter 4.

### 13.2 Externality

Both buyer and seller benefit in a market transaction. Otherwise, the trade would not take place. The buyers consider the good to have value greater than the price, and the seller believes that the price is greater than the value of the good, resulting in a mutually beneficial exchange. Sometimes, the production and sale of a good affect a third party. A farm that uses fertilizer and chemicals to maximize crop yields may create multiple effects on many people. If the fertilizer and chemicals seep into the water supply, the chemicals could affect the health and happiness of someone living downstream. Similarly, a feedlot of cattle could result in offensive odors and a polluted water supply. When this happens, a downstream third party is said to be subject to an Externality or an economic loss suffered by someone who had no voice in the market transaction. Externalities can also be positive, such as the smell of chocolate from a candy store, or a view of farmland.

- Externality $=$ a consequence of an economic activity that affects unrelated third parties. The externality can be either positive or negative. Thus, an externality is a transaction spillover that creates a cost or a benefit not transmitted through market prices.

The economic analysis of an externality is similar to that of the tragedy of the commons. The key to both situations is the costs that are not included in the market decisions or transactions. Figure 13.2 shows that producers consider their private costs of producing a good $\left(\mathrm{MC}_{\text {private }}\right)$, but not the additional, public costs of an externality like water pollution ( $\mathrm{MC}^{*}=$ $\mathrm{MC}_{\text {private }}+$ external costs). If the negative externality is not included in the production and consumption decisions, the privately produced quantity $\left(\mathrm{Q}_{\text {private }}\right)$ will result in price $\mathrm{P}_{\text {private }}$.

This level $\left(\mathrm{Q}_{\text {private }}\right)$ is considered to be "too high" relative to society's best interests, which include both the private and external (public) costs of producing corn. When the external costs are taken into account, or "internalized," the equilibrium quantity decreases to $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$, and


Figure 13.2 Externality: chemical runoff in corn production.
the price of corn increases to $\mathrm{P}^{*}$. The equilibrium that incorporates the externality is considered to be "optimal" for society, since it includes the costs of the negative externality (in this case water pollution). In agriculture, negative externalities occur in chemical runoff from fields, animal waste, odor, noise, soil conservation, climate change, endangered species, deforestation, and water use for irrigating crops.

- Negative Externality = a situation where the market price does not include the full cost of producing or consuming a good or service.

A negative externality occurs when a firm emits pollutants into the air or water and creates a cost not captured in the firm's costs of production. Positive externalities also occur in agriculture when tourists or travelers receive pleasure, or benefits, from viewing agricultural fields and activities. Since the travelers pay no cost for the view, private costs are larger than the societal costs and no monetary benefits include the value of the externality. The societal MC curve is to the right of the private MC curve, and the optimal equilibrium quantity would be larger than $\mathrm{Q}_{\text {private }}$, indicating a larger level of corn production than would occur if no positive externality were present. Another classic example of a positive externality is the increased productivity of a fruit orchard that arises from a colony of bees that pollinate the fruit. The bees cost nothing but bring significant increases in production.

- Positive Externality = a situation where the market price does not include the full benefit of producing or consuming a good or service.

An example of a positive externality is how home maintenance will affect the property value of the neighboring homes. Similarly, a nation that desires high levels of food security could value higher levels of domestic food production than would occur from market forces alone. In this case, consumers and taxpayers might be willing to subsidize food production in order to provide stronger probabilities of having enough food in an emergency or war. The positive externality argument is often used to justify continued levels of government subsidies to agricultural producers in the United States.

## Quick Quiz 13.3

Is living on a farm in a remote rural area a positive externality? How about living in New York City? Explain carefully.

The externality can be "internalized," or included in the market equilibrium via three mechanisms: (1) a tax, (2) government regulation such as a quantitative restriction, or (3) private bargaining between affected parties. First, consider the tax. A tax used to internalize an externality is called a Pigouvian Tax, named for British economist Alfred Pigou, who studied the possibility of using such taxes as early as 1932. If a tax set equal to the cost of a negative externality is levied on the person or firm that creates the externality, the socially optimal equilibrium will result. This solution justifies taxes on goods that may be considered "overconsumed" compared to socially optimal levels: agrochemicals such as pesticides and herbicides, grazing cattle, fertilizer, or water use from an aquifer.

If these goods are used at greater levels than optimal, a Pigouvian tax can lower the use back to the economically optimal level.

- Pigouvian Tax = a tax levied on firms that pollute the environment or create other negative externalities due to production of goods and services.

Imposition of a tax has limitations. It may be difficult to measure the level of externality, or to know the appropriate tax level to charge to achieve a desired outcome. Perhaps the biggest drawback to Pigouvian taxes is the measurement issue associated with externalities, including: (1) physical measurement of the externality source, such as the presence of a pollutant, which differs across time and space, (2) economic damage caused by the externality, which can be highly variable, and (3) societal preferences for nonmarket goods such as clean air, clean water, or human health. The measurement problem makes policy decisions related to resources and the environment challenging. To complicate the decision further, most environmental policies are interconnected, and have unanticipated consequences on other environmental goals and resources. However, policies are needed, even if inexact, due to the potentially large negative consequences of externalities in agricultural production: soil erosion, water quality, future water availability, and human health.

Regulation is a second option for dealing with externality problems. If the government or other authority could set a quantitative limit equal to Q* $^{*}$ in Figure 13.2, the socially desirable level of output could be reached, and the externality effectively internalized. This strategy also faces difficulties in measurement, and can be more difficult to enforce due to measurement and enforcement issues.

### 13.3 Private bargaining: Coase

A third solution was suggested by Nobel-prize winning economist Ronald Coase in 1960. Coase suggested that there may be no need for government intervention to internalize the externality. Instead, Coase suggested that the affected parties could voluntarily negotiate a solution. The party that is negatively affected has an incentive to bargain with the party creating the externality. If a business firm or household downstream from a corn field is harmed by chemical runoff, the affected party could offer a payment to the corn farmer to reduce chemical use. The affected party is willing to pay up to the total cost of the externality, and the externality producer will accept a payment as long as it is greater than the economic benefit gained from chemical use.

- Coasian Bargaining = when an externality impacts a third party, the affected parties have an incentive to bargain with each other to reach an efficient outcome.

Coasian bargaining between affected parties is a popular solution among economists, since each party is allowed to voluntarily bargain until the optimal solution is reached. Suppose that a cotton producer (denoted by i) uses chemicals to control pests, including both pesticides to kill insects (boll weevils) and herbicides to control weeds. These chemicals provide increased productivity to the cotton producer in the form of increased cotton yields per acre, but their use imposes costs on a nearby horticultural nursery ( j ), which grows plants, shrubs, and trees for sale to suburban homeowners. The benefits to the cotton producer are the marginal revenue product $\left(\mathrm{MRP}_{\mathrm{i}}\right)$ introduced in Chapter 4, and shown in Figure 13.3. Agrochemical use in cotton production is subject to diminishing returns: the
first gallon of chemical applied is the most productive (most effective at killing weeds), and each successive gallon of chemical applied provides lower additional revenue. At $\mathrm{Q}_{0}$ gallons, all of the productivity (and therefore monetary) gains are exhausted. So far, the story is identical to the profit-maximizing solutions explored in Chapter 4.

Now consider the addition of the second party (j). The horticultural producer adjacent to the cotton fields makes this story an interesting and real-world resource issue. Chemical "drift" occurs when the herbicides are applied. In this case, the unintentional herbicide drift damages the flowers, shrubs, and trees that are the source of revenue to the nursery. As chemical use is increased, the damage to the horticultural crops is assumed to increase at an increasing rate: higher levels of herbicide result in larger plant damage to the nursery plants. This is captured by the $\mathrm{MC}_{\mathrm{j}}$ curve for the horticultural producer j in Figure 13.3.

The externality occurs because the cotton producer desires to use $\mathrm{Q}_{0}$ gallons of herbicide to maximize profits, whereas the nursery owner desires zero gallons of chemical use. The outcome will depend on who has the legal rights to use the chemical. If the cotton producer owns the right to apply chemicals, $\mathrm{Q}_{0}$ will result, whereas if the nursery has the legal right to limit pesticides, zero chemical use will result. Coase suggested that if the costs of negotiation are low, then the optimal use of chemicals will result, regardless of which party owns the property rights. This claim is often difficult to believe, but the analysis presented below shows how private bargaining results in the optimal outcome $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{*}\right)$ in either case. The optimal outcome is "best" since it considers all benefits and costs to all affected parties. The Coasian solution internalizes the externality, without the use of government intervention in the form of a tax, subsidy, or quantitative restriction.

Suppose that the cotton producer owns the right to use chemicals, and applies $\mathrm{Q}_{0}$ gallons of herbicide. This will cost the nursery BCD dollars, since the total costs of damage are equal to the additional costs $\left(\mathrm{MC}_{\mathrm{j}}\right)$ times the quantity used $(\mathrm{Q})$, or the area under the MC curve. To reduce the quantity of chemical used to $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$, the nursery would be willing to pay any amount up to CD dollars (the total value of economic damage from using $\mathrm{Q}_{0}-\mathrm{Q}^{*}$ gallons of chemical), and the cotton producer would be willing to accept any payment above C dollars (the economic gains from using $\mathrm{Q}_{0}-\mathrm{Q}^{*}$ gallons of chemical). At $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$, the nursery owner's willingness to pay $\left(\mathrm{MC}_{\mathrm{j}}\right)$ is equal to the cotton producer's willingness to accept the payment to reduce chemical use $\left(\mathrm{MRP}_{\mathrm{i}}\right)$. Thus, the equilibrium quantity of chemical applied to the cotton is $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$.


Figure 13.3 Coasian solution: herbicide drift in cotton production.


Plate 13.2 Agricultural chemical application.
Source: Federico Rostangno/Shutterstock
If the nursery owns the right to chemical use, and can legally halt all chemical use by the cotton producer, the initial value of chemical use will be zero. However, if the cotton producer can negotiate with the nursery owner, she will be willing to pay up to AB dollars (the economic benefit of chemical use for $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$ gallons), and the nursery owner will accept any dollar amount above B dollars (the amount of economic damage caused by $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$ gallons of chemical use). In this case, the equilibrium quantity of chemical use is also $\mathrm{Q}^{*}$ gallons. This is truly an unexpected result: private bargaining will result in the optimal use of chemical (Q*), regardless of who owns the right to use or prevent the use of the chemical.

Coase's contribution suggests that in many externality cases, there is no need for government regulation or market intervention. In particular, if the costs of negotiating are low, the best solution to many externality problems may be to let the affected parties negotiate a solution. According to the analysis described here, this will result in the socially optimal level of resource use. It is important to note that the optimal level of chemical use is greater than zero, a result that many dedicated environmentalists will not accept. Some individuals and groups call for zero use of agrochemicals, fertilizer, and other agricultural inputs that can have environmental consequences. This position ignores the societal benefits from more efficient food production, resulting in lower food and fiber costs.

Negotiation is often expensive enough to eliminate the possibility of a Coasian bargaining solution. In agricultural resource issues, the costs of negotiation are often high, due to the large number of affected parties and accurate measures of benefits and costs. If many individuals are negatively affected by use of agricultural chemicals and fertilizer, they may not be able to negotiate effectively with a group of agricultural producers. Getting all of the affected parties to work together could increase the costs associated with this type of negotiation. In such cases, there may be a role for government regulation of resources used in agriculture or a government-assigned negotiator to assist in the process. In reality, agriculture is
heavily regulated by the government: input bans, quantitative restrictions, taxes, and subsidies are pervasive in agriculture. This type of regulation reflects the high costs of developing and enforcing agreements between affecting and affected parties. Similarly, it should be emphasized that government regulation is not costless, and these costs are often overlooked in policy analysis.

The agricultural sector relies more heavily on land, pesticides, and water than other sectors of the economy. As such, the application of economic principles to resource use in agriculture is timely, important, and interesting. As society develops, and the basic needs for food, clothing, and housing are met, the general population will increasingly demand higher environmental quality, higher levels of human health, and greater food safety. Although this chapter has merely introduced the economics of resources and the environment, society can expect to see an increasing fraction of its wealth devoted to higher quality food, resources, and environmental goals.

### 13.4 Summary

1. As nations grow wealthier, more income will be spent on the achievement of higher goals including clear air, clean water, and food safety.
2. A tragedy of the commons can result when a group of individuals, acting rationally and in their own self-interest, deplete a limited resource, resulting in a bad outcome for all parties.
3. The production and sale of a good can result in an externality that positively or negatively affects third parties. Externalities reflect a spillover of a transaction that is not incorporated into the market price.
4. If agricultural production results in external or public costs, such as air pollution, water pollution, deforestation, or global warming, then the market-based level of agricultural output could exceed the socially optimal level.
5. One solution to an externality is a Pigouvian tax, equal to the public costs of the activity. The socially optimal level of output results if the tax is set equal to the public costs.
6. Coasian bargaining provides a potential solution to an externality, when the affected party and the individual or firm creating the externality bargain until a solution is reached. This form of voluntary bargaining can result in the socially optimal level of resource use if negotiation costs are low.

### 13.5 Glossary

Coasian Bargaining. When an externality impacts a third party, the affected parties have an incentive to bargain with each other to reach an efficient outcome.
Externality. A consequence of an economic activity that affects unrelated third parties. The externality can be either positive or negative. Thus, an externality is a transaction spillover that creates a cost or a benefit not transmitted through market prices.
Negative Externality. A situation where the market price does not include the full cost of producing or consuming a good or service.
Pigouvian Tax. A tax levied on firms that pollute the environment or create other negative externalities due to production of goods and services.
Positive Externality. A situation where the market price does not include the full benefit of producing or consuming a good or service.

Tragedy of the Commons. A situation in which a group of individuals, acting rationally and in their own self-interest, deplete a shared limited resource, resulting in destruction of the resource and a negative outcome for all parties.

### 13.6 Review questions

1. As societal incomes grow, we expect that the largest increase in spending will be on:
a. food
b. housing
c. health and environment
d. clothing
2. A tragedy of the commons results when:
a. individuals are irrational
b. the costs of using a resource are not charged to the user
c. transactions costs are high
d. property rights are well specified and assigned
3. A Pigouvian tax resolves an externality if it is set equal to:
a. the cost of enforcing a quantitative restriction
b. marginal private costs of the activity
c. marginal social costs of the activity
d. transactions costs
4. Coasian bargaining does not work well when there are:
a. high transactions costs
b. low transactions costs
c. property rights assigned to the affected party
d. property rights assigned to the creator of the externality
5. Agriculture in high-income nations such as the US and EU is:
a. mostly subject to Coasian bargaining
b. subject to the Law of Nature, but not the Law of Government Regulation
c. heavily regulated
d. not a generator of externalities

## Glossary

## Absolute Advantage. Lower costs of production for a specific good or service. <br> Absolute Price. A price in isolation, without reference to other prices. Example: The price of wheat is $\$ 3 /$ bushel (see Relative Price). <br> Accounting Costs. Explicit costs of production; costs for which payments are required. <br> Accounting Profits $\left[\pi_{\mathrm{A}}\right]$. Total revenue minus explicit costs. $\pi_{\mathrm{A}}=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{A}}$ (see Economic Profits). <br> Agricultural Economics. Economics applied to agriculture and rural areas. <br> Agriculture. The science, art, and business of cultivating the soil, producing crops, and raising livestock useful to humans. Farming. <br> Arc Elasticity. A formula that measures responsiveness along a specific section (arc) of a supply or demand curve, and measures the "average" price elasticity between two points on the curve. <br> Average Costs [AC]. Total costs per unit of output. AC $=\mathrm{TC} / \mathrm{Y}$. Note that Average Costs (AC) are identical to Average Total Costs (ATC). <br> Average Fixed Costs [AFC]. The average cost of the fixed costs per unit of output. $\mathrm{AFC}=\mathrm{TFC} / \mathrm{Y}$. <br> Average Physical Product [APP]. The average productivity of each unit of variable input used $[=Y / X]$.

Average Revenue [AR]. The average dollar amount received per unit of output sold. $A R=T R / Y$.
Average Revenue Product [ARP]. The average value of output per unit of input at each input use level. $\mathrm{ARP}=\mathrm{APP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.
Average Total Costs [ATC]. The average total cost per unit of output. ATC $=T C / Y$. Note that Average Costs (AC) are identical to Average Total Costs (ATC).
Average Variable Costs [AVC]. The average cost of the variable costs per unit of output. $\mathrm{AVC}=\mathrm{TVC} / \mathrm{Y}$.
Barriers to Entry and Exit. Legal or economic barriers that hinder or prevent a new firm from entering or exiting an industry.
Break-Even Point. The point on a graph that shows that total revenue (TR) is equal to total cost (TC).
Budget Constraint. A limit on consumption determined by the size of the budget and the prices of goods.
Budget Line. A line indicating all possible combinations of two goods that can be purchased using the consumer's entire budget.
Capital. Physical capital: machinery, buildings, tools, and equipment.

Cardinal Utility. Assigns specific, but hypothetical, numerical values to the level of satisfaction gained from the consumption of a good. The unit of measurement is the hypothetical util (see Ordinal Utility).
Cartel. A group of independent firms that join together to regulate price and production decisions.
Ceteris Paribus. Latin for "holding all else constant." An assumption used to simplify the real world.
Change in Demand. When a change in the quantity of a good purchased is a result of a change in an economic variable other than the price of the good. A shift in the demand curve.
Change in Quantity Demanded. When a change in the quantity of a good purchased is a result of a change in the price of the good. A movement along the demand curve.
Change in Quantity Supplied. A change in the quantity of a good placed on the market due to a change in the price of the good. A movement along the supply curve.
Change in Supply. A change in the quantity of a good produced due to a change in one or more economic variables other than the price of the good. A shift in the supply curve.
Coasian Bargaining. When an externality impacts a third party, the affected parties have an incentive to bargain with each other to reach an efficient outcome.
Collusion. When the firms in an industry jointly determine the price of the good.
Command Economy. A form of economic organization where resources are allocated by whoever is in charge, such as a dictator or an elected group of officials (see Market Economy and Mixed Economy).
Comparative Advantage. The superior productive capacity of one individual, or nation, or region, or industry, relative to all others, based on opportunity cost.
Comparative Statics. A comparison of market equilibrium points before and after a change in an economic variable.
Complements in Consumption. Goods that are consumed together (e.g., peanut butter and jelly, see Substitutes in Consumption).
Complements in Production. Goods that are produced together using the same collection of inputs (e.g., beef and leather, see Substitutes in Production).
Constant Returns. When each additional unit of input added to the production process yields a constant level of output relative to the previous unit of input. Output increases at a constant rate.
Consumer. An individual or household that purchases a good or a service.
Costs of Production. The payments that a firm must make to purchase inputs (resources, factors).
Cross-Price Elasticity of Demand. A measure of the responsiveness of the quantity demanded of a good to changes in the price of a related good.
Cross-Price Elasticity of Supply. A measure of the responsiveness of the quantity supplied of a good to changes in the price of a related good.
Decreasing Returns. When each additional unit of input added to the production process yields less additional output relative to the previous unit of input. Output increases at a decreasing rate.
Demand. Consumer willingness and ability to pay for a good.
Demand Curve. A function connecting all combinations of prices and quantities consumed for a good, ceteris paribus.
Demand Schedule. Information on prices and quantities purchased.

Disequilibrium. A market situation in which the market price does not equalize supply and demand.
Economic Good. A good that is Scarce (see Noneconomic Good).
Economic Profits $\left[\boldsymbol{\pi}_{\mathrm{E}}\right]$. Total revenue minus both explicit and opportunity costs. $\pi_{\mathrm{E}}=\mathrm{TR}-\mathrm{TC}_{\mathrm{A}}-$ opportunity costs (see Accounting Profits).
Economics. The study of the allocation of scarce resources among competing ends.
Economies of Scale. When the per-unit costs of production decrease as output increases.
Efficiency. A characteristic of competitive markets, indicating that goods and services are produced at the lowest possible cost and consumers pay the lowest possible prices.
Elastic Demand. A change in price brings about a relatively larger change in quantity demanded.
Elastic Supply. A change in price brings about a relatively larger change in quantity supplied.
Elasticity. The percentage change in one economic variable resulting from a percentage change in another economic variable.
Elasticity of Demand. The percentage change in the quantity demanded in response to a percentage change in price.
Elasticity of Supply. The percentage change in the quantity supplied in response to a percentage increase in price.
Engel Curve. The relationship between income and quantity demanded, ceteris paribus.
Engel's Law. As income increases, the proportion of income spent on food declines, ceteris paribus.
Equilibrium. A point from which there is no tendency to change.
Equilibrium Price. The price at which the quantity supplied equals the quantity demanded.
Equilibrium Quantity. The point where quantity supplied is equal to quantity demanded.
Externality. A consequence of an economic activity that affects unrelated third parties. The externality can be either positive or negative. Thus, an externality is a transaction spillover that creates a cost or a benefit not transmitted through market prices.
Fixed Costs. Those costs that do not vary with the level of output; the costs associated with the fixed factors of production.
Fixed Input. An input whose quantity does not vary with the level of output.
Free Trade Agreement. Agreements between nations to reduce or eliminate Trade Barriers.
Good. An Economic Good.
Homogeneous Product. A product that is the same no matter which producer produces it. The producer of a good cannot be identified by the consumer.
Immediate Run [IR]. A period of time in which all inputs are fixed.
Imperfect Substitutes. Inputs that are incomplete substitutes for each other in the production process.
Import Quota. A trade restriction that sets a physical limit on the quantity of a good that can be imported during a given time period.
Income Elasticity of Demand. The percentage change in the demand for a good in response to a 1 percent change in income.
Increasing Returns. When each additional unit of input added to the production process yields an increasing level of output relative to the previous unit of input. Output increases at an increasing rate.
Indifference Curve. A line showing all possible combinations of two goods that provide the same level of utility (satisfaction).
Industry. A group of firms that all produce and sell the same product.

Inelastic Demand. A change in price brings about a relatively smaller change in quantity demanded.
Inelastic Supply. A change in price brings about a relatively smaller change in quantity supplied.
Inferior Good. A good whose consumption declines in response to an increase in income.
Inverse Demand Function. A demand function that is represented with price (the independent variable) as a function of quantity demanded (the dependent variable): $P=f\left(Q^{d}\right)$.
Inverse Supply Function. A supply function that is represented with price (the independent variable) as a function of quantity supplied (the dependent variable): $P=f\left(Q^{s}\right)$.
Isocost Line. A line indicating all combinations of two variable inputs that can be purchased for a given, or same, level of expenditure.
Isoquant. A line indicating all combinations of two variable inputs that will produce a given level of output.
Isorevenue Line. A line showing all combinations of two outputs that will generate a constant level of total revenue.
Law of Demand. The quantity of a good demanded varies inversely with the price of the good, ceteris paribus.
Law of Diminishing Marginal Returns. As additional units of one input are combined with a fixed amount of other inputs, a point is always reached at which the additional output produced from the last unit of added input will decline.
Law of Diminishing Marginal Utility. Marginal utility declines as more of a good or service is consumed during a given time period.
Law of Supply. The quantity of goods offered to a market varies directly with the price of the good, ceteris paribus.
Long Run [LR]. A time span during which no inputs are fixed; all inputs are variable.
Luxury Good. A good whose consumption increases at an increasing rate in response to an increase in income.
Macroeconomics. The study of economy-wide activities such as economic growth, business fluctuations, inflation, unemployment, recession, depression, and booms (see Microeconomics).
Marginal Analysis. Comparing the benefits and costs of a decision incrementally, one unit at a time.
Marginal Cost [MC]. The increase in total costs due to the production of one more unit of output. $\mathrm{MC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.
Marginal Factor Cost [MFC]. The cost of an additional (marginal) unit of input; the amount added to total cost of using one more unit of input. $\mathrm{MFC}=\Delta \mathrm{TC} / \Delta \mathrm{X}$.
Marginal Physical Product [MPP]. The additional amount of total physical product obtained from using an additional, or marginal, unit of variable input $[=\Delta \mathrm{Y} / \Delta \mathrm{X}]$.
Marginal Rate of Product Substitution [MRPS]. The rate at which one output must decrease as production of another output is increased. The slope of the production possibilities frontier (PPF) defines the MRPS. MRPS $=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}$.
Marginal Rate of Substitution [MRS]. The rate of exchange of one good for another that leaves utility unchanged. The slope of an indifference curve. $\mathrm{MRS}=\Delta \mathrm{Y}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}_{1}$.
Marginal Rate of Technical Substitution [MRTS]. The rate at which one input can be decreased as the use of another input increases to take its place. The slope of the isoquant. MRTS $=\Delta \mathrm{X}_{2} / \Delta \mathrm{X}_{1}$.

Marginal Revenue [MR]. The addition to total revenue from selling one more unit of output. $\mathrm{MR}=\Delta \mathrm{TR} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.
Marginal Revenue Product [MRP]. The additional (marginal) value of output obtained from each additional (marginal) unit of the variable input. MRP $=\mathrm{MPP} * \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.
Marginal Utility [MU]. The change in the level of utility when consumption of a good is increased by one unit. $\mathrm{MU}=\Delta \mathrm{TU} / \Delta \mathrm{Y}$.
Market. The interaction between buyers and sellers.
Market Demand Curve. The relationship between the price and quantity demanded of a good, ceteris paribus, derived by the horizontal summation of all individual consumer demand curves for all individuals in the market.
Market Economy. A form of economic organization in which resources are allocated by prices. Resources flow to the highest returns in a free market system (see Command Economy and Mixed Economy).
Market Equilibrium. The point where the quantity supplied by producers at a given price is equal to the quantity demanded by consumers at that same price.
Market Power. The ability to affect the price of output. A firm with market power faces a downward-sloping demand curve.
Market Price. The price where quantity demanded is equal to quantity supplied.
Market Structure. The organization of an industry, typically defined by the number of firms in an industry.
Market Supply Curve. The relationship between the price and quantity supplied of a good, ceteris paribus, derived by the horizontal summation of all individual supply curves for all individual producers in the market.
Marketplace. A physical location where buyers and sellers meet to trade goods.
Microeconomics. The study of the behavior of individual decision-making units such as individuals, households, and firms (see Macroeconomics).
Mixed Economy. A form of economic organization that has elements of both a Market Economy and a Command Economy.
Monopolistic Competition. A market structure defined by: (1) many sellers, (2) a product with close, but differentiated, substitutes, (3) some freedom of entry and exit, and (4) some availability of knowledge and information.

Monopoly. A market structure characterized by a single seller. The firm is the industry.
Natural Monopoly. A situation where a single firm has large fixed costs, making it most efficient (lowest cost) for production to be concentrated in a single firm.
Necessity Good. A good whose consumption increases at a decreasing rate in response to an increase in income.
Negative Externality. A situation where the market price does not include the full cost of producing or consuming a good or service.
Negative Returns. When each additional unit of input added to the production process results in lower total output relative to the previous unit of input. Output decreases.
Noneconomic Good. A good that is not scarce; there is as much of this good to meet any demand for it. A free good (see Economic Good).
Nonprice Competition. A market situation where firms compete over good characteristics other than price, such as quality, quantity, services, color, taste, etc.
Normal Good. A good whose consumption increases in response to an increase in income.
Normative Economics. Based on statements that contain opinions and/or value judgments. A normative statement contains a judgment about "what ought to be" or "what should be" (see Positive Economics).

Oligopoly. A market structure characterized by a few large firms.
Opportunity Costs. The value of a resource in its next-best use. What an individual or firm must give up to do something.
Opportunity Set. The collection of all combinations of goods within the budget constraint of the consumer.
Ordinal Utility. A way of considering consumer satisfaction in which goods are ranked in order of preference: first, second, third, etc. (see Cardinal Utility).
Own-Price Elasticity of Demand. The percentage change in the quantity demanded in response to a percentage change in price.
Own-Price Elasticity of Supply. Measures the responsiveness of the quantity supplied of a good to changes in the price of that good.
Perfect Competition. A market or industry with four characteristics: (1) a large number of buyers and sellers, (2) a homogeneous product, (3) freedom of entry and exit, and (4) perfect information.

Perfect Complements. Goods that are produced together using the same collection of resources (beef and hides) or inputs that must be used together in a fixed ratio (one tractor and one plow) (see Complements).
Perfect Information. A situation where all buyers and sellers in a market have complete access to technological information and all input and output prices.
Perfect Substitutes. Inputs that are completely substitutable in the production process. (see Substitutes).
Pigouvian Tax. A tax levied on firms that pollute the environment or create other negative externalities due to production of goods and services.
Positive Economics. Based on factual statements. Such statements contain no value judgments. Positive statements describe "what is" (see Normative Economics).
Positive Externality. A situation where the market price does not include the full benefit of producing or consuming a good or service.
Price Ceiling. A maximum price set by the government for a specified good or service.
Price Maker. A firm characterized by market power, or the ability to influence the price of output. A firm facing a downward-sloping demand curve.
Price Support. A minimum price set by the government for a specified good or service.
Price Taker. A firm so small relative to the industry that the price of output is fixed and given, no matter how large or how small the quantity of output it sells.
Producer. An individual or firm that produces (makes; manufactures) a good or provides a service.
Production Function. The physical relationship between inputs and outputs.
Production Possibilities Frontier [PPF]. A curve depicting all possible combinations of two outputs that can be produced using a constant level of inputs.
Profits [ $\pi$ ]. Total revenue minus total costs: $\pi=T R-T C$. The value of production sold minus the cost of producing that output.
Rational Behavior. Individuals do the best that they can, given the constraints they face. Rational behavior is purposeful and consistent.
Relative Prices. The prices of goods relative to each other. Example: The price of wheat increased relative to the price of corn (see Absolute Price).
Resources. Inputs provided by nature and modified by humans who use technology to produce goods and services that satisfy human wants and desires. Also called Inputs, Factors of Production, or Factors. Resources include Capital (K), Labor (L), Land (A), and Management (M).

Scarcity. Because resources are limited, the goods and services produced from using those resources are also limited, which means consumers must make choices, or tradeoffs among different goods.
Service. A type of economic good that is not physical. For example, a haircut or a phone call is a service, whereas a car or a shirt is a good.
Short Run [SR]. A time span during which some factors are variable and some factors are fixed.
Shortage. A market situation in which consumers are willing and able to purchase more of a good than producers are willing to supply at a given price $\left(\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}<\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}\right)$.
Shutdown Point. The point on a graph where marginal revenue (MR) is equal to average variable costs (AVC).
Social Science. The study of society and of individual relationships in and to society, generally regarded as including sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, and history.
Substitutes in Consumption. Goods that are consumed on an "either/or" basis (e.g., wheat bread and white bread, see Complements in Consumption).
Substitutes in Production. Goods that compete for the same resources in the production (wheat and barley, see Complements in Production), or inputs that can replace each other in the production process (land and fertilizer).
Supply. The relationship between the price of a good and the amount of a good available at a given location and at a given time.
Supply Curve for an Individual Firm. The firm's marginal cost curve above the minimum point on the average variable cost curve.
Supply Schedule. A schedule showing the relationship between the price of a good and the quantity of a good supplied.
Surplus. A market situation in which producers are willing to supply more of a good than consumers are willing to purchase at a given price ( $\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{s}}>\mathrm{Q}^{\mathrm{d}}$ ).
Tariff. A tax on imports of a good.
Technological Change. Change that allows the same level of inputs to produce a greater level of output. Alternatively, technological change allows production of the same level of output with a smaller number of inputs.
Total Costs [TC]. The sum of all payments that a firm must make to purchase the factors of production. The sum of Total Fixed Costs and Total Variable Costs. TC $=$ TFC + TVC.
Total Factor Cost [TFC]. The total cost of a factor, or input. TFC $=\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{X}}{ }^{*} \mathrm{X}$.
Total Fixed Costs [TFC]. The total costs of inputs that do not vary with the level of output.
Total Physical Product [TPP]. The relationship between output and one variable input, holding all other inputs constant.
Total Revenue [TR]. The amount of money received when the producer sells the product. $T R=P_{Y} * Y$.
Total Revenue Product [TRP]. The dollar value of the output produced at a given level of variable inputs. TRP $=$ TPP* $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{Y}}$.
Total Utility [TU]. The total level of satisfaction derived from consuming a given bundle of goods and services.
Total Variable Costs [TVC]. The total costs of inputs that vary with the level of output.
Trade Barriers. Laws and regulations to restrict the flow of goods and services across international borders, including tariffs, duties, quotas, and import and export subsidies.

Tragedy of the Commons. A situation in which a group of individuals, acting rationally and in their own self-interest, deplete a shared limited resource, resulting in destruction of the resource and a negative outcome for all parties.
Unitary Elastic Demand. The percentage change in price brings about an equal percentage change in quantity demanded.
Unitary Elastic Supply. The percentage change in price brings about an equal percentage change in quantity supplied.
Utility. Satisfaction derived from consuming a good.
Utils. Hypothetical units of satisfaction derived from consumption of goods or services.
Variable Costs. Those costs that vary with the level of output; the costs associated with the variable factors of production.
Variable Input. A variable input is one that when changed, affects the level of output.

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[^0]:    Source: WTO Statistics Database. www.stat.wto.org/StatisticalProram

