# Pitfalls to Avoid when Measuring the Institutional Environment

Benito ARRUÑADA <a href="http://www.econ.upf.es/~arrunada">http://www.econ.upf.es/~arrunada</a>

Pompeu Fabra University

Workshop on Measuring Law & Institutions Conseil d'État, Paris, December 15, 2006

#### Starting observation

- Difficulties and mistakes in measurement
- Magic of numbers
- Rent seeking in consulting and intl aid
- Are leading to:
  - ◆ Dubious "best practice" standards
  - ♦ Mistaken policies—observed: IDB, SNLE

### We should measure value not only costs

- Institutions include providers of services that reduce transaction and enforcement costs, both private and public. Examples:
- Land registers →
  - Mortgages: number, interest rate spread
- Companies registers →
  - Other firms (legal representative)
  - ◆ Courts → all contractual parties of registering firm

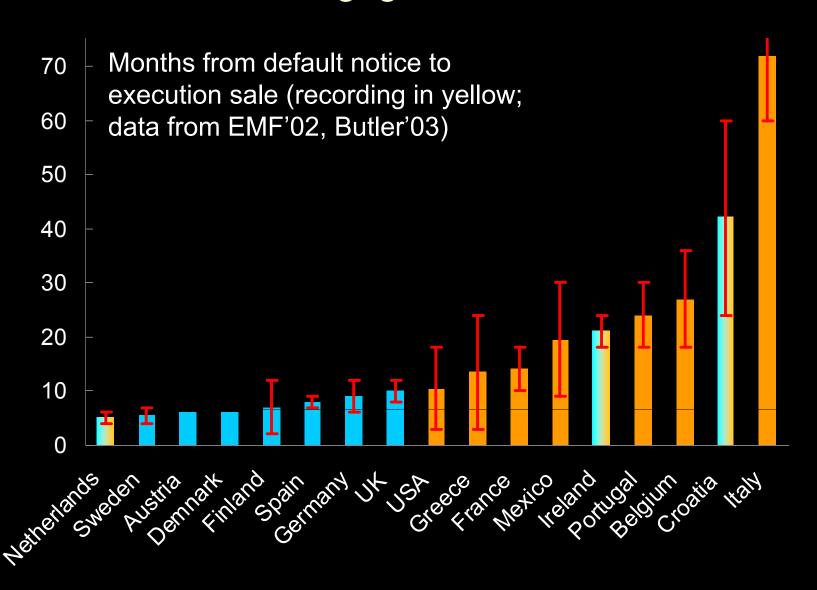
### Evaluating value requires broader concept of user

- Firms are not the only—not even the main—users
- Examples:
  - Courts do not only affect litigants but also produce precedents and have systemic effects on all firms
  - ◆ Companies registers, no only firms when registering but their future customers and creditors
  - Land registers equally affect future buyers & creditors

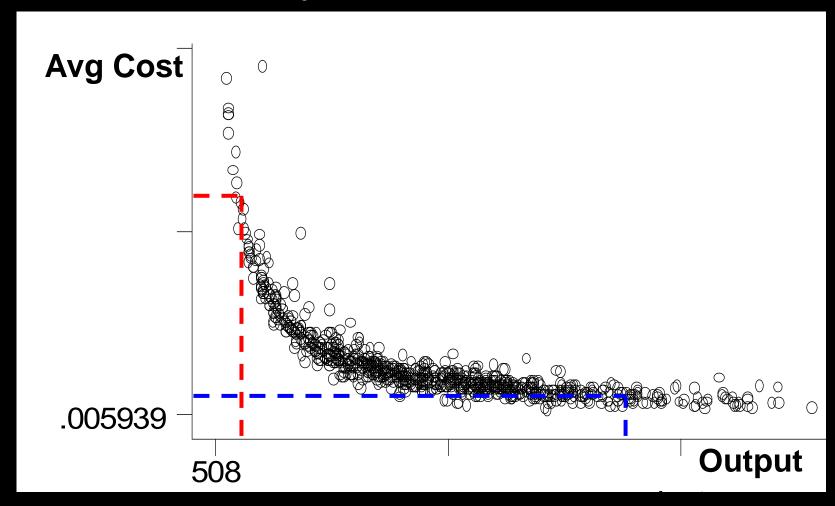
#### We should measure all costs not only those incurred ex ante

- Avoids silly "simplification" policies: e.g., new firm registration in Colombia & Spain
- In general, it avoids bias against legal systems relying more heavily on ex ante control
- Example:
  - ♦ Substitution b/w ex ante & ex post costs in mortgage foreclosure →

#### Example: Substitution b/w ex ante & ex post costs in mortgage foreclosure



### Be aware that average costs are affected by economies to scale



(especially when measuring only the vertical axis)

### Policy consequences of emphasizing average costs

- Capital intensive reforms, disregarding
  - demand
  - fixed costs
  - sustainability
- Example:
  - Peru titling effort spent a fortune to get very little effect when compared to less formal titling

## Consider standard transactions and procedures instead of the mandatory set of procedures

#### Two reasons:

- ♦ No difference b/w procedures being publicly mandated or privately imposed by professional monopolies (e.g., lawyers in MA vs notaries in F)
- Likely to be the minimum cost as driven by free choice

#### Consequence:

- Consider facilitators if chosen by parties in the standard set of procedures
- Will help to avoid creating new public facilitating bureaucracies (e.g., one-stop shops)

### Overall guideline: treat rent seeking as the price of specialization

Considering costs as the only objective is sensible only if institutions are fully explained by rent seeking

#### But

Rent seeking, transaction costs, agency costs or whatever you can call them are simply the price of specialization

#### A last word of caution

- It is perhaps true that if we cannot measure it we cannot fix it but, at least we leave as it is, while
- if we measure it badly, we risk making things worse

