

Research, Game and Decision Making:
Laureate Gary Becker's Crime & Punishment
and the Case of Giuliani & New York City

江炯聰教授
台大管理學院
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Know-What, Know-Why, Know-How and Decision Making

Prescriptive D-M:
How decisions **could be** made better?

Know-How
(Feasible?)
Prescriptive

Business School?
Harvard DBA Degree?

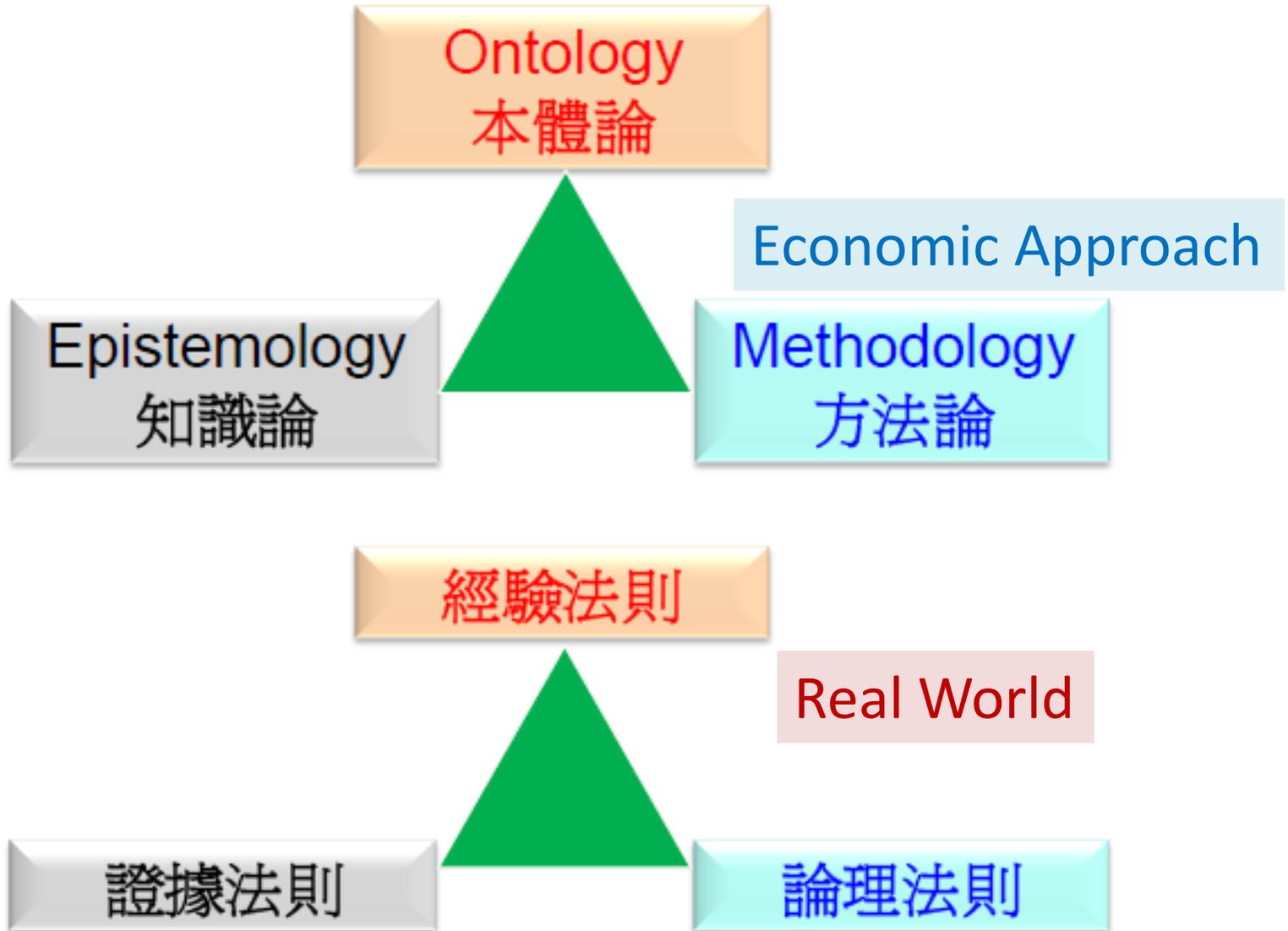
Know-What
(Objective?)
Descriptive

Know-Why
(Scientific?)
Normative

Descriptive D-M:
How decisions **are** made?

Normative D-M:
How decisions **should be** made?

Philosophy 哲學 & Law 法律個案



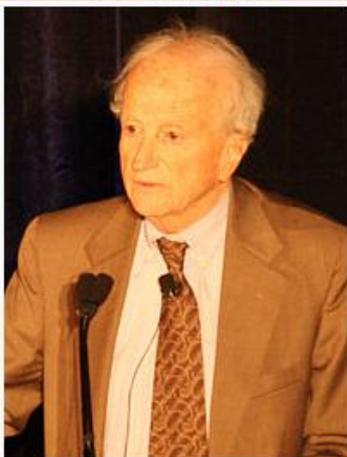
Forecasting and Research Strategy

Term Assignment

Due 2013/01/31

1. The seemingly oversimplified table below compares two research modes. Please use any examples that you think are appropriate to elaborate further.

學術研究 常偏重	實務研究 常偏重
研究 Why	研究 How
研究 Past	研究 Future
發現真相	目標導向
抽離時空 建立 Models	進入時空 發展 Scenarios
多用 分析性工具 (e.g., statistics)	多用 操作性工具 (e.g., game theory)
個人或小團隊進行	團體與系統工程
較無時間壓力	重時效性



蓋瑞·貝克於芝加哥發言，2008年5月24日

逝世

研究機

研究機

母校

受影響

施影響

貢獻

獎項

出生

1930年12月2日

美國賓夕法尼亞州波茨維爾市

逝世

2014年05月03日（83歲）

美國伊利諾斯州芝加哥

研究機構

芝加哥大學

(1968–2014)

哥倫比亞大學

(1957–1968)

研究領域

社會經濟學

母校

普林斯頓大學

芝加哥大學

受影響於

米爾頓·佛利民

施影響於

Reuben Gronau

貢獻

人力資本的分析

不肖子定理

獎項

1967 約翰·貝茨·克拉克獎

1992 諾貝爾經濟學獎

1997 Pontifical Academy of

Sciences

2000 美國國家科學獎章

2004 John von Neumann Award

2007 總統自由勳章

IDEAS/RePEc上的資訊

生平 [編輯]

1951年得到普林斯頓大學學士學位，1955年獲得芝加哥大學博士學位，博士論文題目為《種族歧視的經濟學》（*The economics of racial discrimination*）。

1957至1968年任教於哥倫比亞大學，後返回母校芝加哥大學執教。他曾參與TGG Group的創建，這是一間以商業及人道慈善工作為目標的顧問公司。1967年獲得約翰·貝茨·克拉克獎與美國經濟學會的「克拉克獎章」，2007年獲得美國總統自由勳章。

2014年5月3日，貝克因長期病痛而逝世。^[2]

學術貢獻 [編輯]

貝克是最早讓經濟學的範疇進入社會學中「家庭關係」此一題目的人之一。舉凡種族歧視、犯罪、家庭組織和嗜藥問題等都有涉及。他最為人所知的成就便是他證明了許多不同類型的人類行為其實並非是出於盲目，而是有其背後的深思熟慮。他也是當代第一流關於資本現象的研究者。在其他的領域中，他的同事史蒂芬·列維特經常被視為貝克經濟學方法的追隨者，利依特同樣是將經濟學的視野用於其他的非正統的經濟學題目上。

貝克還是「不肖子定理」的發現者，曾提出理性成癮假說。

根據諾貝爾經濟學獎的引言，可以將其的工作劃分到下列四個領域之中：

1. 資本的投資
2. 家庭成員的行為，包括家事分工和在家時間
3. 犯罪與刑罰
4. 區別市場上的勞動力與商品

他從1985年起到2004年每個月在《商業週刊》上和自由派經濟學家Alan Blinder輪流發表文章。2004年12月起，他和理察·A·波斯納投入網誌的撰寫。

著作 [編輯]

- 《The Economics of Discrimination》歧視經濟學（1957年初版，1971年再版）
- 《Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis》人力資本：理論和經驗的分析（1964年初版，1975年再版）
- 《The Economic Approach to Human Behavior》人類行為的經濟分析（1976年出版）
- 《A Treatise on the Family》家庭論（1981年出版）

Laureate Becker's Nobel Lecture (1992/12/09)

“The Economic Way of Looking at Life”

1. *The Economic Approach*

- My research uses the economic approach to analyze social issues that range beyond those usually considered by economists. This lecture will describe the approach, and illustrate it with examples drawn from past and current work.
- Unlike Marxian analysis, the economic approach I refer to does not assume that individuals are motivated solely by selfishness or gain. It is a *method of analysis, not an assumption about particular motivations*. Along with others, I have tried to pry economists away from narrow assumptions about self interest. Behavior is driven by a much richer set of values and preferences.
- The analysis assumes that individuals maximize welfare *as they conceive it*, whether they be selfish, altruistic, loyal, spiteful, or masochistic. Their behavior is forward-looking, and it is also consistent over time. In particular, they try as best they can to anticipate the uncertain consequences of their actions. Forward-looking behavior, however, may still be rooted in the past, for the past can exert a long shadow on attitudes and values.

- Actions are constrained by income, time, imperfect memory and calculating capacities, and other limited resources, and also by the available opportunities in the economy and elsewhere. These opportunities are largely determined by the private and collective actions of other individuals and organizations.
- Different constraints are decisive for different situations, but the most fundamental constraint is limited time. Economic and medical progress have greatly increased length of life, but not the physical flow of time itself, which always restricts everyone to twenty-four hours per day. So while goods and services have expended enormously in rich countries, the total time available to consume has not.
- Thus, wants remain unsatisfied in rich countries as well as in poor ones. For while the growing abundance of goods may reduce the value of additional goods, time becomes more valuable as goods become more abundant. Utility maximization is of no relevance in a Utopia where everyone's needs are fully satisfied, but the constant flow of time makes such a Utopia impossible. These are some of the issues analyzed in Becker [1965], and Linder [1970].
- The following sections illustrate the economic approach with four very different subjects. To understand discrimination against minorities, it is necessary to widen preferences to accommodate prejudice and hatred of particular groups. The economic analysis of crime incorporates into rational behavior illegal and other antisocial actions. The human capital approach considers how the productivity of people in market and non-market situations is changed by investments in education, skills, and knowledge. The economic approach to the family interprets marriage, divorce, fertility, and relations among family members through the lens of utility-maximizing forward-looking behavior.

3. Crime and Punishment

- I began to think about crime in the 1960s after driving to Columbia University for an oral examination of a student in economic theory. I was late and had to decide quickly whether to put the car in a parking lot or risk getting a ticket for parking illegally on the street. I calculated the likelihood of getting a ticket, the size of the penalty, and the cost of putting the car in a lot. I decided it paid to take the risk and park on the street. (I did not get a ticket.)
- As I walked the few blocks to the examination room, it occurred to me that the city authorities had probably gone through a similar analysis. The frequency of their inspection of parked vehicles and the size of the penalty imposed on violators should depend on their estimates of the type of calculations potential violators like me would make. Of course, the first question I put to the hapless student was to work out the optimal behavior of both the offenders and the police, something I had not yet done.
- In the 1950s and 1960s intellectual discussions of crime were dominated by the opinion that criminal behavior was caused by mental illness and social oppression, and that criminals were helpless “victims.” A book by a well-known psychiatrist was entitled *The Crime of Punishment* (see *Menninger* [1966]). Such attitudes began to exert a major influence on social policy, as laws changed to expand criminals’ rights. These changes reduced the apprehension and conviction of criminals, and provided less protection to the law-abiding population.
- I was not sympathetic to the assumption that criminals had radically different motivations from everyone else. I explored instead the theoretical and empirical implications of the assumption that criminal behavior is rational (see the early pioneering work by Bentham [1931] and Beccaria [1986]), but again “rationality” did not necessarily imply narrow materialism. It recognized that many people are constrained by moral and ethical considerations, and did not commit crimes even when they were profitable and there was no danger of detection.

- However, police and jails would be unnecessary if such attitudes always prevailed. Rationality implied that some individuals become criminals because of the financial rewards from crime compared to legal work, taking account of the likelihood of apprehension and conviction, and the severity of punishment.
- The amount of crime is determined not only by the rationality and preferences of would-be criminals, but also by the economic and social environment created by public policies, including expenditures on police, punishments for different crimes, and opportunities for employment, schooling, and training programs. Clearly, the type of legal jobs available as well as law, order, and punishment are an integral part of the economic approach to crime.
- Total public spending on fighting crime can be reduced, while keeping the mathematically expected punishment unchanged, by offsetting a cut in expenditures on catching criminals with a sufficient increase in the punishment to those convicted. However, risk-preferring individuals are more deterred from crime by a higher probability of conviction than by severe punishments. Therefore, optimal behavior by the State would balance the reduced spending on police and courts from lowering the probability of conviction against the preference of risk-preferring criminals for a lesser certainty of punishment. The State should also consider the likelihood of punishing innocent persons.
- In the early stages of my work on crime, I was puzzled by why theft is socially harmful since it appears merely to redistribute resources, usually from wealthier to poorer individuals. I resolved the puzzle (Becker [1968, fn. 3] by recognizing that criminals spend on weapons and on the value of the time in planning and carrying out their crimes, and that such spending is socially unproductive - it is what is now called “rent-seeking” - because it does not create wealth, only forcibly redistributes it. The social cost of theft was approximated by the number of dollars stolen since rational criminals would be willing to spend up to that amount on their crimes. (I should have added the resources spent by potential victims protecting themselves against crime.)

- One reason why the economic approach to crime became so influential is that the same analytic apparatus can be used to study enforcement of all laws, including minimum wage legislation, clean air acts, insider trader and other violations of security laws, and income tax evasions. Since few laws are self-enforcing, they require expenditures on conviction and punishment to deter violators. The United States Sentencing Commission has explicitly used the economic analysis of crime to develop rules to be followed by judges in punishing violators of Federal statutes (United States Sentencing Commission [1988]).
- Studies of crime that use the economic approach have become common during the past quarter century. These include analysis of the optimal marginal punishments to deter increases in the severity of crimes – for example, to deter a kidnapper from killing his victim (the modern literature starts with Stigler [1970]), and the relation between private and public enforcement of laws (see Becker and Stigler [1974], and Landes and Posner [1975]).
- Fines are preferable to imprisonment and other types of punishment because they are more efficient. With a fine, the punishment to offenders is also revenue to the State. The early discussions of the relations between fines and other punishments have been clarified and considerably improved (see, e.g., Polinsky and Shavell (1984), and Posner [1986]).
- Empirical assessments of the effects on crime rates of prison terms, conviction rates, unemployment levels, income inequality, and other variables have become more numerous and more accurate (the pioneering work is by Ehrlich [1973], and the subsequent literature is extensive). The greatest controversies surround the question of whether capital punishment deters murders, a controversy that is far from being resolved (see, e.g., Ehrlich [1975], and National Research Council [1978]).

6. Concluding Comments

- An important step in extending the traditional analysis of individual rational choice is to incorporate into the theory a much richer class of attitudes, preferences, and calculations. This step is prominent in all the examples that I consider. The analysis of discrimination includes in preferences a dislike of - prejudice against - members of particular groups, such as blacks or women. In deciding whether to engage in illegal activities, potential criminals are assumed to act as if they consider both the gains and the risks - including the likelihood they will be caught and severity of punishments. In human capital theory, people rationally evaluate the benefits and costs of activities, such as education, training, expenditures on health, migration, and formation of habits that radically alter the way they are. The economic approach to the family assumes that even intimate decisions like marriage, divorce, and family size are reached through weighing the advantages and disadvantages of alternative actions. The weights are determined by preferences that critically depend on the altruism and feelings of duty and obligation toward family members.
- Since the economic, or rational choice, approach to behavior builds on a theory of individual decisions, criticisms of this theory usually concentrate on particular assumptions about how these decisions are made. Among other things, critics deny that individuals act consistently over time, and question whether behavior is forward-looking, particularly in situations that differ significantly from those usually considered by economists - such as those involving criminal, addictive, family, or political behavior. This is not the place to go into a detailed response to the criticisms, so I simply assert that no approach of comparable generality has yet been developed that offers serious competition to rational choice theory.
- While the economic approach to behavior builds on a theory of individual choice, it is not mainly concerned with individuals. It uses theory at the micro level as a powerful tool to derive implications at the group or macro level. Rational individual choice is combined with assumptions about technologies and other determinants of opportunities, equilibrium in

market and nonmarket situations, and laws, norms, and traditions to obtain results concerning the behavior of groups. It is mainly because the theory derives implications at the macro level that it is of interest to policymakers and those studying differences among countries and cultures.

- None of the theories considered in this lecture aims for the greatest generality; instead, each tries to derive concrete implications about behavior that can be tested with survey and other data. Disputes over whether punishments deter crime, whether the lower earnings of women compared to men are mainly due to discrimination or lesser human capital, or whether no-fault divorce laws increase divorce rates all raise questions about the empirical relevance of predictions derived from a theory based on individual rationality.
- A close relation between theory and empirical testing helps prevent both the theoretical analysis and the empirical research from becoming sterile. Empirically oriented theories encourage the development of new sources and types of data, the way human capital theory stimulated the use of survey data, especially panels. At the same time, puzzling empirical results force changes in theory, as models of altruism and family preferences have been enriched to cope with the finding that parents in Western countries tend to bequeath equal amounts to different children.
- I have been impressed by how many economists want to work on social issues rather than issues forming the traditional core of economics. At the same time, specialists from fields that do consider social questions are often attracted to the economic way of modeling behavior because of the analytical power provided by the assumption of individual rationality. Thriving schools of rational choice theorists and empirical researchers are active in sociology, law, political science, history, anthropology, and psychology. The rational choice model provides the most promising basis presently available for a unified approach to the analysis of the social world by scholars from the social sciences

Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach

Gary Becker

Thursday, January 26, 2012

Economics 206- Team Lewis

Tevy Chawwa, Igor Hernandez, Nan Li, and Laura Paul

I. Introduction

- How many resources should be used to enforce the laws? Is there an optimal level of crime?
- The optimal level of enforcement depends of costs of apprehension, conviction, punishment and the elasticity of the supply of crime with respect to changes in enforcement
 - Economics allows us to take these parameters and to minimize social loss.
 - Some people commit crimes when others do not because their costs and benefits differ.

II. Basic Analysis

- The Cost of Crime
 - The US Bureau of Justice Statistics reports
 - In 2010, a total of 7.1 million persons under "supervision of adult correctional authorities" (in jail or on probation).
 - Between 2008 and 2009, there were a total of 86,975 federal sentences imposed, only 2,747 of which were fines.
 - During 2007, the cost of the nation's police protection, corrections, and judicial and legal services was \$228 billion, an increase of 171% since 1982, after adjusting for inflation.
 - In 2007, a total of 2.5 million persons were employed in the nation's justice system, an increase of 93% from 1982, when 1.3 million persons were employed.
- The Model
 - Damages
 - Harm, H , is a function of activity level, O .
 - $H' > 0, H'' > 0$
 - The gain to offenders, G , is also a function of O .
 - $G' > 0, G'' > 0$
 - Net damage to society, D , is a function of the two:
 - $D(O) = H(O) - G(O)$ (3)
 - $D' > 0 \quad \forall O > O_a$ if $D'(O_a) > 0$
 - The Cost of Apprehension and Conviction
 - Police activity, A , is a function of manpower, materials and capital.
 - Therefore, the cost of law enforcement, $C = C(A)$ (6), is a function of this activity.

Notes for Gary Becker's "Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach"

By Group 3 (Samuelson):

Traviss Cassidy, Antonios Koumpias, Jianxing Liang, and Yanxi Zhou

I. Introduction

- Key normative questions:
 - How many resources and how much punishment *should* be used to enforce different kinds of legislation?
- The optimal amount of enforcement depends on the cost of catching and convicting offenders, the nature of punishments, and the responses of offenders to changes in enforcement.
- Crime and punishment are approached as a constrained optimization problem to minimize social cost.

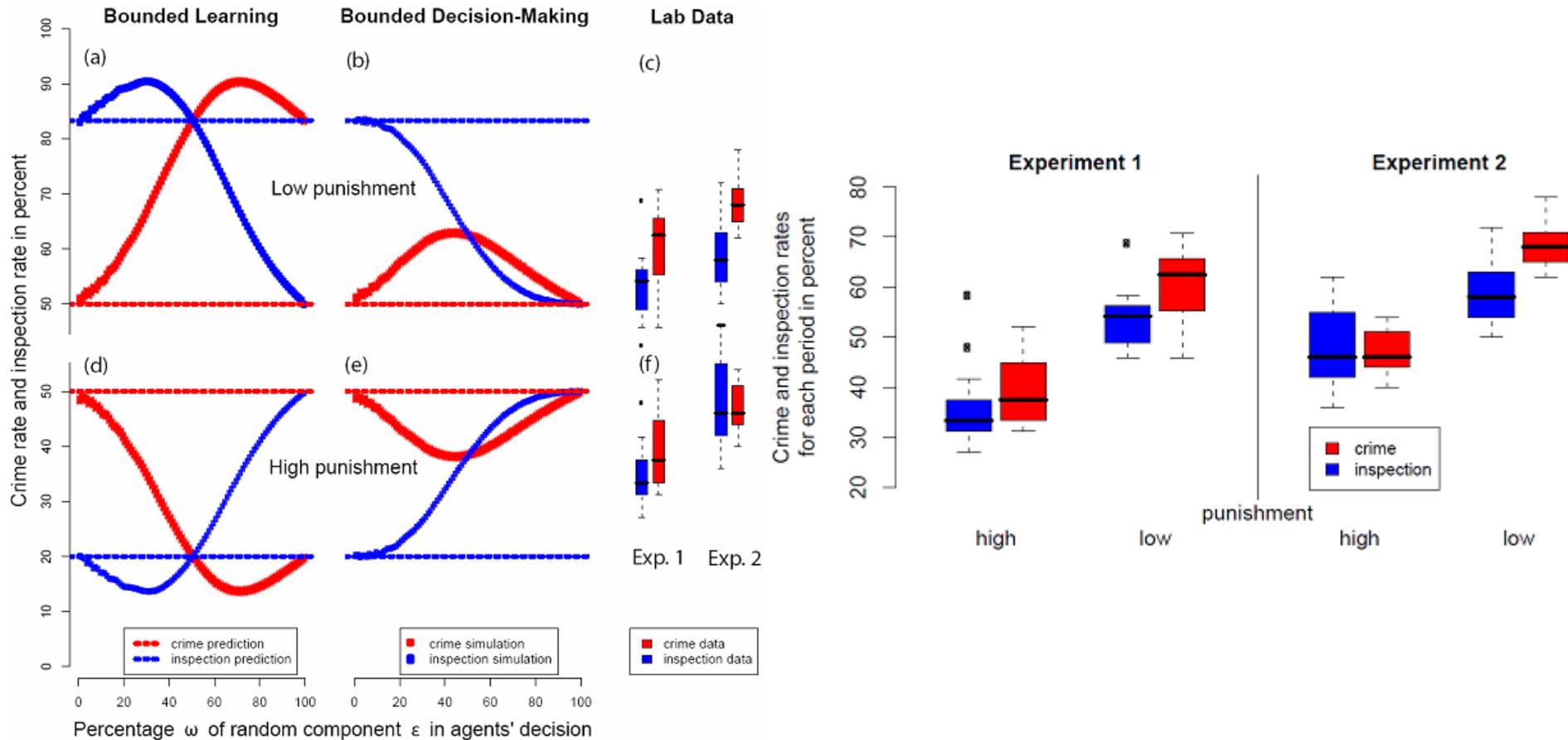
II. Basic Analysis

A. The Cost of Crime

- Legal notion: all violations that constitute a breach of governing rules such as felonies, traffic violations, tax evasion, embezzlement and other white-collar crimes.
- Political notion: "Crime has become a malignant enemy in America's midst. Since 1940 the crime rate in this country has doubled. It has increased five times as fast as our population since 1958. *In dollars the cost of crime runs to tens of billions annually. The human costs are simply not measurable.*"
—Lyndon Johnson to the Congress of the United States, March 8 1965.
- Economic notion: the sum of Direct Costs of various crimes, Public Expenditures at the federal, state, and local levels on police and criminal courts, and Private Expenditures such as burglar alarms or guards. Private costs are vastly underestimated as official numbers do not incorporate personal behavioral responses such as riding taxis or living in the suburbs.⁴

Heiko Rauhut and Marcel Junker (2009)

“Punishment Deters Crime Because Humans Are Bounded in Their Strategic Decision-Making”



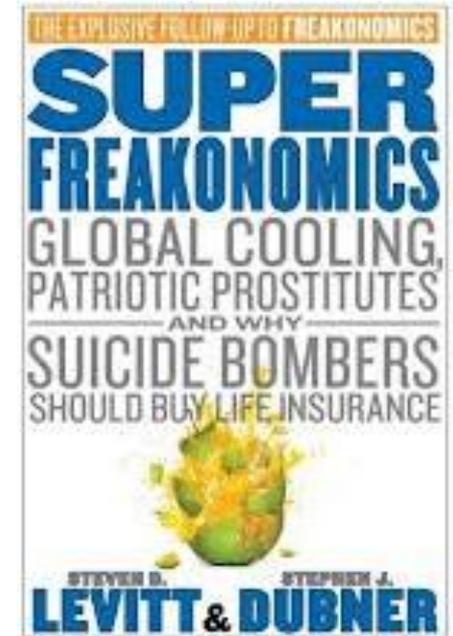
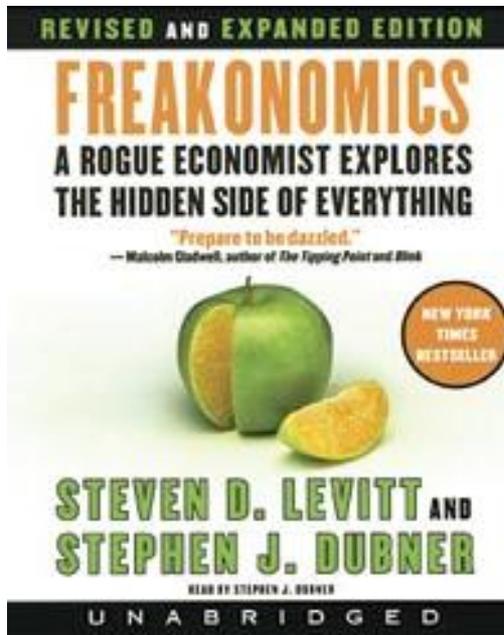
Steven Levitt

罪犯都跑到哪裡去了？

4. Where Have All the Criminals Gone?

In which the facts of crime are sorted out from the fictions.

What Nicolae Ceaușescu learned—the hard way—about abortion... Why the 1960s was a great time to be a criminal... Think the roaring 1990s economy put a crimp on crime? Think again... Why capital punishment doesn't deter criminals... Do police actually lower crime rates?... Prisons, prisons everywhere... Seeing through the New York City police “miracle”... What is a gun, really?... Why early crack dealers were like Microsoft millionaires and later crack dealers were like [Pets.com](#)... The superpredator versus the senior citizen... Jane Roe, crime stopper: how the legalization of abortion changed everything.



Understanding Why Crime Fell in the 1990s: Four Factors that Explain the Decline and Six that Do Not

Steven D. Levitt

Crime fell sharply in the United States in the 1990s, in all categories of crime and all parts of the nation. Homicide rates plunged 43 percent from the peak in 1991 to 2001, reaching the lowest levels in 35 years. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) violent and property crime indexes fell 29 percent and 29 percent, respectively, over that same period. These declines occurred essentially without warning: leading experts were predicting an explosion in crime in the early and mid-1990s, precisely the point when crime rates began to plummet.

Although experts failed to anticipate the decline, there has been no shortage of hypotheses to explain the drop in crime after the fact. Table 1 presents a tabulation of a Lexis-Nexis search of the most frequently cited reasons for the crime decline in major newspapers over the period 1991–2001. The single most frequent explanation given is the innovative policing strategies put into place. The crime decline is also frequently attributed to increased imprisonment, changes in the market for crack cocaine, the aging of the population, tougher gun control laws, the strong economy and increases in the number of police.

In this paper, I attempt to sort out why crime declined in the 1990s. I begin with a review of the facts. I then analyze the leading explanations for why crime fell, looking at possible determinants that changed in some substantial way in the 1990s. Most of the supposed explanations listed in Table 1 actually played little direct role in the crime decline, including the strong economy of the 1990s, changing demographics, better policing strategies, gun control laws, concealed weapons laws and increased use of the death penalty. Four factors, however, can account for virtually

Table 1

Media Explanations for the Decline in Crime in the 1990s, Ranked by Frequency of Mention

<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Number of mentions</i>
Innovative policing strategies	52
Increased reliance on prisons	47
Changes in crack/other drug markets	33
Aging of the population	32
Tougher gun control laws	32
Strong economy	28
Increased number of police	26
All other explanations	34

Notes: Based on a Lexis-Nexis search of articles written about the national decline in crime in leading newspapers over the period 1991–2001. Newspapers included in the tabulation are the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Houston Chronicle*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Chicago Sun Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and *San Diego Union-Tribune*. These are the ten largest circulation newspapers that are included in Lexis-Nexis.

Conclusions

Crime fell sharply and unexpectedly in the 1990s. Four factors appear to explain the drop in crime: increased incarceration, more police, the decline of crack and legalized abortion. Other factors often cited as important factors driving the decline do not appear to have played an important role: the strong economy, changing demographics, innovative policing strategies, gun laws and increased use of capital punishment. In stark contrast, the crime experience between 1973 and 1991 is not well explained by the factors identified in this paper. The real puzzle in my opinion, therefore, is not why crime fell in the 1990s, but why it did not start falling sooner.

An additional conclusion from this analysis is that the simplistic accounts of why crime fell offered by so-called experts to the media can be quite misleading. Of the eight reasons most frequently cited in newspapers, I conclude that only three of the factors are truly important. A fourth factor I consider important, legalized abortion, does not receive a single mention. To the extent that the allocation of resources for reducing crime is influenced by such pronouncements, the money may very well be misspent.

Does the analysis of this paper provide any guidance as to the likely fluctuations in crime rates over the next decade? Given the historical volatility in crime fluctuations and the failure of the factors examined to explain crime prior to the 1990s, the honest answer to that question may be "not much." Nonetheless, the past may shed some light on the future. Of the four factors that I believe to account for much of the recent crime decline, only rising numbers of police officers and legalized abortion are likely to be continuing contributors to future crime declines. Given that the number of police has been growing for four decades, it seems

plausible that this trend will continue unless local government budget problems become extreme, contributing perhaps a 5 percent reduction in crime over the next decade. With respect to abortion, a substantial fraction of the criminally active population today was born prior to legalization. As that population continues to age and is replaced by new cohorts born after legalization, some ongoing reductions in crime might be expected, amounting to perhaps a 5–10 percent cumulative crime reduction over the period 2001–2010. Prison populations are unlikely to continue to grow unchecked and have stabilized in recent years. With many states facing difficult fiscal constraints, it would appear likely that prison populations may actually fall over the next decade, giving a slight impetus to crime. Crack-related violence appears to have reached a steady state, with little future crime reduction to be expected through that channel. I see little reason to believe that factors that were not influential on crime in the preceding three decades will be influential in the next ten years.

With respect to new threats looming on the horizon, one potential contributor to increased crime rates that does not appear to be adequately appreciated is the coming of age of so-called “crack babies,” and more generally, those who spent their early childhood years in families and neighborhoods ravaged by crack. The evidence regarding the direct physiological impact of exposure to crack *in utero* suggests that adverse effects are short-lived, providing reason for optimism (Frank, Augstyn, Knight, Pell and Zuckerman, 2001). On the other hand, the home environment of such babies, or children raised in crack-afflicted areas more generally, may be quite difficult, inducing a criminogenic effect. Overall, however, it appears that continued crime declines over the next decade remain a realistic possibility, albeit on a scale that is likely to be much more moderate than in the recent past.

犯罪率下降

10發行量最大報紙(1991-2001) (LexisNexis Data)

<u>解釋</u>	<u>提及次數</u>
• 創新的治安策略	52
• 監獄囚禁人數增加	47
• 快克與其他毒品市場的變動	33
• 人口老化	32
• 更嚴格的槍械管制法	32
• 繁榮的經濟	28
• 警察人數增加	26
• 其他(死刑增加, 隱藏性武器法規, 槍枝買回等)	34

Interpretation

- 繁榮的經濟
 - 經濟與暴力犯罪 – 殺人, 傷害, 強暴等 - 無關; 與金錢動機直接相關的(非暴力)犯罪 – 偷竊, 強盜, 竊車等 – 有關.
 - 失業率降 1%, 非暴力犯罪降 1%.
 - (1990s) 失業率降 2%, 非暴力犯罪降 40%.
- 監獄囚禁人數增加
 - (1990s) 可解釋犯罪率下降1/3
- 死刑執行增加
 - 執行率極低, 針對殺人犯, 對其他犯罪難說有嚇阻作用
 - 處決1犯人可減少7件可能犯下的殺人案(Ehrlich, 1975)?
 - (1990s) 可解釋殺人案下降 1/25

- 警察人數增加
 - (1990s)可解釋犯罪率下降10%
- 創新的治安策略
 - Broken Window Theory: NYPD 局長 William Bratton 壓制輕微的犯罪 開始
 - (1990s) NYC police +45% = National Ave 3x,犯罪率比全國平均下降18%
- 更嚴格的槍械管制法
 - 與降低犯罪不相干
- 快克與其他毒品市場的變動
 - (1990s) 快克市場大崩盤(供過於求)可解釋犯罪率下降15%
- 人口老化
 - 65+歲人口遭逮捕比率 = 青少年1/50
 - 人口結構變動緩慢, 無法解釋犯罪率突然下跌

墮胎合法化

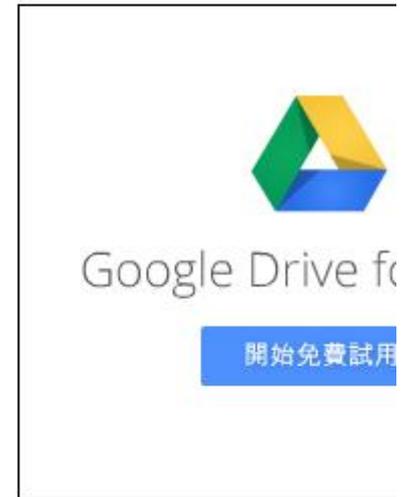
- Roe v. Wade, Supreme Court (1973/01/22)
 - 全國墮胎合法化
- 影響
 - 受惠最多: 未婚, 未滿20歲, 貧窮的女性(Cost: \$500 → \$100)
 - 1st y: 墮胎75萬 (新生嬰兒1/4)
 - 1980: 墮胎160萬 (新生嬰兒1/2.25) (2億2500萬人口, 1次/140人) (Romania: 1次/22人)
 - Ave: 150萬/y, 3700萬until 2004
- 背景研究
 - 墮胎掉的孩子若生下來: 貧窮人口%高出平均50%, 成長於單親家庭高出平均60%, 成長於單親家庭孩子犯罪率2x, 出生時母親20歲以下孩子犯罪率2x
 - 母親教育水準: 子女未來是否犯罪最重要的單一因素

Unexpected Findings

- 證據與說明
 - 提早合法化的5州(加,華,紐,夏,阿)犯罪率提早下降
 - 墮胎率高低與(17-20年後)犯罪率高低成反比
 - 犯罪率下降主要出現在“後洛伊族群(Post-Roe Cohort)”數百萬最可能因此法案而得以墮胎的女性 – 貧窮, 未婚, 年輕, 沒錢進行不合法的墮胎 – 沒把小孩生下來. 這些小孩若生下來, 未來成為罪犯的可能性遠高於平均水準. 多年之後, 當這些未出生小孩達到犯罪年齡之際, 犯罪率開始加速下降.
- 墮胎是暴力犯罪?
 - 新生兒 與 胎兒 相對價值? Pro-Life (1:1) v. Pro-Choice (新生兒)
 - What if 1:100?
 - World trends? Vatican policy?

Supreme Court Allows Texas Abortion Clinics to Stay Open

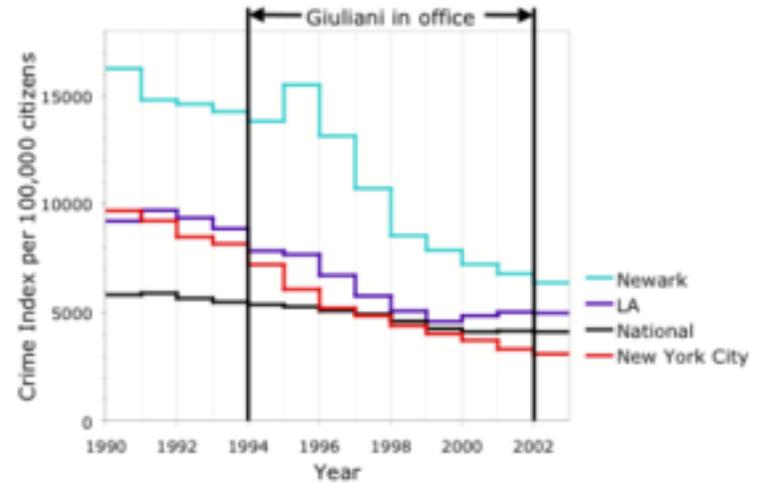
By ADAM LIPTAK OCT. 14, 2014



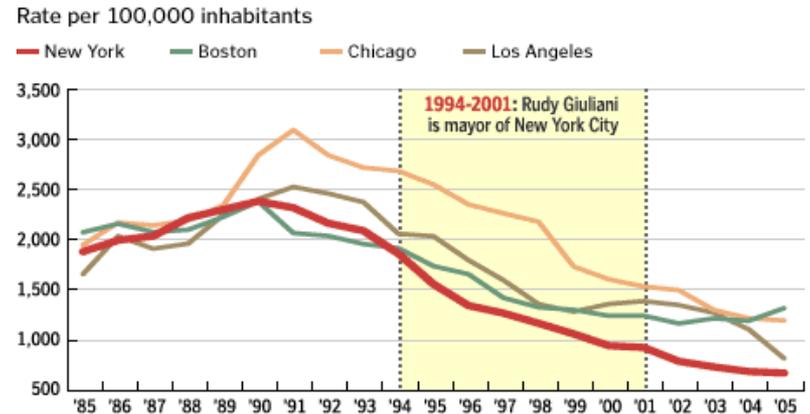
WASHINGTON — The [Supreme Court](#) on Tuesday allowed more than a dozen Texas abortion clinics to reopen, blocking a state law that had imposed strict requirements on abortion providers. Had the law been allowed to stand, it would have caused all but eight of the state's abortion clinics to close and would have required many women to travel more than 150 miles to the nearest abortion provider.

Crime Rates (NYC, LA, etc.)

Violent and Property Crime Rates in Select U.S. Cities



Violent Crime Rates in Select U.S. Cities



Note: The New York crime figure for 2001 does not include the 2,823 homicides reported as a result of the events of Sept. 11, 2001.

SOURCE: FBI Unified crime reports

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9, 2014

The savior Rudy Giuliani goes to Guatemala City

Former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani recently visited Guatemala City to speak at a forum organized by the Guatemalan Development Foundation. On the one hand, former Mayor Giuliani said somethings rather reasonable.

“My top recommendation is to set up a system to measure the effectiveness of your police, your prosecutors and your prisons,” Giuliani, 70, said today at a forum sponsored by the not-for-profit Guatemalan Development Foundation. “That helps give you the right answers to questions like how many more police do you need. At what level should they be compensated so you can reduce the level of corruption.”

“When you have a tremendous amount of crime in your society, you are not going to solve it with schools, libraries, nice neighborhoods and sports teams,” Giuliani said. “You have to emphasize law enforcement. As soon you get the crime down, the next thing you do is build up the social programs. That’s when you create more jobs, better neighborhoods, better schools.”

Rudolph (Rudy) Giuliani & NYC

1 早年生涯

2 律師和檢察官生涯

2.1 馬克·里奇和平可斯·葛林案

2.2 黑手黨委員會審判

2.3 波斯基和梅肯案

3 市長選戰

3.1 1989年市長選舉

3.2 1993年市長選舉

3.3 1997年市長選舉

4 市長任期

4.1 犯罪率控制

4.2 都市重建

4.3 移民

4.4 媒體關係經營

4.5 外交立場

4.6 布魯克林美術館爭議

4.7 槍械管制訴訟

4.8 其他

5 2000年參議院選舉

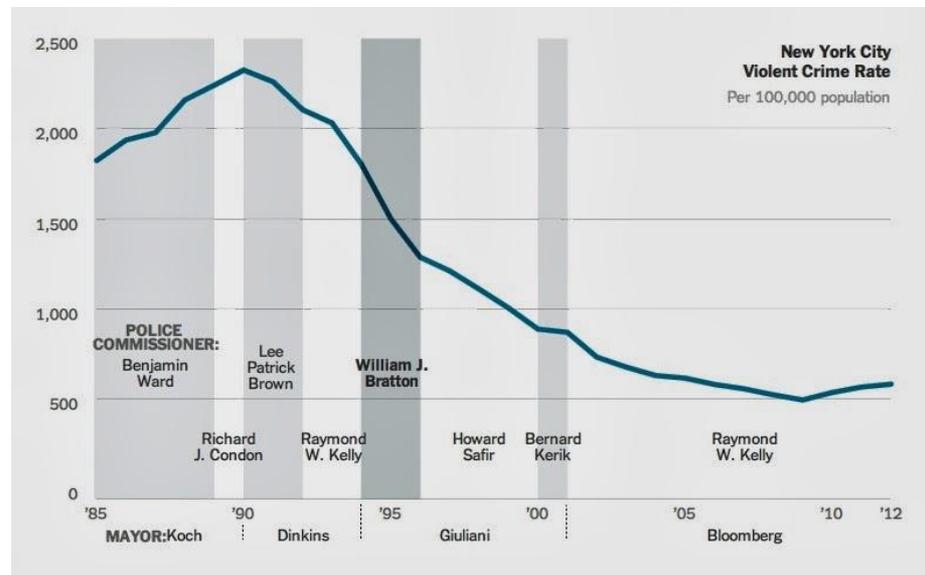
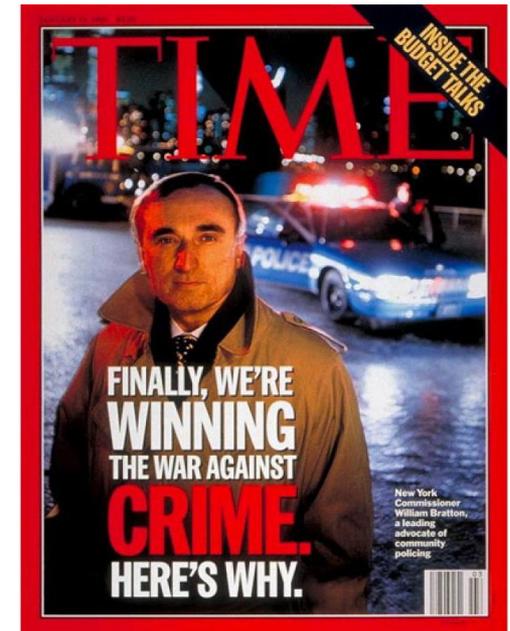
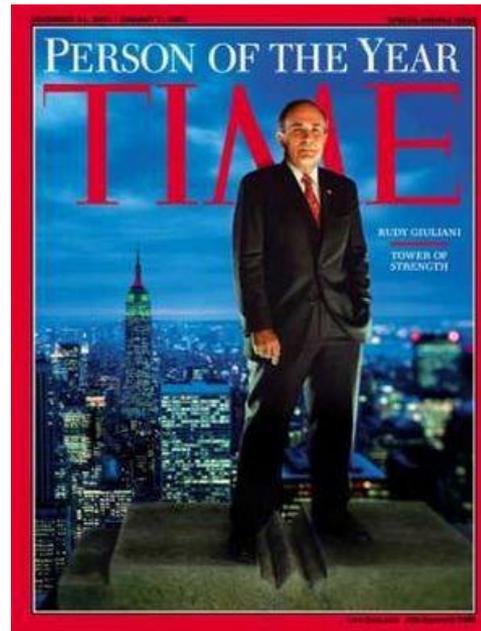
6 九一一恐怖攻擊事件

6.1 事發當時

6.2 「美國人的市長」

6.3 2001年市長選舉

6.4 年代風雲人物



NYC Trains Graffiti



Time Square 42nd Street



市長任期 [編輯]

犯罪率控制 [編輯]

在擔任第一任市長期間，朱利安尼與紐約市警察部門（NYPD）的部長**比爾·布拉頓**（Bill Bratton）一同發起了許多大規模的執法行動。朱利安尼的執法戰略包括對於許多小型違法行為的打擊—例如貪污、地鐵逃票，並且組織極為強悍而具效率的「清潔隊員」，朱利安尼主張這樣將能對所有可能的罪犯送出一個警告訊號—亦即紐約市的治安將會被維持，而這個城市也會被「徹底清潔」。

朱利安尼指揮紐約市警察部門採取強悍作風對付那些與組織犯罪勾結的公司企業，例如黑幫橫行的**富爾頓魚市場**（Fulton Fish Market）以及紐約西部的**賈維茲會議中心**（Javits Center，甘比諾犯罪家族的聚集地）。在移除了各種黑幫的控制勢力後，紐約市的商業行號每年也因此得以省下超過六億元。

朱利安尼也在1994年和**比爾·布拉頓**一同創建了一套稱為「警務責任系統」（CompStat）的犯罪防治機制，以統計學方式來分析地區的犯罪、並且分析罪犯的犯罪手法，同時也以圖表的方式來計算警察人員的執法效率與犯罪的數量。警務責任系統給予了地區的執法單位和指揮人員更大的權限和執法空間，因為認為地區執法單位對於當地的犯罪情況和環境最為了解、也因此能夠更有效減少犯罪數量。這套系統也增加了地區執法單位和指揮人員的責任。批評這套系統的人則認為這套系統會導致警察少報或操弄犯罪的資料^[14]。

在兩個市長任期內朱利安尼一直強調打擊犯罪和增強執法單位效率為他的主要施政目標，他的這些努力大多都獲得了成功。不過，隨著犯罪率快速下降而來的，是一些據稱涉及警察濫用職權的悲劇案件，也有一些人指控警察侵犯了公民權利。據說朱利安尼自己的副市長—**魯迪·薩盛頓**便曾數次遭到警察的過度執法所困擾。一些更具爭議性的案子則是有關警察開槍射擊嫌犯^[15]，例如幾內亞移民Amadou Diallo遭到警察誤殺的事件。在另外一件較為不知名的警察誤殺酒吧顧客Patrick Dorismond的事件中，即使事件在紐約爆發了數百名的抗議者，朱利安尼仍堅定的支持紐約市警察部門，他甚至採取前所未見的行動，向公眾揭露Dorismond大量的犯罪紀錄^[16]。

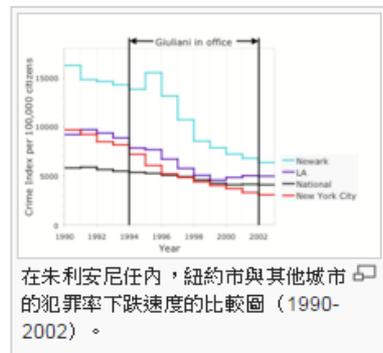
朱利安尼的政策在犯罪率的大幅降低上所扮演的角色依然有一些爭議。在朱利安尼就任市長前美國全國的整體犯罪率也都有開始小幅下降，因此紐約市也有可能是受到這股趨勢影響。另一項造就整體犯罪率下跌的可能因素是聯邦政府在1990年代增加的7,000名警察人員、以及全國經濟的整體好轉。一些人主張人口層面的改變才是造成犯罪率下降的原因，就如同全國其他地方的類似趨勢一樣^[17]。不過另一些研究則指出紐約的犯罪率在1990年代和2000年代間的下跌幅度超過了美國全國的整體數字，並且應該被視為是當地的特殊現象。

許多紐約市人相信市長朱利安尼的政策對於紐約市的犯罪率下跌扮演了主要角色。這種觀點顯然不僅限於紐約市民，而且朱利安尼主導開發的「警務責任系統」也被全國其他許多城市的警察部門所沿用^{[18][19]}。

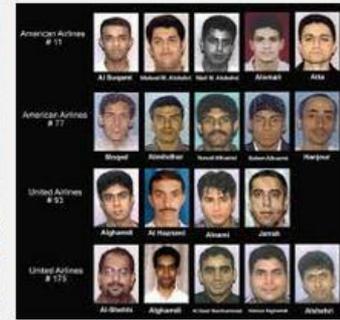
在2005年，**瑞典駐紐約大使館的前領事**Olle Wästberg提名朱利安尼爭取**諾貝爾和平獎**，舉出他在市長任內改善紐約市治安的努力和成果。Wästberg說：「我相信在他市長任內，藉由政治上的努力，他所挽救的人命可能多於任何現今世上存活的人。」^[20]

都市重建 [編輯]

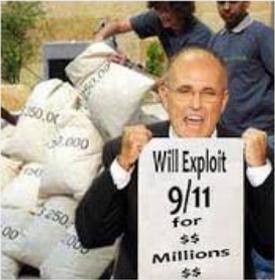
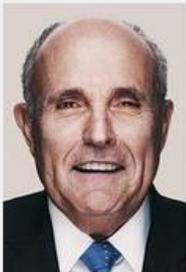
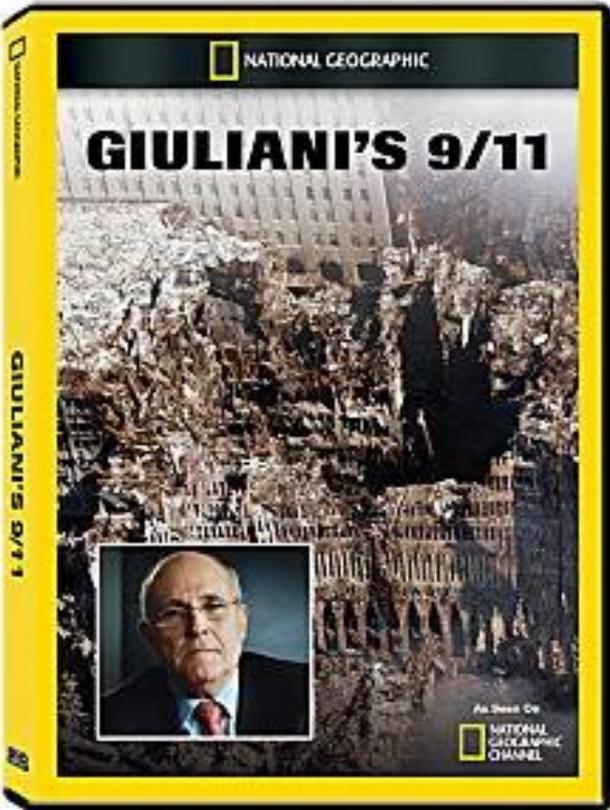
朱利安尼也採取了同樣強悍作風的都市重建政策。他所展開的**時報廣場重建開發計畫**將時代廣場從原本雜亂、衰敗的小商店街轉變為一個嶄新而高價位取向的購物中心地帶，包括了以家庭購物為主的商店和戲院，以及**音樂電視網**的錄影室和龐大的戲院。朱利安尼的改變也遭受一些批評，批評者認為這些開發計畫排斥了那些低收入居民、而造福了大型公司和商行。一些批評者指稱朱利安尼的地產政策通常減少了紐約市內的公共用地，而增加了私人用地的空間（例如將公有的社區花園拍賣給私人的開發公司）。在任期裡朱利安尼也積極計畫在曼哈頓建設一個新的體育場，不過最後並沒有成功。朱利安尼成功的在布魯克林區建設了兩個新的小聯盟賽棒球場，一個是給**布魯克林炫風隊**（Brooklyn Cyclones），一個則是給**史泰登島洋基隊**。



911



911 & Leadership: American Mayor



Leadership!

前紐約市長對自己的定位與領導看法 Giuliani's Speech

How to teach? Role Model!

前紐約市長受邀科技論壇，談的卻是人性領導，有可能是下一任美國總統候選人的九一一英雄，如何贏得兩千多名企業高階主管兩度起立鼓掌？五月十五日，供應鏈軟體領導廠商i2在美國拉斯維加斯，舉辦大型論壇。論壇的講者均是全球知名的產業鉅子，但能讓台下超過兩千名、來自世界各地的高階主管全場起立鼓掌的，只有朱利安尼（R. Giuliani），前紐約市長。

科技論壇為什麼請朱利安尼？「**不管科技怎麼創新，企業怎麼因應變局，始終回歸人性領導。**」朱利安尼為自己的出現做了註解。演講的主題是**領導**。三十分鐘的演講，他幽默、誠懇、自省，沒有巨大的理論，只有從自身經驗出發的五項原則。演講完畢，台下的兩千多位高階主管感動良久，又再一次全場站起來為他鼓掌。這位被視為下任美國總統熱門人選的領導人，究竟有什麼領導的祕密？經歷了九一一重創紐約之後，他對領導又有什麼新的體會？

以下是演講紀要：

想成為一個「有效」（effective）的領導者，以我的親身經歷來看，需要具備五種特質。這五種特質不論是政治界的領導人、領導跨國大企業、中小企業，甚至只是領導一個部門，或一個小小的團隊，都可以適用。

第一，領導者要有自己的哲學。

如果人家說什麼你都同意，就不是領導者，領導者必須自己找出一個方向。看看歷史上偉大的領導者，幾乎都有偉大的想法（great ideas），這些想法強而有力，可以影響世界。對自己的想法懷疑時，想想馬丁路德金恩博士，他有勇氣、有願景、有信仰。他選擇當時受爭議的方式，以非暴力爭取黑人權利，卻真正影響了世界。

第二，領導者要有勇氣。

一九九〇年代末期，很多人誤解「領導」與「從眾」。我舉個例子，假使我在來這裡之前，先做個意見調查，你們今天想要我說什麼，只要超過五％的人指出一種方向，我就朝這方向說。如果這樣，我就不會是一個領導者，而是一個從眾者。美國政治有很長的一段時間，就陷入這樣的疑惑中。領導要有勇氣，做應該做的事，即使並非潮流所趨，雖千萬人吾往矣。但是，勇氣不代表沒有恐懼。許多人誤以為勇氣（courage）就是勇敢（brave），任何人在面對危險的情況，無論是身體上、財務上、企業、個人面對危險情況，都會感到恐懼。我必須承認，我在紐約市長任內，也多次感到恐懼。而勇氣，是讓你可以管理你的恐懼，採取該做的行動。一個救火員，進入火場也會害怕，但是他受過訓練，也以此成就自己，他懂得管理自己的恐懼，知道自己該採取什麼行動。九一一之後，我自己也失去了許多親近的朋友，也曾感到恐懼、傷心，但我更認真的想，他們走了，我代表這些死去的朋友，要有更大的勇氣變得更強壯。假裝忘記是不會真的除去恐懼，所以我選擇記住它，面對它。有人問我要怎麼和孩子們講九一一的事，我說，請給他們愛和擁抱，然後告訴他們這就是真實的世界。有人要傷害我們，我們知道，我們要站起來，走下去。在這個時代要有更多勇氣。

第三，領導者要有準備。

領導者更要學習做準備，知道自己該知道什麼，該做什麼。我在擔任紐約市長前，對紐約很多事情都不清楚，幾乎是花了一年半的時間，才準備好可以上任。而這段時間的準備，讓我做了一個重要的決定，也幸虧這個決定，讓九一一之後的救援行動得以順利。這個決定就是我發現紐約市對應付緊急的攻擊行動，比如生化武器攻擊，並沒有做非常好的準備，因此我們成立了緊急事件處理中心。成立之初許多人批評，覺得沒有必要，浪費資源，但是我堅持，實際演習了多次，假設紐約市被攻擊，然後檢討誰應該反應、如何反應、有沒有足夠的資源。另外，我們還成立了「症狀通報系統」，和每個醫院連線，統計每天有多少罕見症狀發生，可能是來自何種化學武器攻擊，要如何在最快速時間內處理。這些都是準備。我們其實還為很多事做了準備，並沒有派上用場，但不代表未來就不會發生。

第四，領導者要懂得溝通。

這個時代訊息太多，太紊亂，一個好的領導者，必須是讓部屬願意來告訴你，現在發生了什麼事。溝通變得極為重要，而關鍵在於誠實。對部屬的意見不敷衍，也誠實地將想法告訴他們。

第五，領導者要懂得團隊合作。

經營一個組織，一定是一個系統在經營，領導者需要協助，並且學習平衡自己的強處及弱點。一九九四年我上任紐約市長，紐約市面臨了許多嚴重問題。許多領域我很熟悉，比如犯罪控制，過去我是律師，所以從街頭犯罪到國際犯罪，我都非常清楚。但是也有我不熟悉的領域，比如二十三億美元的預算赤字、經濟、稅務，我必須借重更多的人才。當組織愈大時，強處和弱點的平衡就更重要，而我的工作就是在掌握這些平衡。除了專業上的平衡，還有情緒上的平衡。每個人都有自己的個性，我自己個性很急，想做什麼就要立刻去辦，沒有耐性。我的助理和我共事十八年來，最常做的事，就是叫我慢一點，有耐心一點。其實重點不是快慢，而是你要了解你自己，了解自己才能平衡自己的優缺點，才會成為一個有效的團隊。其實我們身邊有太多的例子，看看籃球隊、棒球隊，你會發現最強的隊伍，通常是最均衡的隊伍，強化優點，補足缺點。

Lessons?



學術研究 常偏重	實務研究 常偏重
研究 Why	研究 How
研究 Past	研究 Future
發現真相	目標導向
抽離時空 建立 Models	進入時空 發展 Scenarios
多用 分析性工具 (e.g., statistics)	多用 操作性工具 (e.g., game theory)
個人或小團隊進行	團體與系統工程
較無時間壓力	重時效性

Thank You

Crime and Punishment + Game Theory (So, Crime Business Models Study?)

Jean Tirole: 2014 Nobel Laureate in Economics

