

# The dynamics of deterrence

Mark Kleiman<sup>a,\*</sup> and Beau Kilmer<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Department of Public Policy, University of California, 3250 Public Affairs Building, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1656; and <sup>b</sup>Drug Policy Research Center, RAND, 1776 Main Street, Santa Monica, CA 90407-2138

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Because punishment is scarce, costly, and painful, optimal enforcement strategies will minimize the amount of actual punishment required to effectuate deterrence. If potential offenders are sufficiently deterred, increasing the conditional probability of punishment (given violation) can reduce the amount of punishment actually inflicted, by “tipping” a situation from its high-violation equilibrium to its low-violation equilibrium. Compared to random or “equal opportunity” enforcement, dynamically concentrated sanctions can reduce the punishment level necessary to tip the system, especially if preceded by warnings. Game theory and some simple and robust Monte Carlo simulations demonstrate these results, which, in addition to their potential for reducing crime and incarceration, may have implications for both management and regulation.

crime | enforcement | game theory | positive feedback | tipping

Humans cooperate; the extent of cooperation among humans marks them out from all other species (1, 2). But cooperation is vulnerable to exploitation through aggression, deception, opportunistic defection from agreements, and free-riding. Where cooperative strategies are suboptimal for individuals, mutually beneficial arrangements will fail to arise, or will degenerate (3–5).

Under experimental conditions, some individuals will voluntarily incur costs to themselves to punish noncooperative behavior; doing so can facilitate cooperation by reducing the potential gains from exploitation (1, 4, 6). Thus punishment is a basic element of human social interaction.

As punishment is always costly, both to the punisher and (obviously) to those punished, a well-designed enforcement system should combine high efficacy in discouraging exploitative behavior with low actual infliction of sanctions. At first blush, it might seem that these 2 objectives are in fundamental tension; that more compliance requires more punishment. But 3 law-enforcement examples seem to support the contrary proposition.

First, when the New York City Police Department implemented a “zero tolerance” policy toward “spacegeeking”—penny-ante extortion involving wiping the windshields of cars stuck in traffic and then “requesting” payment from the drivers—by arresting every spacegeek-man observed plying his trade, the number of actual arrests for spacegeeking went down, not up (7). The same happened when the New York City Transit Police cracked down on “turnstile-jumping.”

Second, police in High Point, NC, who had been sporadically arresting drug dealers in a long-established crack market for 2 decades and finding that every arrestee was quickly replaced, changed strategies. They identified all of the currently active dealers in that market and developed felony cases against them, but arrested and prosecuted only 3 dealers who had been involved in violence. They then held a meeting with the remaining dealers and announced that anyone who continued to sell drugs would face certain prison time. Soon after, the market disappeared, and the number of crack-dealing arrests in the area immediately fell to near 0—and stayed there (8).

Third, a judge in Honolulu, HI, selected a group of probationers with such high rates of noncompliance (primarily missed or “dirty” drug tests) that they faced possible probation revocation and incarceration. Instead of sending them to prison at once, he warned them that they would be subject to increased drug-testing frequency and that any violation would lead to an immediate and certain, although short (measured in days, not months) jail sentence. The

absolute number (not just the rate) of detected violations decreased; the majority of those who received warnings never needed to be sanctioned at all (9).

These observations help illustrate the potential interactions among 3 variables: The rate at which a rule is broken, the probability that any given incident of rule-breaking leads to punishment, and the total quantity of punishment actually administered. They can be explained by a common-sense observation known to everyone who has successfully raised a child or trained a pet: holding sanction intensity constant, the more credible the commitment to punish rule-breaking is, the more likely it is to succeed in discouraging the targeted behavior, and therefore the less likely it is that the threatened punishment will actually take place (10). This recalls the chess maxim that “the threat is stronger than its execution.”<sup>1</sup>

Those enforcing rules on multiple subjects face an additional complexity due to positive feedbacks in violation rates. When several persons are subject to some rule and sanctions capacity is constrained, the subjects face interdependent choices: The higher the prevalence of violation, the less the risk of sanction for any given violator. This idea is referred to as “enforcement swamping” (11) or the “overload theory” (12) and is well known in the deterrence (11–17) and urban riot (18) literatures. The result can be a 2-equilibrium “tipping” situation, in which both high and low violation rates are self-sustaining, and temporary interventions can therefore have lasting consequences if they push the system across the tipping point (19, 20).<sup>2</sup>

The application to criminal justice policy is transparent, but the same thinking can be usefully applied to any interaction between a group of individuals who might violate some rule and an authority with limited capacity to punish such violations: A teacher facing a classroom, a manager dealing with many subordinates, a regulatory agency attempting to control the behavior of many firms, a tax collection agency trying to minimize cheating. Despite the ubiquity of situations that feature such interdependency, the problem of finding enforcement strategies to minimize violations and sanctions in a dynamic context remains largely unstudied.<sup>3</sup>

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\*To whom correspondence should be addressed. E-mail: kleiman@ucla.edu.

<sup>1</sup>A randomized-controlled trial of this program is underway, and the preliminary results are promising (9).

<sup>2</sup>Previously attributed to Nimmo-Smith, Tartakover, and Eisenbach.

<sup>3</sup>There are alternative explanations and differential crime rates in seemingly similar communities. See *SI Text* for a review of these explanations.

Previously published theoretical models suggest that focused enforcement with announcement can outperform a strategy of random enforcement (21). Using computational modeling, this paper builds on these efforts by (i) focusing on repeated game settings, (ii) relaxing the assumption that potential offenders have perfect information about the probability of being punished, (iii) allowing those subject to a rule to update their subjective probability of being punished in Bayesian fashion, and (iv) showing that dynamic concentration as a punishment-allocation strategy can reduce both offense levels and punishment levels, compared to equal-probability punishment. The same game has also been approached from the other side, focusing on the problem of political dissenters who need to coordinate the time of their dissent to minimize the punishment risk faced by each 1 of them (22). van Baal’s book on computer simulations of criminal deterrence (23) does not address our main concern about how to choose who to sanction when the number of offenders exceeds the number of available sanctions.

This article contains supporting information online at [www.pnas.org/cgi/content/full/0909131106/DCSupplemental](http://www.pnas.org/cgi/content/full/0909131106/DCSupplemental).

# Dynamics Of Deterrence

**Frank C. Zagare**



## **Dynamics Of Deterrence:**

The Dynamics of Deterrence Frank C. Zagare, 1987 The value of a theory of deterrence lies in its ability to reconstruct and predict strategic behavior accurately and consistently Contemporary scholarship on deterrence has drawn upon decision models and classical game theory with some success to explain how deterrence works But the field is marked by unconnected and sometimes contradictory hypotheses that may explain one type of situation while being inapplicable to another The Dynamics of Deterrence is the first comprehensive treatment of deterrence theory since the mid 1960s Frank C Zagare introduces a new theoretical framework for deterrence that is rigorous consistent and illuminating By placing the deterrence relationship in a theory of moves framework Zagare is able to remedy the defects of other models His approach is illustrated by and applied to a number of complex deterrence situations the Berlin crisis of 1948 the Middle East crises of 1967 and 1973 and The Falkland Malvinas crisis of 1980 He also examines the strategic relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union from 1945 to the present Zagare studies the dynamics of both mutual and unilateral deterrence games in nuclear and non nuclear situations and the impact of credibility capability and power asymmetries on deterrence stability He shows that his theory is applicable for analyzing deterrence situations between allies as well as between hostile states One of the additional strengths of his model however is its general usefulness for other levels and settings such as deterrence games played by husband and wife parent and child employer and employee and the state and its citizens With its lucid prose and illustrative examples The Dynamics of Deterrence will be of interest to a wide audience in international relations peace studies and political science

*Prosecutorial Discretion at the International Criminal Court* Anni Pies, 2020-07-09 This timely book provides a comprehensive guide to and rigorous analysis of prosecutorial discretion at the International Criminal Court This is the first ever study that takes the reader through all the key stages of the Prosecutor's decision making process Starting from preliminary examinations and the decision to investigate the book also explores case selection processes plea agreements culminating in the question of how to end engagement in specific country situations The book serves as a guide to the Rome Statute through the lens of the Prosecutor's activities With its unique combination of legal theory and specific policy analysis it addresses broader questions that will be relevant to other international and hybrid criminal courts and tribunals The book will be of interest to students practitioners of law academics and the wider public concerned with international law criminal justice and international relations

**Macrocriminology and Freedom** John Braithwaite, 2022-02-15 How can power over others be transformed to power with It is possible to transform many institutions to build societies with less predation and more freedom These stretch from families and institutions of gender to the United Nations Some societies times and places have crime rates a hundred times higher than others Some police forces kill at a hundred times the rate of others Some criminal corporations kill thousands more than others Micro variables fail to explain these patterns Prevention principles for that challenge are macrocriminological Freedom is conceived in a republican

way as non domination Tempering domination prevents crime crime prevention reduces domination Many believe a high crime rate is a price of freedom Not Braithwaite His principles of crime control are to build freedom temper power lift people from poverty and reduce all forms of domination Freedom requires a more just normative order It requires cascading of peace by social movements for non violence and non domination Periods of war domination and anomie cascade with long lags to elevated crime violence inter generational self violence and ecocide Cybercrime today poses risks of anomic nuclear wars Braithwaite s proposals refine some of criminology s central theories and sharpen their relevance to all varieties of freedom They can be reduced to one sentence Strengthen freedom to prevent crime prevent crime to strengthen freedom A true magnum opus Macrocriminology and Freedom is a thought provoking and generative book from one of criminology s intellectual giants John Braithwaite reaches far and wide across societies time and disciplines to advance no less than a theory of how to build a society that simultaneously reduces both domination and crime His ambitious ideas on cascades of non dominating collective efficacy and crime prevention for example and their connections to social movements and political freedom go well beyond usual criminological discourse Chock full of theoretical propositions and bold insights this a book that will keep criminologists busy for years Macrocriminology and Freedom should not just be read but better yet savoured Robert J Sampson Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences Harvard University In this majestic theorisation of the relationship between crime and freedom John Braithwaite isolates the unique power of macrocriminology as a lens through which to comprehend and challenge many of the fundamental crises facing our planet Very few scholars have the breadth and overview to succeed in a mission of this order Braithwaite does This extraordinary book is an object lesson for all who seek to understand and resist domination and the crimes of power that flow from it Penny Green Professor of Law and Globalisation Queen Mary University of London For over 40 years John Braithwaite has been a voice of wisdom hope and humanity in criminology This dazzling new book weaves together all the main themes of his influential work reanimating many of the core concepts of the discipline as well as incorporating interdisciplinary resources from south and north east and west to produce an elegant and ambitious explanatory and normative account of crime as freedom threatening domination Decentring criminal justice as the solution to crime Braithwaite shows that on a global scale the aspiration to tackle crimes ranging from interpersonal violence through corporate crimes to ecocide lies in the development of freedom enhancing power tempering institutions in the political economic and social spheres Nicola Lacey Professor of Law Gender and Social Policy London School of Economics Macrocriminology and Freedom is a criminological epic an expansive and erudite story that sweeps across history and contexts The book is frightening in showing how cascading events can produce catastrophes from crime to environmental destruction But in the end its message is hopeful identifying pathways or normative rivers for guiding freedom from domination and crime Drawing on his distinguished career John Braithwaite has bestowed an extraordinary gift a book like other masterpieces that will yield special insights each time we take an excursion through its

pages Francis T Cullen Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus University of Cincinnati In this engaging book John Braithwaite reinvigorates discussions about crime and its control While advocating a macro approach the book is punctuated not only with insights and data from smaller scale studies conducted in a range of jurisdictions but also with autobiographical vignettes The effect creates a deeply personal account of the perils of state non state and market violence and authoritarianism and the potential and indeed duty of criminologists to work towards their reduction by refocusing their efforts on explaining and tackling crime in its myriad of forms Mary Bosworth Professor of Criminology University of Oxford and Monash University John Braithwaite has had a unique influence on criminology globally In this encyclopaedic text he synthesises a wealth of criminological knowledge particularly in the sphere of anomie theory into broader debates about the nature of domination and freedom in contemporary society He defends the relevance of criminological theory while urging criminology to be activist rather than reactive and technocratic counter hegemonic rather than neutral Not for the first time John Braithwaite has challenged criminologists to construct theories that cut across micro and macro structures This book will stir debate It deserves a broad readership Harry Blagg Professor of Criminology University of Western Australia

**Military Technology, Armaments Dynamics and Disarmament** Hans Günter Brauch, 1989 This book offers theoretical analysis on the context and on the dual function of military technology as well as case studies on the third generation of nuclear weapons on the Biological Weapons Convention Review Conference on the driving forces of chemical armament and on the military use of nuclear energy as a possible propellant for bombers and in outer space **Bytes, Bombs, and Spies** Herbert Lin, Amy Zegart, 2019-01-15 We are dropping cyber bombs We have never done that before U S Defense Department official A new era of war fighting is emerging for the U S military Hi tech weapons have given way to hi tech in a number of instances recently A computer virus is unleashed that destroys centrifuges in Iran slowing that country's attempt to build a nuclear weapon ISIS which has made the internet the backbone of its terror operations finds its network based command and control systems are overwhelmed in a cyber attack A number of North Korean ballistic missiles fail on launch reportedly because their systems were compromised by a cyber campaign Offensive cyber operations like these have become important components of U S defense strategy and their role will grow larger But just what offensive cyber weapons are and how they could be used remains clouded by secrecy This new volume by Amy Zegart and Herb Lin is a groundbreaking discussion and exploration of cyber weapons with a focus on their strategic dimensions It brings together many of the leading specialists in the field to provide new and incisive analysis of what former CIA director Michael Hayden has called digital combat power and how the United States should incorporate that power into its national security strategy

Handbook of Game Theory with Economic Applications: Zero-sum two-person games Robert J. Aumann, Sergiu Hart, 1992 Hegemony and the US-Japan Alliance Misato Matsuoka, 2018-06-14 It is widely recognised that the increasing importance of the US Japan alliance is strongly linked to emerging threats in the Asia Pacific with China's rise and the

ambitions of North Korea having brought the two allies closer together This book however seeks to question whether these factors are indeed the sole determinants of this enduring alliance A pioneering study conducted through the lens of neo Gramscianism this book unravels the intricate political dynamism involved in the US Japan alliance It provides an innovative attempt to link the concept of alliances to hegemony and thus examines Japan s relationship to US dominance in the region Building on existing scholarship it also seeks to examine how Japan s continuing dependence on the US and the burden it places of citizens living near US military bases may affect the durability of the alliance in the post Cold War era As such this book presents an alternative theoretical tool in the field of international relations to analyse the political nature of the alliance as well as US hegemony in the region This book will be useful to students and scholars of Japanese Politics and foreign policymaking as well as International Relations and Security Studies more generally

**Principles Of International Politics: People's Power, Preferences, and Perceptions, 3rd Edition** Bruce Bueno De Mesquita,2006

Leaders want to stay in power Their self interest is the decisive motivation for action in the international arena and forms the theoretical backbone for this exciting departure from other introductory international relations texts Through its discussion and development of the strategic perspective Principles of International Politics shows students how leaders translate their personal interests and ambitions into actions of the state and convincingly demonstrates how international and domestic politics are inextricably linked Clearly explaining both the foundational ideas of international relations as well as the key concepts of the strategic perspective Bueno de Mesquita effectively links these to the analytic tools students will employ throughout

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**Deterrence Dynamics and Gender** Terri Lynn Earnest,2003

**Weapons Proliferation in the 1990s** Brad Roberts,1995 The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction has emerged as a major topic of international security in the post Cold War world This compendium of articles published in The Washington Quarterly between 1991 and 1995 describes the changing nature of the problem dissusses new trends in nonproliferation and counterproliferation policy identifies new arms control challenges at the regional and global levels and concludes by addressing the global politics of proliferation

**Journal of Peace Research** ,2002

*HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET UNITED STATES SENATE NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS* ,

Technology, Information, and Market Dynamics Patrizio Bianchi,Luca Lambertini,2003 Key topics such as the interplay between labour and capital the choice of the optimal product range and the dynamics of capital accumulation and innovation are investigated All of these aspects of the evolution of a market are evaluated in connection with the manifold issue of information be that related to demand uncertainty accountancy data the diffusion of technological knowledge or the nature of strategic interaction among firms in market games

**Journal of Theoretical Politics** ,2004

Crisis Dynamics and Deterrence: A Reformulation of

the Classic Calculus Lee E. Dutter, Abraham R. Wagner, ANALYTICAL ASSESSMENTS CORP MARINA DEL REY CALIF., 1977

While the importance of the timing element is generally acknowledged as an essential part of crisis analysis it involves a major assumption which is seldom explored and on which little work has been done to incorporate the timing element as a formal component of the model Most often crisis models and studies of the decision making process are static in nature assuming the time component to be a characteristic of the crisis situation rather than a variable in the equation The present research focuses on presenting a more direct application of utility theory to deterrence and introduces some additional concepts from statistical decision theory to more clearly delineate the statics of the deterrence situation

**Readings in the Economics of National Security** Meno Lovenstein, 1962 **Daily Report** United States. Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 1974 **Dynamics of National Security** N. M. Verma, 2001 With reference to India **Power Transitions** Ronald L. Tammen, 2000 By succinctly integrating power transition theory and national policy this outstanding team of scholars explores emerging issues in world politics in the 21st century including proliferation and deterrence the international political economy regional hierarchies and the role of alliances Blending quantitative and traditional analyses theory and practice history and informed predictions Power Transitions draws a map of the new world that will stimulate provoke and offer solutions Authors include Mark Abdolohian Carole Alsharabati Brian Efird Jacek Kugler Douglas Lemke Allan C Stam III Ronald L Tammen and A F K Organski

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