When Brute Force Fails
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HOW TO HAVE LESS CRIME
AND LESS PUNISHMENT

Mark A. R. Kleiman
To Steve Hitchner and Phil Heymann,

who got me pointed at the problem,

and to Tom Schelling, who provided the tools.
Brute force succeeds when it is used.

Effective deterrent threats are never carried out.

—Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence*
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