

經濟學就是 「上有政策下有對策」

Economics is All About Institutions and Human Behavior
For any Institution, There's a Reaction.

台大經濟系 王道一老師
Joseph Tao-yi Wang

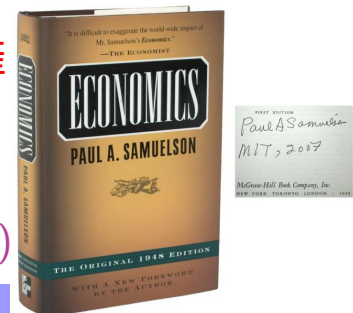
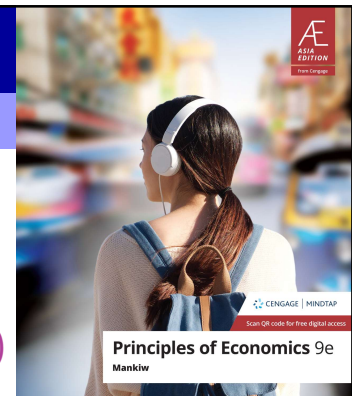
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What is Economics?

Joseph Tao-yi Wang

什麼是經濟學？What is Economics?

- ▶ 課本上的定義：
- ▶ 經濟學研究一個社會如何管理稀少資源
(Economics studies how a society manages scarce resources)
▶ Mankiw (2021)
- ▶ 古早課本的定義：
- ▶ 經濟學研究一個社會如何善用稀少資源來生產有價值的財貨，分配給不同人 (Economics studies how a society uses scarce resources to produce valuable goods and services and allocate to different people)
▶ Samuelson (1948)



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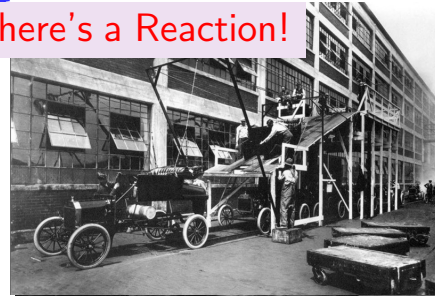
什麼是經濟學？ What is Economics?

▶ 傳統看法: 經濟學研究

「一個社會如何**生產**和**分配**財貨來滿足其成員的需要與渴望」

▶ 現代看法: 經濟學研究「**制度**與**人類行為**」(對制度的反應), 也就是「**上有政策, 下有對策**」

For any Institution, There's a Reaction!



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What is Economics?

Joseph Tao-yi Wang

「上有政策, 下有對策」

▶ 若計劃經濟要求生產**一噸鐵釘**

▶ 「如果上級的計劃只有敘明**產出應有的噸數**,

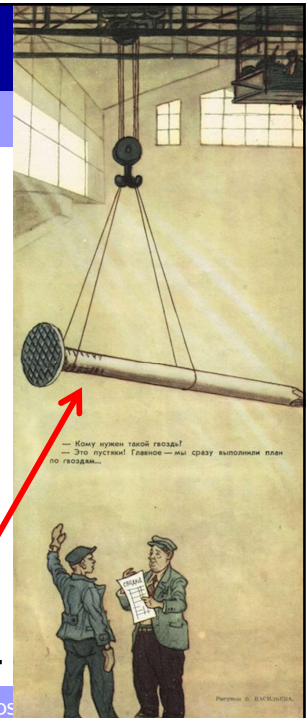
▶ 那大家自然有誘因要**不管設計、外觀或品質**方面的考量, 以便**專注在噸數上**。」

▶ Heilbroner (1970), *The Economic Problem*

▶ 「上有政策, 下有對策」確實會出現**一噸鐵釘**, 但卻會變成...

▶ 俄國鱷魚雜誌(Krokodil)諷刺漫畫

▶ 下次如果上級要求要**一萬根鐵釘**, 你覺得...



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What is Economics?

Jos

什麼是經濟學？ What is Economics?

▶ 為何「上有政策，下有對策」？

因為人們對誘因(incentives)有反應！

▶ 這表示市場機制只是諸多「制度」之一...

▶ 其他機制：拍賣(Auctions)、配對分發(Matching)，

▶ 其他制度：政府(Government)、國會(Congress)、

全民健康保險(National Health Insurance)、

家庭 (Families)、社會規範(Social Norms)

▶ 那經濟學豈不是包山包海？

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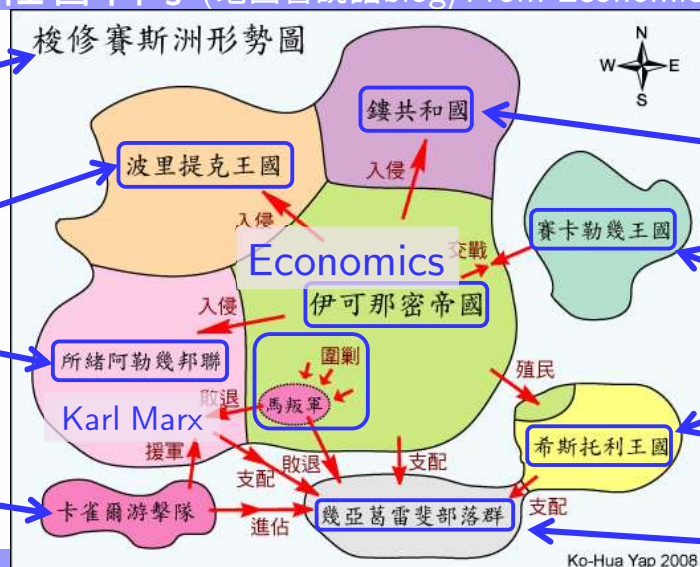
從經濟學看社會科學 (地圖會說話blog/From Economics to Social Sciences)

Social
Sciences

Politics

Sociology

Culture
Studies



Law

Psychology

History

Geography

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Ko-Hua Yap 2008

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從經濟學看社會科學 (地圖會說話blog/From Economics to Social Sciences)

其他領域 (Other Fields)

上有政策下有對策 (For any Institution,
(There's a Reaction!))

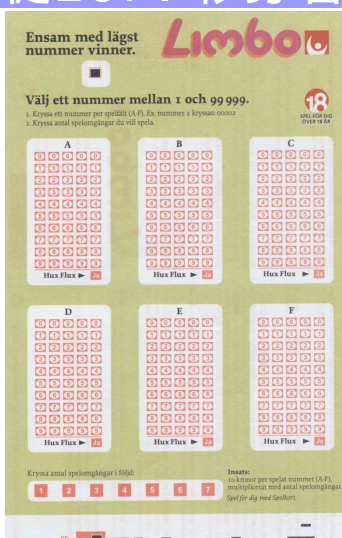
社會科學研究人類社會 (Social Sciences Study Human Society)

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從LUPI 彩券看何謂經濟學 (Economic Lessons of the LUPI Game)



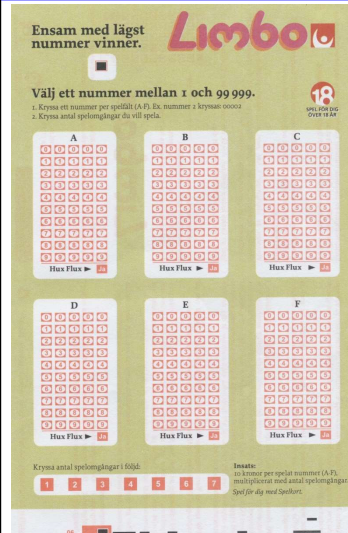
- ▶ 瑞典LUPI 彩券 (Swedish Lottery in 2007)
- ▶ 最小唯一者勝的賽局
 - ▶ Lowest Unique Positive Integer (LUPI) Game
- ▶ 請選擇到 1 到 100 之間的一個正整數
 - ▶ Choose a positive integer from 1 to 100
- ▶ 誰選到**最小**且**沒有其他人選**的數字就贏了!!
 - ▶ Win if choose the Lowest but Unique number
- ▶ 贏家的獎勵? (Prize?)

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What is Economics?

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從LUPI 彩券看何謂經濟學 (Economic Lessons of the LUPI Game)



▶ 瑞典LUPI 彩券 (Swedish Lottery in 2007)

▶ 最小唯一者勝的賽局

再來一次? (Want to Try Again?)

▶ 誰選到**最小**且**沒有其他人選**的數字就贏了!!

▶ Win if choose the Lowest but Unique number

▶ 贏家的獎勵? (Prize?)

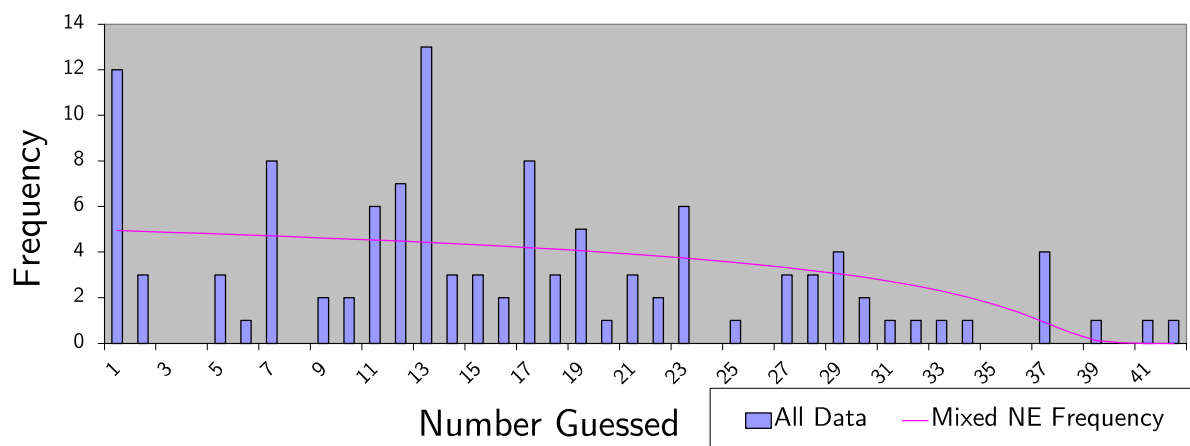
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從LUPI 彩券看何謂經濟學 (Economic Lessons of the LUPI Game)

2012 Principles Class LUPI Experiment



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What is Economics?

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從LUPI 彩券看何謂經濟學 (Economic Lessons of the LUPI Game)

1. 一套遊戲規則(也就是制度) (A Set of Rules = Institution)
 - ▶ 可以是明文規定或不成文的潛規則 (Either explicit or implicit)
2. 個人決策謀求最佳化 (Individuals Optimize)
 - ▶ 因為人們對誘因有反應! (Because people respond to incentives!)
3. 其他人也在最佳化, 所以你要因應 (React to others optimizing)
 - ▶ 即使多數人循規蹈矩, 制度設計者仍須考慮有人惡搞怎麼辦
(Even if most users follow the rules, the designer still has to stress-test the system)
4. 整體結果長怎樣? (What should the aggregate data look like?)
 - ▶ 理論(模型/圖形/故事)的預測為何?(Come up with a theory/model/graph/story!)

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解出 LUPI 的均衡 (Solving the LUPI Game Equilibrium)

- ▶ 選 k 贏的條件是沒有人單獨選 1 到 $(k - 1)$ 而且沒有其他人選 k
 - ▶ k wins if "nobody uniquely chose 1 to $(k - 1)$ ", nor chose k
- ▶ 假設參與人數為Poisson(n)分布, 混合策略均衡的條件是:
 - ▶ Assume Number of Players is Poisson(n), Mixed Strategy Equilibrium requires:
- ▶ 選 1 贏的機率 = 選 2 贏的機率 = ... = 選 $K=100$ 贏的機率
 - ▶ $\Pr(\text{win} \mid \text{choose } 1) = \Pr(\text{win} \mid \text{choose } 2) = \dots = \Pr(\text{win} \mid \text{choose } K)$

$$e^{-np_1} = (1 - np_1 e^{-np_1}) \cdot e^{-np_2} = \dots$$

沒有其他人選1
(Nobody chose 1)

沒有人單獨選1
(Nobody uniquely chose 1)

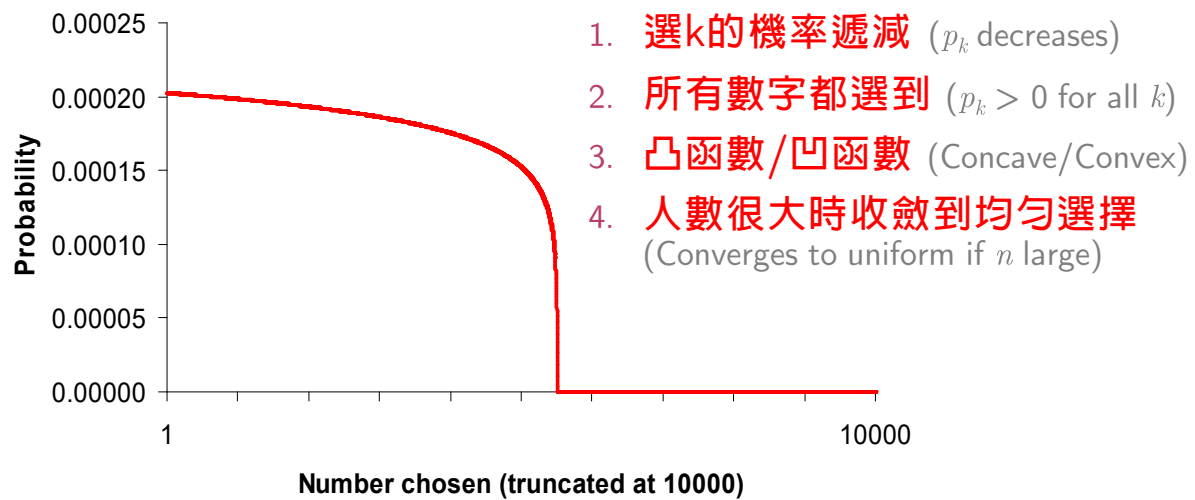
沒有其他人選2
(Nobody chose 2)

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唯一Poisson混合策略均衡 Unique Mixed Poisson-Nash Equilibrium



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從LUPI 彩券看何謂經濟學 (Economic Lessons of the LUPI Game)

5. 實證資料是否支持你的預測? (Does empirical data match the theory?)
- ▶ 蒐集資料來看「整個社會」的結果如何 (Collect data to see big picture)

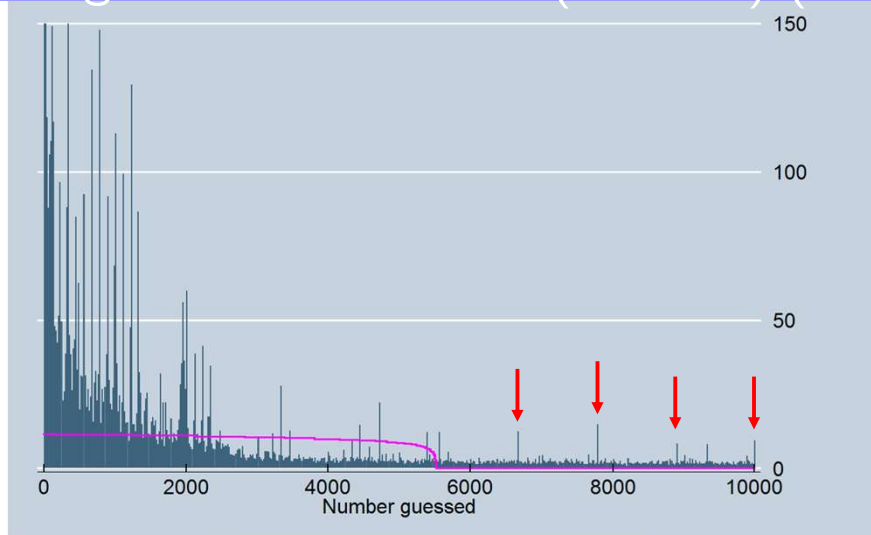
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(每個數字每天選擇的)

Daily Average of Each Number (Week 1) (第1週頻率)



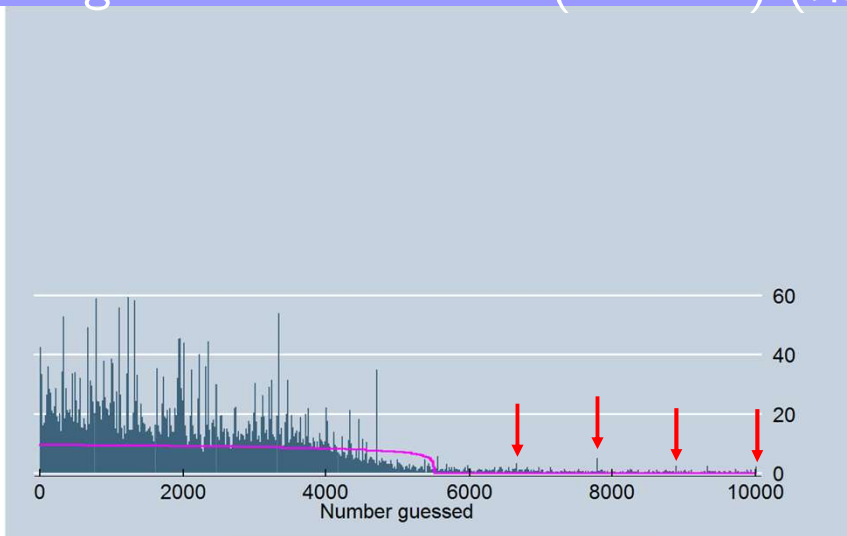
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(每個數字每天選擇的)

Daily Average of Each Number (Week 7) (第7週頻率)



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從LUPI 彩券看何謂經濟學 (Economic Lessons of the LUPI Game)

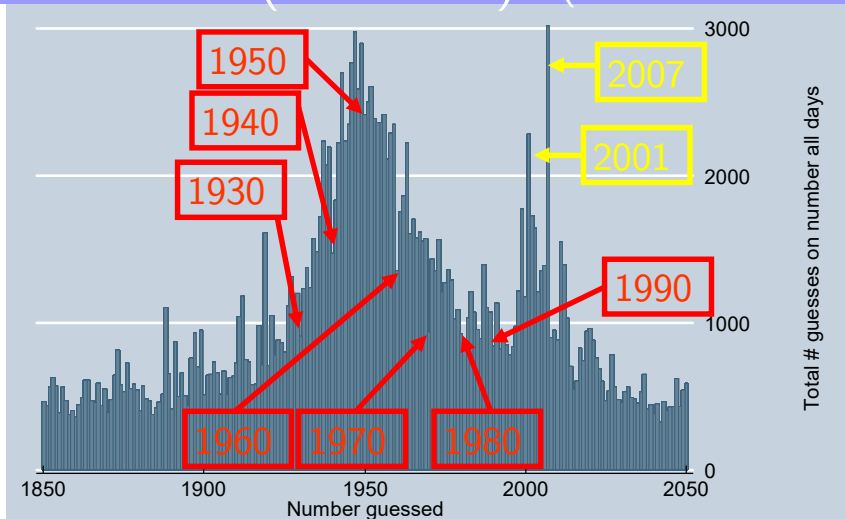
5. 實證資料是否支持你的預測? (Does empirical data match the theory?)
 - ▶ 蒐集資料來看「整個社會」的結果如何 (Collect data to see big picture)
6. 資料中個別差異能否解釋? (Can individual differences be explained?)
 - ▶ 理論有改進空間嗎? (Unlike the Bible, economic theory can change)

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Choose Birth Year (and 2007)? (出生年度與當年度特別多)



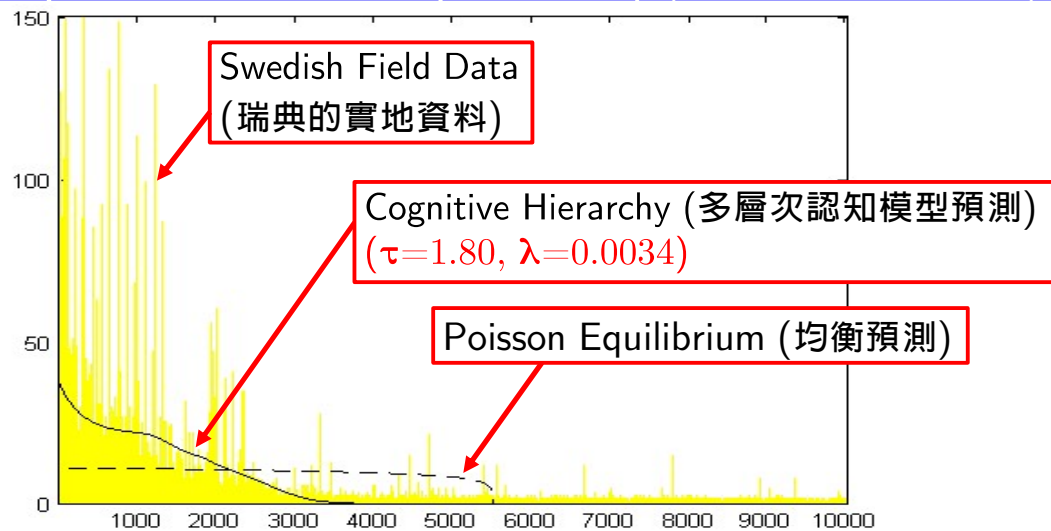
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(剛開始的選擇)

Initial Frequencies in Field (Week 1) (第1週實地資料的頻率)



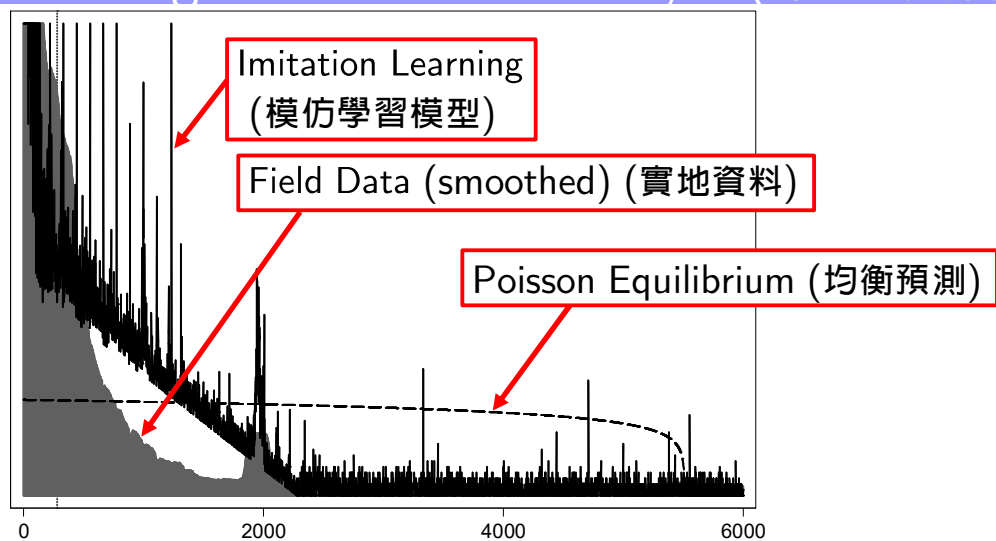
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(模仿學習模型 vs. 實地)

Imitation Learning vs. Field Data - Day 2 (第2天資料)



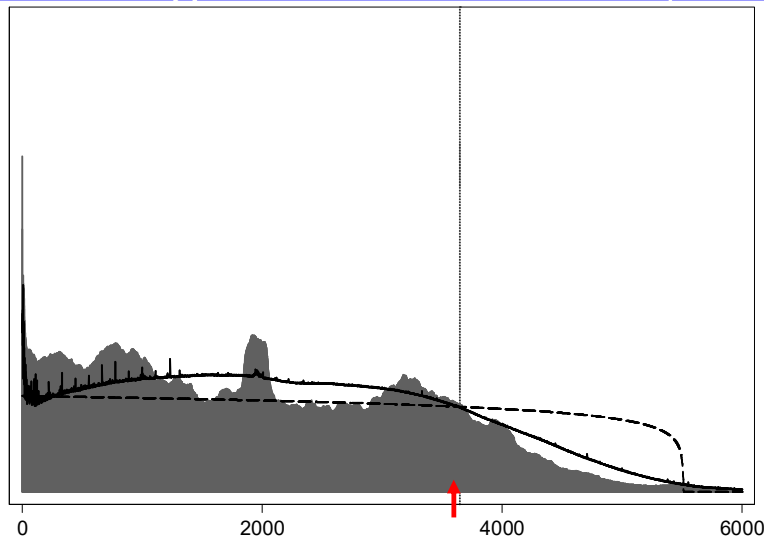
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What is Economics?

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(模仿學習模型 vs. 實地)

Imitation Learning vs. Field Data - Day 49 (第49天資料)



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What is Economics?

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從LUPI 彩券看何謂經濟學 (Economic Lessons of the LUPI Game)

5. 實證資料是否支持你的預測? (Does empirical data match the theory?)
 - ▶ 蒐集資料來看「整個社會」的結果如何 (Collect data to see big picture)
6. 資料中個別差異能否解釋? (Can individual differences be explained?)
 - ▶ 理論有改進空間嗎? (Unlike the Bible, economic theory can change)
7. 制度有沒有可以改進之處? (How can the institution be improved?)
 - ▶ 市場設計: 工程師問題! (Market Design: The Engineer Question!)
8. 這套制度是哪裡來的? (Where did this institution come from?)
 - ▶ 現況的邏輯是什麼? 爬梳歷史通向人文... (Why are we stuck with the current system? The Historical Question leading to humanities...)

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What is Economics?

Joseph Tao-yi Wang

小結 (Conclusion)

- ▶ 舊經濟時代聚焦在資源有限，經濟學處理生產和消費：解決資源有效運用的問題 (Traditionally, resources are scarce, so economists focus on Production and Consumption: Manage Resources Efficiently)
- ▶ 但在AI和知識經濟的時代，資源不再是重點！ (But in the AI Economy, resource is no longer the focus!)
- ▶ 更重要的是人們對資訊、對制度的反應 (More important are human reactions to information/institutions!)
- ▶ 因此，現代經濟學研究的是「上有政策，下有對策」：
- ▶ 在一套遊戲規則下，人們如何謀求自身最佳；看實證資料如何印證理論，並思考這個制度如何改進、從何而來。 (So, Economics = For any Institution, There's a Reaction! Given a set of rules, how people optimize; whether empirical data confirms theory, and to find institution origins and improvements)

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What is Economics?

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如何考慮「下有對策」來設計制度？ (Institution Design Anticipating Human Reaction)

- ▶ 這也是「成功改變的三個必要條件」...
- ▶ 要推動改革，你需要：(To Push for Reform, You Need)
 1. 瞭解現況的邏輯：知道為甚麼現在是這樣的光景
 - ▶ Understand Logic of Current System (How it Works)
 2. 有從上帝而來的智慧：知道突破點在哪裡(如何微調現況)
 - ▶ Wisdom from God (on How to Fine Tune the System)
 3. 說服有能力改變的人來改變 (Convince Key Person to Make the Change)
- ▶ 這是比較容易的，因為前兩者根本是互斥的！
 - ▶ Note: 1 and 2 are mutually exclusive!

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What is Economics?

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甚麼是經濟學實驗? (What is an Economic Experiment?)

- ▶ **經濟學實驗**是建構一個**控制的環境**，在有**真實誘因**的情況下，觀察人們如何**做決定/經濟決策**，為要回答研究者所提出的問題，檢驗哪個假說或理論比較符合現實
- ▶ (An Economic Experiment constructs a controlled environment to observe how people make economic decisions under real incentives, to answer questions raised by the researcher, testing a hypothesis or which theory matches reality.)
- ▶ **建構控制的環境**有四大要素: (4 Components of Controlled Environments)
 1. **真實後果或誘因** (Real Consequences as Incentives)
 2. **對照組的設計** (A Treatment/Control Group Design)
 3. **隨機分組** (Random Assignment)
 4. **完全不欺騙受試者** (No Deception)

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What is Economics?

Joseph Tao-yi Wang

九把刀：人生就是有這個But...

- ▶ **每個人面對的挑戰不同** (Everyone Face Their Own Challenges)
- ▶ **「你不懂數學？」「是你不懂胖虎！」** ("You don't know how awful XXOO is.")



- ▶ **橘逾淮為枳：你可以，不代表我們也可以** (真的嗎?!)
- ▶ "You can do this, but not us!" (Really?!)

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What is Economics?

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九把刀：人生就是有這個But...

- ▶ 家家有本難念的經，為什麼還有人可以幫別人做**婚姻**
協談、諮商輔導？ (Every Divorce is different, but Marriage Counseling is possible since there are)

- ▶ 因為婚姻：

1. **有共通原則** (General Principles)
2. **可觀摩案例** (Case Studies)
3. **能觸類旁通** (Learn from Analogy)

- ▶ 那你所面對的**其他挑戰**呢？

▶ What about Other Challenges?



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What is Economics?

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我們再來看幾個例子...

(Some more examples...)

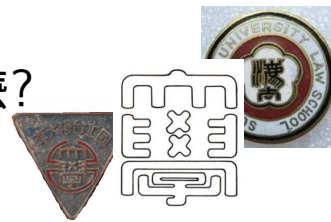
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認證標籤(Signaling)

- ▶ 假設你高中畢業後考上...
 - ▶ 國立愛呆丸大學，畢業後月薪35k (♥♦偶數)
 - ▶ 私立鹹酥雞大學，畢業後月薪22k (♠♣奇數)
- ▶ 大四上，你可以選擇：
 - ▶ 是否報考愛呆丸大學研究所，畢業後月薪40k，但須負擔就學貸款（和補習貸款）月繳5k
- ▶ 請問你會不會報考研究所？為什麼？



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What is Economics?

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認證標籤(Signaling)

1. 一套遊戲規則: (A Set of Rules: Credentialism on the job market (& society?))
 - ▶ 就業市場上(與社會上?)公認的文憑主義
2. 個人決策謀求最佳化 (Individuals Optimize: Which choice is better for my job market?)
 - ▶ 哪個選擇對未來求職最有利? optimizing)
3. 其他人也在謀求自身最佳，所以你要因應 (You need to react to others optimizing)
 - ▶ 大家都上研究所碩士起薪不變?(Will salary be the same if everyone has a MA?)
4. 整體結果長怎樣?理論預測為何? (What should aggregate data look like?)
 - ▶ 有志一同均衡預測所有人都会考研究所，雖然愛呆丸大學(♥24♦680)的畢業生覺得沒差。(那其他均衡呢?) (Pooling equilibrium says all should get a MA, though NiDU undergrads (♥24♦680) are indifferent.) (Other equilibrium?)

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What is Economics?

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認證標籤(Signaling)

5. 實證資料是否支持你的預測? (Does Empirical Data Match the Theory?)
 - ▶ 剛剛有多少♠♣奇數(♥◇偶數)真的選擇研究所?
(How many ♠13♣579(♥24◇680) actually applied for MA?)
6. 資料中的個別差異能否解釋? (Can Individual Differences be Explained?)
 - ▶ ♥◇偶數的你是怎麼選擇的?(If you are ♥24◇680, what were you thinking?)
7. 制度/遊戲規則可以怎麼改進? (How Can the Institution (Rules) Improve?)
 - ▶ 如果你是老闆會怎麼辦? 如果你是教育部長呢? (What would you do as employers? As Minister of Education?)
8. 這套制度是哪裡來的? (Where Did this Institution Come From? The Imperial Examination System?)
 - ▶ 萬般皆下品? 還是把讀書當作晉身統治階級的科舉制度?

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What is Economics?

Joseph Tao-yi Wang

8. 學歷只是認證標籤，考上就該由你玩四年。

 3月22日在 Taipei 附近

台大財金放榜了，
每個人夢想中的那個夢的殿堂。

王享云 榜眼
鄭閔分 探花
黃薰蕙 正取
紀昱竹 正取
Ivan Lai (賴三禹) 正取
徐文瑾 正取
曾耀勳 正取
傅聖元 正取

「天道酬勤」，
那些個寒窗苦讀的日子，
在金榜題名時，
一切都值得了。

私立背景的同學，
不要再有被害妄想症了，
即便一年夢的殿堂只能有一個或兩個私立的學生有幸擠入，
這個夢也值得你去追，

- ▶ 為什麼大家覺得「大學太多了」，但是還要自己小孩拼命擠進去？
- ▶ 為什麼大學時念了私立學校，研究所就要拚「夢的殿堂」、想擠進呆大財金的窄門？
- ▶ 為什麼「由你玩四年」之後，苔澄青椒大家還是搶著要？

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Market Design

Joseph Tao-yi Wang

問題出在哪裡呢？

10 mins - Nankang -

台大財金是每年大家魂牽夢縈的殿堂，今年又要恭喜圓夢的大家囉！

李星諭 (成大交管肌肉男，應該是今年經統組之一。)

陳炳元 (曾經進入職場過後回來，對於自己的林延儒 (課本外的常識非常豐，一張嘴非常開)

張宗雅 (走過社工系、經濟系，進入財金所，張育銘 (延續台北大學年年有人進榜台大財

高銘澤 (台大經研不好好念，複製去年 張議冠先潤 (一度流落匪班，台大經研冠先元 <-- 大財金的樣板人物。)

甲組有上財管，與我接觸時間比較長，人都對得上也比較熟。 XDD

沒提名到的，請私訊給我。 XDD

一樣獻上我的祝福，祝願你們碩班 2 年有滿滿的收穫。

▶ 你願意「花四年念全世界最好的大學，但拿不到畢業證書」，還是「拿全世界最好大學的畢業證書，但一輩子不能去念」？

▶ 學歷同時有兩個作用：

1. 累積智識和人力資本
2. 當認證標籤、炫耀的光環

▶ 魚與熊掌可以兼得嗎？

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Market Design

Joseph Tao-yi Wang

認證標籤(Signaling)的應用

- ▶ 認證標籤的設計關鍵是要能夠讓你鶴立雞群 (Signals Let You Stand Out)
- ▶ 說服對方你比較好，與眾不同 (Convince others you/your products are better)
- ▶ 認證標籤實例: (Examples)
- ▶ 消費者要求產地標章 (Consumers Demand Certificate of Origin)
 - ▶ 學歷光環/主管推薦信/台灣製造 (Credentials, Recommendation Letter, MIT, ISO)
- ▶ 求職者透過面試強調自己的特點 (Demonstrate Qualification in Job Interviews)
 - ▶ 試圖說服面試官錄取她/他 (Hire me, because...)
- ▶ 你去科系面試，要如何說服對方錄取你？商管科系大學畢業該馬上念MBA嗎？ (How would you convince interviewers to admit you? Should I go for MBA immediately after college?)

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What is Economics?

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認證標籤的反指標:雞立鶴群 (Bad Signaling)

- ▶ 請在貓頭鷹中找一隻貓咪

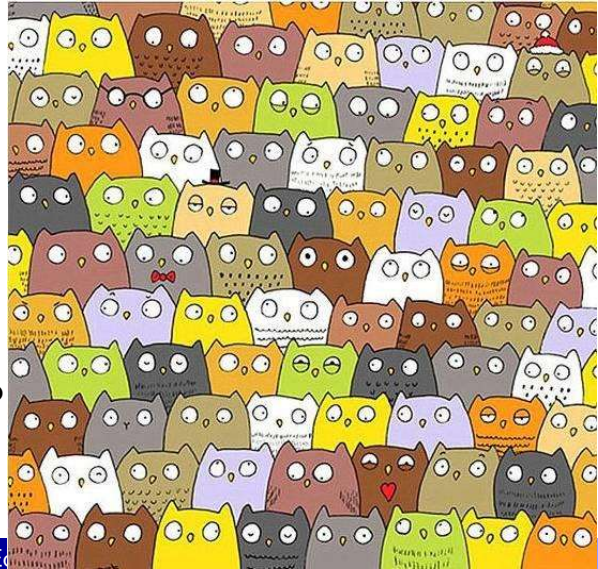
- ▶ Find the cat in these owls

- ▶ 找得到嗎??

- ▶ Can you find it?

- ▶ 知道雞立鶴群的感覺了嗎?

- ▶ Opposite of a good signal!



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What is E

認證標籤的反指標:雞立鶴群 (Bad Signaling)

- ▶ 請在倉鼠群中找一顆馬鈴薯

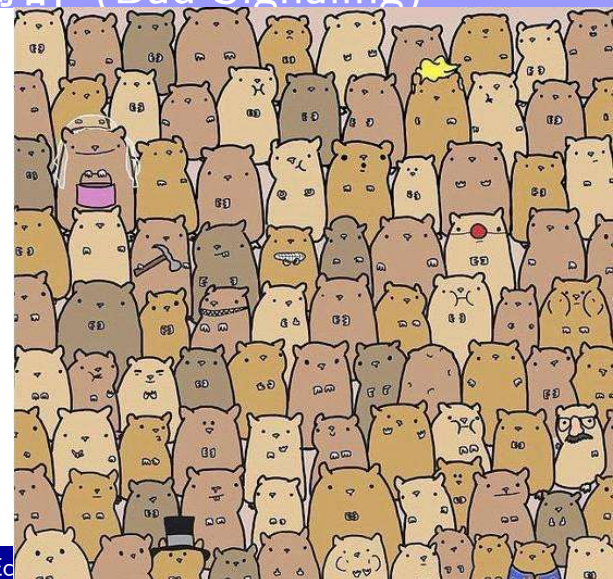
- ▶ Find the potato in these mice

- ▶ 找得到嗎??

- ▶ Can you find it?

- ▶ 知道雞立鶴群的感覺了嗎??

- ▶ Opposite of a good signal!



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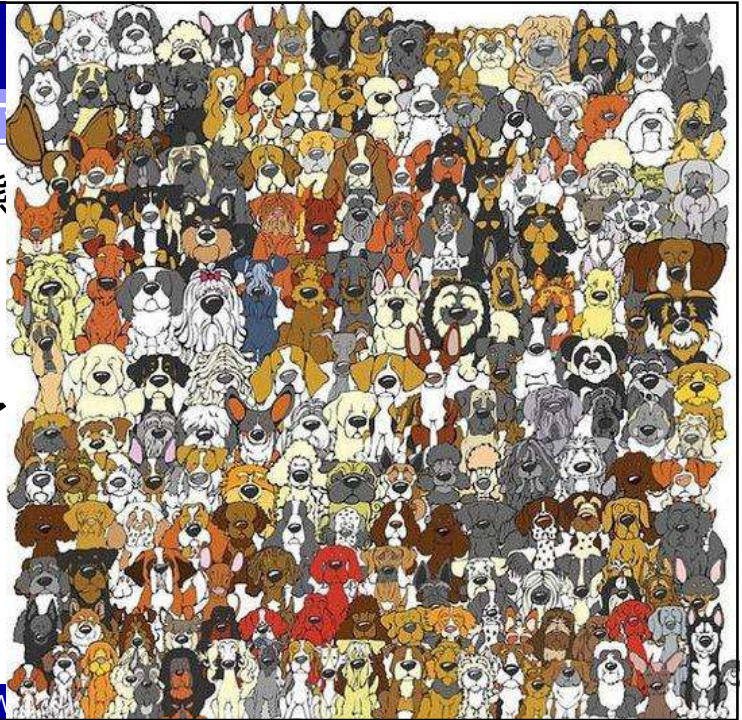
What is E

認證標籤的反指標:雞

- ▶ 請在狗群中找一隻貓熊
- ▶ Find the panda in these dogs

- ▶ 知道雞立鶴群的感覺了嗎?

▶ Opposite of a good signal!



2025/12/3

W

結論: 經濟學研究制度與人類行為(對制度的反應)

「上有政策，下有對策」

- ▶ 在一套遊戲規則下，人們如何謀求自身最佳；看實證資料如何印證理論，並思考這個制度如何改進、從何而來。(So, Economics = **For any Institution, There's a Reaction!** Given a set of rules, how people optimize; whether empirical data confirms theory, and to find institution origins and improvements)
- ▶ 剛才看到的幾個例子: (As shown in the following examples)
 - ▶ 最小唯一者勝彩券 (LUPI Game)
 - ▶ 認證標籤 (Screening and Signaling)
 - ▶ 其實還有更多: 篩選機制 (Screening)、自願捐獻(澤被眾生的公共財) (Voluntary Contribution Mechanism)、事先溝通談判 (Pre-play Communication)

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What is Economics?

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結論：回到「一切都是誘因的問題」 (People Respond to Incentives)

- ▶ 改革成功三個必要條件: (3 Necessary Conditions of Successful Reforms)
 1. 瞭解**現況的邏輯**: 知道為甚麼現在是這樣的光景
 - ▶ Understand Logic of Current System (How it Works)
 - ▶ 不考慮「下有對策」的制度通常是災難!! (Ignoring human reactions invites trouble!!)
 2. 有從上帝而來的**智慧**: 知道**突破點**在哪裡(如何**微調**現況)
 - ▶ Wisdom from God (on How to Fine Tune the System)
 - ▶ 現場實驗所費不貲/花工夫, 卻能在試辦期間檢驗制度設計 (Stress-tested with field experiments during trial periods)
 3. **說服有能力改變的人**來改變 (Convince Key Person to Make the Change)

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What is Economics?

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The End

- ▶ Special Thanks for lecture development: (特別感謝)
 - ▶ ASO-MBA、中山女中、建國中學、北一女中、師大附中、西松高中、羅東高中人文社會科學資優班社會科學概論、台南一中、台南女中、台東女中科學班、台大杜鵑花節、台大經濟營、台大社科營、台大社會科學實踐種子論壇、法官學院以及國家文官學院全體同學協助開發此一課程

2025/12/3

What is Economics?

Joseph Tao-yi Wang