

Symposium on Violence in Families: Questions and Answers

Chairman: Professor Wolfgang, you have a lot of questions there. You don't have to answer them all.

Professor Wolfgang: I'll try to take them. One was a comment that it's interesting to note the findings of the psychiatrists in Madras, India, on homicide in families are very similar to the data we found in Philadelphia, including the bedroom as the most dangerous place for women. *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 1974.

What is the definition of a subculture? As simply as possible I should say that a subculture is a set of values, beliefs, attitudes, life style, if you wish, or part of a large culture; it's not separate from but it's part of a parent culture. There are some shared values including such things as the legal system, the dominant political system. It's a matter to a great extent of degree, but sometimes of kind, in the values and beliefs. A subculture is not necessarily the antithesis of the larger culture; when it is an antithesis then we commonly call it a counterculture. The Amish in Pennsylvania represent a subculture, but they are not in conflict with the larger culture; they not only are tolerated but also are a peaceful and harmonious culture.

I can go on; some subculture of violence appears to be related to racism, and I was asked to comment on that. I'm inclined to agree that a very high proportion of the persons identifiable in what I call subcultures in our larger cities are blacks living under the disadvantages of the political and economic and social system that is a continuous and systemic carry-over from the institutions of slavery. We have not yet gotten over that, and the white racist policy in America has continued to promote it.

In Western civilization, the most common method of crime control has always been that of residential segregation. From the days of Athens, in Greece, where they separated the slaves from the citizens; in Rome, in the medieval period, the other side of the Seine in Paris and the banks of the Thames in London, we continue in this country, we have tried to continue institutionally, to segregate the beggar class, the poor and criminal classes, to use 18th century terminology. That system is breaking down.

By distributing and dispersing a subculture of violence has it been shown in fact that violence decreases rather than spreads to more people by imitation of the violent persons? Well, the evidence here is not abundantly clear, I admit, it's rather slim, but on a microscopic level there is some evidence from the distribution of people in cells, prison cell assignment, that when there is an appropriate mix rather than a homogenization of people who are violent, there is a tendency to reduce the oppressive behavior of the aggressives when they are dominated by more non-aggressive property type offenders or even white collar criminals.

There is evidence, sociological evidence that when there is an admixture of peoples, residentially that where the middle class dominant value system (which I seem to be the defender of today, and I don't mind being the defender of that because I don't know what anybody is prepared to substitute for it)—that when there is an admixture, but the numbers are not overwhelming with the invading aggressive subculture of violence representatives, the imitative behavior goes from the minority to the majority. And as a matter of fact, lower socioeconomic classes who are put by public housing policy into middle class communities, but again not in the overwhelming majority of numbers, tend to become almost compulsive in their middle class value adherences, from respect and

cleanliness with property and taking care of things. Now as a matter of fact, it is Federal policy of HUD to have an integrationless one both in terms of race and social class.

How do I explain that crimes involving guns are highest in areas having very strict gun laws? I disagree with that statement. The greatest number of homicides and aggravated assaults occur in those states that have (a) the greatest number of guns, gun ownership and (b) the weakest kinds of gun control legislation.

Comment on sportsmanship and sports as a viable preventive mode for translating middle class values into a form which could be assimilated by lower class non-verbal groups? Sublimation, etc. I will yield to my psychiatric friends on that one because I happen not to believe that the inculcation of violent aggressive sports, even in my beautiful home town of Philadelphia and the Flyers, necessarily encourages sublimation.

Comment on the matter of fact that the great amount of vandalism and riots after soccer games throughout the world, in Latin America, Scotland and such places, is fantastic. Comment on the need for shelters for abused women or children. Well I would quite agree with what's implied in that. I'm reminded of a Dr. Lion, a psychiatrist who had experimented in Baltimore with violence clinics, walk-in clinics where people who felt they lacked control and particularly was this true of males, lack of control of their aggression in the home, their own felt fears of becoming dangerous to their families, could go for some kind of service help and I certainly agree and encourage that.

What about church, Boy Scouts, Rotary clubs as being effective in promoting family harmony? Certainly. I mean any positive forces for promoting non-violence seem to me forces I would wish to encourage. The empirical evidence suggesting that being a Boy Scout will keep you from being a criminal or delinquent simply isn't present; however, there is such a high selectivity involved, and we haven't randomly assigned people to Boy Scouts in the country.

What is known systematically relating to the basis of the kitchen as a scene for violence between husbands and wives? Well, I suppose in terms of the amount of standing-in space, the amount of, simply the sheer amount of time that one spends in the home, the kitchen is a very common place and therefore I think you would have some statistical frequency with the social interactions that occur, more frequently than would occur in other places in the home. Cooking. Yes, and again the weapons are there.

How is it you say the women are the main promoters of the masculine tough image? I did not say they were the main causes; I said that they encourage, they may have encouraged it in the past and I really feel that's much more out of the social psychiatric literature than it is any place else. I think our frontier mores and all that has been said historically about the development of the masculine image and its relation to the guns, etc., are much more prominent than the impact of women themselves. And if I could take the opportunity I would say that not only today but in other writing, I have encouraged the increasing feminization of our culture, because I think the more we feminize it, I mean in terms of the traditional notions of women being less violent than men, I think we would increase the non-violence.

In view of increasing violence in the streets at present how do you project the prospect of a more peaceful life in the generation ahead? Well, there's at least one way. If you do nothing more than take cognizance of the fact that the fertility rates have gone down and that the sheer numbers of young in the population between, let us say, the ages of 10 and 24, I suggest and I predict that there will be a reduction of violence in the streets. In 1960 the age group of 10 to 24 represented about 15% of the population. In 1975 they represented about 22% of the population; in 1990 the extrapolations, the demographic extrapolations which have not always been known for their validity, but nonetheless suggest that this age group would drop down to about 16%. The baby boom right after the Second World War produced an enormous number bulge in the age pyramid of the population and contributed somewhere between 15 and 20% of all the violent crimes. The sheer fact that the number of the kids are in the violence-prone ages. I think I should

give opportunity for my colleagues to speak from here on.

Chairman Sadoff: You're going to yield to the man on your left. Sy, you have a number of them; would you like to comment?

Seymour Halleck: I'm always on the left. Let me steal one of Marvin's questions about sports, which is something I'm very close to, being a frustrated jock. I think there is a bi-modal distribution in terms of the effect of identifying vicariously with athletic activity. I think for me and some of my friends it's a good outlet. I think when I go play basketball at noon and come back and don't yell at nurses and residents, it's probably because I've expressed some aggressive feelings out on the court. Now I'm not negating the socio-psychological hypotheses which argue that violence begets violence and that you learn violent behavior in that setting. I suspect the answer to that question is very complicated, and if we studied it carefully enough we'd probably find one population that probably did use it as a sublimation and another population for whom it has simply worked as a reinforcement.

Let me steal another question which was sent to Dr. Elliott, and he passed it on to me because I guess you're not familiar with the book? The question is, would you consider R.P. McMurphy in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* an example of the episodic dyscontrol syndrome?

That's a very interesting question; I'm sure most of you are familiar with the book or the movie. It's really a classical picture of what's called a psychopath; there's no question that at times McMurphy lost control in the manner described in the episodic dyscontrol syndrome, but in most instances where he lost control it seemed quite justifiable and I think it kind of highlights one of the problems I have with the episodic dyscontrol syndrome. I think another question you have, which is how to distinguish it from people who are just nasty and violent? And that gets to be very, very difficult. I think you did list some of the distinguishing characteristics as inability to stop, and minimal provocation. But these get into very tricky value judgments, and it becomes terribly important how we make these judgments in terms of what we do to people. Those of you who know the book or know the movie, know that McMurphy at the end was lobotomized. And that's kind of an important treatment; it wasn't psychosurgery in the sense of a temporal lobectomy, or an amygdalaoidectomy, it was a pre-frontal lobotomy which in this case, the whole point of the book and movie is that it was not justified.

Which leads to another question to me that in light of population explosion, is it reasonable that sterilization ordered by the court be applied to offenders as a possible practical solution to our violence problem? And also our over-population sequelae? Well that's an old solution or an old projected solution, and if one looks at the literature as early as 1901, the State of Indiana was sterilizing as many as 500 people a year. My overall feeling is that we'd have to sterilize an awful lot of people to get rid of whatever gene pool there was favoring this kind of violence, and my problem with sterilization has always been, I don't know where they're going to stop. There are certain kinds of people where one could say it's much better if they didn't raise children in the future, but you get into very ticklish civil rights issues. If they start [sterilizing people] with an IQ of 70, pretty soon they'll get to 80 and 90 and pretty soon they'll get to me and the rest of us. Just thinking about this in a far-fetched way, one of the arguments I've made about treatment with tranquilizing drugs—tranquilizer is a bad name, neuroleptic drugs—or one of the things about early release and treatment with these drugs is that we are sending more and more schizophrenics and manics out into the street and allowing them to propagate, which is rapidly increasing the gene pool of schizophrenia and mania in our society.

Now what does that mean? Does that mean we should start sterilizing manics and schizophrenics? And if you get too seriously on the sterilization kick, God knows where it ends, so I've taken a hardnosed line on that: that sterilization should only be used in very rare circumstances with a very clear sense of voluntariness.

I think I'm going to stop at this point and let some others go.

Chairman Sadoff: Right down the table: Dr. Elliott?

Dr. Frank Elliott: What is the legal status of the organic dyscontrol syndrome? Nil. It will have to be decided in the future, but by the courts.

Somebody asks about inference of parathyroid glands and high or low blood calcium in causing emotional disturbances: well-known fact, very rare.

What about the psychobiologic dynamics? In other words, violent birth equals violent adult? Well certainly, because violent birth is one of the best ways of producing a brain-damaged adult. It's the most common cause of this kind of thing.

Amygdalotomy, is it useful in the neuro-brain dysfunctioned children with hyperkinesis and destructiveness or violence? Yes, that indeed gave rise to the large Japanese effort; it is very effective. They do posterior hypothalamotomies and they've been doing them for years and they are satisfied with them.

Does a patient with *petit mal* ever suffer from dyscontrol syndrome or violence? They do; it depends on how you define *petit mal* – if it's the inherited type of bilateral bisynchrony, no. But many people with *petit mal* do not have actual *petit mal*; it looks like *petit mal* but the trouble is coming from the temporal lobe and that is dyscontrol.

What results have you obtained in treating dyscontrol syndrome medically versus surgically? Well, I never had a case treated surgically; others have. We are very encouraged by the medical treatment using the drugs I mentioned in the syndrome. In fact, I would say these are the most grateful patients I have ever had.

Is the dyscontrol syndrome seen more frequently in the right or the left brain? The left brain, which is exactly the reverse of what it should be, because statistically several people have found this. The motional brain is supposed to be the right one, but yet most of these people seem to have left brain damage. It's about 6 to 4.

If a person has encephalitis in childhood is there any way of preventing future developments? I'm afraid not. Encephalitis does its damage and then goes away. The results may take years to develop, but that is not an ongoing infection.

There are three questions about this: how come an interruption of the violent episodes from outside can stop the violence? And this is true in the early stages of the rage attack; a sudden interruption from outside may stop it. Not in your later stages, and this as I pointed out earlier is consistent with all that is known of epileptic phenomena; you can stop many seizures if they are interrupted by a physical stimulus early in the attack.

Is lithium used in dyscontrol syndrome? Yes, when dyscontrol is in the result of emotional turbulence in the manic depressive psychosis. An interesting question as to people who have been guilty of motiveless murders, homicides, and later seem perfectly all right. They may have had a dyscontrol outside; they're in prison for years and nothing happens, so they are safe. Well, this is a tricky one, because in the structured society of prison where they have certain tensions but escape other tensions – they are often much better in hospital or prison. But you can't guarantee that they won't do it again when they're outside. And that is an awful problem.

Prof. Henry Foster: I've been asked the question, how would you advise a general practitioner in approaching a child abuse law? Same way I would advise porcupines bent on making love, carefully.

Most, all of these statutes that I'm aware of except good faith reporting of suspected cases from either criminal or civil liabilities on the part of the reporter. That is, unless you've got a case of malicious spite, something like that in the reporting or getting even with somebody, there's no basis for civil or criminal liability. I might add that is generally true with regard to doctors who report to appropriate agencies any kind of public health communicable disease or what not, there is no liability, unless there was bad faith in making the report.

I'm asked where do you report child abuse? There are phone numbers set up, registries set up on a 24 hour a day, 7 day a week basis; this is being financed in part by the 80

million dollars that Congress appropriated for its 1974 law. What are the safeguards against being sued? I already mentioned that.

What is the influence of television and movies on violence? I don't think we've had any sure answers to this; a study some years ago in England indicated that it did affect attitudes on the part of children, made them more calloused, more accepting of violence, but did not precipitate individual violence. There have been later studies which have cast some doubt upon that prior English study. I'm not sure that the record is clear on the effect of T.V. and movies. I do think that it may have something to do with leveling of attitudes of empathy and sympathy, etc., and do something to promote what I would call in my own unscientific way, an attitude of callousness or acceptance.

Should stricter laws be helpful in decreasing violence? No, strict laws have never been helpful in decreasing much of anything, anyplace, anytime. We have strict laws, we have had strict laws for centuries. On the legal side it is the fairly soon and certain imposition of punishment, not the severity of it, that may be a deterrent. Too strict laws are self-defeating; they will not be enforced by prosecutors, courts, juries, or the others.

I'm asked if a child living in a single-parent family with a parent who is psychotic, is this situation not a *prima facie* case of psychological child abuse and neglect? And should it therefore not be reported to an appropriate agency as such?

I would really defer to my colleagues on this, but if I read them correctly, just because the parent here is psychotic does not mean that child itself is being traumatized.

Chairman Sadoff: I would certainly agree with that. We have seen a number of parents who are psychotic, for whom we have testified in court who are active and adequate parents; so psychosis does not equate with incompetency to parent.

Dr. Elliott: Finally, I've got a question here that wants to get me in the middle, or on the spot, with regard to the feminist movement and the female-dominated family, and the growing number of single-parent families. I think I'll use some discretion and pass that to our sociologist-criminologist who's already established a reputation. (Laughter)

Dr. M. Wolfgang: What's the question?

Chairman Sadoff: Each speaker pointed to the female-dominated family as a proponent for the development in violence in children. With a growing number of single-parent families, where do we professionals begin? How to reach them if not identified for us by a violent act? Is it treatment after the fact or prevention, or if prevention, where does prevention start?

Dr. Wolfgang: Well I'm inclined to agree with my colleague, Dr. Halleck, that we can't, we are not successful in predicting the relatively rare event of crimes of violence and perhaps violence in general, that we overpredict and have therefore abundant false positives to the detriment of our individual freedom of liberty. If there's coercive intervention, I'm afraid we're left with the best predictor being that of past behavior. I can speak about that in terms of delinquency, and I didn't use any of the material that Dr. Sadoff referred to in our birth-cohort study of 10,000 boys born in 1945 that we followed up in Philadelphia. Suffice it to say that 3,500 of the 10,000 had delinquency records but that 47% stopped after the first delinquency and most of it was relatively trivial. If we had tried to predict delinquency in advance we simply would have been unsuccessful; if we tried to predict delinquency after the first event, we would have been unsuccessful, and it was only because this is almost a kind of spontaneous remission that occurs in delinquency, a stopping delinquency, and not until we get to the third offense do we have any increase in that capacity to talk about prediction. Relative to punishment deterrents that had been mentioned briefly, my pithy phrase is, that I'm in favor of punishing past evil but not future sin.

TV violence, I'd like to say a word about that if I may? I served as Research Director for the National Violence Commission, where we did pay some attention to TV violence and encouraged research on that, including research that was done here in our own Annenberg School of Communication at Penn, by George Gerlin and the Dean, and then I

had the fortune of being the Commissioner on the National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, which was much more fun than these other commissions (laughter), and we looked also, we also were concerned with the imitation behavior that may occur and the concern that many people have about the display of erotic material on TV and entering into the living room, and porno films and books and all that.

One of the mandates that we had from Congress that set up that Commission concerned whether there was any relationship between crime and obscenity and pornography. And to make a long story short, we found no significant relationship between pornography and crime or delinquency. We avoided the term pornography, and we used the term erotica, and we did some very careful studies, I think, in trying to examine that relationship; it just isn't true. When we looked at sex offenders in prison and had interviews with them, we found that the sex offenders were the most sexually repressive, and had the most sexually repressive childhood.

But my point about the TV and violence is that the research in clinical psychology, experimental psychology, Vandeur is one of the most common names mentioned, Berkowitz and others, suggests that there is imitative modeling behavior that occurs with respect to aggressive displays from kindergarten, play groups of children on through, and we simply haven't had longitudinal studies enough time for the research to look at the natural setting of the child in the living room. But I'm willing to say, I think, we're playing dangerous games with the enormous, abundant display of violence, aggression that exists, that we have plenty of accounts of these.

If imitative behavior occurs, I was once asked on the Advocate Show, between TV and violence, isn't it also that it occurs with respect to exposure to erotica? And my answer is, I'm in favor of sex and I'm against violence. (Applause — Laughter)

Chairman Sadoff: You always get applause for that Marv.

Dr. Halleck: Well, one question I have is, how important are religion and moral codes in preventing violence? This is complicated. I think it depends on the nature of the moral code; if you have a moral code that is anti-violent, I think it makes a big difference.

My own experience in living in a very fundamentalist culture currently, is that it's the most violent society I've ever lived in. And certainly religion *per se* is no guarantee whatsoever against violence unless the religion itself is a very non-violent religion, and one has to understand without offending any particular religious groups that many religious organizations do condone violence of various sorts. The same people in our state who are most fundamentalist are also most in favor of the death penalty, which certainly to me is an extreme form of violence. So I think it really depends on the nature of the religion.

Another question on the same card: has lithium been helpful in treating prisoners? A lot of people are using lithium for everything these days; it's a good drug and seems to have something to do with mania and is actually quite helpful and naturally people are trying out whatever they can get hold of. You do see occasional articles in the literature saying that people have tried it on anti-social personalities with some success. These are not good control studies, and at the moment one can say really nothing about it. My own view is somewhat skeptical; it's really hard to see a connection between mania and sociopathy, and whatever biochemical mechanisms would be involved would be very difficult to elaborate.

A sub-question of that is, does dilantin help in handling prisoners? My answer would be yes, if they had epilepsy or episodic dyscontrol, but in general it makes very little difference in dealing with most prisoners.

Another question is, could you comment on aspects of family violence and criminal behavior as a form of political expression? This gets to be a very tricky issue, and those of you who are involved in looking at violence and dissent in our society during the last five or six years know many kinds of criminality were referred to as political, and indeed one can make a good case that just about anything one does, if you try to change the status quo through criminal action, is a political act. But you can carry that much too far. And

then other people come along and say, no it really isn't the society, it's the individual, and there has to be an ongoing effort to deal with unfavorable and unpleasant conditions in the society, and to what extent it resides totally in the individual. The whole issue is one that's used for polemics and is used to make a lot of basic positions, but I think our role is to look at each individual carefully and try to decide whether the best way to deal with this person is on the basis of viewing his behavior as related to individual variables or sociological variables, depending on what they are. Certainly I would not negate the idea that much crime in our society and much violence had obvious and clear political roots.

Dr. Elliott: Can rage reactions appear to be complex behaviors? Well, indeed yes, the typical complex temporal lobe epileptic attack which takes the form of a rage is one part of this syndrome. In other words, it's a very complex behavior; it serves no useful purpose, it is true of internally or externally, but it can mimic something done consciously, so it is an important group.

Is amnesia usually present for such reactions? Not necessarily; many patients with temporal lobe epilepsy remember in a vague way what they did and said. Some don't, so the presence or absence of amnesia is not absolute as evidence. Of course, too, when the rage has resulted in harming somebody, amnesia is very convenient.

Do you feel that better management of violence would include more initial concern for organic causes before psychiatric treatment? Well, psychiatrists are very much aware of it; they're always worried about this, always looking for it. I think now that you have some new tools, especially the EMI scan, we will have better weapons for detecting those early cases who really represent a psychosis; they come up as something which is apparently a functional psychosis, not an organic one, and yet there is an organic nucleus.

In dyscontrol syndrome, if it is due to head injury, as it can be, is there demonstrable relation to head injuries of prize fighters and football players? Yes indeed, in the punch-drunk syndrome, this dyscontrol syndrome is very common. Prize fighters who have been knocked out many times, all have had a lot of head injury without being knocked out. These are the men who haven't made it into the big time, as it were, and have taken a lot of punches and they develop a typical dyscontrol syndrome.

Now there are two impossible questions to be taken, and a good deal of heat would be generated and not much light. Can one differentiate patients with dyscontrol syndrome organic, from patients with functional violent behavior? Well, I think the psychiatrists do a very good job of that and I always have my patients looked at by them, but there are no absolutes.

The question as to whether the severity of violence the children undergo in terms of tissue responses has anything to do with the severity of their subsequent violence? And I don't know of any such work.

I'm asked to go into some detail about minimal brain dysfunction and dyscontrol syndrome incidence, clinical picture and neurological findings. I've just read a 400-page book on the subject and it was too short to do justice, so I must be excused, we just don't have the time.

And I'm also not going to try to answer three questions which deal with specific cases, they too would be time-consuming and one would want a great deal of information before hazarding a guess as to what's wrong.

Prof. Henry Foster: My next question is, where do you place spanking a child on the violence for children scale? Is it appropriate, should or should not it be done? I think it depends largely on a particular context, particular family, what the traditional form of disciplining has been, whether it is excessive, the purpose for which it is done, etc. However, I do not agree with the majority of opinion and the Supreme Court of the United States that schools are entitled to inflict corporal punishment on students at school. I think that occasions more violence on the part of students than otherwise would be the case.

I am asked, does arresting parents who abuse their children seem arbitrary? What does

the law state? Who makes the decision as to whether criminal action should be taken against the parents? In all states excessive punishment can amount to assault and battery by a parent on a child; just when punishment becomes excessive is an uncertain thing. Certainly in more flagrant cases of the battered child syndrome, with child abuse, the bounds of any permissible disciplining have been exceeded.

The District Attorney ordinarily decides whether or not a particular case should be prosecuted. It is somewhat arbitrary under existing law if a D.A. for example would prosecute criminally, whereas, a comparable case involving almost the same circumstances would be simply processed through the child abuse reporting statute, and there would be protective services afforded the family. It would be arbitrary to jail one such parent and yet another in very similar circumstances not to subject him to the criminal process.

Chairman Sadoff: I have a couple of questions if I can take them. One, is the XYY syndrome investigation dead? I think people are pretty well convinced that there is not a clear correlation between the XYY syndrome and violent behavior except by statistical analysis, which apparently was not properly done initially. I'm sure there will be other people, however, who will try to revitalize that issue.

Secondly, the National Foundation for Sudden Infant Death Syndrome usually cites 10,000 cases per year of SID's; where do you get your figure of 20,000 to 30,000 cases? I was quoting Dr. Ash from New York. Also, do you think that there is any significant number of SID's cases caused by postpartum depression and therefore cases of infanticide? Again, I was quoting Dr. Ash; my own personal feeling is that there is some; I don't know how significant it is.

Third question is, what do you do with a gross majority of those who have aberrant violent families, parents and children, when in most cases they don't have the intellectual capacity nor desire to make much change?

I guess if you answer the question the way it is written, it's kind of rhetorical; there's not much you can do with the kinds of families the way it's written. I don't think that's really the case, however; the majority of the families who are aberrant and violent do have intellectual capacity and may not have the desire to change, but they may have the motivation if you instill societal sanctions against them as we do; then you can at least tell them that if you make some changes we can give you back your children, for example, or you won't go to prison. There are some hopeless ones, yes, but those are the ones for whom we devise new theories; even though it seems hopeless, we're challenged by them.

Is violence consequent to anger in the absence of organic disease and/or drug influence? My answer would have to be yes. I think that people who get angry can become violent whether they are on drugs or whether they have organic syndrome or not; they just lose their cool, they lose control, and they can hurt somebody. I don't like to think of that, but it does happen.

Somebody asked a very good question. I can't read the whole thing because it's too long, but they wanted to know about the intensive care units for infants with all of their violent aspects of i.v.'s and naso-gastric tubes and noisy respirators and heel sticks and venous cut-downs and all that; isn't that really a form of violence that we are iatrogenically perpetrating upon the kids, and what should we do about it?

Well, I think it's true we are, and it is, and sometimes we have to trade one off for the other, but certainly now that you raise it to our consciousness, we can be more clearly aware that there are some less violent things that we can do to our kids in the I.C.U.'s, and perhaps take that as a clue that we are certainly perpetrating violence upon them.

Dr. Marvin Wolfgang: Is there any other country than the United States with the incidence and degrees of violence that we have? Yes, many if not most of the countries of South America, Latin America have higher rates of crimes of violence. Homicide, the last time I looked at the international statistics the higher, the highest rate of homicide of any given country in the world was Colombia. Mexico was about twice as high as ours.

Please discuss exploitation, embezzlement and serious white collar crimes as a form of violence. Well, I agree, on the National Violence Commission, we thought about that kind of violence as well, but we narrowed our definition to direct injuries on individuals. I would agree with the implication of the question, with the statement that violation of many securities and exchange regulations, the Food and Drug Act in the past, if not now, certainly have produced violence, profusive violence, many deaths as a matter of fact, and I quote the old comment of the late Edwin Sutherland, that the man who steals the wallet or pocketbook from the street may be convicted and sentenced to 8 or 10 years; the man who steals a railroad gets incumbiance for his capitalistic activity.

I think that with increasing consumer sensitivity and reduction of what I suspect would be a street violence in the future that this society will become more and more concerned with fraud than it will be with violence. And I don't mean to suggest that the evolution of societies towards the socialist state is going to be what will happen here, but the history of socialist states in the world has been a shift to a concern with corporate crime and fraud, and there is violence there. The violence in the mines, for example, for the failures of the employers to abide by the safety and security regulations produced many mining deaths.

Isn't it true that child abuse among lower classes is uncovered more readily? Yes, I think that is true, whereas the affluent perhaps hide their abuse more readily. That's true of delinquency in general.

How can some of your social corrections, such as dispersing sub-cultures, be effective without totalitarian privileges? Do you think I'll answer with a question? Do you think that affirmative action programs are also totalitarian? I think it is possible to effect changes without going through a brave new world of relocation of populations, and so long as we build public housing in the style we did for over a generation about 25 or 30 years, and simply produce high rise ghettos instead of horizontal ones, we are not reducing the poverty and disadvantages and crime.

Comment on gang killings such as Mafia, who is to be blamed for this? Comment on political assassination. I'll take the last one. There is a task force, one of the 13 volumes of the National Violence Commission on political violence and assassinations. This was the original reason for that Commission being established by President Johnson after the assassination of Senator Kennedy. And as we looked at political assassination in this country, we found quite a different mode from assassinations in the Continent of Europe and Asia and the rest of the world.

Assassinations of not only a president, but of other political figures in this country, have not been done for purposes of promoting a political transition in the government. These are not *coup de etats*. Also until this last year we didn't find women involved in assassination or assassination attempts, and we reviewed all of those in that commission.

The assassins in this country and political assassins have almost exclusively been representatives of mental disease of one sort or another, serious mental pathologies, rather than political groups *per se*.

Was homicide higher in Philadelphia, higher than all of Japan? Very complicated answer; I'll just mention a few words, each one of which could perhaps be written into chapters.

A family is a much more capable instrument of informal social control in Japan. The whole history and culture of course are quite different in many ways. Nonviolence and interpersonal relations are much more realistic and ritualistic, and it's well known that people are more players in the stage of life and they're stylistic in behavior forms that historically avoid the use of physical aggression on others. This is deeply rooted. The fact that Japan has the most stringent gun control laws of any major industrial society I think has an important role to play, as well as the fact that the police function in a quite different way from what they do in the United States. And they are much more community, neighborhood, friendly, courteous, kind, gentle, loving police. No, it's a

quite different relationship and they are not alien invaders into a territory as the police are often viewed in this country.

Chairman Sadoff: All right, does anybody want to sum up or give a final statement?

Dr. Halleck: Let me apologize for not answering some of the questions which would have required almost a whole lecture to get into; I just want to sum up with a moral preachment. It's very easy in this field to get hooked on single or global causes of violence, and most of you are physicians, and I think all of us physicians have a natural tendency to want to look for a biological cause of things that are troubling us.

You must realize that there's a strong antipathy towards that trend in criminology which has deep historical roots. A man by the name of Lombroso, who was a psychiatrist back around the turn of the century, was arguing that criminality could be defined by the shape of one's brain or the shape of one's head, which ineluctably led one toward a subsequent career of criminality.

As people have become more and more disillusioned with each new biological theory that's come up, many of us in criminology and psychiatry have learned to be very skeptical of monistic explanations. So I think biological factors are important; I think we will increasingly find more about it, but the burden of proof in this area is enormous. It's almost like extra-sensory perception. Somebody once argued that they'd believe in it if they presented ten times as much evidence as we have for other things. And I feel a little bit that same way about biological causes.

The consequences of acting upon this knowledge are so powerful and so potentially dangerous to civil liberties that the proof in this area, I think, has to be very powerful, and while I personally believe strongly in the episodic dyscontrol syndrome, I've seen it, I think we need much more proof before we can begin to write legislation that deals with it.

Dr. Marvin Wolfgang: Just one comment. I think I'd like to say a word of appreciation to the Chairman of this symposium and for and to Geigy, for getting this group together. I think it should be, if we can be left with anything, it is to say not only about violence but human behavior in general, that eclecticism and interdisciplinary dialogue are not shallow, but very complex, and seem to be the way in which we should approach almost all of the major very complex forms of behavior that we have, like those that we have been discussing here today.

Chairman Sadoff: Thank you. (Applause) It sounds as though that's a good note to close on, and I would like to thank the panel for being here and presenting such stimulating and challenging response to our questions and presentations.