CONFRONTATIONAL HOMICIDE

A FINAL REPORT TO THE CRIMINOLOGY RESEARCH COUNCIL

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SUMMARY

This report is an analysis of forms of male-on-male homicide. It is a follow-up to an earlier study which, consistent with research elsewhere, found that males not only constitute a vast majority of homicide offenders, but further that slightly over half of all homicides involve males taking the lives of other males. The purpose of the present research is to establish, if possible, the patterns which characterize these distinctively male homicides.

The data for the research are drawn from the files of the Office of the Coroner of Victoria, and include all homicides reported to the Coroner for the years 1985-1989. The files consist of an initial report of the attending police regarding the death, the brief prepared by the police for presentation at the Coroner's Inquest, the autopsy report regarding the cause of death, any relevant toxicology reports, and the report of the Inquest itself. For each of the 376 homicides reported in the five year period, a case study was prepared which focused particularly on the dynamics of the interaction which had taken place between the victim and the offender. Just over half (51.6%) of these homicides consisted of events where males were involved both as offenders and victims in the homicide.

From the analysis of the case study material, there were three major scenarios which describe these male-on-male killings. The first of these consisted of confrontational homicides, which typically began as a form of honour contest between males which then resulted in a fight, leading ultimately to the lethal violence. Such honour contests are distinctively male (only one case with these dynamics involved women), and individuals of either underclass or working class origins (only two cases clearly involved a person of higher social class position). These events were likely to occur in open public settings, such as pubs, discos, streets and laneways, parks or reserves, or perhaps parties or BBQs. The violence was frequently played out against a backdrop of male peers, and alcohol use by either victim or offender was found in a majority of cases. This confrontation scenario accounted for roughly one in five (74 or 19.6%) of all reported homicides.

The second major scenario consisted of homicides which can be seen as a form of conflict resolution. In all cases these individuals knew each other well, and in most they previously had been friends. Most commonly the parties involved were exceptionally marginal in both a social and economic sense, often having lengthy criminal histories and being unemployed. Typically a dispute would develop between victim and offender, dealing often with such issues as a debt. The fact that these

individuals were often firmly enmeshed in a criminal culture resulted in their being placed in a position where they could not call upon conventional conflict resolution techniques to resolve their dispute. For such persons, violence then becomes an ultimate device for negotiating the conflict. The resulting homicides frequently have an element of rationality and planning which is not found in the confrontational homicides. There were a total of 38 such killings in the five year period, these making up 10.1% of all homicides.

The third scenario of masculine violence consisted of those homicides which occur in the course of other crime. These homicides can be viewed as resulting from the willingness of the offender to take the exceptional risks involved in engaging in criminal behaviour. Overall, there were 60 such homicides, with the most common sub-theme consisting of "double victims" where the victim of an initial crime, such as armed robbery, became the victim of homicide as well.

Viewed theoretically, these findings help to underscore the importance of an interpretation of violence which adequately accounts for its masculine characteristics. At the same time, in these male-on-male scenarios, the class variable is equally prominent. An important question posed by these data concerns the issue not only of why some males have a proclivity toward violence, but the equally significant issue of how it is that other are constrained to avoid violence.

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INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of a study of confrontational homicide in Victoria. Confrontational homicide is a form of male-to-male homicide which centers most typically around some form of status contest between males. The lethal violence flows out of an initial argument, followed by a physical confrontation, and then by one or another of the parties involved becoming the victim of lethal violence. Concern for this form of homicide was set in motion by a previous study (Polk and Ranson, 1990) of homicide in Victoria (also funded by the Criminology Research Council), which looked at all homicides in Victoria for the 1985-1986 period. The present research focuses specifically upon the confrontational homicides and closely related forms of male-to-male violence, and extends the time frame to include data from 1987-1990.

THE PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In the 1985-1986 investigation it was reported, consistent with findings of other research (e.g., Wallace, 1986), that a majority of homicides consist of male-to-male violence (Polk and Ranson, 1991). Turning this around, women account for a only a small minority of victims of homicide, and an even smaller proportion of homicide offenders. Wallace (1986), for example, found that women made up only 36% of victims of homicide, and but 15% of offenders.

What the previous research established, however, was that while masculinity was a major factor in most forms of homicide, there were significantly different patterns that male violence might take (Polk and Ranson, 1991). First, there was homicide in situations of sexual intimacy where the violence represents an ultimate attempt of the male to control the life of his female sexual partner. In this instance, the major variation involves male partners reacting to the woman's attempt to move away from his control, while a minor variation involves exceptionally depressed male partners who have decided to end their lives through suicide, with the homicide of the woman being a part of the suicide plan.

Second, there were various forms of male-to-male violence. Among these are those homicides which were found to be a result of

masculine confrontation which becomes a form of honour contest, leading to a fight which in turn resulted in the violence turning lethal. Such events were observed in public places such as pubs, discos, streets, train stations, parks or reserves, or perhaps at parties or BBQs. Most often they were closely tied to working or underclass masculine scenes of leisure, with alcohol featuring in a great majority of the cases.

Male-to-male homicide was also observed to be a consequence of other criminal behaviour. A common scenario here was one where a robbery turned dangerously violent, and the robbery victim became a victim of homicide as well. These distinctively masculine events appeared to involve a willingness on the part of economically and socially marginal males to take exceptional risks regarding the lives of others, and often, in fact, their own lives.

Finally, male-to-male homicide was found to be a final act in a series of events which began with the intimate bond of friendship. Something happened over time and the friendship disintegrated to the point where it was terminated with lethal violence. These scenes again most often males who were highly marginal in an economic and social sense, and the violence can be seen as a form of ultimate conflict resolution.

It was this male-to-male violence, and confrontational homicide in particular, that provides the focus for the present research. While previous research has recognized that masculine confrontations may lead to lethal violence, in general it has not been identified as a separate and distinctive form of homicide in terms of the dynamics which link an offender and a victim. The purpose of the present research has been to expand a base of knowledge regarding this form of homicide, and the place that it occupies within more general patterns of male-to-male violence.

THE DATA

The data for the present investigation, as was true of the initial research, are drawn from the files of the Office of the Coroner of Victoria. These files contain a number of reports which are collected for the purpose of carrying out the coronial inquest, and include an initial police report of the incident, an autopsy report regarding the cause of death, a toxicology report if such is relevant, a police prosecutor's brief, and the report of the inquest itself. The most helpful of these documents is the prosecutor's brief, which typically contains lengthy witness statements as well as transcripts of interview with defendants where these have been taken.

In the first phase, data on 121 homicides were extracted from these files for the 1985 and 1986 years. For each homicide a

lengthy case history was prepared drawing upon the material in the coronial files. These case studies were then subjected to a qualitative analysis of the themes which characterised the relationship between the victim and the offender. Included among these themes was that of masculine confrontational homicide, which accounted for 26 (or 21%) of the total homicides.

In order to explore in greater detail the characteristics of male-to-male violence, the present study was conducted which extended the data collection in the files of the Office of the Coroner of Victoria for the additional years of 1987-1989. This resulted in the identification of an additional 255 homicides. As before, a working file for each was prepared which included the initial police report, the report of the autopsy, toxicology reports (where relevant), relevant witness statements from the Police Prosecutor's brief prepared for the inquest, and the report of the inquest itself prepared by the Coroner. From these working files, a short case history for each was prepared, this case history providing information on the social character of the homicide, especially in terms of the dynamics which linked the offender and victim. When these 1987-89 cases are added to the original 121 from the 1985-86 period, a total of 376 homicide cases are available for analysis.

THE FINDINGS

A first observation is that these data support the general observation that there is a strong thread of masculinity which runs through homicide. Looking at all cases combined for the 1985-1989 period, males were the offenders in a great majority (over 80%) of all homicide cases, although it is important to be precise in the actual treatment of the data. First, it is probably useful to remove from the analysis the 31 cases over the five year period where the gender of the offender could not be determined, reducing the base total to 345.

Next, since the entry point for such data are victim files, some recognition must be given to the fact that there are accounts which involve multiple offenders, and in some of these one of the offenders is female. Of the 345 total victims where the gender is known, there were 287 which involved exclusively male offenders, which accounts for 83.2% of cases. When the 23 cases where there were multiple offenders involving both males and females, the proportion of cases where a male offender was present lifts to 89.9%.

Slightly over half of the 345 cases where the gender is known involve situations where males play the roles of both offender and victim (178 accounts were male-to-male homicides, or 51.6%). These findings are roughly consistent with the levels reported in other investigations. For homicides in the 1968-1981 period in

New South Wales, for example, Wallace (1986) reported that 85.0% of the offenders were male, and that 54% involved a male accused and a male deceased.

For purposes of the present study, however, the general category of male offender/male victim is too broad, since it includes not only such homicides as those resulting from male confrontations, but also instances where step-fathers kill step-sons, where sons kill fathers, or brother kills brother, and a group of cases which involve odd behaviour where the fact that the victim and the offender are male says little about why the killing took place (as in cases where the offenders are driven to kill because they "hear voices," or mass murderers who shower bullets in an indiscriminate pattern). Our interest instead is focused on those forms of homicide where the gender role plays a significant part of the homicide itself.

Specifically, our attention is directed to homicides involving males as both offenders and victims which derive from three general scenarios: (a) "confrontational" homicides which arise out of "status contests" between males, whereby initial insults lead to fights which then spill over into lethal violence; (b) "conflict resolution on the margin," where the homicide represents a crude form of dispute resolution, most often involving highly marginal individuals; and (c) "homicides resulting from the course of other crime," where the killing can be viewed as an outcome which originates in other criminal activity. These scenarios account for just under half (146 of the 345 cases where gender can be established, or 42.9%) of all homicides.

The introduction of the additional data has resulted in some important modifications of the conception of these forms of masculine homicide from that suggested in the initial formulation (Polk and Ranson, 1991). For one, it seems more appropriate to view these patterns as scenarios of violence, rather than as clear "types" of homicide. What each represents is an idealized pattern of activity, with dominant elements which make up something akin to a script which can be found in the cases which fit the scenario. Within each of the groupings, some of the cases will fit the idealized scenario closely, whereas others will have fewer elements and thus fall more toward the outer boundaries of the scenario. In a few cases, as we shall see, the elements of one scenario blur into another, so that definitive boundaries for such accounts should not be drawn. This is perhaps best understood by turning to a discussion of each of the individual scenarios of violence.

THE CONFRONTATIONAL SCENARIO

Just under one in five (74, 19.6%) of all homicides consisted of killings resulting from masculine confrontations. One central element of these killings is that homicide was not the initial intent of the encounter. This scenario typically begins in an argument, that dispute escalating to the point where a fight breaks out, and then the lethal violence follows. In its initial stages, then, the parties involved were not anticipating that a death would result. It is not uncommon, in fact, for many of the participants in such events to leave the scene unaware of the deadly consequences of the physical confrontation that has taken place.

A second feature of this violence is that it is fundamentally masculine in character, involving virtually only males in roles both of offender and victim. Only one account was found a woman drew upon a confrontational script in carrying out her homicide (the victim was a woman as well).

A third feature which serves to exert virtually a definitional stamp on this violence is its class composition. Confrontational violence is fundamentally either under or working class behaviour. In only two cases were the participants drawn from such professional or service occupations as teacher, accountant, social worker, physician, lawyer, public servant, or similar occupational categories.

A fourth common feature of these killings is that they are most likely to occur in leisure scenes that are "open" in character. These are settings where underclass or working class males congregate or at least come into contact with each other. One major venue is the pub or disco, where seventeen of these killings took place (23% of the confrontational homicides). Somewhat more of the confrontations took place in streets, roads or laneways, often adjacent to pubs (22, or 30%). Other venues included parks or beaches (4, or 6%), at parties or BBQs (4 or 6%), in transport settings such as trains or buses (2 cases, or 3%), or in such scattered settings as car parks, public toilets or pin ball parlours. There were, as well, sixteen cases (24%) which occurred in the home or flat of either the victim or the offender, most often the location being the scene of a party..

In most instances, the events leading up to the homicide were played out in front of a backdrop of male peers. There was an audience of such peers in 44 (or 65%) of the confrontational homicides. Confronted with a challenge to their honour with an audience of male peers, the central actors feel pressured to show that they are not "wimps," or persons who "can be shoved around." In some instances, of course, these peers became directly involved in the initial fight which led to the death, with a small number involving two groups which were in conflict.

A further aspect of these leisure scenes is the likelihood that alcohol will be involved. Alcohol use of the victim or the offender, or both, was noted in 66 (or 89%) of these confrontational homicides. The alcohol use, which in some cases resulted in extraordinary blood alcohol levels being observed, provides a further fix on the masculine recreational nature of the settings where the violence is likely to flare.

There are other aspects of confrontational violence that are more variable. One of these concerns the time frame over which the violence takes place. Some of the encounters are exceptional brief, and the lethal violence sudden. The male participants meet, words are exchanged, a fight starts, the violence escalates rapidly with the death being the result. Over half (41, or 55%) of the confrontational homicides involved events that took place within one half of an hour, many of these within five or ten minutes.

Other confrontational encounters extend longer through time, often being interrupted. In some cases the interruption occurs because one of the participants leaves the scene to fetch a weapon (generally a knife, but in some accounts a gun), this taking place in 23 (or 31%) of these homicides. In other accounts, the conflict escalates over time, and takes many hours, or even days, to reach its lethal conclusion.

It is characteristic of some confrontational encounters that the roles of the participants may become confused. In about half of the cases, for example, the homicide falls into the category of what Wolfgang (1958) termed "victim precipitated homicide," that is, the individual who first initiated the violence ultimately became the victim of the lethal violence. There are other examples of what are clearly confrontation violence, where the killing was a result of some form of honour contest between males, but where the specific victim of the violence was not part of the actual conflict that led to the taking of his life.

The specific provocation may be difficult to establish. At times, it is a simple and direct challenge to the masculinity of another male. Sometimes the provocation results from an insult to the woman friend of a male. A reasonably common scenario in the multicultural environment of Victoria is that ethnic tensions or slurs may provide the spark for the violence. In some cases where the conflict between the parties has extended through time, it may not be possible to isolate an initial provocation which has resulted in the chain of events which lead ultimately to the taking of the life of the victim. In general, then, while masculine "reputation"," "status," or "honour" is at the heart of most confrontations, the specific form of the provocation in individual cases may be difficult to determine.

In the previous research (Polk and Ranson, 1991), a distinction was drawn between homicides which resulted from masculine

confrontations and those which emerged from the intimate relationship of friendship. Additional data, however, have made it clear that such a differentiation cannot be maintained in all accounts. In some instances, the males caught up in situations where a status contest resulted in homicide were also friends (this occurred in 14 of the 74 accounts, or 19% of the confrontational homicides). Most commonly this might occur at a scene such as a party where a group of males are drinking together, where insults flare between victim and offender, and the confrontation ends in the death of the victim. While in general the interactional dynamics of these "friendship/confrontational" killings were identical to other confrontational homicides, one difference of these was that they were more likely to occur in the home of one of the parties (7 of the 14, or 50%, compared with 26% for all confrontational homicides).

CONFLICT RESOLUTION ON THE MARGIN

A second major form of masculine homicide consists of a pattern that has been given the label "conflict resolution on the margin." Most often (but not always) this is found among individuals who have been close enough in the bond of friendship to share resources such as money, housing or drugs. Further, they tend to be exceptionally marginal in an economic and social sense. Typically, for example, both victim and offender will be unemployed, and will have a history of criminal convictions (often including a term in prison), and will be involved in the use and sale of hard drugs.

In this scenario, a conflict emerges between the parties, most commonly over money or related economic matters. The distinctive feature of this particular pattern of homicide is that the parties are unable to resolve their dispute by conventional means. If the offender has a long history of criminal convictions, and finds himself in a position where the victim owes him a large amount of money as a consequence of a deal concerning heroin, he can hardly seek arbitration of the matter in the conventional legal system. The disputes are not transitory matters which result in a quick flaring of violence (a common feature of confrontational violence), but tend to be organized around deep-seated issues which over time have divided the two parties.

There were, in all, thirty-eight such killings in the 1985-1989 period, these accounting then for 10.1% of all homicides. Of these thirty-six involved males as victims (96% of these homicides), while there were thirty-two cases which involved males as both offenders and victims (82%), so that this pattern once again is a distinctively masculine form of lethal violence.

In the previous research (Polk and Ranson, 1991), this pattern was considered as a major sub-theme of intimate homicide emerging from the bond of friendship. The collection of additional data made clear, however, that while this was true in roughly ninety percent of the cases (34 of the 38, or 89%), there were some instances where there was a long-lasting dispute between persons who were not close friends, where since that dispute was in the eyes of the offender beyond resolution through conventional arbitration procedures, lethal violence was employed.

The dispute itself concerned money or property (for example a drug debt) in seventeen of these accounts (or 45% of the conflict resolution cases), while in seven (18%) of the cases involved a dispute concerning criminal activity (including cases where the offender believed that the victim might testify against him in court, or where it was believed that the victim was a police informer). Other sources of dispute included family matters (such as the claim that the victim was bashing or abusing another family member), and in some instances the two high marginal individuals had been in conflict over a long period of time so that the final violence was a culmination of accumulated disputes.

HOMICIDE IN THE COURSE OF OTHER CRIME

The third form of basically masculine homicide is that which occurs in the course of other criminal behaviour. In this case the general definition is quite clear, in that the killing is one which can be viewed as originating in the decision on the part of an individual to engage in criminal activity. Thus, in the idealized scenario, the offender sets out to engage in one particular criminal act (armed robbery, burglary or rape, for common examples), and the lethal violence emerges in the course of the commission of that act.

Overall, there were sixty such killings in the 1985-1989 period (accounting for 16.0% of all homicides). Many of these (29 of the 60, or 48%) involved "double victims," i.e., individuals who were first the victims of a crime such as armed robbery or burglary, who then become victims of homicide as a result of something happening during the commission of the first crime.

There are other forms that such homicides can take, however. Most obviously, the tables can turn suddenly on an individual who is engaged in a criminal act, and that individual (virtually always a male) becomes the victim of homicide. There were eighteen of these "criminal offender becomes homicide victim" cases (30% of the cases of homicide in the course of other crime), including ten who were shot by police.

Some who become involved in a criminal way of life mis-step somehow along the way, and become the target of professional or contract killers. In this sub-theme to the major scenario, what is assumed is that offenders have been engaged in a long-term pattern of criminal activity, and that the killing is a consequence, and flows out of, that criminal activity. There were nine such cases (15% of the homicide in the course of other crime accounts).

A final form of homicide which is included here consists of police who become victims of homicide (4 cases, or 7% of such homicides). In some cases, the killing takes places when a police officer attempts to interrupt the course of a crime being engaged in by the defendant. Other cases are somewhat more complex, and flow out of a complex set of steps which have provoked deep resentment among persons firmly caught up in criminal lives, who then seek revenge by killing police.

Looking across the various forms of homicide which fall within the boundaries of the scenario of homicide in the course of other crime, it is clear that the criminal offenders are in most cases males who are exceptionally marginal, often combining underclass status with a history of criminal offences. The criminality which provides the initial stimulus for the violence in many of these accounts (especially those involving double victims, or offender victims) seems to reflect a willingness to engage in exceptional risk-taking, both with the lives of others and, as well, with their own lives.

SCENARIOS OF VIOLENCE

What has become clear in with the addition of further homicide data from the 1987-1990 period is the important point that these three styles of homicide are best viewed as scenarios of violence, rather than "types" (in a strict sense) of homicide. As such, these represent stylized forms of action, or guides to action, to be drawn upon if and when circumstances merit their use. In some situations these are like scripts which define the roles for various participants in the interaction.

The scenarios are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and in fact at times the will blur into each other. For example, there are encounters which begin as masculine confrontations, which appear in the initial stages to have the form of contests of honour, but which as the stages unfold merges into a scene in which the victim of the homicide is robbed as well as killed. Such a homicide will contain elements of the scenarios of both confrontational homicides and homicides resulting from the course of other crime.

The emergence of violence between friends illustrates some of the analytic issues that dictate the use of a term like "scenario." In some situations, the violence that erupts between friends is sudden, and in response to a challenge laid to the masculine reputation of the offender, and the resultant interaction conforms closely to the confrontation scenario. In other cases, the breakdown is slower, the grievances building up over a longer period of time, and the violence becomes a device which fits within the scenario of conflict resolution. There is an obvious potential for blurring here in cases which theoretically can be seen as sitting somewhere in the boundary between these forms.

A similar blurring can occur among individuals who are deeply enmeshed in a pattern of criminal life. In is common in these accounts to find two individuals who have formed a close bond of friendship while in prison. They come out of prison, and perhaps begin by sharing a flat. As one of their sources of income, they begin to deal in drugs. One of the two borrows money from the other for a drug deal, which for one reason or another doesn't work out. The person who has borrowed the money (for obvious criminal purposes) feels he does not owe the money back. The lender believes he does. They begin to argue. The borrower refuses to budge, and because of the continued arguments moves out of the shared accommodation.

The dispute continues to build, however, and finally produces a lethal outcome as one becomes the homicide victim of the other. Such a killing fits within the boundaries we have established for the conflict resolution scenario: two marginal individuals, caught up in a dispute which runs through time, who, lacking other means to arbitrate their disagreement, turn to violence as the ultimate solution. At the same time, however, it could be argued that the killing is a by-product of the pattern of criminal activity involved in the selling of drugs. Such an over-lap is clear as well in cases involving professional killings.

These would pose a considerable problem of analysis if we proceeded with the assumption that each homicide had to fit strictly within either to a "confrontational," a "conflict resolution" or "homicide in the course of other crime" pattern. It is our position, however, that such overlap merely helps to underscore the utility in the use of the term "scenario." These patterns constitute known and available guides of action, something akin to scripts, which actors in the scene draw upon as ways of addressing life situations. As such, it is not unreasonable to expect that in some situations actors may be operating with some mix of these scripts. While some homicides may illustrate one of the three male-to-male scenarios in their relatively pure form, in others these may be found to be overlapped.

THEORETICAL ACCOUNTS OF MASCULINE VIOLENCE

Despite the fact that males dominate the statistics on homicide, relatively little attention has been paid to the issue of masculinity in much of the literature on homicide (with the exception of the work of Daly and Wilson, 1988). One potentially useful line of inquiry, especially in terms of confrontational homicide, was that suggested in the work of Luckenbill (1977).

LUCKENBILL'S SIX STAGE MODEL OF CONFLICT

Luckenbill argued that homicide can be viewed as the outcome of a dynamic interaction involving a victim, an offender and the audience in front of whom these actors play. He observed that such interactions can be seen as moving through six stages. The first stage consists of an "opening move" performed by the victim and defined by the offender as on offense to "face." This opening move could be a direct, verbal expression by the victim, it might consist of the refusal of the victim to cooperate or comply with the requests of the offender, or it might consist of some physical or nonverbal gesture which the offender subsequently defines as offensive.

The second stage where murder was involved resulted when the offender interpreted the victim's opening move as offensive. Luckenbill makes clear that it may not be the victim's intention to be offensive. What is at issue is the interpretation on the part of the offender.

In the third stage the offender, rather than excusing or ignoring the provocation, or leaving the scene, responds with a "retaliatory move aimed at restoring face and demonstrating strong character." (Luckenbill, 1977:181) In most cases, this consisted of a verbal or physical challenge being issued to the victim. In a small number of cases, the interaction ends at this stage, since the offender in issuing the challenge actually kills the victim.

In the fourth stage, the victim has been placed in a problematic position by the challenge laid down by the offender. A range of options potentially exist, an apology might be extended, the behaviour perceived by the offender as offensive might be discontinued, or the victim might leave the scene. Instead, the victim stood up to the challenge, and entered into a working "...agreement with the proffered definition of the situation as one suited for violence." Luckenbill, 1977:183)

In the fifth stage, the offender and victim are committed to battle. Fearful of "displaying weakness in character and consequent loss of face," the two evolved a "working agreement that violence was appropriate." (Luckenbill, 1977:184) In some

cases, the parties sought out and secured weapons to support their verbal threats and challenges.

In the sixth stage, after the victim had fallen, there were three ways that the situation was terminated. In over half of the cases the offender fled the scene, while in the remaining cases the offender either voluntarily remained or was held for the police by members of the social audience.

There are many of the male-to-male homicides, especially the brief confrontational killings, which seem fit particularly well with the model of conflict posed by Luckenbill. It is in these encounters where it is possible to trace the movement from the initial move by one of the actors, through the stages which result in the lethal violence:

> Gabe W. (32, soldier) boarded a train at Flinders Street Station after an evening of drinking with his friends (his blood alcohol level was subsequently established to be .224). When Gabe attempted to take a seat, Mike M. ordered him, "offensively," to move on to another seat. Challenged, Gabe refused, and attempted to force his way onto the seat. Mike leaped up and struck Gabe, and the two fought. Although Gabe received a number of blows, and was kneed in the face, he finally managed to pin Mike down.
>
> Witnesses relate that at this point Gabe said: "If you don't stop now, I'll break your neck." Then, believing that Mike would stop, Gabe released him. Mike instead produced a knife, stabbing Gabe three times in the chest. One of the blows penetrated the heart. Gabe collapsed and died in the aisle. (Case No. 4714-86)

In this account, the opening move is made when Mike tells Gabe to find another seat. Stage Two follows when Gabe interprets the move as offensive, and then Stage Three occurs when Gabe, rather than looking for a seat elsewhere, challenges Mike by attempting to take the seat. Mike in moving to Stage Four then "must stand up to the challenge" which he does by springing up fists ready, which then leads to the actual fight (Stage Five), and then Gabe's fatal stabbing. Mike then left the scene, and was apprehended later by police (Stage Six).

It became clear as an attempt was made to apply the six-stage model to other homicides that there apparently were some differences in the Victorian data and those available to Luckenbill. Despite the fact that the records were reasonably extensive, at times it simply was not possible to trace all of the stages, even in confrontational homicides.

One persistent problem was that posed by the homicides whose events were extended in time. There was one account, for an example, where the only information available was that P.C., a male, walked up to P.K., another male, who is drinking in pub, and shots him with a rifle (Stages Four and Five of the model). P.C. the fled, and was apprehended later by the police (Stage Six). While P.C. alleged that P.K. and some of his friends had "set him up" sometime in the past, the specific form of Stages One, Two and Three, the opening moves, could not be determined from the Coroner's files.

In another account, two groups of young males had been feuding from many months. The death resulted when one group finally decided to corner a small number of members of the other group at a meeting hall where they were practicing martial arts. When the group broke into the hall, a collective fight began. One of the members of the group being attacked broke out a rifle, firing a number of shots which wounded several members of the attacking group, one of whom was fatally hurt. Here the problems with the model are multiple. For one, the origins of the feud (the initial Stages One, Two, Three) have been lost in time. For another, given the group character of the conflict, whatever the original stages were, they may not have involved those who played major roles in the final stages of the drama. While the groups could be seen as moving through a series of stages in building up to the lethal encounter, the specific individuals who became victim and offender may have had limited roles in the stages prior to the final lethal encounter.

There were other cases which moved through developmental phases, but the ultimate victim played no part in the evolving interactions. In one account, a young male spent an evening drinking in a pub, becoming drunk and abusive. The bartender and bouncer begin the specific train of events by ejecting the man from the pub. The man's honour was offended by this affront. To retaliate, he climbed in his van (he was by occupation a plumber) and proceeded to drive at great speed in circles around the pub parking lot, swerving first toward, then away from, patrons as they came out of the pub. On his final pass at a patron, piping material detached from the roof, and a patron who had just left the pub was struck and killed.

Here there was a complex interaction involving an offender and "others" as events built up toward the homicide, but there was no evidence that the victim played any role other than to walk out of the pub at the wrong time. This was not a unique case. In another, males in two cars exchanged insults, and were in the process of chasing and harassing each other, when one of the cars spun off the road and killed an unrelated bystander who happened to be walking along the road.

The events involve interactions, these interactions may flow through stages, those stages may involve challenges and counter-

challenges to masculine honour, but as events proceed to their final lethal conclusion, the roles of victim and offender may not be as neat and clear as implied in the model laid out by Luckenbill.

Finally, there is the claim by Luckenbill that these six stages characterized all homicide cases regardless of such factors as "age, sex, race, time and place, use of alcohol, and proffered motive." (Luckenbill, 1977:186) In the present study the greatest applicability seems to be in the three forms of masculine violence which are the primary focus here. While possibly relevant in some accounts of intimate violence, these stages would not be found in cases involving sexual intimates where the extremely depressed males plans suicide, to be preceded by the homicide of his female partner. Nor would it apply to cases of infanticide, where the offender is engaged in a complicated denial of the existence of the victim.

It is our general conclusion, therefore, that while of some heuristic value, the observation of Luckenbill that his model fits all homicides cannot be confirmed. While in general it seems that our data are rather deep and rich in comparison to some other data sets of homicide, there are a number of events where it simply is not possible to identify each of the six stages in the model. Furthermore, in several of the scenarios of homicide that we have found (especially involving intimates), the dynamics clearly do not unfold in the stages laid down by Luckenbill.

In many of the killings, however, especially those confrontations which move quickly to the point where it becomes lethal in its consequences, it is possible to identify a developing dynamic that has some correspondent to Luckenbill's model. In these situations, we can agree with Luckenbill when he asserts:

> "...homicide does not appear as a one-sided event with an unwitting victim assuming a passive, non-contributory role. Rather, murder is the outcome of a dynamic interchange between an offender, victim, and, in many cases, bystanders. (Luckenbill, 1977:185)

THE ISSUE OF CLASS AND GENDER AND ECONOMIC MARGINALITY

Perhaps the most important failing of Luckenbill is that while he describes an important pattern of interaction, and that both victim and offender may play significant roles in that interaction, the model does not provide any clues as to why the offender and victim become involved in what proves to be a homicide. Luckenbill (1977:186) comes close when he underscores the importance of the role of "...maintaining face and reputation

and demonstrating character," language which implies a masculine motivation for the violence. As his description stands, however, it provides a potential helpful description of the interactive dynamics that make up a confrontational encounter, but it does not address either the gender characteristics or the economic marginality that feature so strongly in male-to-male violence.

It is the present contention that it is important to see confrontations as "contests of honour" in which the maintenance of "face" or reputation is a central matter. Further, these are seen as quintessential masculine matters. We agree, then, with Daly and Wilson (1988) who have argued that it is males who become involved in violence around the issue of reputation:

> A seemingly minor affront is not merely a "stimulus" to action, isolated in time and space. It must be understood within a larger social context of reputations, face, relative social status, and enduring relationships. Men are known by their fellows as "the sort who can be pushed around" or "the sort that won't take any shit," as people whose word means action and people who are full of hot air, as guys whose girlfriends you can chat up with impunity or guys you don't want to mess with. In most social milieus, a man's reputation depends in part upon the maintenance of a credible threat of violence. (Daly and Wilson, 1988:128)

The theoretical account provided by Daly and Wilson is one of the few that recognizes the diverse forms of masculine violence that make up contemporary homicide patterns. It is their argument that the general thread of masculinity that runs through homicide reflects forms of male aggressiveness can be accounted for by biological processes of adaptation. One problem with such a biological view is that while it potentially moves us toward an understanding of the masculine character of violence, it is less satisfactory in its ability to account for the social class component of masculine violence.

The lethal violence being examined here is defined both by its class and gender characteristics. It is predominantly male and working/under-class behaviour. How is it that we can account for these two features of confrontational homicide?

A possible line of argumentation which might help here has been advanced recently by the anthropologist Gilmore (1990). In reviewing data on masculinity across a number of cultures, Gilmore concluded that there were three essential features to masculinity:

> To be man in most of the societies we have looked at, one must impregnate women, protect dependents from

> danger, and provision kith and kin. (Gilmore, 1990:223)

In many societies, these "male imperatives" involve risks, and masculinity can be both dangerous and competitive:

> In fulfilling their obligations, men stand to lose---a hovering threat that separates them from women and boys. They stand to lose their reputations or their lives; yet their prescribed tasks must be done if the group is to survive and prosper. (Gilmore, 1990:223)

At this level, the argument is consistent with that of Daly and Wilson, and needs extension to encompass the class data we have observed regarding masculinity and violence. A possible line of reasoning is established in Gilmore's argument about the impact of differential social organization on masculinity:

> The data show a strong connection between the social organization of production and the intensity of the male image. That is, manhood ideologies are adaptations to social environments, not simply autonomous mental projections or psychic fantasies writ large. The harsher the environment and the scarcer the resources, the more manhood is stressed as inspiration and goal. (Gilmore, 1990:224)

If Gilmore is correct, it would seem reasonable to argue by extension that the contemporary male who possesses economic advantages is able to provide for the base for the procreative, provisioning and protective functions through his economic resources, and these same resources provide the underpining for his competition with other males for a mate. In other words, physical prowess and aggression no longer become necessary for the economically advantaged male to assure his competence in reproduction, provision or protection.

For males at the bottom of the economic heap, however, the lack of access to economic resources has the consequence of rendering these issues, and therefore their sense of masculinity, as problematic. For such males, the expression and defense of their masculinity may come through violence. Messerschmidt, for one, has argued along these lines:

> Some marginalized males adapt to their economic and racial powerlessness by engaging in, and hoping to succeed at, competition for personal power with rivals of their own class, race and gender. For these marginalized males, the personal power struggle with other marginalized males becomes a mechanism for exhibiting and confirming masculinity....The marginalized male expresses himself through a "collective toughness, a masculine performance"

> observed and cheered by his "buddies." Members of the macho street culture have and maintain a strong sense of honor. As he must constantly prove his masculinity, an individual's reputation is always at stake. (Messerschmidt, 1986:70)

There are deeply rooted aspects of culture which place men in a competition with other men in terms of their reputation or honour. Assuming that Gilmore (1990) is correct in his assertion that the bases of masculine rivalry derive from competition regarding mating, provisioning and protecting, males who are well integrated into roles of economic success are able to ground their masculinity through methods other than physical confrontations and violence. For economically marginal males, however, physical toughness and violence become a major avenue by which they can assert their masculinity and defend themselves against what they see as challenges from other males.

It is the defence of honour that makes what another might consider a "trivial" provocation for some to be the grounds for a confrontation which builds to homicide. It was Wolfgang who first observed the phenomenon of the apparent triviality of events which provoke some homicides:

> Despite diligent efforts to discern the exact and precise factors involved in an altercation or domestic quarrel, police officers are often unable to acquire information other than the fact that a trivial argument developed, or an insult was suffered by one or both of the parties. (Wolfgang, 1958:188)

It seems clear, however, that what is trivial to a firmly respectable observer may be quite central to the marginal actor's sense of masculinity. Daly and Wilson (1988) have argued along similar lines:

> A seemingly minor affront is not merely a "stimulus" to action, isolated in time and space. It must be understood within a larger social context of reputations, face, relative social status, and enduring relationships. Men are known by their fellows as "the sort who can be pushed around" or "the sort that won't take any shit," as people whose word means action and people who are full of hot air, as guys whose girlfriends you can chat up with impunity or guys you don't want to mess with. In most social milieus, a man's reputation depends in part upon the maintenance of a credible threat of violence. (Daly and Wilson, 1988:128)

These comments are, in fact, not inconsistent with Wolfgang's observations. After the sentence noting the apparently "trivial"

character in some of the disputes leading to homicide, Wolfgang goes on to observe:

> Intensive reading of the police files and of verbatim reports of interrogations...suggest that the significance of a jostle, a slight derogatory remark, or the appearance of a weapon...are stimuli differentially perceived and interpreted...Quick resort to physical combat as a measure of daring, courage, or defense of status appears to be a cultural expectation, especially for lower class males...(Wolfgang, 1958:189)

Further, Wolfgang (1958:189) is explicit in his statement that it is the observers in the criminal justice system who, drawing upon middle and upper class values which have influenced the shaping of legal norms, have seen the disputes which lead to homicide as trivial in origin. For the lower class players in the homicide drama, the challenge to manhood is far from a trivial matter.

COMMENTS ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CRIMINALITY AND RISK TAKING

While the central ideas of masculinity, reputation, and competition apply most directly to male-to-male homicides which correspond to the confrontational scenario, it is only a short extension to extend these to the other forms of masculine homicide. In the case of homicides arising out of other crime, a central issue would appear to be the willingness on the part of an offender to engage in exceptional risk taking either with the lives of victims or with their own. This risk taking is emphatically masculine, and, as well, it involves an existence of extreme marginality. Women, too, are found in circumstances of such extreme marginality, but which such women engage in criminal behaviour, they seek out forms of crime which rarely expose victims to threats of violence. Once again, then, the theoretical issue becomes masculine competitiveness, and the willingness of males in underclass circumstances to draw upon toughness and violence in seeking to seize illegally economic advantages possessed by other (predominantly) males.

In the case of conflict resolution, the central issue would again appear to be a dispute which also can be viewed as an issue of sharpened competitiveness. Stripped of other economic resources, but pushed by the competitive desire to assert one's ability as a male to gather resources (to provision, in Gilmore's terms), the recourse to violence becomes a device whereby the marginal male can have some chance of success in attaining money or other scarce resources. This willingness to risk deadly violence, as it were, begins in the eyes of these males to tip the economic balance in their favour.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The purpose of the present research has been to examine the scenarios of violence which are found in these male-on-male killings. In looking at the violence itself, we have identified three distinct themes that run through accounts of these masculine killings. By treating these themes within the framework of scenarios, we have called attention to the common courses that the actions of the participants take, which might be understood much as if they were scripts in a drama. It is as if the culture makes available to males widely known and recognized patterned courses of action which are to be invoked in particular circumstances.

One set of circumstances involves scenes where masculine honour is threatened and must be defended. A second involves the willingness to take exceptional risks in engaging in criminal behaviour, such that violence is brought into play in the course of that criminal activity. The third involves individuals who have been closely bound together in friendship, where conflicts have emerged over time and these individuals reach the point where they reach out to ultimate violence as a way of resolving the dispute between the competing parties.

To state that these are distinctively masculine forms of behaviour moves us only part way to and understanding of the nature of the phenomena involved. Even the observation that almost no males of middle or upper class origins are involved carries us only to the question of why such males, and indeed the many non-violent working class or underclass males, choose to avoid these scenarios of violence.

This avoidance is not a result of ignorance of the violent scenarios. Males of virtually all classes certainly learn as a part of growing up the rules that hold for these scripts. Boys commonly are urged not to be "sissies" or "wimps," and are not infrequently thrust into situations involving physical competitiveness and confrontation to demonstrate their emerging worth as a male. One is taught from an early age to defend one's honour, and that of women intimates.

Both young and mature males thereby come to know the available "scripts of confrontation" that might be played out in a public scene, say in a pub, when another male lays down a challenge in the form of an insult either to the male or perhaps to his female companion. The critical question that then emerges is: what is it that serves to divert potentially violent situations in the direction of non-violence? In his study of violent actors, Athens (1980) refers to this as "restraining judgment," which occurs when:

> ...the actor breaks out of a fixed line of indication and decides that he should not carry out his violent plan of action into overt conduct. He redefines the situation and on the basis of his new definition of it he now judges that he should not act violently. Thus, in forming a restraining judgment, the actor completely drops or shelves the violent plan of action which had built up and his violent interpretation of the situation subsides. (Athens, 1980:31)

Athens notes that there are a number of factors which might bring about these redefinitions. The individual may fear that his violence will be unsuccessful, perhaps he fears that he will damage the relationship between himself and the other person, or for some reason he must extend deference to that person, or perhaps the other person makes some change in the situation which alters the demand for violence. As well, Athens notes that some deflect themselves away from violence because of a fear of the legal repercussions (Athens, 1980:31-36).

One of the more interesting lines of future research may call for an exploration of these, and other, factors which restrain males from violence. Masculine scenarios of action are complex, and there are situations in which violent and non-violent scripts compete with each other in terms of their salience. It would be important to know more about the precise conditions under which potential violent situations become transformed, and nonviolent scenarios are played out, instead. Advances in the study of violent behaviour, in other words, may result from paying closer attention to how it is that nonviolent scripts emerge to restrain actors in potentially violent situations.

THE ISSUE OF GANGS

The highly visible forms of gang conflict in the U.S. have raised questions about the possibility that this form of masculine violence may be spreading to Australia as well. In Victoria, the media have focused attention on the behaviour of groups such as the "3147 gang" (so-called because of the postal code of the neighbourhood), and one forensic specialist was quoted as being concerned that Victoria was "...heading towards becoming a state of warring gangs" (Melbourne Herald-Sun, 7 August, 1991, p.2).

Answering the question of the degree to which there is a "gang problem" requires some clarity and agreement regarding the use of the term "gang." There is nothing new, obviously, in collective crime in Australia. In the nineteenth century there was the "Kelly gang" and the "larrikin" problem in cities such as Sydney and Melbourne. In the United States, however, the gang problem

tends to have a more specific meaning. One concise definition offered was:

> A youth gang is a self-formed association of peers, bound together by mutual interests, with identifiable leadership, well-developed lines of authority, and other organizational features, who act in concert to achieve a specific purpose of purposes which generally include the conduct of illegal activity and control over a particular territory, facility, or type of enterprise. (Miller, 1980:121)

Some have argued this such a definition is a bit too general, and somehow doesn't capture some of the common features of the American street gang. As an alternative, Spergel has suggested the following as a description of gang activity:

> The gang, particularly the violent street gang, can be distinguished from the delinquent or criminal group. It usually has a primary commitment to achieving its interests through violence. It tends to be larger and better organized than most delinquent or criminal groups. It may comprise individuals of similar or varied ages, often aggregated or designated by age limits such as "futures," peewees or midgets, juniors and seniors or "old heads." Its structure includes leaders, core or regular, and marginal or peripheral members. Its leadership may be individual or corporate...The gang usually has a name, an insignia, or colours; a tradition, sometimes extending over decades; and a turf or territory, or many turfs or territories, to which it establishes special claims and rights. It may engage in a wide range of activities, criminal and non-criminal. An underlying characteristic is not so much conflict as peer competition for status or notoriety through violent activities, as well as protection and maintenance of turf or income producing interests. (Spergel, 1984:201)

A recent empirical study of U.S. gangs offered the following more complicated definition:

> ...a gang is an organized social system that is both quasi-private (not fully open to the public) and quasi-secretive (much of the information concerning its business remains confined within the group) and one whose size and goals have necessitated that social interaction be governed by a leadership structure that has defined roles: where the authority associated with these roles has been legitimized to the extent that social codes are operational to regulate the behaviour of both the leadership and the

> rank and file; that plans and provides not only for the social and economic services of its members, but also for its own maintenance as an organization; that pursues such goals irrespective of whether the action is legal or not; and that lacks a bureaucracy (i.e., an administrative staff that is hierarchically organized and separate from leadership). (Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991:28-29)

While there is not complete agreement among these writers, it would seem that in the American scene the term "gang" is likely to refer to a group that has a relatively high degree of organization, with an explicit leadership structure, a defined territory which is part of the gang identity, and clear colours or other insignia which set them apart. Using these rough guidelines, it would appear that such formalized gangs are rarely encountered in Australian communities. While for a short time after the appearance of the movie "Colors" there was a bit of faddish copying of American gang characteristics (including the wearing of colors), in the Melbourne environment there is little that resembles American street gangs.

At the same time, there are groupings of young people, especially originating in lower and underclass environments, whose collective behaviour is seen by the wider community as "troublesome." The groupings tend to be loosely organized, and lack a clear leadership structure. While they may emerge from a particular neighbourhood, their activities are spread over a reasonably wide geographical area. There may be some amount of activity in the neighbourhood, but it is highly likely that the group will be mobile, often flowing through the major spokes of the public transportation system (buses, trams and trains) into such readily available public scenes as train stations, shopping malls, pubs, parks or reserves, or even the streets and sidewalks.

There is some amount of masculine group behaviour which involves violence. What seems distinctive about the violence in Australia is that much of the conflict between groups seems to result from what can be seen as the "social friction" that occurs as groups flow past each other in these public scenes. When conflict between two groups took place which led to a homicide, it often happened outside the neighbourhood of both groups. For examples, there was the account of a young Chinese lad who with his friends had come into the central Chinese district of Melbourne, and as he was walking down the street, he called out in Chinese insults aimed at Vietnamese. The lad and his friends stopped in at a pin ball parlour and begin to play the games, when they were suddenly attacked by a group of young Vietnamese, and the Chinese teenager receives a fatal stab wound. In another account, a Vietnamese teenager became the victim of a homicide when he and his group of friends were assaulted by a group of youth "Old Australians" on the Flinders Street Station steps, and the lad was felled by a

punch and struck the back of his head on the steps when he collapsed.

Another form of collective violence in the public space which finds its way into homicide files is that involving assaults on homosexuals. In these, groups of young males will set out to find gay men in some of the known haunts, most commonly toilet blocks of particular parks, then bash them up, at times severely enough to cause fatal injuries.

Sometimes the frictional effects between groups occur closer to home, as in the case of a group of Western suburbs young males who were sharing New Years drinks at their local park when another young male came by in his car. Insults were exchanged, and the car was surrounded by the group in the park, and the proceeded to kick at the car, and throw beer bottles at the driver. The driver sped off, but only to gather up reinforcements to return for a major brawl, in which one of the park group suffered fatal head injuries when bashed on the head by a garden stake.

Through these accounts it can be seen that there is a theme of collective violence involving competing groups of young males which runs through these accounts of homicide. Further, the violence is closely linked to the dynamics of the groups, and the styles of conflict that develop between them. In this, there is much in common with U.S. data on violence, including probably a fair proportion of events which become classified as "gang homicides."

At the same time, while there is group violence, what is not present in the current Australian scene are formally organized and structured gangs. These Australian groups do not have a formal leadership structure, they do not wear insignia which sets them apart from other gangs, and there is not a clear identification with, and protection of, their local territory. Homicide in Australia can be seen to be a frequent product of group activity, but not as a feature of the ritualized and formalized gang conflict found in the larger cities of the United States.

SOME POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

From the patterns observed in the present data, it has been suggested that the major sources of violence appear to reside in behaviour patterns closely identified with masculinity and economic marginality. These have to be seen as deep and enduring features of social life in Australia, and certainly they are not amenable to any quick fix. At the same time, there are some policy directions that are worth considering.

There are some educational directions that might be examined, especially in light of the implications of the notion of "scenarios" of violence. Confronted with a situation which might follow a path toward violence, what are the available scenarios which might deflect the action along non-violent directions? An argument could be made that teenage males (and females) in the classroom setting of the school might be confronted with various of the situations which have a potential for violence. The educational task could then be to create or demonstrate the various scripts by which the action might be played out, in particular those which serve to reduce conflict and violence. The young people could then role play these scenarios, and thus gain a form of direct experience both with potential scenes of violence, and then more importantly, with some of the alternative scripts that might deflect the collective action in non-violent directions.

The underlying premise is that in general young people have only the vaguest outlines of the concrete rules that hold for scenes that are violent. While there is a general awareness of the need to defend one's honour, there is little opportunity to practice ways that an individual can move in and out of difficult scenes in such a way that the sense of honour is preserved, yet violence is avoided. Schools, in other words, might give specific attention to the teaching of personal techniques for conflict resolution and conflict avoidance.

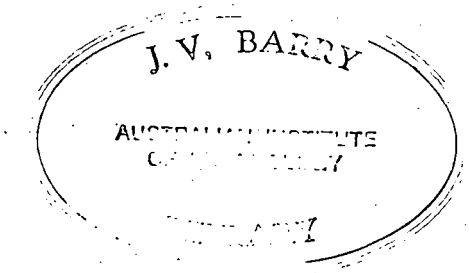
At the same time, a persistent feature of extreme violence is that it appears to be tied closely to conditions of economic marginality. This implies that violence reduction may require policies that are directed at coming to grips with the exceptional levels of unemployment now being experienced by young people in Australia. Significant changes have occurred in the shape of the labour force in Australia such a large percentage of young people find that after leaving school their transition to adulthood through a finding a job is blocked. For such individuals, this presents a major problem in identity formation. The disruption of the transition means that the routine ways of gaining access to conventional adult identities are put out of reach. Unemployment for them, in short, is about much more than simply not finding a job. Those caught in this social limbo, disconnected from much of conventional community life, readily drift into the various forms of marginal masculine cultures which are supportive of violence.

Solving this emergent problem of disrupted transition requires that major effort be given to the development of strategies aimed at structural change of the labour force so that new entry portals are created which allow access to career work to those who are young, inexperienced, with relatively little to offer in the way of skills are qualifications. If Australia fails the meet this challenge, it may face the major consequences in terms of various forms of troublesome behaviour posed by underclass

youth. Certainly, from the data reviewed here, an expansion of the pool of underclass may increase pressures both to engage in exceptional risk taking which in extreme circumstances result in armed robbery and homicide, and to force males into positions where they see violence as the available mechanism to define and preserve their sense of masculine honour.

At a much more direct policy level, these data serve to reinforce the need to maintain and increase controls on guns. What the various case histories demonstrate is that violence is a basic feature in the life styles of some young males, either in terms of drawing upon violence to defend their masculinity, or the willingness to risk violence in engaging in criminal behaviour. Given this propensity to resort to violence, it follows that if guns were more accessible, it could be expected that there would be a significant increase in fatalities among males resulting from gunshot wounds. While it is unrealistic to assume that illegal gun use could be completely eliminated, it can be argued, further, that any steps that would decrease access to guns would save lives, especially in those circumstances involving the rapid escalation of violence, where there is a spontaneous use of whatever weapon is at hand.

In conclusion this research has underscored the significant of masculinity in any understanding of homicide in Australia. What the investigation has outlined are particular scenarios within which male-to-male encounters lead to fatal consequences. Further research is needed to establish if the patterns found here are generalizable to other settings, both in Australia and overseas. Another goal of future research would be to examine how it is the males have set themselves into a course which might lead to exceptional violence, but they then deflect their behaviour along a non-violent path. A better understanding of these restraining judgments might create some important avenues for interventions for the control of violence.



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