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The Case for Parental Licensure

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Wait. Are they going to let me just walk Off with him? I don't know beans about babies! I don't have a license to do this. ... I mean you're given all these lessons for the unimportant things—piano-playing, typing. You're given years and years of lessons in how to balance equations, which Lord knows you will never have to do in normal life. But what about parenthood? .. Before you can drive a car you need a state-approved course of instruction, but driving a car is nothing, nothing, compared to ... raising up a new human being.

-ANNE TYLER (1988, p. 127)

We are suffering in the United States from an epidemic of crime, violence, and other social pathology. In 1993 nearly 5 million Americans were murdered, raped, robbed, or assaulted, and 19 million more were victims of property crimes. Although the U.S. Justice Department's National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994) shows only a modest rise in the rate of victimization of the (mostly middle-class) citizens surveyed since the NCVS was begun in 1973, these data are misleading. The NCVS undersamples those citizens most vulnerable to crime: the homeless, people who happen to be in hospital or in jail at the time of the survey, and especially those residents of inner-city neighborhoods and housing projects where the mostly female NCVS interviewers are reluctant to venture.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI's) Uniform Crime Report, on the other hand, indicates that index crime and especially violent crime has been increasing sharply since about 1960 (FBI, 1994). The Uniform Crime Report is a compilation of crimes reported and arrests made by police departments nationwide. The number of crimes reported to the FBI per 100,000 people in the population—that is, the crime rate—tripled from 1960 to 1992 (FBI, 1994). The rate of violent crime—murders, aggravated assaults, forcible rapes, and robberies with violence—more than tripled by 1980, decreased slightly until about 1984, and then continued its climb to nearly five *times* the 1960 rate by 1992.

Most violent crimes are committed by young males aged 15 to 25 (FBI, 1993). Part of the increase beginning in 1960 was due to the baby boomers' moving into that age of higher risk. But by 1975 they were beginning to move out of that age bracket, and the crime rate should have dropped again, but it did not. Another reason to have expected a decrease in violent crime was the increase in the proportion of the population who are elderly: The proportion of people over 65 has increased 20% since 1960 (National Center for Health Statistics, 1993b). We often think of seniors as more vulnerable, but the fact is that young people are 10 to 15 times more likely to be victims of violent crimes than are people over 65 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994, Table 20).

There has been much made in the news recently of the fact that big-city violence has decreased a few percent each year since 1993. But there were some 190,000 inmates in U.S. prisons in 1965, whereas in 1998, due to much more active policing (e.g., Anderson, 1997) and especially to stricter sentencing practices, there are 1,300,000 men in prison in the United States (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998) (a higher proportion of our male population is imprisoned than that of any other nation) and 81% of them have been convicted of at least one previous crime (Beck et al., 1993). Prison surveys in Wisconsin and New Jersey agreed in finding that the typical inmate reports having committing an average of 12 property or violent crimes during the year prior to imprisonment (Beck et al., 1993, p. 20). There are a lot of predators out there, but when more than a million of them are sequestered for years at a time, that fraction of the total at least is out of action.

But replacements are waiting in the wings. The rate of violent crime committed by juvenile offenders in 1990 was, for black youngsters aged 12 to 17, double the already high rate in 1965, while the rate for white juveniles was *four times* higher than in 1965 (FBI, 1993). These are muggings, rapes, drive-by shootings, gang-style **executions**—crimes of violence committed by boys too young to meet psychiatry's criteria for the diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder; most of these criminals are juvenile sociopaths. ("Sociopath" is defined later in this chapter.) The homicide rate among teenagers has trebled in the United States since the 1960s (Fuchs & Reklis, 1992). Juveniles from 10 to 17 years old now account for nearly one-fifth of all arrests for violent crime (Snyder & Sickmund, 1995, p. 47). According to the Centers for Disease Control (1993), which also regards violence in America as having the characteristics of an epidemic, homicide is the third most frequent cause of deaths in the U.S. workplace; indeed, it is the **most** common cause of workplace death for women (Centers for Disease Control, 1993). From Maine to California, juvenile corrections facilities (many of them relatively new) are overcrowded and dangerous, and most of the inmates have been there before. The adult prison system is so crowded that in Florida (among other states), admitting each 100 newly convicted felons requires giving early release to 100 current inmates—many of whom rob and rape and kill again during the period when, but for the forced early release, they would have been safely incarcerated.

NATURE VIA NURTURE

The last several decades of behavior-genetic research has demonstrated that most psychological traits that can be reliably measured owe from 25% to about 75% of their total variance to genetic differences (e.g., Bouchard, Lykken, McGue, Segal, & Tellegen, 1990). How is it that genetic differences can possibly determine, or even partly determine, psychological tendencies that seem obviously to depend on learning? The best guess is that the genes affect the mind largely indirectly, by influencing from infancy on-

ward the kinds of learning experiences one is likely to have (Plomin, DeFries, & Loehlin, 1977; Scarr & McCartney, 1983). Children with different genotypes elicit different reactions from their social environment, seek out different experiences, and may react differently even to the same experiences. For example, an active youngster who frequently elicits parental admonitions to “Do this” or “Stop doing that” may respond coercively. If the parent then backs off, this may initiate a series of similar experiences in which the child learns to resist parental control by increasingly aversive counterattack—a sequence Patterson and his colleagues refer to as the “three-step dance” (Patterson, 1982; Patterson, Reid, & Dishion, 1992). This child’s more passive, less aggressive sibling is likely to have quite different experiences with the same parent and to be shaped differently in consequence—that is, if the sibling is less active and aggressive.

The Psychopath

Since the beginnings of psychiatry in the early 19th century, it has been recognized that there are persons whose persisting antisocial behavior cannot be understood in terms either of psychosis or neurosis, or of antisocial rearing or environment. Benjamin Rush (1745–1813), the first American psychiatrist, described patients with “innate preternatural moral depravity” (Rush, 1812). Kraepelin, in the 1907 edition of his influential textbook, first used the term “psychopathic personality” to describe the amoral criminal type, and since Cleckley (1941), these individuals whose innate temperaments make them intractable to socialization have been called “psychopaths.” Based on the particular temperamental peculiarity involved, I think one can identify numerous species and **sub**-species of psychopaths (see Lykken, 1995, pp. 31-38)—including, for example, the “dis-tempered” type, of which the “choleric” and the “hypersexed” would be representative subspecies. The “primary” or “Cleckley” psychopath has been the most extensively studied, and I argued long ago (Lykken, 1957) that nothing more exotic than relative fearlessness accounts for at least one subspecies of primary psychopathy. Findings from the subsequent 40 years of research (reviewed in Lykken, 1995, pp. 133-16.5) provide consistent and rather impressive support for the low-fear hypothesis or for its modern incarnation as the Fowles-Gray theory of a weak behavioral inhibition system (Fowles & Missel, 1994; Gray, 1987).

An example of this **taxon** is “Monster” Kody Scott, also known as Sanyka Shakur (Shakur, 1993). Kody was a fearless boy (Horowitz, 1993, p. 32) initiated at age 12 into the Eight-Tray Gangster Crips in south central Los Angeles, where he shot his first victim that same night. Kody never knew his father, who is said to have been a professional football player. On the other hand, another fearless psychopath, Christopher Boyce (the Falcon in Lindsey’s [1979] *The Falcon and the Snowman*), was the son of a retired FBI agent with a large, well-socialized family. After being sentenced to a long term for selling secrets to the Soviets, Boyce managed a daring escape from a high-security prison and remained at large for more than a year, robbing a series of banks, in spite of the most vigorous manhunt in the history of the U.S. Marshals’ Service (Lindsey, 1983).

Not all persons who can await painful electric shocks with dry palms and inner calm are psychopaths, of course. The low-fear hypothesis says only that youngsters of this stamp will be difficult to socialize because they respond poorly to punishment, and parents tend to rely on punishment in disciplining children. One theory of conscience development (see Zahn-Waxler & Kochanska, 1988, for a survey) holds that the child, fearful of the all-powerful **big people**, **learns to introject their attitudes and values so as to be**

able to predict their reactions and thus keep out of trouble. All this is less likely to happen in a relatively fearless youngster. Kochanska (1991, 1993) has shown that skillful parental discipline at age 2 predicts effective conscience development by ages 8 to 10, but not in temperamentally less fearful children. On the other hand, fortunately, no theory of psychopathy denies that these individuals are responsive to praise or to feelings of pride and self-esteem. Clever parents rely on pride and positive reinforcement to create in their low-fear child a socialized self-concept that the youngster values and is motivated to sustain. With patience and luck, they may be able to raise that child to become a hero rather than a psychopath.

Most other theories of psychopathy (reviewed in Lykken, 1995, or in Raine, 1993) postulate some congenital peculiarity—either in temperament, as in the low-fear theory, or in brain function, as in the frontal lobe dysfunction theories of Newman, Kosson, and Patterson (1992). The pure-case psychopath is relatively rare, and therefore no adequate adoption or twin study has been done to estimate the heritability of this (these) condition(s). There is no doubt, however, that children differ congenitally and markedly in temperament (Kagan, 1994) and that Kagan's "uninhibited" children are at greater risk for delinquency and crime than those he classifies in infancy as "inhibited." As might be expected, therefore, genetic studies of criminality (e.g., Cloninger & Gottesman, 1987) or of antisocial personality (e.g., DiLalla, Gottesman, & Carey, 1993; Grove, Eckart, Heston, & Bouchard, 1990) indicate substantial heritability (.30 to .40) for these heterogeneous categories, of which psychopaths form a relatively small component.

Most crimes are committed by the relatively small proportion of unsocialized young males who are chronic offenders. The evidence reviewed briefly above suggests that this proportion is rapidly increasing. Because psychopaths, as usually defined, have an innately deviant temperament, it is unlikely that there has been a sudden surge in their relative numbers. Although it is true that unsocialized people are generally inclined to breed carelessly (and to be dreadful parents), the sharply increased incidence of young chronic offenders cannot reasonably be attributed solely to dysgenic reasons.

The Sociopath

Since most criminals do not qualify as psychopaths, it is convenient to have a name for the larger fraction who have grown up unsocialized primarily because of environmental rather than genetic reasons. I have suggested (Lykken, 1995) the term "sociopath" for this purpose. The most plausible explanation of our present crime wave is that there has been an increase in the proportion of the current cohort of young males who are sociopaths. This is supported by the fact that the proportions of all males aged 1.5 to 25 who were arrested for violent crimes increased nearly 140% from 1965 to 1992 (FBI, 1993).

To account for this epidemic of sociopathy and crime, we have to find some possibly causal social factor that also has increased inexorably over the same span of time. When we look at the usual suspects, such as poverty and joblessness, they do not seem to fill the bill. During this century, the crime rate has actually been higher in good times than in bad (Rubinstein, 1992). There has indeed been a sharp increase over these decades in the numbers of children living in poverty with single mothers who either never married or were abandoned by their husbands. I shall argue, however, that such conditions—like the guns, gangs, and drugs that go with them—are themselves a consequence of a first cause: namely, parental malfeasance.

There is no question that the drug problem has increased greatly in recent decades, and that the drug trade is associated with a lot of the violence we read about. When Minneapolis broke its homicide record in 1995, at least half of the victims and half of the shooters were young black men, immigrants from other states, who were involved one way or another in the drug business. But suppose we were to admit that our \$20 billion a year “war on drugs” has been lost. Suppose we were to take the step of legalizing drugs, so that any adult with a special picture ID credit card could buy them in modest quantities in any liquor store, with the Drug Enforcement Agency’s computer keeping track of each purchase. There would still be a small illegal trade in drugs for juveniles, but billions of dollars would be removed from the underworld economy. The brightest and most entrepreneurial of inner-city young men would no longer be lured away from entry-level jobs at \$300 a week to risky but promising jobs selling drugs—jobs that pay \$1,000 a week tax-free and have great possibilities for promotion. Most of the drug trade incentive for violence would dry up. But it is important to remember that the people doing that actual violence are people who have grown up to be unsocialized, aggressive, feral, and violent. A few of them are psychopaths, but most are phenocopies of **psychopathy**—sociopaths. If the drug business dried up, they would find other employment, and it would not be at **McDonald’s**.

Another social change that began in the 1960s and is a candidate explanation for our crime epidemic is another epidemic—that of illegitimacy and fatherless rearing. Nationwide, the proportion of American children born out of wedlock increased from about 5% in 1960 to about 30% in the early 1990s (Eckholm, 1992; Fuchs & Reklis, 1992; Murray, 1993). For black Americans, this change began earlier. In 1925 in Harlem, some 85% of black families were headed by males “and in most of the **female**-headed households, the woman was not a teenager but over the age of 30” (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, p. 480). “In every census from 1890 to 1960 the percentage of African American households with two parents remained essentially unchanged at about 80%” (Westman, 1994, p. 187). According to Lemann (1993), “a generation of historical scholarship ... stands in refutation of the idea that slavery destroyed the Black family” (p. 30). Yet black illegitimacy had increased to 25% by 1965, leading Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1969) to make his celebrated prediction:

From the wild Irish slums of the 19th Century Eastern seaboard to the riot-torn suburbs of Los Angeles, there is one unmistakable lesson in American history: a community that allows a large number of young men to grow up in broken families, dominated by women, never acquiring any stable relationship to male authority, never acquiring any set of rational expectations about the future—that community asks for and gets chaos. Crime, violence, unrest, unrestrained lashing out at the whole social structure—that is not only to be expected; it is very near to inevitable. (p. 44)

White illegitimacy has now caught up to and passed what the black rate was in 1965, when nearly twice as many black as white babies were born out of wedlock. Now the ratio is reversed: Twice as many white as black births are illegitimate (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1995). In 1960 about 3.5% of the total high-risk group of 15- to 25-year-old males were born out of wedlock, and nearly 30% had parents who were divorced (there was a sharp peak in the divorce rate during and just after World War II, so that many of the older baby boomers came from broken homes). By 1994 the illegitimacy proportion in this group had risen from 3.5% to **13.4%**, and the proportion left fatherless by divorce had more than doubled (National Center for Health Statistics, 1993a, 1993b).

The Role of Family Environment

Twin and adoption studies have indicated that being reared together in the same family does not tend to make siblings more alike psychologically (Plomin & Bergeman, 1991; Plomin & Daniels, 1987; Rowe, 1994). Scarr (1992) goes so far as to suggest that at least in the broad reaches of the middle class, parents are fungible. Most such parents, through their parenting actions as well as by means of the neighborhood and school environments that they provide for their children, make it possible for the “genetic steersman” within each child to seek out those compatible experiences that will create a phenotype that expresses the child’s unique genotype reasonably well. This means, among other things, that siblings reared in the same family will tend to resemble one another as adults in proportion to their genetic similarity—monozygotic (MZ) twins about twice as strongly as dizygotic (DZ) twins or ordinary siblings, and unrelated foster siblings not at all. This is what study after study seems to show.

However, it is easy to overinterpret these findings. Unrelated foster siblings reared in a middle-class home in Minnesota will be no more similar as adults than random pairs of middle-class Minnesotans of the same age and sex. But they will be a lot more similar than pairs in which each member is chosen randomly from all over the United States or from the world at large. Those fungible Minnesota parents will have provided each foster child with adequate nutrition, middle-class educational opportunities, and middle-class socialization experiences. Therefore, each pair will tend to differ in weight, in educational attainment, and in their histories of minor misbehaviors about as much as random pairs of Minnesotans—but they will tend to differ less in weight and education than pairs in which one member grew up in Bangladesh or the Sudan. And they will tend to differ less in their histories of criminal behavior than pairs in which one member was raised in Iowa City and the other in the Robert Taylor housing project in Chicago.

Most children of such fungible middle-class parents will become tolerably socialized along the way toward law-abiding, tax-paying adulthood. This would be true even if their name tags had been randomly shuffled in their hospital nurseries, so that they went home with the wrong parents. But it would not be true if those nurseries included the babies of abusive, addicted, immature, or unsocialized parents. Some such infants who happened to get middle-class name tags in the shuffling would tend to grow up less well socialized than their middle-class neighbors, because such infants would tend to carry genes making them harder than average to socialize. Some of those scions of middle-class parents who went home with underclass mothers would remain wholly unsocialized, because poor parenting would make them more susceptible to peer group influence, and their peer group would be likely to be unsocialized.

Most behavior-genetic research has drawn its samples from the broad reaches of the middle class, where, as Scarr (1992) points out, the variance in parental effectiveness is relatively small. If these studies were to sample instead from the segment of society that generates the preponderance of sociopaths, then one might expect to see a significant fraction of the variance in socialization attributable to common family variance. One way to include the criminogenic stratum of society into our analyses is to do twin and adoption studies of the similarity of sibling pairs in which each pair includes a criminal or sociopathic **proband**. Recent research of this kind by O’Connor and colleagues (cited in Rutter, 1996) shows a clear influence of common family environment; the DZ correlation for criminality is 80% of the MZ value (.65 vs. .81), and unrelated siblings correlate .27. A study of the large Vietnam Era Veteran Twin Registry (Lyons, 1996) found a strong influence of shared family environment on self-reported early criminal behavior,

which in unselected samples is a good predictor of adult criminality. In their widely cited review, Loeber and Dishion (1983) found that parental (mis)management and the child's conduct disorder are the best predictors of delinquency. Latent class analysis of data from the Virginia Twin Study of Adolescent Behavioral Development (Silberg et al., 1996) yielded a group labeled "pure conduct disorder," constituting 9% of the sample, in which virtually all of the variance (97%) was associated with shared family environment.

It is important to note also, however, that these studies also find a large component of variance attributable to heredity. Aggressive, impulsive, adventurous youngsters are obviously more likely to resist socialization by incompetent parents than are children with timid or docile temperaments. Figure 8.1 illustrates the differences between psychopathy and sociopathy, and shows how I believe these two troublesome syndromes are related to genetic factors and to parenting. The bell-shaped curve at the left of the figure indicates that most people are in the broad middle range of socialization, with a few saintly people very high on this dimension, whereas a few more (the criminals) are very

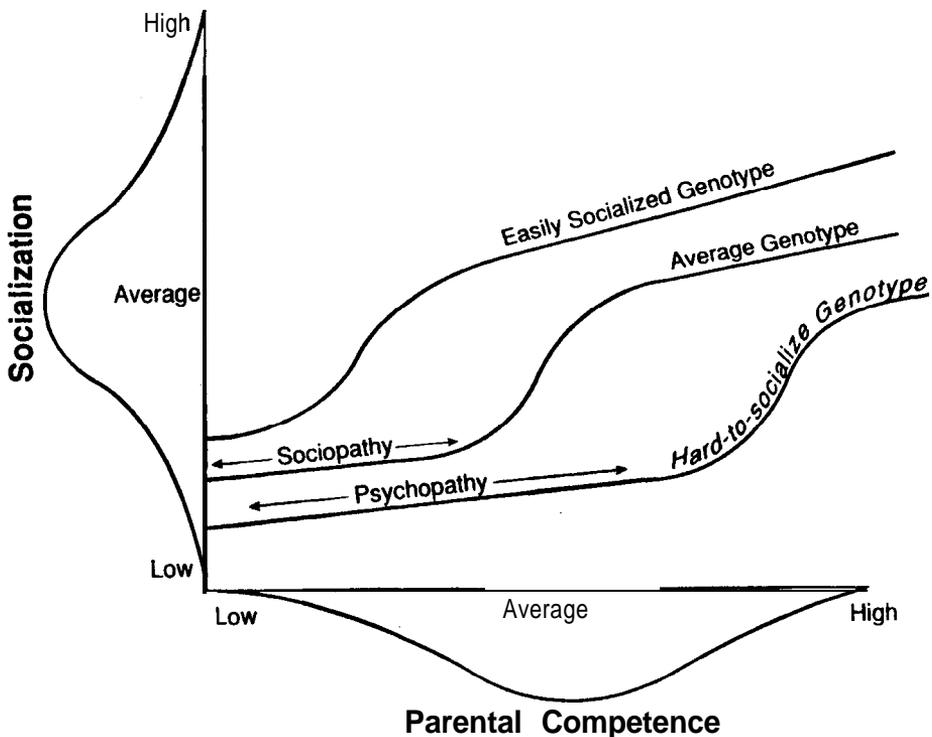


FIGURE 8.1. The socialization of three boys with different genotypes, plotted as a function of parental competence. The top curve represents Pat, a boy with easy-to-socialize temperament, who is likely to make it even with relatively incompetent parents. Hard-to-socialize children like Mike, represented by the bottom curve, are likely to become psychopaths unless their parents are unusually skillful or unless strong socializing incentives are provided from other sources in their rearing environments. By definition, the great majority of youngsters have average genotypes like Bill, represented by the middle curve. If Bill's parents are average or better in their parenting skills, or if Bill's peer group is uniformly well socialized, then Bill will turn out all right. But if Bill's parents are incompetent and neither the extended family nor the peer group compensates for their ineptitude, then Bill is likely to become a sociopath. Adapted from Lykken (1995). Copyright 1995 by Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Adapted by permission.

low. The horizontal axis represents parental competence, and the curve at the bottom assumes that most parents are average, some are incompetent, and a few are super parents.

The top curve in the body of the figure represents what might happen to a child (I will call him Pat) whose innate temperament makes him truly easy to socialize; he is bright, nonaggressive, moderately timid, with a naturally loving disposition. Like all little boys, he starts out life essentially unsocialized-and if his parents are totally incompetent, his neighborhood a war zone, and his peers all little thugs, Pat might remain marginally socialized. But boys like Pat tend to avoid conflict and chaos; they are attracted by order and civility; and they tend to seek out socialized mentors and role models. With even poor parenting, the Pats of this world tend to stay out of trouble.

Rosa Lee, the subject of a Pulitzer Prize-winning series by Washington *Post* reporter Leon Dash (1996), began stealing at age 9, quit school in the seventh grade, married at 16, left her abusive husband soon after, and then proceeded to have eight children by five different men. Rosa Lee worked as a waitress, a prostitute, and a small-time drug dealer. She had shoplifted since age 10 and taught her grandson to shoplift when he was about the same age. She introduced one daughter to prostitution at age 13, and several of her children followed her example of heroin addiction. Two of the eight children, however, raised under the same squalid conditions as the other six, were boys like Pat; somehow they stayed out of trouble, found socialized role models outside the home, and became self-supporting family men.

The middle curve in Figure 8.1 represents Bill, a boy with an average genetic make-up-moderately aggressive, moderately adventurous. Because he is average, we can safely anticipate that average parents living in an average neighborhood will be able to raise Bill to be an average, law-abiding citizen. Incompetent parents living in a disruptive neighborhood, however, will not succeed with Bill, who will remain a sociopath. Although two of Rosa Lee's offspring matured like Pat, the other six grew up to be sociopaths like Bill.

Mike, the bottom curve in the figure, is really difficult to socialize; he may be fearless, impulsive, or hostile and aggressive. The great majority of parents would find Mike too much to cope with, a perennial source of worry and disappointment. Mike's curve goes up on the far right of the figure because really talented parents (or, more likely, a truly fortuitous combination of parents, neighborhood, peer group, and subsequent mentors) can sometimes socialize even these hard cases.

The important fact that I was not clever enough to symbolize in Figure 8.1 is this: The Bills in each generation, because they are average, are vastly more numerous than either the Pats or the Mikes. Most youngsters have average genetic temperaments like Bill; therefore, even though only a minority of parents are truly incompetent, the total number of Bills (and Marys) who reach adolescence and adulthood still unsocialized-the number who become criminal sociopaths-is much larger than the number of psychopaths like Mike. Moreover, in part because unsocialized people tend to become incompetent parents themselves, the number of sociopaths is growing faster than the general population. Indeed, it is growing faster than we can build reform schools and prisons.

It is unfortunate that many incompetent parents have difficult temperaments themselves, so that their offspring tend to be doubly disadvantaged: by their parents' genes, as well as by their parents' neglect, abuse, or ineptitude. Therefore, as is suggested in Figure 8.2, "psychopath" and "sociopath" are overlapping categories. It is a safe guess that the average sociopath has temperamental characteristics somewhere between average and psychopathic on the horizontal or "difficult-to-socialize" axis in Figure 8.2. As the figure

also indicates, the pure-case psychopath is relatively rare, while the incidence of sociopathy is much **higher**—vastly higher than in ancient times or in traditional cultures of today. As the circumstances of child rearing depart further from those to which our species is evolutionarily adapted, the incidence of sociopathy can be expected to increase.

Socializing Children

To begin at the beginning, we are social animals. During the Pleistocene era, our ancestors were dependent upon the collective wisdom, vigilance, assistance, and resources of the extended-family bands in which they lived. To be excluded from the band would likely have been fatal, which means that those who were excluded (or who excluded themselves) did not become our ancestors. By natural selection, those destined to be ancestors gradually augmented their preexisting primate propensities for social living with talents that included the ability to acquire language, to develop a restraining conscience, to learn empathy and altruism, and to respect the elders and others in authority. They acquired an ability to learn to work and hunt cooperatively, to accept responsibility, and probably also a tendency to admire prosocial role models (Wright, 1994).

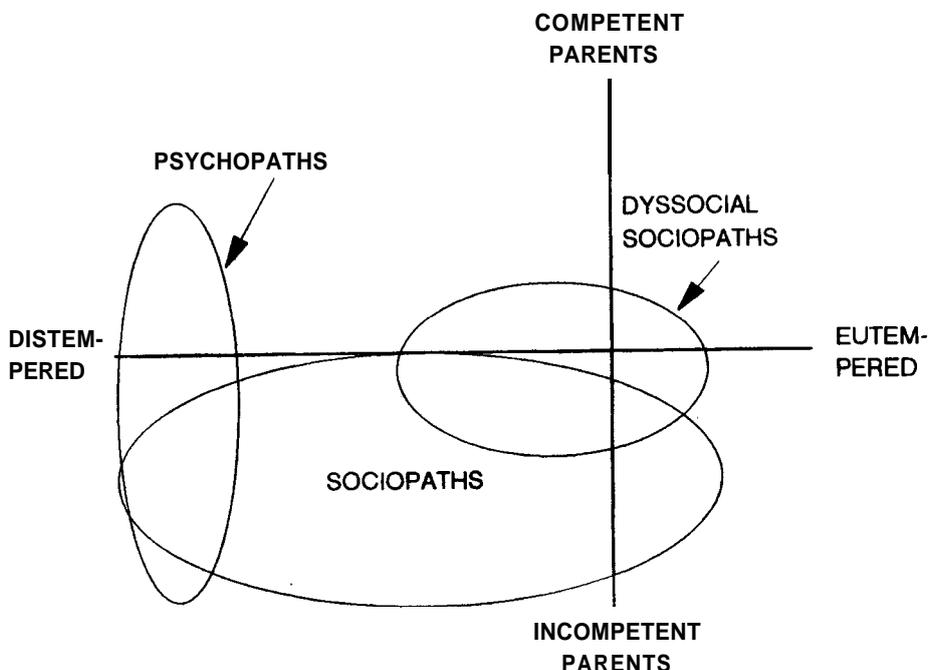


FIGURE 8.2. The horizontal axis represents the ease of socialization as determined by the innate temperament, with “eutempered” representing the child who is normally harm-avoidant, nonaggressive, careful, and considerate. The “ditempered” extreme represents the child who is so fearless, impulsive, aggressive, or choleric as to be nearly incorrigible to socialization. The sociopaths are the largest group by far; they have all had relatively incompetent parenting, and many of them have also begun life with relatively “difficult” temperaments. Hence there is considerable overlap between psychopaths and sociopaths. Some people with average temperaments and average parents do get into trouble with the law, of course, including those Moffitt (1993) refers to as “adolescence-limited” offenders. The ellipse toward the right center of the figure represents this group. Adapted from Lykken (1995). Copyright 1995 by Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Adapted by permission.

But, like our nascent capacity for language, these other socialization talents need to be elicited, shaped, and reinforced during childhood by the adult community. We can suppose that child rearing during the Pleistocene was a communal function, with parents playing an important role, but with the consistent and important help of the uncles, aunts, the older cousins, and other members of the band. Because the socialization of each child was important both to the child and to its elders, our ancestors acquired the talents both to become socialized themselves and, as adults, to assist in the socialization of others. That is, in the communal environment of evolutionary adaptation, we can reasonably assume that our ancestors **did** become socialized and that there was little intramural crime, just as there is comparatively little crime today in those remaining hunter-gatherer societies organized along traditional lines.

For example, in her important study of mental illness in traditional societies, Harvard anthropologist Jane Murphy (1976) found that the Yupic-speaking Eskimos in northwest Alaska have a name, **kunlangeta**, for the

man who, for example, repeatedly lies and cheats and steals things and does not go hunting and, when the other men are out of the village, takes sexual advantage of many women—someone who does not pay attention to reprimands and who is always being brought to the elders for punishment. One Eskimo among the 499 on their island was called kunlangeta. When asked what would have happened to such a person traditionally, an Eskimo said that probably “somebody would have pushed him off the ice when nobody else was looking.” (p. 1026)

In our environment of evolutionary adaptation, the entire band or tribe participated in the socialization of the children. In those remaining villages, small towns, and rural communities where there is as yet little crime, much the same sort of arrangement prevails today. Good parents, who are able to maintain the affection and respect of their children and whose offspring admire them and value their good opinion, can be reasonably certain that their values and ways of socialized behaving will be adopted by the next generation. The children of less effective, less competent parents will be more likely to adopt the customs and values of the peer group; however, if the community is small, close-knit, and well socialized generally, this will achieve the same result. In urban or suburban middle-class communities, the offspring of less competent parents will be somewhat more at risk. Most of the available peer group will be well socialized because their parents are, but as the community grows in size and in mutual estrangement, the likelihood increases that there will be a few neglected, undisciplined, or feral children in the peer group—faux-adult role models to whom a child not closely tied to home and parents may be drawn, and by whom that child will be influenced (see Moffitt, 1993).

What I am suggesting here is a kind of contagion model. Children with neglectful or otherwise ineffective parents are at risk of “infection” if there are one or more **unsocialized** children in their local peer group. Suppose we have 100 neighborhoods with 10 children in each, and only 10% of the 100 groups are thus far infected. I shall assume that 5 children in each of the 10 affected peer groups had competent parents and were thus able to resist infection, yielding 50 or 5% of the total of 1,000 children on the road to delinquency. Now we add 300 additional children, 5% of them unsocialized, distributed at random among the 100 local groups. If, say, 10 previously uninfected peer groups each receive one or more of the 15 new out-of-control youngsters, then we soon have a total incidence of (at least) 115 little delinquents—an increase of 130%, although the total number of children increased by only 30%.

In an important recent paper, Harris (1995) argues that the environmental compo-

ment of socialization is primarily mediated by the peer group. Her thesis depends in part on the fact discussed above: In samples from the general population, the environmental component of the variance in most psychological traits, including socialization, is largely of the unshared variety (i.e., experiences other than those shared by siblings growing up in the same family). But when we talk about crime and delinquency, we are not (yet) talking about all or even most of the general population, but about only a few percent of children and of families. Suppose we could measure law-abidingness in the offspring of families in which at least one child had become a chronic delinquent and then criminal. Suppose further that we have temperament measures on all biological parents and offspring, and that our sample contains a sufficient number of twins, siblings, and half-siblings to permit a powerful genetic analysis. Then, as indicated by the studies cited earlier, we should be likely to find both a significant genetic component and also an important proportion of variance attributable to shared family environment. According to Snyder and Sickmund (1995, p. 175), 53% of juveniles currently in custody have at least one family member, often a sibling, who is also in custody; Wiig (1995) found that 70% of 135 child felons in Minneapolis had at least one criminal parent or sibling. Thus, crime does run in families. Often this criminogenic shared environment will also include a bad neighborhood populated by sociopathic peers. I would argue, however, that selecting the neighborhood in which to rear one's children-or choosing not to have children unless and until one can escape a bad neighborhood-is an important part of the responsibility of parenthood.

That is, we can reasonably conjecture that the relative importance of the peer group in shaping the values and behaviors of a given child is inversely proportional to the competence of that child's parents (see, e.g., Mounts & Steinberg, 1995). This equation makes little difference in small, homogeneous communities, because if the parents do not do their job adequately, the neighbors and their children will do it for them. In larger, more diverse communities, an increasing proportion of the offspring of less competent parents will grow up inadequately socialized. As the example above suggests, even with all other factors constant, the incidence of delinquency might be expected to rise much faster than the increase in the size of the peer group itself. Indeed, this may help explain why the violent crime rate in the United States rose more than 250% from 1960 to 1975, while the proportion of males aged 15 to 25 (the group that commits most violent crimes) increased about 30%-the maturing of the baby boomers (Lykken, 1995, p. 196). In underclass communities, where the incidence of immature, overburdened parents (many of whom are unsocialized themselves) is very high, it is remarkable that any youngsters manage to grow up to be law-abiding, self-supporting adults.

The Causes of Sociopathy

While political leaders can now feel comfortable calling for draconian measures to punish the citizens they describe as "predators," "monsters," and "punks," none has the true courage and vision to solve the problem. You might ask our political leaders, "Where do these monsters, predators, and punks come from? Did they parachute from another country? Did they emerge from a spaceship from another planet?" We know three things about these hated citizens. One, they were all born in American hospitals; two, they were all educated in American schools; and three, they were all reared by American adults. It is a rare predator indeed who has had a successful childhood.

—JUDGE CHARLES D. GILL (1994, p. viii)

If sociopathy results from a failure of socialization during childhood, we must ask: What factor that might prevent the normal socialization of children has also increased sharply in recent decades? As already suggested, the increase during this period in the proportion of children who were reared without **fathers** may be the causal variable we seek.

Crime Risk If Reared without Fathers

The Search Institute of Minneapolis recently conducted a survey of more than 46,000 students in grades 6-12 in 111 communities across the United States (Benson & Roehlepartain, 1993). The sample did not include most large-city school systems, and, of course, youngsters who had already dropped out of school or were incarcerated were also excluded. About 8,200 of those surveyed came from single-parent families, nearly all of them marriages broken by death or divorce rather than families headed by a never-married mother. The data are reported for the sexes combined. For *all* of these reasons, this large sample greatly underestimates the frequency of delinquent behaviors, and also the expected differences between two-parent and single-parent homes.

The Search Institute found that youngsters in grades 6-8 who were living in one-parent families were twice as likely as those from two-parent families to use illegal drugs, to be sexually active, to engage in vandalism, to skip school frequently, and to steal things from stores. The single-parent children were also twice as likely to have used a weapon at least twice "to get something from another person," to have been in trouble with the police, to have been physically or sexually abused by an adult, and to plan on quitting school before graduation. Students classified as at high risk for delinquency and crime because they had engaged in five or more of the list of risk behaviors constituted **21%** of those in grades 6-8 from single-parent families and 43% of those in grades 9-12 who were living with a single parent. Had the Search Institute sampled from large-city schools and used never-married mothers, in addition to divorced or widowed mothers, to make up their single-parent group, we can be confident that the differences in delinquency rates between the single-parent and two-parent samples would have been larger still.

In 1986, of the juveniles incarcerated in the United States for serious crimes, about 70% had been reared without fathers (Beck, Kline, & Greenfield, 1987). This 70% figure seems to be a magic number for much social pathology. Of the antisocial boys studied at the Oregon Social Learning Center, fewer than 30% came from intact families (Forgatch, Patterson, & Ray, 1994). Of the more than 130,000 teenagers who ran away from home in 1994, 72% were leaving single-parent homes (Snyder & Sickmund, 1995, p. 31). A 1992 study of "baby truants" in St. Paul, Minnesota—that is, elementary school pupils who had more than 22 unexcused absences in the year—found that 70% were being reared by single mothers (Foster, 1994). Nationally, about 70% of teenage girls who have out-of-wedlock babies were raised without fathers (Kristol, 1994). Seventy-two percent of adolescent murderers grew up without fathers (Cornell, 1987). A recent survey by the county attorney in Minneapolis of 135 children who had been referred for crimes ranging from arson, vandalism, and theft, to assault, burglary, and criminal sexual conduct—**aged 9 or younger**—found that 70% of these children were living in single-parent (almost always single-mother) homes (Wiig, 1995).

Children who exhibited violent misbehavior in school were 11 times as likely not to live with their fathers and 6 times as likely to have parents who were not married (Sheline, Skipper, & Broadhead, 1994). Nationally, 15.3% of children living with a never-married mother and 10.7% of those living with a divorced mother have been expelled or

suspended from school, compared to only 4.4% of children living with both biological parents (Dawson, 1991). Even when race, socioeconomic status, sex, age, and ability are controlled for, high school students living with single parents are about twice as likely to drop out of school as those living with both biological parents (McNeal, 1995). According to the administrators of juvenile corrections facilities, family problems are the most common type of problem among juveniles in custody, affecting at least 76%, more common than substance abuse, peer problems, learning problems, or gang involvement (Snyder & Sickmund, 1995, p. 169).

If the base rate for fatherless rearing of today's teenagers is 25% (which is the best current estimate, although this rate is growing alarmingly) then one can calculate that the risk for social pathologies ranging from delinquency to death is about seven *times* higher for youngsters raised without fathers than for those reared by both biological parents, as shown below:

$$(.25R_{NF})/(.75R_F) = .70/.30$$

$$\text{Thus: } R_{NF}/R_F = .525/.075 = 7.0$$

where R_{NF} is the risk for delinquency of children reared without fathers, R_F is the risk for those reared by both biological parents, and .70 is the proportion of all serious delinquents reared fatherless. Computed separately for African American males, the increased risk for those reared without fathers is also about 7:1 (Lykken, 1996).

How Many Sociopaths Are There?

“[There were] 5.5 million people on probation, in jail or prison, or on parole at year end 1996—nearly 2.9% of all U.S. residents” (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998). A few of these are best classified as psychopaths; another few are victims of circumstance or even innocent; but most of them are sociopaths. There are undoubtedly many additional sociopaths who do not happen to be in the criminal justice system at the present time. Therefore, a very conservative estimate of the number of sociopaths in the present U.S. population would be 5 million, most of whom were reared without fathers. We know from birth records that in 1994 there were about 18.5 million males aged 15-25 in the United States, of whom 2.5 million or 13.4% were born out of wedlock. In that same year, there were about 21.9 million little boys aged 0 to 10 years, of whom twice as many—5.8 million or 26.5%—were being reared by unmarried mothers (National Center for Health Statistics, 1993a). The proportions in both groups reared without the active participation of their biological fathers is at least twice as high as these figures suggest, due to homes broken by divorce (National Center for Health Statistics, 1993b).

But if fatherless boys are seven times more likely than two-parent boys to grow up unsocialized, then this doubling in the proportion of the current 0- to 10-year-olds who are illegitimate indicates that the number of sociopathic young males aged 15 to 25 in the year 2011 will be at least double the number that we are now contending with. and it will double again in another 10 years, because the rates of both divorce and illegitimacy continue to rise rapidly. It is important to see that these predictions too are conservative and optimistic; they do not take into account the contagion effect of sociopathy discussed above, nor do they include any allowance for the fact that sociopaths father (but do not nurture or parent) more than their share of offspring (Lynn, 1995), who will be at especially high risk for sociopathy or psychopathy themselves.

The Costs of Sociopathy

Child psychiatrist Jack Westman (1994) has worked out careful estimates of what the typical sociopath costs our society during each year of life. Taking into account welfare costs, hospital emergency room costs, the expenses of juvenile corrections, policing, the costs of trials, public defenders, probation officers, and imprisonment costs,² not to mention costs to any victims of predation, Westman's estimate runs to about \$50,000 per sociopath per year. Corroborating Westman's estimate, among those 135 child felons studied recently in Minneapolis, a single 9-year-old "cost the public \$239,551 over four years for repeated child protection visits and placements, economic assistance, and Medicaid" (Wiig, 1995, p. 25). And Westman's figure does not include those costs resulting from the fact that sociopaths tend to breed carelessly and are bad parents, and thus are likely to produce additional debits in the next generation.

If there are at least 5 million sociopaths among us today, this means that they are costing U.S. taxpayers at least \$250 **billion** annually right now. If we continue on our present course, this outlay will increase to some \$1 **trillion** minimally per year by 2021, aggregating at least \$15 trillion in current dollars. If we could think of ways to reduce the number of sociopaths being produced on American assembly lines each year, rather than tolerating the current positively accelerated increase in their numbers, this might be a way to save what even politicians would recognize as "real money."

PREVENTION

The fact itself, of causing the existence of a human being, is one of the most responsible actions in the range of human life. To undertake this responsibility—to bestow a life which may be either a curse or a blessing—unless the being on whom it is to be bestowed will have at least ordinary chances of a desirable existence, is a crime against that being.

-JOHN STUART MILL (1859/1956, p. 124)

More important even than the prodigious dollar drain cited above are the social costs of the current epidemic of sociopathy. These include the costs to the victims of crime and the fears and constricted life space of those citizens not yet victimized. But it includes especially the costs to those children whose birthrights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are being abrogated by feckless, incompetent, or sociopathic rearing. Judge Gill, cited earlier, points out that the place to fight crime is in the cradle.

From an evolutionary point of view, it seems probable that most children of our species would become adequately socialized if they could grow up within a stable extended-family structure similar to that of our ancestors during the Pleistocene, or to, say, the Amish culture of today. Reared in the modern way by two parents working **alone**—parents who have had little opportunity to learn parenting skills during their own growing-up period—a higher proportion of youngsters will be inadequately socialized, and the crime rate will increase. Reared by a single mother, with no equally committed biological father present to share the load, to provide a male role model, and to exercise paternal authority, the incidence of failed socialization must substantially increase. The relationship between single parenthood and juvenile crime rate is so strong that "controlling for family configuration erases the relationship between race and crime

and between low income and crime” (Kamarck & Galston, cited in Moynihan, 1993, p. 24).

At least 10 million children under the age of 11 are being raised in the United States by divorced women whose ex-husbands have essentially abandoned their parental responsibilities. Another 6 million U.S. children have been born out of wedlock, and many of these are being reared by mothers who are immature, poorly educated, and poorly socialized themselves. If such children avoid a career of social dependency and crime, they deserve our wonderment and special approbation. In the United States today, it can be said that we are operating a veritable factory of crime.

Reversing the current trend, in which increasing proportions of young Americans are growing up unsocialized, is a major-I would say *the* major-social problem of our time. Solving this problem will be difficult and expensive, yet not nearly so expensive as not solving it. If my analysis is correct, the essence of the solution is to reduce the numbers of youngsters being reared by incompetent, indifferent, or unsocialized parents.

Parental Guidance

The solution, I believe, has three parts. The first component involves providing guidance and help to those struggling parents who are motivated to rear their children successfully but who lack the skills and resources. We know already that halfway measures do not work; nor do programs that involve only the children—programs like Head Start or even the expensive Milwaukee project (Jensen, 1989), from which the children daily return to still-pathogenic home environments. Approaches such as Patterson’s (Patterson et al., 1992; Dishion, Duncan, Eddy, Fagot, & Fetrow, 1994) or the promising FAST Track program (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1992), which involve parents and school teachers as well as the children and their peers, are very expensive. We must remember, however, that sociopaths cost society at least \$3 million apiece over their first 60 years. Therefore, an investment of as much as \$300,000 in each of 10 high-risk youngsters, if it succeeds in turning just two potential criminals into socialized wage earners, will leave us financially ahead at the end of the day.

Alternative Rearing Environments

The second component of a workable solution to sociopathy is to provide alternative rearing environments for the many youngsters whose parents cannot or will not make effective use of help and guidance. Competent parenting is one of the most difficult—and plainly one of the most important—jobs that any of us ever undertake, and yet it is one of the most unappreciated and underpaid. One reason children are left too long with abusive or incompetent parents is that social workers have been taught to believe that the biological relationship compensates somehow for almost all deficiencies of parental commitment or skill. The much-touted “family preservation” movement, which has dominated thinking in this area since the 1970s, has been based on wishful thinking and a cruel refusal to face the facts of life on the urban streets (MacDonald, 1994). Because of this policy, for example, nearly all of those 135 child felons under age 10 in Minneapolis are once again residing with the parent or parents whose abuse and neglect led to their criminal precocity (J. Wild, Assistant Hennepin County Attorney, personal communication,

June **19, 1996**). The fact that at least one prominent former exponent of this view has recently published an account of how and why he came to repudiate this policy (Gelles, 1996) may be regarded as encouraging.

Another reason why our children are left too long at risk, however, is that foster homes are in such short supply. In my own county, children taken from abusive parents (more than 90% of whom are single mothers) sometimes have to be placed with known criminals (Hennepin County social worker who prefers to remain anonymous, personal communication, January 1995). Moreover, both the licensure requirements and the supervision of the existing placements are generally negligible. Because a good foster home can often prevent the production of a sociopath, and thus avoid a \$3 million debit in society's balance sheet, surely it would be a sound investment to pay a trained foster mother as much as she would make in a full-time office job. And surely in these times when most couples feel they need two incomes to make ends meet, there must be many people who would prefer to work as professional foster parents at home rather than in most conventional jobs outside-if the compensation were adequate. We know enough about parenting, about what works and what does not, to devise courses of instruction-say, at the community college level-that could be used as prerequisites to licensure for foster parents. Social workers would be needed to inspect and monitor these homes regularly, as well as to organize periodic group meetings of foster parents where they can discuss problems and compare notes. But an adequate foster home structure would also free up a lot of time that social workers now expend in dreary and largely ineffectual contacts with incompetent biological parents. The professionalization of foster care would be a cost-effective and salutary step in the right direction.

Another option, suitable especially for older boys, would be the establishment of boarding schools as suggested by J. Q. Wilson (1991; see also DiIulio, 1995, pp. 39, 40). This is foster care on a communal scale-in some ways, more like the extended-family system of socialization to which our species is evolutionarily adapted. It is also a method of socialization that has served the upper classes of most developed societies for generations. They should probably be single-sex schools, on the grounds that these are high-risk youngsters and it is wiser to keep the nitro and the glycerin in separate containers until the mixture can be handled with at least some degree of safety. Girls in coeducational schools mature earlier and are more likely to become delinquent than girls in same-sex schools (Moffitt, Caspi, Belsky, & Silva, 1992). Since girls most often commit their delinquencies in the company of boys, and since boys often commit their delinquencies either to impress or to possess girls, segregation in single-sex schools seems a sensible precaution for high-risk youngsters. We should need mostly boys' schools, because boys constitute the biggest problem, and most of the residents would be boys whose fathers were not resident at home. Does a boarding school sound too luxurious? It costs considerably more to keep a youngster in my county's juvenile corrections center than it would cost to send him to Groton School or Phillips Exeter Academy.

Most Anglophones, more familiar with Dickens's Oliver *Twist* than with contemporary realities, think of large-scale foster care or orphanages with dismay and dread. The economics professor Richard McKenzie (1996a, 1996b) has done us all a service by recounting his experiences during the 1950s in a typical American orphanage in North Carolina, and by reporting the results of his survey of the adult circumstances of many of the youngsters who shared those experiences with him. Although most of them were brought into this world by unfit or unfortunate parents-hence their consignment to "The Home"-he and many of his fellow "orphans" have achieved greater worldly suc-

cess and better psychological adjustment than many of their more fortunate contemporaries who were reared by their birth parents.

Parental Licensure

It still remains unrecognized, that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able, not only to provide for its body, but instruction and training for its mind, is a moral crime, both against the unfortunate offspring and against society; and that if the parent does not fulfill this obligation, the State ought to see it fulfilled, at the charge, as far as possible, of the parent.

-JOHN STUART MILL (1859/1956, p. 121)

All of these programs, if properly implemented, could reduce the production of new sociopaths and thus improve the safety and the quality of life for some of them and all of us. But, by themselves, such programs would constitute only a temporary expedient. Opponents of abortion ask with sincere anguish, "What about the babies?," but we should be at least equally concerned about those babies' long and perilous journey after birth. It may be time for us directly to confront the painful problem of weighing the procreative rights of adults against the basic rights of their potential children.

Suppose we come to a river and find it full of children being swept down by the current, thrashing and struggling to keep their heads above water. We can leap in and save a few, but they keep coming, and many drown in spite of our best efforts. This is Harris's (cited in Shanker, 1993) analogy for attempts to socialize children in the public schools. It is time to go upstream, Harris insists, to see what is pushing all those children into that river of no return. What we shall find upstream is increasing numbers of immature, indifferent, unsocialized, or incompetent people, most of them unmarried and many economically dependent, who are having children whom they cannot or will not competently rear. The licensure of parenthood is the only real solution to the problem of sociopathy and crime.

Prior to World War II, most developed countries maintained what amounted to a tradition of parental licensure. The ancient taboo against out-of-wedlock births led most young people to understand that if they wished to produce a keep a baby, they must first get married, and for that a license was required from the state. A child's jingle from that time said it all: "First comes love, then comes marriage, then comes baby in a baby carriage." But the sexual revolution of the 1960s discarded that bit of ancient wisdom, and the institution of "no-fault" divorce (which is often faulty in the extreme when children are involved) compounded the problem. It is time, I believe, to consider legislation designed to redress the **balance**—to place the rights of children once again ahead of the procreative rights of prospective parents.

In most jurisdictions, children are given for adoption only to mature married couples who are self-supporting and neither criminal nor incapacitated by psychiatric illness. If only these minimal requirements were made of persons wishing to retain custody of a child they have produced biologically, millions of American children would be saved each year from Harris's maelstrom, and hundreds of billions of tax dollars would be saved with which to make their world a better place. It is something to think about.

Robert: Executed at 11

Although Robert Sandifer was just a diminutive 11-year-old, he had been wanted for three days in the slaying of a **14-year-old** girl. He was found Thursday lying in a pool of blood, believed to have been the victim of the gang he had embraced. (McMahon, 1994, p. 1)

This news report poignantly illustrates the kind of thing that we shall find upstream in Harris's river. Robert was always a difficult child, aggressive and hard to discipline (resembling in this his father, who is currently in prison); most 11-year-old boys would not be as reckless and venturesome as Robert, even if allowed to run loose as Robert was. His mother, Lorina, was 18 when Robert was born and only 15 when she had her first illegitimate child (the first of seven; Robert was her third). Lorina or her boyfriend responded to Robert's difficult temperament by abusing the toddler. His grandmother, Jannie Fields, had herself been just 16 when she gave birth to Robert's mother; with Aid to Families with Dependent Children and other government assistance, she has had 13 more children. (*One-third* of all U.S. births in 1993 were to parents on Medicaid; National Center for Health Statistics, 1995.) In addition to child abuse, Lorina has some 30 criminal convictions, mostly for drug and shoplifting offenses; thus we know that Jannie's own track record as a parent was a poor one. Nevertheless, for reasons reviewed earlier, county social workers placed the 3-year-old Robert and several of his siblings in her feckless care when Robert was found covered with bruises, scratches, and cigarette burns.

The grandmother provided "no discipline" at all, and Robert was arrested eight times between the ages of 9 and 11 for felonies including burglary, arson, car theft, and armed robbery. By age 10, he had a tattoo on his arm signifying membership in the Black Disciples street gang. Then one Sunday in August 1994, apparently on orders from older gang members, Robert fired a gun several times at some boys in the street, permanently crippling one of them. Three hours later and two blocks away, Robert started shooting again, this time accidentally killing a **14-year-old** girl. Robert eluded a police search for 3 days until two gang comrades, aged 14 and 16, put two bullets in Robert's brain and left him under a bridge.

According to the New *York Times* story (Terry, 1994), the neighbors blamed the gangs and the guns in Robert's neighborhood, and one cannot deny that an 11-year-old is a lot more dangerous with a gun in his hand and older gang members telling him where to point it. But it is obvious that the real problem was two (or more) generations of incompetent parenting. The Cook County Public Guardian, Patrick Murphy, got it right: "'This kid was a time bomb waiting to explode,' Mr. Murphy said. 'He was turned into a sociopath by his family'" (Terry, 1994, p. A10).

Although there are thousands of juvenile murderers in the United States, Robert was unusual and newsworthy, whereas Robert's parents and grandparents are commonplace: Millions of indifferent or incompetent mothers hold parental rights over millions of fatherless children. Not all of these, perhaps, but millions still are growing up like wild things, in environments of filth, chaos, violence, substance abuse, child abuse, and crime. Juvenile corrections agencies, child protection agencies, probation and parole officers, the adult prison system—all are overwhelmed. The cases that get into the newspapers are the tiny tip of the iceberg.

Mike Royko (1994), the late Chicago columnist, asked despairingly what we can do to prevent the manufacture of juvenile sociopaths: "Robert's dad is a criminal and ... his mother is a drug user and a fool. ... Obviously, these two boobs should not have had children. But how do we stop them? Tie her tubes? Snip his organs? No, because that's

unconstitutional and will remain so unless we become a totalitarian state" (p. 3). I think, however, that Royko was unduly pessimistic about the possibilities of a long-term solution.

What is constitutional and what is not is decided in the end by the U.S. Supreme Court, and usually on the basis of contemporary social realities. From the child's point of view, the licensure of parenthood would constitute a libertarian rather than a totalitarian step. No average couple would be discommoded by a statute that required biological parents to meet the criteria demanded of persons who wish to adopt a child. Fifteen-year-old Lorina and her then-boyfriend, however, would find themselves up on charges. She would be required to name the father (or the possible fathers, if, indeed, she had ever known their names), and modern DNA analyses would make it possible to prove parenthood. If she wished to carry her baby to term, Lorina might be required to spend those months in a compassionate maternity home providing good nutrition and medical care, individualized counseling, and job training, as well as supervision by night, to ensure that the infant got a healthy start in life. The baby would be taken into foster care at birth and the mother sent back to school or work. The father's wages (if he could be identified) would be taxed until he had paid off the costs of the confinement. If either Lorina or the boyfriend were to be involved in a second unlicensed pregnancy, they would have to submit to the implantation of a long-acting antifertility drug.

A society that enforces parental licensure, but one in which mature married couples who are self-supporting, law-abiding, and not psychiatrically incapacitated can expect to receive a license if they want one, would surely be a safer, happier one for children to grow up in. It would also be one in which the incidence of 11-year-old murderers would be negligible.

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NOTES

1. At least 346 homicides during 1987-1991 were committed in Florida by felons after early release (Dilulio, 1994, p. 12). Patsy Jones, the 20-year-old who became a celebrity in 1993 after shooting a German tourist on a Miami expressway, had been released from jail only 5 days earlier; she had pulled a gun when arrested for shoplifting, but due to the press of more serious offenses, the charges were dropped (Associated Press, 1993).

2. Annual operating costs of U.S. prisons are currently \$30 billion and rising fast (Tonry, 1996).

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