

AN ANALYSIS OF CONVICTED MURDERERS IN  
MASSACHUSETTS: 1943-1966

Massachusetts Department of Correction

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## Introduction

The goal of this report is to present an analysis of all persons committed to the supervision of the Department of Correction for murder between 1943 and 1966. The focus will be on the type of person convicted of murder, his behavior while confined, and - for those who have been released - adjustment in the community. This information, while important in itself, may have some implications for the controversial issue of capital punishment. Although a good deal has been written about capital punishment, much of it has been philosophical or polemical. The aim of the present study is to provide some empirical data on convicted murderers which may have a bearing on capital punishment.

In an earlier study Bugden and Serkess prepared a descriptive analysis of all inmates serving a life sentence for murder as of January 1, 1959.<sup>1</sup> The present study, in addition to presenting a description of a larger sample of convicted murderers, includes a comparison of murderers with other offenders on selected variables, as well as an analysis of recidivism for those who have been released.

## Method

The Sample. 243 subjects were committed to the Department of Correction for first or second degree murder from 1943 through 1966. Complete data could be collected for 240 of these subjects. Two cases were dropped from the sample since their offenses were reduced to manslaughter after their commitment. Thus, there were 238 subjects in the sample of convicted murderers.

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<sup>1</sup> William F. Bugden and Leonard Serkess, "A Psycho-Social Study of 160 Male Inmates Serving a Life Sentence for Murder in Institutions of the Massachusetts Department of Correction, January 1, 1959", Department of Correction, mimeo, (no date)

Comparative data on other offenders were derived from two sources. The primary sources were the samples used in the Base Expectancy Studies done at Concord,<sup>2</sup> Norfolk,<sup>3</sup> and Walpole.<sup>4</sup> The Concord sample included all those who were released from that institution in 1959, while the Norfolk and Walpole samples included all those released in 1960 from these institutions. Convicted murderers were eliminated from these samples so that the comparison between murderers and other offenders would not be confounded by the inclusion of murderers in the "other offender" sample.

The second source of comparative data was the total number of subjects committed to the Department of Correction in 1965.<sup>5</sup> Again, those convicted of first or second degree murder were dropped from this sample. When comparative tables are presented, the specific "other offender" sample with which the convicted murderers are being compared will be clearly indicated.

Data Collection. The data for this study were collected from the folders of convicted murderers. The variables analyzed fell under six general categories: (A) Background Factors, (B) Criminal History, (C) Data on Present Commitment, (D) Release Data, (E) Post-release Data, and (F) Recidivism Data. It was not possible to compare convicted murderers with other offenders on all variables due to a lack of information on some factors in the "other offender" samples.

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<sup>2</sup> Ralph Metzner and Gunther Weil, "Predicting Recidivism: Base Rates for Massachusetts Correctional Institution, Concord," Journ. Crim. Law, Criminol., and Police Sc. (Sept., 1963) pp. 307-316

<sup>3</sup> Francis J. Carney, "Predicting Recidivism in a Medium Security Correctional Institution," Journ. Crim. Law, Criminol., and Police Sc. (Sept., 1967) pp. 338-348

<sup>4</sup> Francis J. Carney, "Predicting Recidivism in a Maximum Security Correctional Institution: Some Emerging Generalizations," Department of Correction, mimeo (Oct., 1966)

<sup>5</sup> Statistical Reports of the Commissioner of Correction for the Year Ending December 31, 1965, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Public Document No. 115

### Findings

The findings of this study are presented in Appendix A under the six general categories mentioned above.

A. Background Factors. As Tables A, 1 through A, 13 indicate, convicted murderers and other offenders could be compared on 8 of the 13 variables under "Background Factors". No significant differences were found between convicted murderers and other offenders on age at commitment (Table A, 1), race (A, 3), education (A, 4), and military service data (A, 7). On the other hand, significant differences, as described below, were found between the two samples in terms of sex, marital status, occupational status, and behavior disorders.

Table A, 2 shows that females were significantly underrepresented in the sample of murderers. Only about one out of fifty of the murderers (2.1%) was female, while about one out of five of the other offenders (20.9%) was a woman.

A highly significant difference was found in marital status (A, 6). Convicted murderers were more likely to have been single (52.1%) than other offenders (45.3%). Of the 114 murderers who had been married, 30.7% were widowed, while only 4.3% of the other offenders were widowed. The explanation of this finding is rather straightforward. There were 35 convicted murderers who were widowed, and of these, 82.9% were committed for the murder of their spouses.

Table A, 8 reveals a significant difference between the two samples in regard to occupational status. Convicted murderers were underrepresented in the lower occupational class and overrepresented in the middle occupational class and in the student category.

The fourth significant difference was found in regard to behavior disorders (A, 9). A significantly lower proportion of convicted murderers manifested symptoms of problem drinking (i.e., 2 or more arrests for drunkenness) or narcotic addiction (i.e., 1 or more arrests for narcotic offenses).

For the remaining five variables under "Background Factors" no comparative data were available. Table A, 5 on intelligence quotients shows more murderers with below average than above average I.Q.s. Table A, 10 - early home life - indicates that a substantial minority (36.2%) came from inferior homes (as defined in Appendix C), while another 4.7% had either left home or were raised in an institution. With respect to employment patterns, only 17.2% had been regularly employed (A, 11), and only a little over half the sample (52.1%) was employed at the time of the present offense. Finally, Table A, 13 reveals that the convicted murderers were primarily an urban group. 70.3% were living in cities or towns with populations of 50,000 or more at the time of their offense. Further, 45.4% of the convicted murderers were living in cities of 100,000 or more. There are four cities in Massachusetts with a population this large. About 20% of the total Massachusetts population reside in these four cities.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the proportion of convicted murderers who were living in these cities is more than twice that of total Massachusetts population in these highly urbanized areas. This spotlights the overrepresentation of individuals with urban backgrounds in the sample of convicted murderers.

B. Criminal History. Under criminal history significant differences were found between convicted murderers and other offenders for the three factors on which comparative data were available. The data on prior arrests show that murderers were significantly older at the time of their first arrest (B, 1). 37.8% of the murderers were 20 or older at their first arrest, while 25.7% of the other offenders were in this age category when first arrested. Also, a highly significant difference was found on number of prior arrests (B, 2). The proportion of those with six or more prior arrests was almost twice as high in the other offender sample (64.4%) as it was in the sample of convicted murderers (34.4%). Further, two out of three

subjects in the murderers' sample had never been arrested for drunkenness (B, 3), and only one of the 238 convicted murderers had a prior arrest for a narcotic offense (B, 4).

The difference between the two samples in regard to prior penal commitments (B, 5) was as impressive as the differences with regard to prior arrests. Over half the convicted murderers (55.5%) had no prior commitments in an adult correctional institution, while only 29.9% of the other offenders had no prior commitments. Indeed, only one out of four murderers had been previously incarcerated in a State or Federal Correctional Institution (B, 6). Two out of three had never been committed to a House of Correction.

The data in this section clearly indicates that convicted murderers had less serious criminal histories than other offenders - at least insofar as this dimension is reflected by the factors studied here.

C. Data on Present Commitment. Table C, 1 presents the data on type of murder conviction - i.e. first or second degree - according to the year of commitment. The 24 year time period under study was divided into 8 categories of three years. This table shows that 61 (25.6%) of the 238 subjects in the sample were committed for first degree murder; 177 (74.4%) were committed for second degree murder. The table also reveals a considerable amount of fluctuation in terms of the number of subjects committed for first and second degree murder over the 24 year period.\* For example, slightly over half of those convicted of first degree murder (50.8%) were committed in the last six years under study - i.e. 1961 through 1966. This proportion (50.8%) is approximately twice as high as the proportion of those committed for second degree murder (24.3%) during the same time period. This

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\*Figures on the Massachusetts population show a steady increase of 20 per cent over the 24 year period under study.

fluctuation is also reflected in the "Total" column of Table C, 1. For example, in the period 1943-45, 13 people were committed for murder, while in the following time period (1946-48) 53 people were committed.

In order to spotlight more clearly the actual degree of fluctuation in murder convictions the number of commitments is presented on a yearly basis in the graph in Appendix B. This graph shows a striking increase in the number of murder commitments after 1945. Perhaps this upsurge in the number of commitments in 1946 through 1948 was related to the ending of World War II. At any rate, in the late 40's and early 50's there was a steady decline in the number of murder commitments, which was reversed by another increase in the mid-50's. After 1955 the trend downward resumed, reaching the lowest point of the study in 1958 with only three individuals committed for murder in that year. Since 1958 there has been a general - although somewhat sporadic - increase in the number of murder commitments through 1966.

Turning back to the "Data on Present Commitment", Table C, 2 indicates that the families of convicted murderers tended to maintain a rather high degree of interest in their incarcerated relatives. 82.0% of the convicted murderers had at least a sustained interest from their families. Only 12.1% appeared to be isolated from their families, or had no living relatives. (The categories under "Family Interest" are defined in Appendix C.)

From the data on disciplinary reports (C, 3), it does not appear that convicted murderers present any particular behavioral problems in the institution. 81.0% had fewer than five disciplinary reports, while 42.4% had none at all. These proportions are rather impressive, considering the long period of incarceration that most of the subjects have undergone. Unfortunately, comparative data on other offenders were not available on this factor.

D. Data on Release. In Table D, 1 the current status of subjects - i.e. as of January, 1967 - is presented according to four categories of year of commitment. This table shows that almost two out of three of the 66 subjects committed during the 1943-1948 period have been released to the community (60.6% have been paroled and 3.0% have received a full and complete pardon). 17 (25.8%) were still confined, with 4 of the 17 committed to the Bridgewater State Hospital.

This table also shows that three subjects - 4.5% of those committed from 1943-48 - were executed. The last execution in Massachusetts took place on May 9, 1947 when two men were sent to the electric chair. The death penalty has been applied 65 times in Massachusetts since the law which provided for execution in the electric chair was passed in 1898. No women have ever been electrocuted in Massachusetts. In this century, the death penalty was applied most frequently during the ten year period, 1927-1936, when 25 men were executed. Since that time, there has been a steady decline in the number of executions as the following graph indicates.

Trends in the Application of the Death Penalty in Massachusetts: 1900-1965

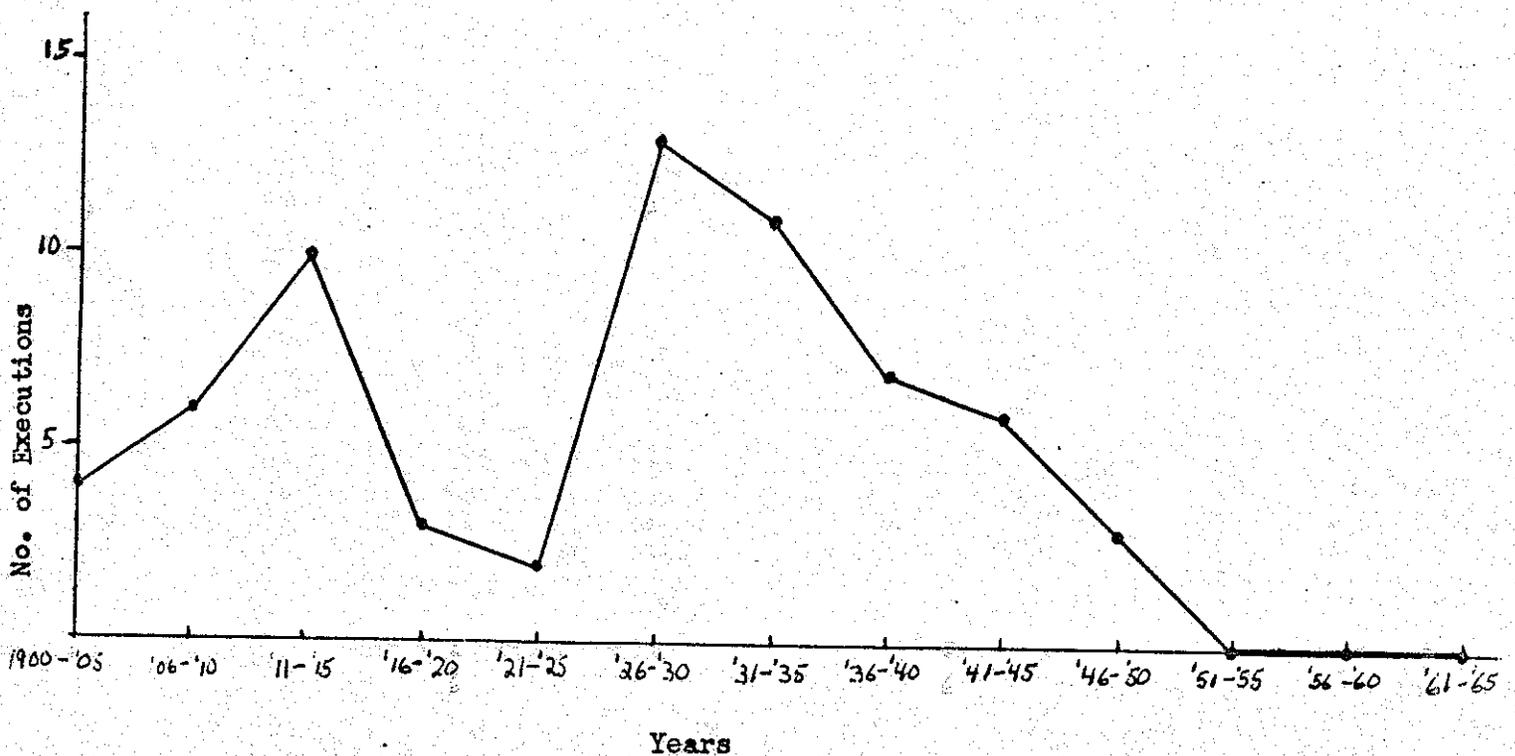


Table D, 2 - release data by length of incarceration - reveals that 59 (83.1%) of the 71 subjects who have been released to the community served at least nine years in a correctional institution. On the other hand, 64 (41.4%) of the 155 subjects still confined have been incarcerated for nine years or longer. The average length of time served by the 71 subjects who were released was 13.8 years.

E. Post-Release Data. Post-release information was available on four factors for the 71 subjects who had been released to the community. The data on occupational status (E, 1) shows that 36.6% of those released went to work in middle class jobs. Recall that only 14.4% of the subjects held middle class jobs at the time of their commitment. This finding may mean that there was a bias toward releasing convicted murderers with middle class backgrounds. However, of the 26 subjects who were released to middle class jobs, only 7 (26.9%) held middle class occupations prior to their commitment. Therefore, it is probably more likely that those who had learned a meaningful skill while confined were the ones most apt to be paroled.

It is striking that none of those released had unfavorable work records (E, 2), as defined in Appendix C. Almost 7 out of 10 (69.0%) had favorable employment records - i.e. worked steadily while on parole. There is, however, probably a selective factor operating here, in that the Parole Board is more likely to release those with good employment prospects.

The average age at release was 41.7 years (E, 3). The majority of those released was 40 or older (55.0%) at the time of their return to the community.

Table E, 4 indicates that a high proportion of released murderers return to urban areas. 42.3% were released to cities with populations of 100,000 or more. Earlier it was pointed out that only about 20% of the total Massachusetts population reside in cities with population this large. The data in Table E, 4 are very similar to those in Table A, 13, which presented the population of the cities or towns where convicted murderers were living at the time of their commitment. Thus, it is clear that a very high proportion of convicted murderers

F. Data on Recidivism. Table F, 1 reveals that 57 (80.3%) of the 71 subjects released to the community had no further arrests as of January, 1967. Of the 14 subjects who had been arrested, 6 (42.9%) were arrested only for traffic violations. On the other hand, one of the remaining eight releasees was arrested for First Degree Murder. This subject was found guilty of this charge and was sentenced to death. However, this verdict was later set aside by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court. At the present writing, the outcome of this issue is still pending, and the subject has been re-incarcerated for a violation of his parole conditions. Other offenses for which releasees have been arrested include: assault and battery (2 men), larceny (3 men), illegal possession of firearms (1 man), and operating a motor vehicle without a license (1 man).

It is interesting to note that 4 (5.6%) of the 71 people released were females. None of these four women had any further arrests or parole violations. It is also noteworthy that the average length of time incarcerated for these four women was 6 years, while the average for male releasees was 14.3 years.

Table F, 2 provides a detailed breakdown of follow-up data on releasees according to the length of time since their return to the community. Note that 8 of the 71 releasees have had their paroles revoked and have been re-incarcerated. It is important to emphasize, in presenting data on recidivism that the definition of the term, recidivism, must be clearly spelled out. In previous studies done by the Massachusetts Department of Correction a recidivist has been defined as any subject who was returned to a county, state or federal correctional institution <sup>or more</sup> for one month/<sup>or more</sup> within four years of his release. This definition includes parole violators as well as those receiving a new sentence from the court. Using this definition, the overall recidivism rate for the three major male correctional institutions in Massachusetts - M.C.I., Walpole, M.C.I., Norfolk, and M.C.I., Concord - was 59.5%. When this definition of recidivism was applied to the present

sample of released convicted murderers, there were 30 subjects who had been released early enough for a four year follow-up. One subject had died within four years of his release. Of the remaining 29 subjects, only 3 were recidivists. Thus, the recidivism rate for convicted murderers was 10.3%. This is significantly lower than the overall recidivism rate of 59.5% ( $\chi^2 = 29.30$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

Discussion

The study has revealed significant differences between convicted murderers and other offenders on several factors. One area where a consistent pattern of significant differences emerged was that of criminal history. A very high level of statistical significance was associated with the findings that convicted murderers were older than other offenders at the time of their first arrest, had fewer prior arrests, and had a higher proportion of subjects with no previous incarcerations. The latter two differences were not simply a function of age, since the age distributions of the two samples were quite similar. Although this pattern of differences may mean that convicted murderers were more adept at avoiding arrest and incarceration, it would seem more likely that they were much less involved in a "criminal" style of life than other offenders.

The analysis of recidivism spotlighted another important difference between convicted murderers and other offenders. The recidivism rate of convicted murderers (10.3%) was significantly lower than the overall recidivism rate of the three major male correctional institutions (59.5%). It should be emphasized that there is a selective factor operating here. That is, since all convicted murderers received at least a life sentence from the courts, only those who show a high probability of making a successful adjustment in the community are likely to be released by the Parole Board. Therefore, it would be expected that the recidivism rate of convicted murderers be somewhat lower than the overall return rate. However, the fact that the overall return rate of other offenders was approximately six times higher than that of convicted murderers, suggests that - the selective factor notwithstanding - convicted murderers have a relatively high probability for successful community adjustment.

Summary

This study presents an analysis of all persons (N=238) committed to Massachusetts correctional institutions for murder from 1943 through 1966. Information was collected in six general areas: Background Factors, Criminal History, Data on Present Commitment, Data on Release, Post-release Data, and Data on Recidivism. Convicted murderers could be compared with other offenders on variables under three of these general areas - i.e. background factors, criminal history, and recidivism.

When compared to other offenders on background factors, convicted murderers were much more likely to be male, to be widowed (due to a substantial proportion who were committed for murdering their spouses), to be higher in occupational status, and to have fewer symptoms of problem drinking or drug abuse. No significant differences were found in regard to age, race, education, and military service data.

In terms of criminal history, convicted murderers appeared to have much less serious records than other offenders. For example, they were significantly older at the time of their first arrest, and they had significantly fewer prior arrests and prior incarcerations.

The data on recidivism revealed that convicted murderers had a significantly lower recidivism rate (10.3%) than other offenders (59.5%). This difference seemed to be too great to be explained by a selective factor alone. Therefore, it was concluded that, relative to other offenders, convicted murderers have a very low probability of returning to a correctional institution after their release to the community.

Appendix A

A Statistical Profile of Convicted Murderers, Including a  
Comparison with Other Offenders on Selected Variables

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Murderers</u>		<u>Other Offenders</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>
<b>A. Background Factors</b>				
<b>1. <u>Age at Commitment*</u></b>				
24 or younger	100	(42.0)	362	(44.1)
25 or older	138	(58.0)	458	(55.9)
	$\chi^2 = .34, df = 1, .50 < p < .70$			
<b>2. <u>Sex**</u></b>				
male	233	(97.9)	637	(79.1)
female	5	(2.1)	168	(20.9)
	$\chi^2 = 46.77, df = 1, p < .001$			
<b>3. <u>Race*</u></b>				
White	194	(81.5)	647	(78.9)
Non-White	44	(18.5)	173	(21.1)
	$\chi^2 = .77, df = 1, .30 < p < .50$			
<b>4. <u>Education**</u></b>				
8th grade or less	129	(54.2)	375	(47.5)
9th grade or more	109	(45.8)	414	(52.5)
	$\chi^2 = 3.26, df = 1, .05 < p < .10$			
<b>5. <u>Intelligence Quotients</u></b>				
above 110	27	(11.7)		
91 - 110	63	(27.3)		
70 - 90	57	(24.0)		
69 or lower	13	(5.5)		
no information	78	(31.5)		

\*Indicates that murderers are compared with sample derived for Base Expectancy Studies

\*\*Indicates that murderers are compared with all inmates committed to the Department of Correction in 1965 (excluding Bridgewater)

	<u>Murderers</u>		<u>Other Offenders</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>
6. <u>Marital Status**</u>				
single	124	(52.1)	365	(45.3)
married	38	(16.0)	229	(28.4)
divorced or sep.	41	(17.1)	192	(23.8)
widowed	35	(14.8)	19	(2.4)

$$\chi^2 = 70.82, df = 3, p < .001$$

Of the 35 convicted murderers who were widowed, 29 (82.9%) were committed for the murder of their spouses.

7. Military Service Data\*

no military service	139	(58.4)	461	(56.2)
honorable discharge	59	(24.8)	211	(25.7)
other than honorable disch.	40	(17.2)	148	(18.1)

$$\chi^2 = .38, df = 2, .80 < p < .90$$

8. Occupational Status\*\*

upper	4	(1.7)	15	(1.9)
middle	34	(14.4)	50	(6.3)
lower	176	(74.6)	713	(90.4)
military service	5	(2.1)	6	(0.8)
student	17	(7.2)	5	(0.6)

$$\chi^2 = 59.16, df = 4, p < .001$$

9. Behavior Disorders\*

none	187	(78.6)	524	(63.9)
alcoholism, drug addiction	51	(21.4)	296	(36.1)

$$\chi^2 = 18.01, df = 1, p < .001$$

10. Early Home Life

superior	34	(14.1)
average	97	(40.8)
inferior	86	(36.2)
left home	3	(1.3)
institution	8	(3.4)
no information	10	(4.2)

\*\*Indicates that murderers are compared with all inmates committed to the Department of Correction in 1965 (excluding Bridgewater)

	<u>Murderers</u>		<u>Other Offenders</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>
<b>11. <u>Stability of Employment</u></b>				
regular	41	(17.2)		
irregular	80	(33.6)		
casual	97	(40.7)		
student	17	( 7.2)		
never worked	3	( 1.3)		
<b>12. <u>Employed at Present Offense ?</u></b>				
yes	124	(52.1)		
no	97	(40.7)		
student	17	( 7.2)		
<b>13. <u>Size of City or Town Where Living at Present Offense</u></b>				
100,000 or more	109	(45.4)		
50,000 - 99,999	59	(24.9)		
10,000 - 49,999	49	(20.6)		
under 10,000	16	( 6.9)		
out of state	4	( 1.7)		
offense committed in prison	1	( 0.5)		

**B. Criminal History**

**1. Age of First Arrest\***

19 or younger	148	(62.2)	610	(74.3)
20 or older	90	(37.8)	210	(25.7)

$$\chi^2 = 13.53, df = 1, p < .001$$

**2. Number of Prior Arrests\***

5 or fewer	156	(65.6)	292	(35.6)
6 or more	82	(34.4)	528	(64.4)

$$\chi^2 = 65.84, df = 1, p < .001$$

**3. No. of Prior Arrests for Drunkenness**

none	157	(66.0)
1	30	(13.0)
2 or more	51	(21.0)

\*Indicates that murderers are compared with sample derived for Base Expectancy Studies

\*\*Indicates that murderers are compared with all inmates committed to the Department of Correction in 1965 (excluding Bridgewater)

MurderersOther OffendersN      (%)N      (%)4. No. of Prior Arrests  
for Narcotic Offenses

none	237	(99.5)
one	1	(0.5)

5. Prior Penal Commitments\*

no prior state, federal or House of Corr. Comms.	132	(55.5)	245	(29.9)
prior state, federal, or House of Corr. comms.	106	(44.5)	575	(70.1)

$$\chi^2 = 52.64, df = 1, p < .001$$

6. Prior State or Fed. Comms.\*

none	177	(74.3)
one	38	(16.0)
two or more	23	(9.7)

7. Prior House of Corr. Comms.

none	157	(66.0)
one	34	(14.2)
two or more	47	(19.8)

C. Data on Present Commitment (Murderers only)1. Type of Murder Conviction by Year of Commitment

<u>Year</u>	<u>Murder, 1st degree</u>		<u>Murder, 2nd degree</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>
43-45	2	(3.3)	11	(6.2)	13	(5.5)
46-48	10	(16.4)	43	(24.3)	53	(22.7)
49-51	7	(11.5)	19	(10.7)	26	(10.9)
52-54	3	(4.9)	21	(11.9)	24	(10.1)
55-57	6	(9.8)	22	(12.4)	28	(11.8)
58-60	2	(3.3)	18	(10.2)	20	(8.4)
61-63	12	(19.7)	22	(12.4)	34	(14.3)
64-66	19	(31.1)	21	(11.9)	40	(16.8)
Total	61	(100.0)	177	(100.0)	238	(100.0)

\*Indicates that murderers are compared with sample derived for Base Expectancy Studies

MurderersOther OffendersN (%)N (%)2. Family Interest During Confinement

very active	57	(24.0)
active	89	(37.0)
sustained	49	(21.0)
passive	20	(8.4)
none	9	(3.7)
no information	14	(5.9)

3. Number of Disciplinary Reports

none	101	(42.4)
1-4	92	(38.6)
5 or more	45	(19.0)

D. Data on Release (as of Jan., 1967)1. Release Data by Year of Commitment

<u>Release Data</u>	<u>Year of Commitment</u>									
	<u>1943-48</u>		<u>1949-54</u>		<u>1955-60</u>		<u>1961-66</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>
Paroled	40	(60.6)	25	(50.0)	4	(8.3)	-	-	69	(29.0)
Pardoned (full & complete)	2	(3.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	(0.8)
Died while confined	4	(6.1)	4	(8.0)	-	-	-	-	8	(3.4)
Executed	3	(4.5)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	(1.3)
Released for Prosec. in Juv. Ct.	-	-	-	-	1	(2.1)	-	-	1	(0.4)
Still Confined										
(a) in correctional inst.	13	(19.7)	15	(30.0)	43	(89.6)	74	(100.0)	145	(60.9)
(b) in Bridgewater State Hosp.	4	(6.1)	6	(12.0)	-	-	-	-	10	(4.2)
Total	66	(100.0)	50	(100.0)	48	(100.0)	74	(100.0)	238	(100.0)

2. Release Data by Length of Incarceration

<u>Years Served</u>	<u>Release Data</u>						
	<u>Rel. to</u>	<u>Died While</u>			<u>Rel. to</u>	<u>Still</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Community</u>	<u>Confined</u>	<u>Executed</u>	<u>Juv. Ct.</u>	<u>Confined</u>		
0-4	3 (4.2)	2 (25.0)	3 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	56 (36.1)	65 (27.3)	
5-8	9 (12.7)	-	-	-	35 (22.6)	44 (18.5)	
9-12	16 (12.5)	1 (12.5)	-	-	26 (16.8)	43 (18.1)	
13-16	23 (32.4)	5 (62.5)	-	-	19 (12.3)	47 (19.7)	
17-20	20 (28.2)	-	-	-	17 (11.0)	37 (15.5)	
21-24	-	-	-	-	2 (1.3)	2 (0.8)	
Total	71 (100.0)	8 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	155 (100.1)	238 (99.9)	

MurderersOther OffendersN      (%)N      (%)E. Post-Release Data (for the 71 subjects released to the community)1. Occupational Status

Upper	0	( 0.0)
Middle	26	(36.6)
Lower	30	(42.3)
Retired	8	(11.3)
Unemployed	2	( 2.8)
No Information	5	( 7.0)
Total	71	(100.0)

2. Work Record

Favorable	49	(69.0)
Somewhat Favorable	4	( 5.6)
Somewhat Unfavorable	2	( 2.8)
Unfavorable	0	( 0.0)
Part Time Work	1	( 1.4)
Retired	9	(12.7)
No Information	6	( 8.5)

3. Age at Release (ave. age = 41.7)

20-29	11	(15.5)
30-39	21	(29.6)
40-49	22	(31.0)
50-59	10	(14.1)
60 or older	7	( 9.9)

4. Population of City or Town

100,000 or more	30	(42.3)
50,000 - 99,999	17	(23.9)
10,000 - 49,999	18	(25.4)
under 10,000	2	( 2.8)
No Information	4	( 5.6)

F. Data on Recidivism1. Subsequent Arrests

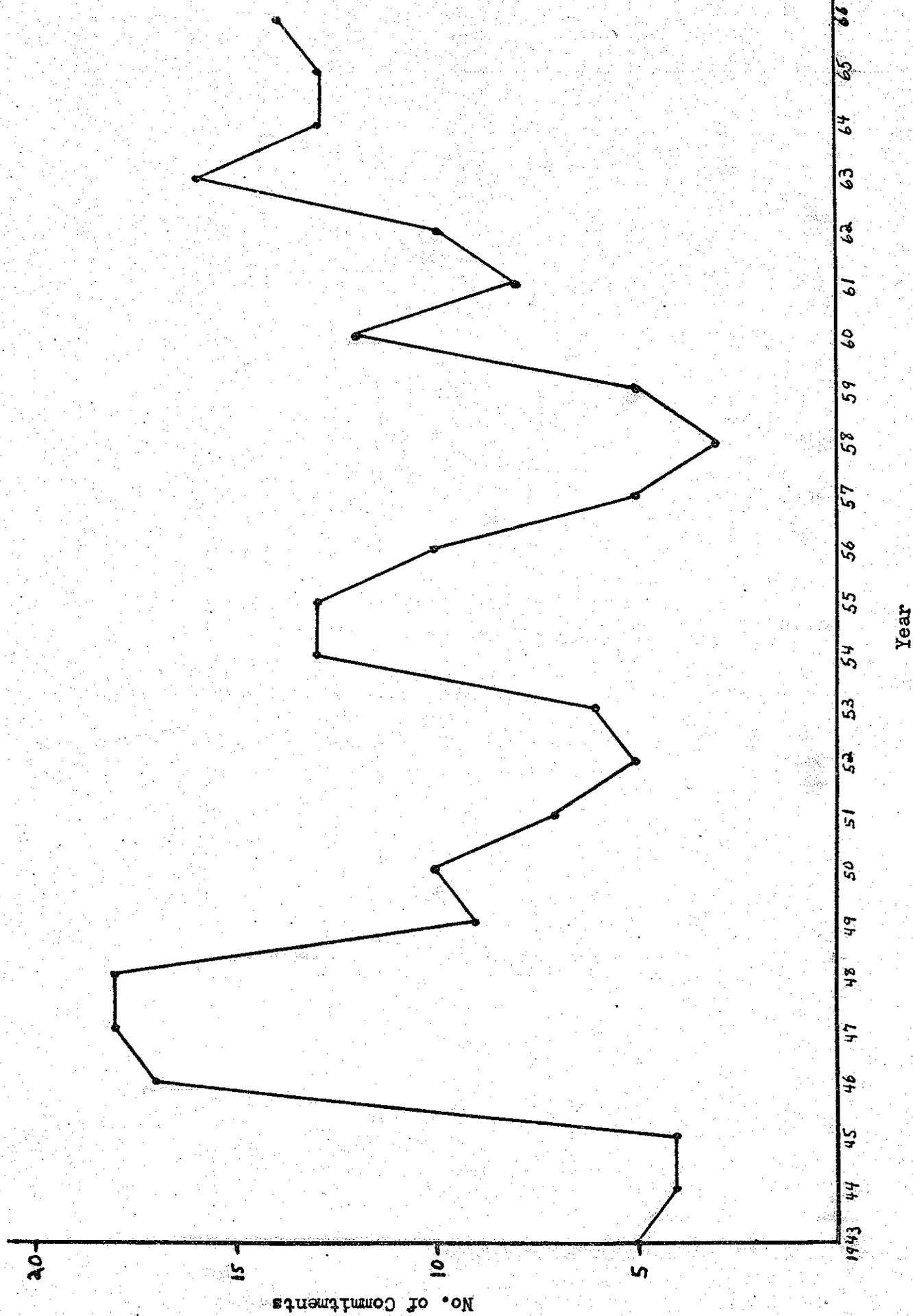
None	57	(80.3)
Offense vs. Person	3	( 4.2)
Offense vs. Property	3	( 4.2)
Other Offenses	2	( 2.8)
Traffic Violation	6	( 8.5)

2. Parole Data by Length of Time on Outside

<u>Elapsed Time</u>	<u>Still on Parole</u>	<u>Revoked and Returned</u>	<u>Died on Parole</u>	<u>Parole Terminated</u>	<u>Total</u>
up to 1 yr.	19 (35.8)	1 (12.5)	3 (50.0)	-	23 (32.4)
1 up to 2 yrs.	6 (11.3)	2 (25.0)	1 (16.7)	-	9 (12.7)
2 up to 3 yrs.	5 (9.4)	-	1 (16.7)	1 (25.0)	7 (9.9)
3 up to 4 yrs.	5 (9.4)	2 (25.0)	1 (16.7)	-	8 (11.3)
4 up to 5 yrs.	3 (5.7)	3 (62.5)	-	1 (25.0)	7 (9.9)
5 yrs. or more	15 (28.3)	-	-	2 (50.0)	17 (23.9)
Total	53 (99.9)	8 (100.0)	6 (100.1)	4 (100.0)	71 (100.1)

Appendix B

COMMITMENTS FOR MURDER (1943-1966)



Appendix C\*

1. Early Home Life (Table A, 10)

- (a) Superior home: A home in which there was no serious economic problem, no apparent domestic discord; and there was some evidence of religious and moral training. The parents in such cases will have been conventional, law-abiding persons, frequently active in church, social, or civic affairs.
- (b) Average home: This is a residual category between superior and inferior. It may also be used in the case where one parent dies and the remaining parent remarries, creating thereby a home unmarred by family discord or poverty but one which is not superior in character.
- (c) Inferior home: A home in which there was a pattern of poverty, family strife, abuse of the children, drunkenness, delinquency, etc.
- (d) Left Home: This category should be used where the offender left home of his own accord prior to sixteen years of age.
- (e) Institution: This category should be used where the offender was placed in an institution, such as an orphanage, and institutional treatment represented an important part of his early life as compared to home contacts.

2. Stability of Employment (Table A, 11)

- (a) Regular: A person who has worked steadily all of his working life at one or only a few jobs.
- (b) Irregular: A man who does not hold a job for any length of time, but shows fairly continuous employment. He must have held a job for one year or more in a working life of five years or more, or for six months or more in a working life of less than five years.
- (c) Casual: A man who cannot hold a job more than a few months at a time, and who is generally discharged or quits because of his indifferent attitude toward work in general.
- (d) Student: A person whose previous work history consists principally of school attendance, except for summer or after-school work.
- (e) Never worked: A person who has never worked at a legitimate pursuit.

3. Family Interest During Confinement \*(Table C, 2)

- (a) Very Active: Inmate receives five or more letters a month from relatives.
- (b) Active: Inmate receives two to five letters a month from relatives.
- (c) Sustained: Inmate receives fewer than two letters a month, but more than one every three months.
- (d) Passive: Inmate receives letters only at rare intervals.
- (e) None: Inmate receives no letters from relatives.

4. Work Record (Table E, 2)

- (a) Favorable: Worked steadily while on parole.
- (b) Somewhat Favorable: Was employed for a greater period of time than was unemployed while on parole.
- (c) Somewhat Unfavorable: Worked some, but was unemployed for a greater period of time than was employed while on parole.
- (d) Unfavorable: Did not work at all while on parole.

\*In applying this code, a visit by a relative was considered equal to two visits.