

CITIZENS WHO COMMIT HOMICIDES

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The literature of forensic psychiatry contains very few reports dealing with psychiatric studies of persons who commit homicides. One of the largest series reported to date is that of Manfred Guttmacher in his book, *The Mind of the Murderer*, in which he reports an analysis of more than 200 murderers examined by him (2). Another report is Emmanuel Tanay, "Psychiatric Study of Homicide" in the March, 1969 issue of the *American Journal of Psychiatry* (1), which prompted the author to undertake the present study of persons who commit homicide. The reluctance of most psychiatrists to spend an extensive amount of their professional careers working inside prison walls appears to be the principal reason for the extremely small number of psychiatric studies on murderers.

A previous study by the author (3) done in 1954 revealed only 43 psychiatrists who were working full time and 39 part time in the 16 prisons and reformatories in the United States and possessions as of that date. Since then, due especially to the increase in psychiatric medical services provided in the Federal Prison System, there has been a significant improvement in the situation, along with an increasing tendency for courts to provide for more adequate psychiatric evaluations of offenders prior to trial. Tanay's series of 53 cases is based upon an analysis of such persons encountered in his capacity as consultant to the courts in Wayne County. The format developed by Tanay is a useful one, with its inclusion of a description of the prior interactions which occurred between the assailant and victim, and a rating scale of the superego of the assailant. The same method of reporting data as used by Tanay is used in the present study. Data on only 100 offenders will be described here, though information is available on approximately 2,000 cases. This larger sample will be the subject of a later report. The 100 offenders described here committed a total of 107 murders, as several of the crimes included multiple slayings.

There are necessarily some minor variations in the tabulations of data as compared with that of Tanay, since the present population sample is different in several respects. Sex is not considered as a variable since this sample consists entirely of male offenders who have been sentenced to serve time either in the State Prison of Southern Michigan, at Jackson, Michigan, the Branch Prison at Marquette, Michigan, the Ionia Reformatory at Ionia, Michigan, the Michigan Training Unit, or at the camp system for men. All women felons in

Michigan are housed at the Detroit House of Corrections in Wayne County, and come under a separate arrangement for psychiatric services, provided by consultants in Wayne County. There is no statistical validity in recording the racial composition of this sample, since most of these cases are drawn from the State Prison of Southern Michigan. That institution, servicing the southern peninsula primarily, has a higher proportion of Negro offenders than the Marquette Branch Prison, which houses more offenders from the predominantly white upper peninsula.

In attempting to classify the relative strength of the superego of the individuals in this study, it is felt that a three point scale is required in order to define the various types of situations commonly encountered. There is some deviation from Tanay's nosology of classification of the superego of the assailant, in which he classified the superego as defective, supportive, or severe. Here the term "intact" superego is used where Tanay uses the term "supportive" superego, and this will have to be taken into account in making any comparison of the two samples.

It is sometimes difficult to define the "defective" superego. Previous acting out of aggressive impulses to a criminal degree was arbitrarily considered to be a sign of superego defect, unless psychiatric investigation revealed that the subject had a "severe" superego and had committed some crime in the past in such a way that it was a very clear attempt to be caught and to be punished. The person classified as having a "defective" superego was a person who in interviews expressed no feelings of significant guilt or remorse about the criminal act. Among this group, an environmental situation commonly encountered was a lack of formation of strong loyalties to parent figures, or where those identifications which were made with older persons were made with persons who themselves were antisocial individuals who were at variance with the accepted moral code for society (the so-called dissocial reaction). In any event, by the time these subjects had reached young adulthood, they did not have a sufficiently intact superego to feel "normal guilt" about active violence toward persons or property. Studies made on populations of highly delinquent teen-agers show that these individuals do have a set of "moral standards" but that these are patterned after the criminalistic moral code of the peer group rather than that of the older members of society. There is probably no person who is completely lacking in some sense of what is right or wrong for his behavior, but the term "defective" superego here will refer to those persons who do not feel restraint out of a sense of guilt for committing aggressive actions against persons or property. No cases were encountered in this study who came from a home background where an entire geo-

graphical area exhibited different mores from the majority of society, condoning murder in certain instances such as for the purposes of vengeance. Such cases have been reported by Gamiochipi (4) in families living in the states of Chiapas, Guerrero, and Vera Cruz, Mexico. From the cultural standpoint, such situations have prevailed periodically in the history of the United States (the "frontier justice" of the early west, the family feuds among groups indigenous to certain mountainous regions, and the intergang disputes among professional criminal groups). The extremes of violence which can develop with a tightly organized group of persons at odds with society is well described by Leon in his article on La Violencia in Colombia (5). When murder becomes excused on a nationalistic basis, as it was in Germany in World War II (6), this represents more of a phenomenon of murder without emotion, the most damaging social experience of all.

The term "severe" superego will be used to describe those persons who have a very strong, burdening sense of guilt about any acts they have committed in the past which they have considered "wrong," and whose code of behavior follows the accustomed social concepts that it is wrong to commit acts of violence against persons or property. Such persons often develop a very overpowering sense of guilt after they have arrived in prison following the commission of serious offenses, and have often been observed to develop psychotic depressive reactions in response to their severe guilt feelings. An illuminating discussion of the origins of internalized controls can be found in a recent book by Aronfreed, *Conduct and Conscience* (7).

Any definition of the criminal offender with an "intact" superego would be open to criticism because of the ultimate philosophical reasoning, based upon psychoanalytic concepts, that no person with an "intact" superego could kill another person. For the sake of comparative evaluations of the individuals in this study, however, it is felt necessary to set up such a group because of the many individuals encountered who show no evidence of either a "severe" superego, or of a "defective" superego. In-depth psychiatric interviews are lacking with the majority of offenders, but in those few cases where these have been carried on extensively over a period of years, typical "lacunae" have been found in the consciences of those individuals who periodically commit criminal acts. The classification of "intact" superego will be used here to describe those persons who do have at least a professed acceptance of the usual moral codes of society, express some definite guilt about committing any serious antisocial act, but not to the point that they are constantly obsessed and tormented by it. It is felt that the majority of these individuals certainly have some degree of defect of the superego or they would show an unbear-

able guilt in reaction to the crime of murder, if not to other crimes, but the term will be used here to describe the individual who falls into an intermediate area between the two types described above.

TABLE 1
CHARACTERISTICS OF CONVICTED MURDERERS

Variable	Number of Cases (= %) of Sample of 100 Offenders
1. Age	
Under 20	11
20 to 29	43
30 to 39	32
40 to 49	12
50 and over	2
2. Education level	
Under 8th grade	47
Quit after 8th grade	26
9th to 11th	22
12th or over	5
3. History of violent child rearing	
Yes	29
No	43
Unknown	28
4. History of extremely damaging early environment other than parental violence	25
5. Police record (conviction and jail sentence or probation, other than minor traffic violations or drunkenness) less than imprisonment	24
6. Prior prison record	23
7. Occupational status	
Lower (unskilled workers, common laborers)	84
Middle (skilled workers and/or high school graduates)	16
Upper (white collar workers and college students)	0
8. Alcohol involved in act	32
9. Drugs involved in act	2
10. Location of crime	
Home or other type residence	48
Outdoors	27
Automobile	3

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Variable	Number of Cases (= %) of Sample of 100 Offenders
Place of business	13
Bar	7
Prison	2
11. Relationship of perpetrator to victim	
Spouse	16
Friend or acquaintance	30
Stranger	39
Lover	8
Relative other than spouse	13
12. Interaction between perpetrator and victim	
Quarrel immediately preceding act	48
Quarrel or other intense emotional involvement prior to act	24
No emotional reaction	28
13. Method used in homicides	
Shooting	63
Stabbing	10
Bludgeoning, choking with bare hands	24
Drowning, poison, other	3
14. Diagnosis at time of act	
Dissociative reaction	6
Psychosis	6
Mental deficiency	15
No psychiatric disorder	71
15. History of psychosis prior to act	
Yes	7*
No	93
*Six of these were considered psychotic also at time of the act, and continued to manifest psychosis after sentencing to prison	
16. Premeditation	
Yes	59*
No	41
*Seventeen homicides occurred as part of an armed robbery	
17. Classification of superego	
Severe	6
Intact	21
Defective	71
Undetermined	2
18. Developed psychosis following the act, continued to manifest psychosis after sentencing to prison	20*

*These cases were in addition to the 6 who were considered psychotic at the time of the act, and remained so afterward.

ANALYSIS OF ITEMS IN TABLE 1

ITEM 1. On the variable "age" the present findings agree closely with those of Tanay, in that the majority of cases fall into the categories between the ages 20 and 40, with 43 percent in the 20 to 30 year age group, 32 percent in the 30 to 40 year age group, 11 percent under 20 and 12 percent in the 40 to 50 year age group. This age distribution is expected in view of the more intensive involvement with hostile and sexual urges in the younger half of the male population.

ITEM 2. A very disproportionate number of homicidal offenders fail in school and drop out prematurely, as part of a pattern of general social maladaptation and frustration in dealing with their environment at an early age. Combining the first two items, 73 percent of this sample never went beyond the 8th grade at school. This includes the 15 percent of the sample who were found to have a mild mental deficiency and did not progress normally in school. If a sample were taken of offenders coming into prison in the last year, the grade completed when dropping out of school would be higher. A large proportion of this sample were in prison before 1940, before the schools followed so strongly the policy of keeping all children in school through as much of the 12 year curriculum as possible, regardless of their learning and adaptive problems.

ITEM 3. Twenty-nine percent of this sample gave a history of parental violence toward the offender during childhood. It is often difficult to elicit a clear history from offenders as to whether or not there has been a history of severe beatings during their developmental years. In 28 percent, this material was unobtainable. The common tendency to repress and forget unpleasant early life experiences, the tendency to idealize the situation in later life, and the many resistances encountered in persons during the taking of psychiatric histories are all factors making it difficult to obtain these data from the subject himself. Personal home interviews by a team of social workers perhaps could obtain more of these kinds of data, but even so, there is characteristically much covering up on the part of the family. Even with this limitation, there was still a high incidence (29 percent) of violent child rearing in the present sample, although this is far short of the 67 percent reported by Tanay.

ITEM 4. This category is used to describe home situations in which there were extremely damaging types of early environmental settings other than parental violence. Twenty-five percent of the

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violators came from such home backgrounds, which characteristically involved early parental rejection and major emotional deprivation. Again, a controlled sample would be necessary to determine how much this would differ from a "normal" sample taken from a matched group.

ITEM 5. Included in this category were offenders who had a prior record of conviction of either felonies or misdemeanors and received jail sentences, fines, and/or probation. Excluded were minor traffic violations and arrest for drunkenness.

ITEM 6. Only persons who had sentences of such severity that they received prison records are included here. Most of these 23 percent also had, as would be expected, prior arrests and jail terms for lesser offenses. Combining Items 5 and 6, it is seen that 47 percent of this sample had previous records of law-breaking of major proportions, which indicates that almost half of the people who eventually commit murder have a prior history of excessive acting-out of aggressive impulses, and inadequate behavior control.

ITEM 7. The figures here are what one would expect in conjunction with the findings from Item 2 (education level). Many of these people had interrupted job records because of prior jail terms, alcoholism, and generally unstable social patterns. It also reflects the paucity of high employment skill attainments in the presence of early school failure.

ITEM 8. Thirty-two of the subjects committed their homicides while their behavior controls were weakened by the effects of excessive alcohol intake. Most of the individuals (22 out of the 32 cases) had committed other lesser crimes prior to committing an act of homicide and had revealed definite antisocial tendencies along with their alcoholic habits. Only 10 of these individuals had no previous history of criminal behavior and did not follow the usual life patterns of the typical criminal offender. Their homicides appeared to be chance occurrences, true "acts of violence," without premeditation, committed during a fit of rage when behavior controls which otherwise might be sufficient were weakened because of the alcoholic state, and abetted by the ready availability of firearms. Many times, the act of homicide finally occurs when there is a more violent argument than usual, following a long period of building up of feelings of grievance, but which all evidence indicates would still not have terminated in homicide if it were not for the effects of the alcohol on lessening behavior controls, and the ready availability of a gun. A typical example would be case no. 3, where a 60 year old man killed his second wife while under the influence of intoxicants, following a severe argument with his wife over a visit to his home of his son by a prior marriage. The offender in this case has been building up increasing

amounts of anger over his feelings that his second wife was rejecting his son by his prior marriage, and favored her own children. She showed this openly in her protests over allowing his son to come and stay with them overnight during visits to their home. The subject had been feeling increasingly resentful about this and it was only under the influence of intoxicants that he lost control completely, seized a gun which was in the building, and committed the murder during the height of the rage reaction. In other cases, alcohol has been used by the offender to build up sufficient courage to commit the act which was premeditated, but which was sufficiently frightening to the individual, that he was unable to carry it without getting himself "up to it" by becoming sufficiently intoxicated to do away with residual controlling factors in the conscience. Case no. 6 was an example of this, where a 22 year old assailant killed his common-law wife after drinking all day beforehand, during which time he borrowed a gun from a relative. He had become extremely angered the day before during an argument, in which the common-law wife announced she was going to leave him and take their baby with her to Alabama where he would not be able to see either one of them again. In his later statements, he confessed to the police that he drank to get up his courage to do it, "to prove I was boss and she was not going to take the baby to Alabama with her and take it away from me."

Items 10 through 14 describe the most important features of the homicidal situation.

ITEM 10. The location of crime demonstrates that 48 percent of all homicides occur in the home, a finding which might be shocking to those who suffer from the misapprehension that home is man's safest refuge. The fact that in only 13 percent of this sample did the homicide occur in a place of business correlates closely with the fact that only 17 percent of this sample consisted of homicides committed in the course of a planned holdup attempt by an habitual criminal.

ITEM 11. This item demonstrates that most homicides are committed by spouses, friends, or relatives. Only 39 percent of the victims were strangers to the assassin. In two of these cases, the deceased were innocent bystanders who were not the intended victims and were accidentally shot when bullets went astray. A breakdown of the type of relationship between the victim and the assassin reveals: 3 fathers, 2 sons, 1 stepson, 1 stepfather, 1 brother, 1 sister, 1 daughter, 1 stepmother, 1 uncle, and 1 brother-in-law. A case series of several hundred will be necessary to see if the predominance of killings between sons and fathers is sustained in a larger sample.

ITEM 12. In 48 percent of the cases, there was a quarrel or very significant intense emotional involvement (such as strong jealous feelings, or strong sexual stimulation) immediately preceding the act

and usually involving a very recent significant interaction within two or three days of the final act of murder. The 28 percent of the cases involving no emotional reaction between the assailant and victim include all of the 17 cases where the homicide occurred as part of a planned armed robbery, where murder was not premeditated but where a gun was carried by the assailant with the intention of using weapons if necessary to carry out the robbery successfully.

Although not shown on the table, 9 of the slayings occurred as part of a murder-sexual assault situation where the basic pathology consisted of a fusion of the sexual and aggressive instincts in the personality structure of the assailant, or involved sexual impotency on the part of the assailant and the crime evolved at least partially from frustrations over failure to obtain sexual gratification from a consenting partner.

Thirteen of the slayings involved love triangle situations. Interestingly, in 9 of the cases it was the sexual partner who was murdered by the jealous lover, and in only 4 was the victim the lover's rival.

ITEM 13. In 63 of the cases, firearms were used in the homicide. This correlates very closely with the figure that 65 percent of all homicides are committed with firearms, as reported by the President's Commission on Violence in 1968 (8). The second most common method used was budgeoning the victim to death with whatever heavy object was nearest at hand; stabbing accounted for the third most frequent method used in committing murder and a surprising 13 percent of the homicides were committed by beating or choking of the victim to death with the bare hands without the use of any ancillary instrument of death.

ITEMS 14 AND 15. Except for the most hardened felons, it appears that most individuals have to have some degree of altered ego state in order to carry out the act of killing another human being. Just when this reaches such proportions to qualify as a "dissociative reaction" is often very difficult to determine.

A much lower percentage of this sample was found to be suffering from a dissociation reaction at the time of the commission of the crime (8 percent) as compared with Tanay's report of 70 percent for his sample. This wide discrepancy may be attributed to two separate factors. First, this is a different population sample from that used by Tanay, who was examining accused persons prior to trial for purposes of determination of mental competency. Those cases which he encountered who were found to be mentally ill at the time of the act were transferred to psychiatric facilities instead of arriving in prison. These persons have already been eliminated from the present sample at the time of the trial. Secondly, it is an incontrovertible

fact that some accused persons attempt to falsify their testimony about their state of mind at the time of commission of an act of homicide in an attempt to obtain a less severe punishment. This is borne out by a number of lifers who, after many years in prison, frankly confessed that they falsified information in an attempt to use the defense of temporary insanity. Now that they have resigned themselves to spending the rest of their lives in prison and there is nothing more to lose, they would discuss this frankly with the examining psychiatrist. One of the assailants suffered from an organic brain syndrome, secondary to encephalitis (Case no. 72). This person, following a violent argument with his pregnant wife, flew into a complete frenzy and killed her with a hammer and then strangled their one living child, a son aged 4. He turned himself in to the police after he "came to himself" and realized what he had done. He had been subject to irritability and severe temper outbursts at times since he had encephalitis at the age of 14. He was the only one of the cases diagnosed as "dissociative reaction" who was found to be suffering from any organic brain disease. Seven of the offenders had a history of psychosis prior to the act. Only one of these had shown evidence of recovery from his illness and was in a state of remission at the time that he committed the homicide. Six were frankly psychotic at the time of the act and they had displayed ample evidence of schizophrenia prior to the act. They continued to suffer from symptoms characteristic of schizophrenia following the act to the point that they had to be admitted to the psychiatric unit of the prison after being received at the prison from the courts. Fifteen percent suffered from mild mental deficiency with I.Q.'s ranging from 60 to 80. Although 6 were psychotic at the time of the act, and 15 showed evidence of mild mental deficiency, this was never recognized by the arresting authorities, attorneys, or judges involved, and these persons were sent on to a life sentence for murder, as mentally competent. On arrival in the prison reception-diagnostic center, where the personnel are well trained to recognize signs of mental illness, they are spotted almost immediately and transferred to the psychiatric unit.

ITEM 16. The 59 individuals who premeditated the act included some who had had a quarrel almost immediately preceding the act, made the decision to kill the victim and took the time to find a suitable instrument and came back to the scene to accomplish the act. These individuals were considered to have premeditated the act, even though there may have been a timing of sometimes as short as 30 minutes between the decision and the murder.

ITEM 17. Seventy-one percent of this sample showed ample evidence of a defective superego. This included all 47 individuals who

had previously had police records. Twenty-one were found to have evidence of an "intact" superego with no prior law breaking. Six were considered to have a "severe" superego. This included Case no. 70, a religious man who grew up in a home where the father often beat the children. As the eldest son, he dutifully helped the mother and father with the care of the younger siblings. He could not bear to see the younger brothers and sisters punished by the father and would sometimes take the blame for them, and the subsequent beatings. He was a very over-controlled person. His offense consisted of the savage beating of a child who was temporarily boarded in their home when the child, who was not feeling well and was emotionally upset, soiled his pants while sitting at the breakfast table. Interestingly, he was the only one of the six offenders with a severe superego who did not subsequently develop a psychosis during imprisonment. The others, during their period of psychosis, either manifested severe guilt feelings, delusions of persecutions and fears that someone would kill them, or both.

ITEM 18. This item reveals that a high percentage of persons who commit homicide develop such intense anguish and guilt after the act that they are no longer able to maintain their mental balance. Twenty persons not previously psychotic developed psychosis during their subsequent imprisonment. Many of these persons had defective superegos with histories of considerable lawbreaking prior to the commission of a murder, yet ended up suffering intense guilt, often leading to the development of paranoid persecutory ideas, such as that someone was going to harm them, or to severe depression with suicidal ideation. Evidently the guilt of Cain is still very strongly present with us.

This study covers only the person who commits the offense and not the victim. However, many examples are encountered of victims who certainly go out of their way to incite the anger of another individual and who are, in a sense, asking for some type of severe punishment or retaliatory act. A good example would be Case no. 5, a 26 year old married man with a known history of alcoholism and tendency to become very easily angered when intoxicated. The victim of this homicide, his wife, was killed by him with his naked hands by strangling her, striking her body brutal blows with his fists, and kicking her savagely. This occurred after they had quarreled when returning home one evening, both in a state of intoxication, after being out with friends and drinking. On entering their apartment, the wife taunted him with remarks about what a stupid fool he was and how that very day, unbeknown to him, she had enjoyed sexual relations with another man, including oral-genital contacts, and that she had enjoyed this much more than any satisfaction that her hus-

band had been able to give her. If this were not enough, the reader should be given the additional information that this man married a woman whose personality was very much like that of his mother, who was a very taunting, punitive person who had frequently sent him into helpless rages as a child by her behavior toward him.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study, along with that of Tanay, provides reaffirmation of the findings of Satten and Menninger (9) and Duncan, *et al.* (10) that violent child rearing practices are a frequent feature of the family background of homicidal offenders. This study also reveals the frequency of superego defects in relation to homicidal behavior. These findings, and those of the continuing series of cases examined since this first sample of 100 cases, refute the concept that in the majority of homicides the murderer is a "once in a lifetime criminal," a person who had previously never been involved in other types of law breaking. On the contrary, the study indicates that in approximately half of the cases the assailant has been involved in a variety of other types of law breaking, is often prone to alcoholic excess, and has previously indicated a more than usual propensity for acting out behavior. In the other half of the sample, the homicide is truly a "once in a lifetime occurrence" committed during a fit of rage by a person who has shown no previous propensity toward law breaking, and would be considered an "average, normal citizen" by his neighbors.

It is too much to hope that the future will show much diminution, if any, in the percent of damaging home and social environments. In the absence of any significant changes in this direction, more effective gun control legislation (external controls) will be apt to have some effect in decreasing the incidence of homicides. The ready availability of guns in so many American homes is often a significant factor in fatal outcomes of quarrels, where in many instances the absence of this most deadly instrument would have resulted in a less destructive discharge of aggression to restore the balance.

The finding that 53 percent of homicides are committed by persons without a previous police or penal record, often on relatives and friends, demonstrates the inadequacy of gun control legislation which up until now has been focused upon keeping guns out of the hands of known criminals. As long as the right to keep and bear arms is guaranteed in the Constitution, as it now stands, we will undoubtedly continue to reap our harvest of ever increasing numbers of deaths from homicides, as our population spirals and people come into closer and closer contact with one another.

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with a psychiatric study of 100 persons who have committed the crime of homicide. The subjects included in this study were examined during the time they were serving sentences in the prison system of the State of Michigan. The cases described here represent the first report on a series of approximately 2,000 persons who have committed the crime of murder.

Every offender was evaluated for 18 different factors with an effort being made to examine particularly the state of mind of the offender at the time of the act; what immediate determinants contributed to the act; an evaluation of the superego of the assailant; what relationship existed with the victim; a determination of whether alcohol contributed to the act, and whether violent child rearing was a factor in the early life environment of the eventual offender. The usual demographic data were included as to the subject's age, educational background, occupational background, etc.

The data indicate that over 50 percent of homicides are committed by persons without any previous police or penal record, often on relatives and friends, and most often in the home.

RESUMEN

Este artículo presenta el estudio psiquiátrico efectuado en 100 personas confesas de haber cometido homicidio. Los sujetos fueron examinados mientras se encontraban cumpliendo sus sentencias en la Prisión del Estado de Michigan. Estos casos representan un primer reporte de una serie de aproximadamente 200 personas que han cometido este tipo de crimen.

Cada sujeto fué evaluado en 18 factores distintos en un esfuerzo por evaluar el estado mental del ofensor en el momento del crimen: Qué fué lo que lo determinó; la evaluación de su super-ego; que relación tenía con la víctima; el determinar si el alcohol fué un factor y la presencia de violencia en su vida infantil. También se incluyeron los datos demográficos comunes, como edad del sujeto, nivel educacional y ocupacional, etc.

Los datos indican que más del 50% de los homicidios son cometidos por personas que no tienen antecedentes penales; a menudo contra parientes o amigos y aún más frecuentemente en su propia casa.

RESUMO

Este artigo relata um estudo psiquiátrico de 100 pessoas que cometeram o crime de homicídio. Os sujeitos incluídos neste estudo foram examinados durante o período em que serviam suas sentenças nas penitenciárias estaduais de Michigan. Os casos descritos representam o primeiro relatório relativo a uma parte do grupo total de dois mil homicidas.

Todos os homicidas foram avaliados em 18 fatores diferentes, dando-se ênfase ao estado mental do homicida no momento do crime; os determinantes imediatos do ato; a relação existente entre homicida e vítima; o possível papel do uso do álcool pelo homicida relativamente ao ato; e a presença de violência na educação infantil do homicida. Dados demográficos usuais foram incluídos: idade, preparação educativa, história de trabalho, etc.

Os dados indicam que mais de 50% dos homicídios são cometidos por pessoas sem histórias criminais, muitas vezes as vítimas são parentes ou amigos, e geralmente tomam lugar em casa.