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Juvenile and Adult Involvement in Double Parricide and Familicide in the U.S.: An Empirical Analysis of 20 Years of Data

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Juvenile and Adult Involvement in Double Parricide and Familicide in the U.S.:

An Empirical Analysis of 20 Years of Data

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Lynn, who has always encouraged me to pursue my dreams and believed me to be her "little intellect." I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my sister, Katrina, brother, Michael, and all of my family and friends who have supported me on this journey. I could not have done it without you.

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ABSTRACT

The killing of parents and stepparents by biological and stepchildren is a rare event. Incidents involving multiple parricide victims and/or multiple parricide offenders are an even rarer occurrence. The majority of studies on parricide involve a single victim and single offender. Using the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), this study identified 603 single-victim, single-offender incidents, 22 single-victim, multiple-offender incidents, 60 single-offender double parricide incidents, 17 multiple-offender double parricide incidents, and 15 familicide incidents over the 20 year period 1990 to 2010. Univariate and bivariate analyses examined parricidal incidents involving single or multiple offenders and single or multiple victims with the aim of investigating juvenile and adult involvement in double parricide and familicide.

Frequencies reported include victim, offender, and incident characteristics for all types of parricide incidents. Consistent with prior research on single-victim, single-offender parricide, the results indicated that the typical parricide offender was a white male approximately 30 years of age. A firearm predominated as the weapon of choice for all parricide incidents; however, when a biological mother was one of the victims, the offender(s) used more diverse methods. When multiple offenders were involved in double parricides, however, the offenders tended to be younger and were more likely to include a female accomplice. Only one case of familicide involved a female offender, and none of the familicide incidents involved multiple offenders. Study limitations and implications for prevention are also discussed.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

While technically referring to the killing of a close relative, the term parricide has become synonymous with the slaying of one or both parents by a biological child (Heide, 1992). This phenomenon is a rare variant of intrafamilial violence that accounts for approximately 2% of all homicide cases (Heide, 1989; 2013c). Parricide has fascinated the public since antiquity. It became particularly salient in the United States during the 1980s when media coverage of adolescent sons and daughters who killed their parents was featured on broadcast news and covered widely by the print media (Heide, 2013c). When parricide incidents involve multiple victims, multiple offenders, or juvenile offenders, they are perceived as even more shocking and result in widespread news broadcasting (Boots & Heide, 2006).

One of the most notorious of these cases involved the Menendez brothers, Erik and Lyle. In August 1989, 18 year-old Erik and his 21 year-old brother, Lyle, shot and killed their father and mother in their Beverly Hills home (Hubbard, 2012). In their confession, the brothers maintained that they had been sexually and psychologically abused for years. Although they asserted that they killed because they were in fear of their lives, some argued that their rage over the alleged secret of incest is what led them to kill (Hubbard, 2012). In stark contrast, the prosecution argued that the abuse was a myth and the brothers killed to inherit their parents' estate valued at $14 million dollars (Heide, 2013c). Both men were convicted of two counts of first degree murder and are serving life sentences.

A more recent media story of multiple-victim parricide includes that of Nehemiah Griego, a 15-year old boy from Albuquerque. Nehemiah admitted to police that on January 19, 2013 he shot and killed his mother, brother, and two sisters, then waited for his father to come home before shooting and killing him (DeLuca, 2013). He then reloaded the two rifles, a .22 caliber and a semi-automatic, with the intention of driving to another location where he could shoot more people (DeLuca, 2013; Bryan & Clausing, 2013). Nehemiah was indicted on five counts of first degree murder, three counts of child abuse (intentionally-caused), and three counts of death of a child under 12 (firearm enhancement) (KOB.com, 2013). Even though Nehemiah is a minor, he is being charged as an adult under New Mexico's Serious Youthful Offender statute (KOAT.com, 2013).

Interest in parricide cases is due in part to "cultural views about family and a general reluctance in modern society to place blame on children for norm-violating behavior" (Walsh & Krienert, 2009, p. 313). Parricide incidents like those of the Menendez brothers and Nehemiah Griego are of the rarest type of parricide, those which include multiple victims (Heide, 2013c). The Menendez brothers' case is classified as a double parricide, wherein both parents, whether biological, step, or adoptive, are slain by their offspring. The case of Nehemiah, however, is classified as a familicide. Familicide is defined as "the killing of more than one member of a family by another family member," where "the destruction of the family unit appears to be the goal" (Malmquist, 1980 p. 298).

Multiple-victim parricide is a rare occurrence. Of the parricide offenders arrested in the United States during the period 1976-2007, only 7.8% of them were involved in the killing of multiple victims (Heide, 2013c). The percentage of stepparricide offenders involved in multiple victim killings was even smaller (4.3%). Very little is known about the phenomena of multiple-

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victim parricide. Previous analyses on parricide, which are highlighted below, have been

restricted primarily to single-victim, single-offender incidents and clinical case reports.

This thesis is going to focus on multiple-victim parricide incidents involving a single

offender and multiple-victim parricide incidents involving multiple offenders. However, it will

explore all parricide incidents throughout the literature in order to provide information on all

parricide types. Using 20 years of data from the FBI's National Incident-Based Reporting

System (NIBRS), analyses will be conducted to determine characteristics of the victim(s),

offender(s), and incidents. The results of these analyses will be compared to prior research

which utilized data from the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR). Furthermore,

limitations of this study will be addressed, and suggestions/implications for future research will

be discussed.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section explores the literature on single-victim, single-offender parricide; multiple-victim and/or multiple-offender parricide; double parricide; and familicide in order to better understand the dynamics of these phenomena. Several empirical studies and clinical evaluations are examined which provide limited information regarding the commonalities and differences within parricide situations. Although juvenile and adult involvement in parricide and stepparricide is not predictable, it is probably the most preventable form of intrafamilial violence. There is not a common trait shared amongst parricide offenders that distinguishes them from any other person. Most parricide incidents are the result of an offender ending abuse at the hands of their parent(s) or an offender suffering from a mental illness. Some offspring kill their parents due to antisocial motives. There are available resources for those who suffer from abuse or mental illness, such as counseling or therapy, but help cannot be provided to those who do not ask for it or who are not recognized as dangerous. A better understanding of the dynamics involved in these events is helped by examining the strength and extent of prior research.

A number of studies and evaluations are available on parricide incidents. The decision was made to restrict studies to the U.S. because the U.S., unlike many countries, has a national data base of arrests for homicide. In addition, several studies have used U.S. homicide arrest data bases to analyze parricide cases. This study was designed to extend these research efforts.

The literature reviewed below was categorized into four parricide incident types: single-victim, single-offender parricide; multiple-victim and/or multiple-offender parricide; double parricide; and familicide.

Single-victim, single-offender parricide

Six publications have addressed single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents. All six of these studies used the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) data (Heide, 1993b; Heide, 1993c; Heide, 2013a; Heide, 2013b; Heide, 2013c; Walsh, Krienert, & Crowder, 2008). Three of these studies explored the characteristics of single-victim, single-offender parricide and stepparricide (Heide 1993b; Heide, 2013c; Walsh, Krienert, & Crowder, 2008). The remaining three studies are included as additional information for type of weapon used in single-victim, single-offender parricide (Heide, 1993c; Heide, 2013a; Heide, 2013b). Approximately 84% of all parricide and stepparricide offenders arrested during the period of 1976 to 2007 were involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents (Heide, 2013c). A general understanding of the correlates involved in single-victim, single-offender parricides will allow for comparisons with other parricide situations.

The FBI has compiled the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) to serve as a periodic nationwide assessment of reported crimes. Each year, this information is reported in four types of files: (1) Offenses Known and Clearances by Arrest, (2) Property Stolen and Recovered, (3) Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR), and (4) Police Employee (LEOKA) Data. Data are provided monthly from participating law enforcement agencies on a voluntary basis. The SHR data set provides incident-level information on criminal homicides including location, circumstances, and method of offense, as well as demographic characteristics of victims and offenders and the relationship between the two (United States Department of Justice, 2009).

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Data from the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) links the victim-offender relationship to the first victim killed. For example, in multiple-victim incidents, the relationships of subsequent victims to the offender are not coded, resulting in an unknown number of possible parents, stepparents, or others slain. Accordingly, most analyses using SHR data have been limited to single-victim, single-offender incidents.

Heide (1993b; 1993c) utilized the FBI's SHR for the 10-year period 1977-1986 to explore single-victim, single-offender (SVSO) parricide incidents. Analyses of single-victim, single-offender homicides from 1977 to 1986 involved 2,856 offenders and victims. Of these 2,856 victims; 1,368 were fathers, 887 were mothers, 562 were stepfathers, and 54 were stepmothers of the offenders.

Using the FBI's SHR for the 28-year period 1976-2003, Walsh, Krienert, and Crowder (2008) examined parricide cases involving one victim and one offender (i.e., single-victim, single-offender parricide). Their sample was restricted to include only those offenders aged 21 or younger (N=2,599). The results of their analysis, however, presented similar victim and offender characteristics to those of Heide's (1993b).

Heide (2013a; 2013b; 2013c) analyzed data from the FBI's SHR for the 32-year period 1976-2007 in order to provide information on offenders involved in parricide and stepparricide. Heide examined patricide, matricide, steppatricide, and stepmatricide separately and reported a synopsis of offenders arrested in these types of incidents between 1976 and 2007. During the period of 1976 to 2007, there were an estimated 133 offenders arrested per year for killing their fathers, an estimated 113 offenders were arrested per year for killing their mothers, an estimated 50 offenders were arrested per year for killing their stepfathers, and an estimated seven offenders were arrested per year for killing their stepmothers.

Two tables were created to better display Heide's findings. Details of SHR data

pertaining to gender, age, and race of offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender

parricides from Heide (1993b) and Heide (2013c) are summarized in Table 1. Details of SHR

data pertaining to age and race of victims killed in single-victim, single-offender parricides from

Heide (1993b) and Heide (2013c) are summarized in Table 2.

Gender of the offender

Consistent throughout the literature, sons and stepsons were more likely to commit

parricide and stepparricide than their female counterparts. Heide (1993b) noted that 85-87% of

parricide and stepparricide incidents involved a male offender, respectively. Walsh, Krienert,

and Crowder (2008) reported males were more frequent perpetrators of parricide, outnumbering

females nearly 7:1. Consistent with her prior study, Heide (2013c) found offenders arrested for

the killing of fathers, mothers, stepfathers, and stepmothers in the United States during the period

1976-2007 were predominantly male (87%, 83%, 85%, and 86%, respectively).

Age of the offender

The average age of parricide and stepparricide offenders was between 23 and 32 years of

age. Offenders who killed their stepparents, however, tended to be younger than those offenders

who killed their biological parents. Heide (1993b) found that offenders who killed their fathers

averaged 24 years old, offenders who killed their mothers averaged 30 years old, offenders who

killed their stepfathers averaged 23 years old, and offenders who killed their stepmothers

averaged 26 years old.

In their study of juvenile and young adult parricide offenders, Walsh, Krienert, and

Crowder (2008) indicated that males who killed their mothers peaked in the late adolescent age

category (18 to 21 years old) whereas their female counterparts peaked in the mid-adolescent age

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Table 1. Single-victim, single-offender parricide (SVSO) – offender data – comparison of Heide (1993b) and Heide (2013c)

	Mothers	Fathers	Stepmothers	Stepfathers
Age *1977-1986*	(N=884)	(N=1,358)	(N=54)	(N=562)
Mean	30.2	24.3	25.6	23
Range	9-68	9-67	12-60	11-72
Age *1976-2007*	(N=2,943)	(N=3,666)	(N=153)	(N=1,354)
Mean	32	26	25	23
Range	8-83	7-68	12-81	8-58
Sex *1977-1986*	(N=887)	(N=1,368)	(N=54)	(N=562)
Female	14%	13%	15%	13%
Male	86%	87%	85%	87%
Sex *1976-2007*	(N=2,993)	(N=3,708)	(N=153)	(N=1,362)
Female	17%	13%	14%	17%
Male	83%	87%	86%	83%
Race *1977-1986*	(N=885)	(N=1,364)	(N=54)	(N=560)
White	73%	65%	67%	60%
Black	25%	33%	30%	39%
Oriental	1%	1%	2%	1%
Indian	0%	1%	2%	1%
Race *1976-2007*	(N=2,967)	(N=3,686)	(N=151)	(N=1,357)
White	72%	67%	76%	60%
Black	26%	32%	22%	38%
Asian/Pacific Islander	1%	1%	1%	1%
American Indian/ Alaskan Native	1%	1%	1%	1%

category (14 to 17 years old). Both male (48%) and female (54%) patricide offenders peaked in the mid-adolescent age category.

    Using SHR data for the time period 1976-2007, Heide (2013c) reported that patricide offenders in single-victim, single-offender incidents averaged 26 years old, matricide offenders

averaged 32 years old, steppatricide offenders averaged 23 years of age, and stepmatricide

offenders averaged 25 years of age.

Race of the offender

Throughout the literature, parricide offenders were more likely to be white males. Heide

(1993b) provided a synopsis of characteristics of parricide offenders from 1977-1986. The racial

composition of parricide offenders was approximately 97-99% white or black; approximately 60-

73% of offenders were white. Less than 2% of parricide offenders were Asian/Pacific Islander

or American Indian/Alaskan Native. Values for each specific victim type are shown in Table 1.

Walsh, Krienert, and Crowder (2008) noted the racial composition of parricide offenders

by gender of the offender. Female offenders were approximately 98-99% white or black;

approximately 62-71% of female offenders were white. Less than 2% of female parricide

offenders were categorized as a race other than white or black. Male offenders were

approximately 97-98% white or black; approximately 68-72% of male offenders were white.

Less than 3% of male parricide offenders were categorized as a race other than white or black.

Racial compositions were not reported for stepparricide offenders.

Heide (2013c) stated that the racial composition of parricide offenders was nearly

identical to that of parricide victims given their biological ties. The racial composition of

offenders reported by Heide (2013c) was consistent with her 1993 study. Parricide offenders

were approximately 98-99% white or black; approximately 60-72% of offenders were white.

Less than 2% of parricide offenders were Asian/Pacific Islander or American Indian/Alaskan

Native. Exact values are depicted in Table 1.

Age of the victim

While the mean age of parricide victims varies according to the data analyzed, it can be noted that victims of parricide are typically middle-aged. Heide (1993b) found the mean ages of parents and stepparents slain were 54 (fathers), 58 (mothers), 46 (stepfathers), and 50 (stepmothers), respectively. Walsh, Krienert, and Crowder (2008) found the mean age of biological fathers and mothers slain was 46 and the mean age of stepfathers and stepmothers slain was 42, respectively. The lower mean age was due to the truncated nature of the victims' ages. Consistent with the 1993b study, Heide (2013c) reported the mean ages of parricide and stepparricide victims were 56 (fathers), 60 (mothers), 47 (stepfathers), and 50 (stepmothers), respectively.

Race of the victim

White victims were more prevalent than any other racial group in all of the studies reviewed. Heide found that most of the cases involved victims who were white or black and therefore concentrated on those two primary racial categories. Heide's (1993b) results demonstrated that of parent and stepparents killed, approximately 59-74% of the victims were white and approximately 25-39% of the victims were black. Values for each specific victim type are shown in Table 2.

Walsh and colleagues (2008) reported the combined racial compositions of patricide and steppatricide, and matricide and stepmatricide victims between 1976 and 2003. Patricide and steppatricide victims were 65% white and 33% black. Matricide and stepmatricide victims were 73% white and 24% black.

Heide (2013c) estimated percentages for race of fathers, mothers, stepfathers, and stepmothers killed in single-victim, single-offender incidents in the United States during the

Table 2. Single-victim, single-offender parricide (SVSO) – victim data – comparison of Heide (1993b) and Heide (2013c)

	Mothers	Fathers	Stepmothers	Stepfathers
Age *1977-1986*	(N=882)	(N=1,361)	(N=54)	(N=560)
Mean	58	53.7	50.3	46.4
Range	30-94	31-95	23-84	20-84
Age *1976-2007*	(N=2,943)	(N=3,666)	(N=153)	(N=1,354)
Mean	60	56	50	47
Range	30-99	30-99	23-91	20-89
Race *1977-1986*	(N=886)	(N=1,365)	(N=54)	(N=561)
White	74%	65%	72%	59%
Black	25%	36%	26%	39%
Oriental	1%	1%	---	1%
Indian	0%	1%	2%	1%
Race *1976-2007*	(N=2,967)	(N=3,686)	(N=151)	(N=1,357)
White	72%	67%	76%	60%
Black	26%	32%	23%	38%
Asian/Pacific Islander	1%	1%	1%	1%
American Indian/ Alaskan Native	0.4%	1%	1%	1%

period 1976-2007. Consistent with prior studies, approximately 98-99% of parricide victims were either white or black. The estimated percentage of parricide victims who were white was 60-76% and the estimated percentage of parricide victims who were black was 23-38%. Exact values are depicted in Table 2.

Types of weapons used

Heide (1993c) used the FBI's SHR for the 10-year period 1977-1986 to explore single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents and analyzed the types of weapons most commonly used in the killing of parents and stepparents. Her findings indicated that four types of weapons predominated in parricide and stepparricide incidents. The weapon types were: firearms, knives

or cutting instruments, blunt instruments (hammers, clubs, etc.) or personal weapons (beating by hands, feet, etc. or use of teeth).

Victims of patricide were significantly more likely than victims of matricide to be killed by firearms (65% vs. 39%). Matricide victims were significantly more likely than their male counterparts to be killed by knives or cutting instruments (29% vs. 20%), blunt objects (12% vs. 7%), and personal weapons (11% vs. 5%). When compared with stepfathers, the percentage of stepmothers killed with firearms was lower, although not significant (50% vs. 66%).

Walsh, Krienert, and Crowder (2008) examined weapon types most commonly used in parricide and stepparricide incidents for their data. Their findings indicated that a firearm was predominately used by both male (67%) and female (60%) offenders in the slaying of a parent or stepparent. Female offenders, however, were significantly more likely to use a knife compared to male offenders (33% vs. 20%). Male patricide offenders were significantly more likely than female patricide offenders to use a firearm (73% vs. 61%) and female patricide offenders were significantly more likely than their male counterparts to use a knife (35% vs. 17%). No significant differences were found among male and female offenders for weapon type used in matricide incidents. They did not report the preferred weapon type for male or female stepparricide offenders.

Heide (2013a; 2013b; 2013c) analyzed data to determine the type of weapon used in parricide incidents with respect to fathers and stepfathers, and mothers and stepmothers during a more recent 32 year period. Approximately 60% of patricide offenders used a firearm when killing their fathers. A knife/cutting instrument was used in approximately 22% of the incidents. The remaining weapons used were blunt objects, personal weapons, or other (fire, strangulation, asphyxiation, poison); with other weapons used in less than 3% of patricide incidents. Offenders

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who killed their stepfather were slightly more likely to use firearms (62% vs. 60%) or a knife/cutting instrument (25% vs. 22%) than those offenders who killed their fathers. Steppatricide offenders were less likely than patricide offenders to use a blunt object, personal weapons, or other means (13% vs. 18%) (Heide, 2013b; Heide, 2013c). Matricide offenders used a firearm (37%) or knife/cutting instrument (29%) in more than 60% of the incidents. The remaining 38% of matricide offenders used diverse methods when killing their mother, such as blunt objects, personal weapons, or other means (fire, strangulation, asphyxiation, poison). Stepmatricide offenders were more likely than matricide offenders to use a firearm (49% vs. 37%) in the incident and less likely to use a knife/cutting instrument or other methods (Heide, 2013a).

Types of weapons used and age of the offender

When weapon type was examined with regard to the age of the offender, Heide (1993c) found that juvenile parricide offenders were significantly more likely than adult parricide offenders to use a firearm. In patricide incidents, more than four out of five juvenile offenders used a firearm compared to three out of five adult offenders. Firearms were significantly more likely to be used by juvenile matricide offenders than their adult counterparts (65% vs. 34%). Three out of four juvenile offenders, compared to three out of five adult offenders, used a firearm in the slaying of their stepfathers. Juvenile offenders were significantly less likely than adult offenders to use knives, blunt objects, and personal weapons to kill their fathers (16% vs. 37%), mothers (30% vs. 56%), and stepfathers (22% vs. 37%). No significant differences were found between juvenile and adult offenders for weapon type used in stepmatricide incidents.

Heide (2013b; 2013c) analyzed 32 years of data from the FBI's SHR for the period 1976-2007. One study compared matricide with stepmatricide, while the other study compared

patricide with steppatricide. Heide noted that there were important age differences found in weapon selection. Juvenile matricide offenders, juvenile patricide offenders, and juvenile steppatricide offenders were significantly more likely to use firearms, relative to their adult counterparts (60% vs. 33%; 79% vs. 54%; and 72% vs. 58%, respectively). Adult matricide offenders, compared to juvenile matricide offenders, were significantly more likely to use knives (30% vs. 23%) or other weapons (36% vs. 17%). Adult patricide offenders, compared to juvenile patricide offenders, were significantly more likely to use knives (24% vs. 14%) or other weapons (22% vs. 6%). Adult steppatricide offenders, compared to juvenile steppatricide offenders, were significantly more likely to use knives (27% vs. 22%) and other weapons (16% vs. 6%).

Weapon choice did not differ significantly by offender age among stepmatricide offenders. For stepmatricide, however, there was a significant difference in weapon choice among male and female offenders. Stepdaughters were significantly more likely to use knives than stepsons (45% vs. 21%). Stepsons were significantly more likely than their female counterparts to use guns (50% vs. 45%) or other methods (29% vs. 10%).

Multiple-victim and/or multiple-offender parricide

Three studies examined multiple-victim and/or multiple-offender parricide incidents. All three of the studies used the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) data (Heide, 1993a; Heide & Petee, 2007a; and Heide, 2013c). These studies explored the characteristics of multiple-victim and/or multiple-offender parricide and stepparricide. Approximately 8.8% of all parricide incidents and 13.9% of all stepparricide incidents that occur are multiple-offender parricides. Multiple-victim parricides comprise about 7.8% of all parricide incidents and 4.3% of all stepparricide incidents (Heide, 2013c).

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Heide (1993a) drew data from the FBI's SHR for the 10-year period 1977-1986 to explore the involvement of juvenile and adult offenders in multiple-victim and/or multiple-offender situations wherein at least one victim was a parent or stepparent. Her analysis included the total number of parricide cases for each of the three situation types (e.g., single-victim, multiple-offender; multiple-victim, single-offender; and multiple-victim, multiple-offender). She then noted the total number of cases for each situation type that involved a juvenile offender, with at least one of the offenders being a child of the victim's.

For single-victim, multiple-offender situations, the total number of parents and/or stepparents slain were 79 fathers, 40 mothers, 47 stepfathers, and 14 stepmothers, respectively. Of these, approximately 57% of fathers, 48% of mothers, 30% of stepfathers, and 7% of stepmothers were slain by a juvenile. For multiple-victim, single-offender situations, the total number of parents and/or stepparents slain were 62 fathers, 111 mothers, nine stepfathers, and 13 stepmothers, respectively. Of these, approximately 27% of fathers, 14% of mothers, 44% of stepfathers, and 38% of stepmothers were slain by a juvenile. Multiple-victim, multiple-offender parricides were extremely rare, comprising approximately 3% of the parricide incidents in this study. Only three fathers, nine mothers, and one stepfather were slain in this type of situation. Juvenile offenders were involved in one incident wherein a father was slain and three incidents with mothers as victims.

Heide noted that these numbers are under representative of actual parricide incidents due to possible miscoding of the data. For example, in cases where there are multiple victims, some of the relationships of the victims to the offender(s) were unknown. In other words, the relationship of only one victim would be reported.

Heide and Petee (2007) utilized the FBI's SHR for the 24-year period 1976-1999 to examine characteristics involved in all types of parricide cases as well as to see if patterns found in Heide's (1993b) single-victim, single-offender analysis would be similar to those parricide incidents involving multiple victims and/or multiple offenders. Their database contained four types of parricide incidents: (1) single-victim, single-offender; (2) multiple-victim, single-offender; (3) single-victim, multiple-offender; and (4) multiple-victim, multiple-offender. The final sample consisted of 5,781 parricide victims and 5,558 parricide offenders. They included only biological fathers and mothers as victims in their analysis; however, they noted it was possible that in some multiple-offender situations, the offenders were not the biological children.

Their analysis of the victim-based dataset showed that 86% of the fathers and mothers killed were in single-victim, single-offender situations. The remaining 834 cases involved victims killed in multiple-victim situations. Analyzing the offender-based dataset showed that 92% of offenders killed parents in single-victim, single-offender situations. The remaining 446 cases involved multiple-offender situations.

Heide (2013c) used data from the FBI's SHR for the 32-year period 1976-2007 and estimated the number of male and female offenders involved in multiple-offender parricide/stepparricide situations and multiple-victim parricide/stepparricide situations. Approximately 9% of parricide offenders were arrested for involvement in multiple-offender parricide situations from 1976 to 2007. There were 467 male offenders involved in multiple-offender parricide incidents, 197 male offenders involved in multiple-offender stepparricide incidents, 234 female offenders involved in multiple-offender parricides, and 51 female offenders involved in multiple-offender stepparricides.

Less than 8% of parricide offenders were arrested for involvement in multiple-victim parricide situations from 1976 to 2007. There were 549 male offenders involved in multiple-victim parricide incidents, 74 male offenders involved in multiple-victim stepparricide incidents, respectively, 71 female offenders involved in multiple-victim parricides, and five female offenders involved in multiple-victim stepparricides, respectively.

Heide provided a synopsis of offenders arrested for killing parents and stepparents between 1976 and 2007. Perusal of these data suggests some gender differences, particularly when it comes to gender in multiple offender incidents. There were an estimated 248 parricide incidents and 58 stepparricide incidents per year. Male offenders represented 85% of the sample for both incident types. Adult offenders were 86% male and juvenile offenders were 81% and 84% male, respectively.

Multiple-offender parricide incidents were estimated at 22 per year, whereas multiple-offender stepparricide incidents were estimated at only eight per year. Male offenders were arrested in 67% of multiple-offender parricides and 79% of multiple-offender stepparricides. Juveniles were significantly more likely to be involved in multiple-offender parricide incidents than adults (18% vs. 7%), but had about the same involvement as their adult counterparts in multiple-offender stepparricide incidents (13% vs. 14%, not significant). Compared with adult males, female adult involvement was significantly higher in multiple-offender parricide incidents (14% vs. 5%) and multiple-offender stepparricide incidents (21% vs. 13%). Relative to their male counterparts, there was also a significantly higher percentage of female juvenile involvement in multiple-offender parricide incidents (36% vs. 14%) and multiple-offender stepparricide incidents (21% vs. 13%).

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Further analyses of these incidents provided information for multiple-offender patricides, multiple-offender matricides, multiple-offender steppatricides, and multiple-offender stepmatricides. There were an estimated 12 multiple-offender patricide incidents per year. Males were the offenders in 71% of these incidents. Juvenile offenders were significantly more likely than adult offenders to be involved in multiple-offender patricides (16% vs. 7%). A significantly higher percentage of female juveniles were involved in multiple-offender patricides than male juveniles (30% vs. 13%). Female adult involvement in multiple-offender patricides was also significantly higher than their male counterparts (16% vs. 6%).

There were an estimated 10 multiple-offender matricide incidents per year. Males were the offenders in 62% of these incidents. Juvenile offenders were significantly more likely than adult offenders to be involved in multiple-offender matricides (22% vs. 6%). A significantly higher percentage of female juveniles were involved in multiple-offender matricides than male juveniles (44% vs. 16%). Female adult involvement in multiple-offender matricides was also significantly higher than their male counterparts (13% vs. 5%).

There were an estimated seven multiple-offender steppatricide incidents per year. Males were the offenders in 79% of these incidents. Juvenile offenders' involvement in multiple-offender steppatricides was equivalent to adult involvement in multiple-offender steppatricide (both at 14%). Although a higher percentage of female juveniles were involved in multiple-offender steppatricides than male juveniles (18% vs. 13%), these results were not statistically significant. Female adult involvement in multiple-offender steppatricide, in contrast, was significantly higher than their male counterparts (20% vs. 13%).

There was an estimated one multiple-offender stepmatricide incident per year. Males were the offenders in 73% of these incidents. Although juvenile offenders were more likely than

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adult offenders to be involved in multiple-offender stepmatricide (16 vs. 12%), these results were not statistically significant. A significantly higher percentage of female juveniles, however, were involved in multiple-offender stepmatricides than male juveniles (33% vs. 7%). Female adult involvement in multiple-offender stepmatricide, although higher than their male counterparts (22% vs. 15%), was not statistically significant.

Multiple-victim parricide incidents were estimated at 20 per year, whereas multiple-victim stepparricide incidents were estimated at only two to three per year. Males represented 88-94% of offenders for both incident types. Adult parricide and stepparricide offenders were 89% and 96% male, respectively; the percentage distributions of juvenile offenders were 86% and 88% male, respectively.

Further analyses of these incidents provided information for multiple-victim patricides, multiple-victim matricides, multiple-victim steppatricides, and multiple-victim stepmatricides. There were an estimated eight multiple-victim patricide incidents per year. Males were the offenders in 88% of these incidents. Of the juvenile offenders involved in multiple-victim patricides, 85% were male. Their adult counterparts were comprised of 89% male offenders.

There were an estimated 10 multiple-victim matricide incidents per year. Males were the offenders in 89% of these incidents. Of the juvenile offenders involved in multiple-victim matricides, 86% were male. Their adult counterparts were comprised of 89% male offenders.

There was an estimated one multiple-victim steppatricide incident per year. Males were the offenders in 93% of these incidents. Of the juvenile offenders involved in multiple-victim steppatricides, 86% were male. Their adult counterparts were comprised of 97% male offenders.

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There was an estimated one multiple-victim stepmatricide incident per year. Males were the offenders in 94% of these incidents. Of the juvenile offenders involved in multiple-victim stepmatricide, 92% were male. Their adult counterparts were comprised of 96% male offenders.

In summary, adult males were the typical offender arrested for involvement in multiple-offender and multiple-victim parricide and stepparricide incidents; however, female offenders were significantly more likely to be involved in multiple-offender parricide and stepparricide incidents. Adult male involvement in multiple-victim parricide and stepparricide was even higher than their involvement in single-victim parricide and stepparricide. A higher percentage of juveniles than of adults were involved in multiple-offender parricide incidents, but juvenile and adult involvement in multiple-offender stepparricide incidents was about the same.

Double parricide

Double parricides are very rare. The literature on these types of cases is scant and consists mostly of case studies. Several clinical case studies involving double parricides report severely mentally ill, psychotic, and schizophrenic adult offenders (Chamberlain, 1986; Heide, 2013c; Maas et al., 1984; and Weisman, Ehrenclou, & Sharma, 2002). Juvenile involvement in double parricide is even rarer and only a few case reports exist in the literature (Heide, 2013c and Reinhardt, 1970). These parricide offenders are often depicted as "severely abused, seriously depressed, and pushed beyond their limits of endurance" (Heide, 2013c, p. 66).

Heide (2013c) noted that almost all double parricides were committed by sons. She reviewed the literature on female-perpetrated double parricide and noted that it is extremely rare among both juvenile and adult offender populations. She found only two cases of female perpetrated double parricide: one by a juvenile and one by an adult. She cited Chamberlain (1986), who discussed a case wherein a 20-year-old shot and killed both of her parents. The

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young woman then cut both of her parents' wrists and throats to make sure that they were dead. Although she had been previously diagnosed as schizophrenic, Chamberlain believed that she suffered from bipolar disorder and committed the murders during a manic episode. She was found not guilty by reason of insanity and remained hospitalized.

Heide cited Reinhardt (1970), who presented the case of 16-year-old Caron. Caron shot and killed her mother and stepfather with a shotgun as they lay sleeping. Caron was physically and emotionally neglected by her parents as well as psychologically and physically abused by them. Being responsible for her younger siblings, Caron felt that they should no longer endure living with their parents and that her siblings would be better off without their mother and father. After the killings, Caron felt relief. Although the judge recognized the extenuating factors in Caron's case, he sentenced her to 30 years in prison because he believed the punishment would deter other youths in similar situations.

The following four studies of double parricide involve more than one case wherein the offender(s) killed at least one parent and one other person. The dynamics surrounding each case are unique. These studies provide insight into the possible factors associated with double parricide.

Maas et. al. (1984) examined two male paranoid schizophrenic patients who shot both of their parents. The first patient, dubbed Mr. A, was 29 years old and had been continuously hospitalized for delusions, paranoia, and hallucinations since age 19. He shot both parents with a hunting rifle, first his father and then his mother. When he was apprehended, he explained that "his house had been the target of an attack by government forces and that his parents had been wounded and were undergoing 'gangrene surgery' in another city" (p.287). He was hospitalized shortly after the shootings and found not guilty of the murders by reason of insanity.

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The second patient, Mr. B, was 35 years old. He talked about a book he supposedly had written in the fourth grade and referred to himself as "the Devil" on one occasion. He also believed the solar system was putting energy into his body. He became agitated when his parents did not give him the book he believed he had written. After killing his fourth grade teacher's dog and threatening the teacher, he returned home and shot his father and then his mother. He then covered the bodies in gasoline and ignited them. Next, he threatened his older sister who lived next door, then drove to the police station and turned himself in where he stated that he had "killed two devils" and referred to himself as Jesus Christ. He was hospitalized and found not guilty by reason of insanity (p.288).

Weisman, Ehrenclou, and Sharma (2002) examined eleven adult double parricide offenders based on cases drawn from the Southern California Superior Court psychiatry and psychology expert witness panels between the years of 1978 and 1999. Ten of the offenders were white, one was Mexican-American, and their mean age was 25 years old. In one of the cases, both parents were severely stabbed, but the father survived. This type of incident is considered an attempted double parricide; although one victim survived, the offender intended on killing both parents. None of the offenders experienced childhood abuse. Almost half of the sample was diagnosed with schizophrenia prior to the offense, thirty-six percent had violent criminal histories, and eighteen percent had a history of substance abuse or dependence.

Heide (2013c) discussed four cases of youths who killed or attempted to kill both parents in *Understanding Parricide: When Sons and Daughters Kill Parents*. The first case involved Terry Adams (pseudonym). Terry and his two older sisters were physically and emotionally abused by both of their parents. When his sisters moved out, Terry became the sole target of the abuse. At the age of 16, he planned to run away, and after telling his father of his plans, his

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father hit him. After being pushed and falling into the closet where guns were kept, Terry grabbed a .22 caliber rifle and shot his father. His mother sat up in bed and Terry then shot her as well. He told Heide that he did not remember actually shooting his parents and that the situation was "like a dream" (p.10). Terry was charged with two counts of first-degree murder, and subsequently pled guilty to two counts of second-degree murder. Terry, who fit Heide's profile of a "severely abused" parricide offender who kills out of desperation or terror, was sentenced to life imprisonment (p.10).

Heide (2013c) discussed her evaluation of another double parricide offender. James Holt (pseudonym), a 16 year old, was accused of shooting his parents multiple times while they slept. James denied that he had killed his parents. Before she had died, his mother, however, wrote a note stating to police that James was responsible for the shootings. Although it was determined that James was mentally ill, he was prosecuted as an adult since there were no treatment facilities in the juvenile system appropriate for him. He was convicted of two counts of first-degree murder and sentenced to two consecutive life sentences plus 16 years. The judge ordered at sentencing that James was to receive intensive psychotherapeutic treatment while confined. Heide classified James as a "severely mentally ill" offender because evidence suggested that he likely killed his parents as the result of a psychotic break or dissociative episode (p.255).

Daniel Culbreath (pseudonym), a third case, was 20 years old when he shot his parents. He told Heide during her clinical evaluation that he remembered arguing with his father and then the next thing he remembered was that he took a rifle from their bathroom closet, opened the door, and shot his father. He recalled shooting his father twice because he "didn't think he was dead," then turned around and shot his mother (p.278). He disposed of the gun, went to his friend's house, and told his friends of the killings. On his way home the next day, he said he

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hoped the murders had never happened, but when he saw a roadblock, he knew someone had found their bodies. Daniel was charged with two counts of first-degree murder. Shortly after his arrest, he had a mental breakdown and was hospitalized. Two months later, he was transferred back to jail. Heide classified Daniel as a "dangerously antisocial" parricide offender; "although he maintained that he did not intend his parents' deaths […], he did acknowledge repeatedly thinking about killing them" (Heide, 2013c, p.287). Daniel related that he repeatedly fantasized about killing people and derived enjoyment from discussions with others that involved killing.

The fourth parricide offender evaluated by Heide (2013c) was Ben Simpson (pseudonym). Ben, age 18, called 911 advising the dispatcher that his parents had been shot. He said that he did not know who shot them. A few minutes later another call was made to 911, this time by Mrs. Simpson, who told the dispatcher that she and her husband had been shot by their son, Ben. Mr. and Mrs. Simpson were both still alive when police arrived at their home. They were then transported to a local hospital. Mr. Simpson died within a few days, but Mrs. Simpson survived in spite of being critically wounded. Following his arrest, Ben told police that he had an argument with his parents the day before the shootings. While his parents were asleep, Ben went to his bedroom and retrieved his shotgun, loaded it, then went to his parents' bedroom apparently with the intent of killing them. After firing a few shots, he called 911, and left. Ben did not fit into one of the three types of parricide offenders posited by Heide (1992). Instead he appeared to represent a previously unrecognized type of parricide offender, "the enraged parricide offender" (p.313). "Fear to the point of panic" and "anger to the point of rage," generated by his parents insisting that he face the consequence of his actions, when combined with his low-maturity level, and ingestion of Xanax and alcohol, resulted in the "perfect storm" that led to his homicidal behavior (Heide, 2013c, p.313).

Based on the prior literature, it is clear that assessment is critical as there is no single factor or pathway that leads a son or daughter to engage in double parricide. While the literature suggests that the majority of adult double parricide offenders tend to suffer from a major mental illness, this factor is not always the case, as it has been demonstrated. Consistent with literature on juvenile involvement in single-victim parricide, juvenile-perpetrated double parricides often seem to involve a youth who kills as a means to ending neglect and abuse from their parents. Female-perpetrated double parricide is very rare and it is more likely that they will have a male associate (Weisman, Ehrenclou, & Sharma, 2002).

Familicide

Malmquist (1980) classified familicide as a type of mass murder, wherein a number of victims are killed in a short period of time by one person. He noted that while psychiatrists can offer explanations for intrafamilial violent behaviors, not all familicide offenders will bear the same diagnosis. Only a few studies discuss familicide, the majority of which are over 30 years old, which speaks to the rarity of this event (Malmquist, 1980; McCully, 1978; Post, 1982; Heide, 2013c).

McCully (1978) studied an 18 year old who killed his mother, 4 year old half-brother, and stepfather. The night before Thanksgiving, he shot his stepfather and half-brother as they sat watching television, then shot his mother as she came out of the bathroom. He shot his half-brother twice, his stepfather twice, and his mother five times in the head. He held the gun up to his own head, but did not pull the trigger. The boy reported that following the killings, he heard the "laugh of Satan" and had "the most peaceful, restful night of my life" (p.83). The next day he went to his grandmother's house as planned for Thanksgiving dinner and wondered with her why the rest of the family had not shown up. Later that day, the police found the bodies. He was

judged guilty of the murders and sent to a psychiatric prison hospital. Based on his examination

of the youth, McCully suggested that while he was not outwardly psychotic, he suffered

"borderline schizophrenia with a sociopathic understructure" (p.84). McCully also noted that he

did not believe the youth to be suffering any hallucinations at the time of the shootings. He did,

however, seem excited when he looked at "supernatural-evil imagery" and appeared to identify

with and felt empowered by them (p.83).

Malmquist (1980) reported material from eight multiple homicide cases, wherein three

cases involved sons as the perpetrators. These sons were aged 14, 18, and 21, respectively. The

14 year old suffered from severe depression believed to have resulted from the boy's encounters

with his father. Instead of committing suicide, in a "massive eruption of violence," he shot and

killed his father, mother, and one brother (p.302). Two of his other brothers survived. The 18

year old believed he was a failure for not meeting his parents' demands. He killed his father,

mother, and sister. The 21 year old suffered from paranoia. He beat his father, mother, and

brother to death with a baseball bat and then drove around aimlessly seeking to "piece things

together" (p.302).

Post (1982) described a familicide committed by a 14 year old, Paul. Paul indicated that

his father was physically abusive to him and his seven siblings, but especially towards him. Paul

said he was afraid of his father and had thought of running away or committing suicide to escape

him. One of Paul's brothers had left home, and this event upset him as it was his favorite

brother. Paul's father put a sign on Paul's bedroom door that read "Animal Den" (p.447). One

night, Paul shot and killed his father, mother, and one of his brothers. He was charged with three

counts of first-degree murder. He was also charged with two counts of felonious assault on two

of his other brothers who were shot and injured.

Heide (2013c) described a case of two brothers, Brandon and Derek Hillsboro (pseudonyms), who along with their cousin stabbed and bludgeoned to death their father, mother, and 11 year old brother. Brandon, 15, and Derek, 17, had a history of conduct disorder, and at the time of the murders were actively involved in a skinhead group. Their parents were inconsistent with setting boundaries and imposing discipline. When Mr. and Mrs. Hillsboro tried to discipline the boys or tried to exert control, they fought back. There were no records indicating that either of the Hillsboro boys suffered from psychosis or any type of neurological impairment. The murders occurred when the boys heard that their parents were "investigating available channels to hospitalize them" (p.42).

Derek and Brandon murdered their parents for freedom. Heide questioned why, if they were angry with their parents, would they also kill their younger brother? She noted that Derek had told police that Brandon directed the killing at their younger brother, but Brandon denied being the leader. Some records indicated that the boys enjoyed destroying things, inflicting pain, and scaring others. There was also evidence that the younger boy was afraid of his brothers. Based on these facts, Heide questioned whether they took pleasure in terrorizing their younger brother.

As evidenced by previous studies, the act of familicide cannot be predicted. There is no single motivational dynamic present among perpetrators of familicide that allows us an explanation as to why this occurs; it can be the result of explosive violent behavior, psychotic mentation, a means to ending long-standing abuse, or a destructive act to achieve a selfish goal. All of the literature that exists on familicide involves male offenders; there are no known cases of daughters committing familicide (Heide, 2013c).

Chapter Three

METHODS

Data

Data for this study were drawn from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), which is a part of the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) program. Participating local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies collect data on each single crime occurrence, and NIBRS receives these data from these agencies' automated records systems. NIBRS produces more detailed and complete data than the other summary reporting systems. NIBRS collects offense information on 48 crimes known as Group A offenses, compared to the summary reporting system that collects offense information on eight crimes known as Part I offenses (FBI, 2009). In the summary reporting system, the "Hierarchy Rule" is used for multiple offense reporting (i.e., if one offender commits more than one crime at any instant, only the "highest" crime is reported). NIBRS, however, reports each crime as an offense within the same incident (FBI, 2009).

The most current data available indicated that as of 2007, 6,444 law enforcement agencies contributed NIBRS data to the UCR program. Data from those agencies are representative of 25% of the U.S. population and 25% of the crime statistics collected by the UCR system (FBI, 2009). The FBI has certified 31 state UCR programs for NIBRS participation (FBI, 2009).

As previously noted, data from the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) links the victim-offender relationship only to the first victim killed. Since NIBRS data are coded to include every offense at every incident, this problem is eliminated. In other words, if a NIBRS incident reports three slain victims, the relationship of the victim to the offender will be known for each of the victims and not just the first victim killed as with the SHR. These data were available for up to three offenders; if an incident involved four offenders, data were only available for the first three offenders.

Dataset construction

For this study, 20 consecutive years of NIBRS data sets were merged in order to examine single-victim parricide, double parricide, and familicide incidents (1991-2010). This procedure was done in SPSS using NIBRS Extract Files for each of the 20 years. The merging of these data sets yielded 56,641,941 incidents – this number includes any reported incidents during those 20 years. A count variable was created in order to filter the incidents to only include incidents coded as homicide/non-negligent manslaughter. This process yielded a sample size of N=34,760 incidents.

Two variables were then created to determine if the victim was a parent or stepparent. Frequencies were run on these two variables to determine the number of parents and stepparents killed during the 20 year period. This process yielded a sample size of N=664 incidents wherein at least one parent was slain, and a sample size of N=138 incidents wherein at least one stepparent was slain.

Four separate datasets were then created to determine how many incidents of double parricide, familicide, double stepparricide, and step familicide occurred over the 20 years. This process was done using the "select cases" option in SPSS. Cases were selected based upon

certain criteria, and SPSS then filtered through the cases and included only those cases that fit

our request. The results of this process are depicted in Table 3.

Table 3. Step-by-step process of data set creation

Step	Purpose	Details	Results
1	Create data set of double parricide incidents – "parentplus1"	Two victims – at least one victim must be parent of the offender	N=84
2	Create data set of familicide incidents – "parentplus2"	Three victims – at least one victim must be parent of the offender	N=15
3	Create data set of double stepparricide incidents – "stepparentplus1"	Two victims – at least one victim must be stepparent of the offender	N=21
4	Create data set of stepfamilicide incidents – "stepparentplus2"	Three victims – at least one victim must be stepparent of the offender	N=5
5	Clean "parentplus1" data set	Nine cases were deleted – possible miscoding from the agency	N=75
6	Compare "parentplus1" and "stepparentplus1" data sets for overlapping cases	Fifteen cases were in both data sets – these cases were deleted from the "stepparentplus1" data set	"stepparentplus1" N=6
7	Examine remaining cases in "stepparentplus1" data set	Six cases deleted from "stepparentplus1" - three cases added to the "parentplus1" data set, three cases deleted due to likely miscoding	"stepparentplus1" N=0 "parentplus1" N=78
8	Compare "parentplus2" and "stepparentplus2" data sets for overlapping cases	Three cases were in both data sets- these cases were deleted from the "stepparentplus2" data set	"stepparentplus2" N=2
9	Examine remaining cases in "stepparentplus2" data set	Two cases deleted due to likely miscoding	"stepparentplus2" N=0
10	Use SVSO data set to create four data sets based on parent types as victims	The "relationship of victim to offender" variable used to create data sets	"mother" N=251 "father" N=263 "stepmother" N=13 "stepfather" N=76

Missing data

Due to the construction of the NIBRS data base, each dataset had to be analyzed separately by hand in order to create variables for the victim-offender relationship; the age and race of each victim type (e.g., mother, father, stepmother, stepfather, etc); the age, gender, and race of the offender(s); and the weapon type used in the incidents. Once these variables were created in each of the datasets, frequencies and cross-tabular analyses were conducted in order to "check" the data for any possible error (i.e., likely miscoding). The results of this process are depicted in Table 3.

The original parent and stepparent dataset was then examined to determine the number of single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents during the period 1991 to 2010. Cases that involved multiple victims were deleted since these cases were already accounted for and did not involve the slaying of a single victim. A filter was then applied to the dataset using the aforementioned "select cases" option in SPSS. Cases were selected based on the criteria that they involved a single victim and a single offender. This process yielded a sample size of N=603. In other words, there were 603 cases wherein one parent or stepparent was slain by one offender during the period 1991 to 2010. Four separate datasets were created based on the relationship of the victim to the offender (i.e., mother, father, stepmother, and stepfather). The results of this process are depicted in Table 3.

Sample

In summary, the single-victim, single-offender (SVSO) data set consisted of 603 cases, the double parricide data set consisted of 77 cases, and the familicide data set consisted of 15 cases. In 22 cases, offenders acted with accomplices to kill a single parent. In double parricide

cases, 60 of the killers acted alone; in the remaining 17 cases, one or more accomplices were involved. All familicide cases were committed by single offenders.

Chapter Four

ANALYSIS

Using SPSS, this study reported the frequencies and descriptive statistics of the parricide and familicide incidents that occurred between 1991 and 2010 using data drawn from the NIBRS. The analysis focused primarily on the incidence of double parricide and familicide, as this study has never been done before using NIBRS data; however the analysis also included single-victim parricide for comparative purposes. For double parricide incidents, all possible dyads were explored wherein at least one parent and one other person was slain. Familicide incidents included all possible situations wherein at least one parent and two other people were slain. These results were reported and compared for biological parents and stepparents as victims for each of the following parricide incident types: single-victim, single-offender parricide; single-victim, multiple-offender parricide; single-offender double parricide; multiple-offender double parricide; and single-offender familicide. The data did not include any incidence of multiple-offender familicide.

The nature of the analysis was conducted by relationship of the victim to the offender (i.e., mother, father, stepmother, stepfather). T-tests were conducted to test for significant differences in the mean ages of offenders and victims involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents. When appropriate, chi-square analyses were conducted to determine whether differences in gender or race were statistically significant for offenders involved in each of the parricide incident types. Chi-square analyses were conducted to determine whether differences

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in race were statistically significant for victims involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents. A chi-square analysis was conducted to determine whether differences in weapon used were statistically significant across parent type for victims involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents. Since this analysis involved multiple-comparisons simultaneously, the Bonferroni correction adjustment was made; this adjustment reduces the chance of obtaining false-positive results. Given the nominal nature of the variables, phi and Cramer's V were selected as measures of association. T-test and chi-square analyses were only conducted on the single-victim, single-offender data due to the small number of cases in the datasets involving other parricide incident types. The t-test and chi-square statistics and measures of association were presented in the tables or noted in the text.

Chapter Five

RESULTS

Based on the analyses of the aforementioned datasets that were created, tables were constructed in order to organize the information for each parricide incident type presented in this study. Victim and offender characteristics, as well as the types of weapons used in each parricide incident, are reported and summarized in the following sections. A summary of parent type victims across parricide groups is depicted in Table 4.

Single-victim, single-offender parricide

During the period 1990-2010, there were an estimated 603 parricide incidents involving single victims and single offenders. Biological parents were the victims in approximately 88% of these incidents. Mothers were the victims in 42% (n=251) of these incidents; fathers, in 44% (n=263); stepmothers, in 2% (n=13); and stepfathers, in 13% (n=76).

Offender characteristics

As depicted in Table 5, offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide ranged in age from 9 to 74 years of age and averaged 30.5 years old. One hundred thirteen of the 603 single-victim, single-offender parricide offenders were 18 years of age or younger. The racial composition was approximately 77% white, 22% black, and 2% Asian/Pacific Islander and American Indian/Alaskan Native. Compared to their female counterparts, males were more likely to be involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide (84% vs. 16%).

Table 4. Summary of parent type victims across parricide groups

	Total	Mothers	Fathers	Stepmothers	Stepfathers
Single-victim, single-offender	N=603	N=251	N=263	N=13	N=76
Single-victim, multiple-offender	N=22	N=13	N=7	N=0	N=2
Single-offender double parricide	N=95	N=49	N=32	N=4	N=10
Multiple-offender double parricide	N=29	N=13	N=12	N=3	N=1
Familicide	N=25	N=12	N=10	N=2	N=1

Table 5. Single-victim, single-offender parricide (SVSO) – offender data

	All SVSO Parricide (N=603)	Mothers (N=251)	Fathers (N=263)	Stepmothers (N=13)	Stepfathers (N=76)
Age					
Mean	30.5	34.7[a]	27.5[a]	39.4[b]	25.6[b]
Median	28	34	25	39	23
Range	9-74	11-73	10-60	17-74	9-52
18 years old and under	113 (18.7%)	34 (13.5%)	60 (22.8%)	2 (15.4%)	17 (22.4%)
Sex	(N=603)	(N=251)	(N=263)		(N=76)
Female	94 (15.6%)	54 (21.5%)	31 (11.8%)	1 (7.7%)	8 (10.5%)
Male	509 (84.4%)	197 (78.5%)[c]	232 (88.2%)[c]	12 (92.3%)	68 (89.5%)
Race	(N=599)	(N=249)	(N=262)		(N=75)
White	458 (76.5%)	202 (81.1%)	197 (75.2%)	9 (69.2%)	50 (66.7%)
Black	129 (21.5%)	41 (16.5%)	61 (23.3%)	3 (23.1%)	24 (32%)
Asian/Pacific Islander	6 (1%)	4 (1.6%)	1 (0.4%)	1 (7.7%)	0
American Indian/Alaskan Native	6 (1%)	2 (0.8%)	3 (1.1%)	0	1 (1.3%)

[a] t = 6.102, df = 512, 95% C.I. = 4.845-9.445, p<.001
[b] t = 3.544, df = 87, 95% C.I. = 6.034-21.446, p<.01
[c] χ^2 (1, 514) = 8.804, Phi = .131, p<.01

Offenders who killed their mothers ranged in age from 11 to 73 years of age and averaged 34.7 years old. Offenders who killed their fathers ranged in age from 10 to 60 years of age and averaged 27.5 years old. The mean difference of age of offenders who killed their mother or father was 7.1. Offenders who killed their mothers were significantly older than offenders who killed their fathers ($t = 6.102$, df = 512, 95% C.I. = 4.845-9.445, $p<.001$).

Offenders who killed their stepmothers ranged in age from 17 to 74 years of age and averaged 39.4 years old. Offenders who killed their stepfathers ranged in age from 9 to 52 years of age and averaged 25.6 years old. The mean difference of age of offenders who killed their stepmother or stepfather was 13.7. Offenders who killed their stepmothers were significantly older than offenders who killed their stepfathers ($t = 3.544$, df = 87, 95% C.I. = 6.034-21.446, $p<.01$).

The racial composition of matricide offenders was approximately 81% white, 17% black, 4% Asian/Pacific Islander, and 2% American Indian/Alaskan Native. Patricide offenders were approximately 75% white, 23% black, and less than 2% Asian/Pacific Islander and American Indian/Alaskan Native. Stepmatricide offenders were approximately 69% white, 23% black, and 8% Asian/Pacific Islander. Steppatricide offenders were approximately 67% white, 32% black, and 1% American Indian/Alaskan Native. No offenders who killed stepmothers were American Indian/Alaskan Native; no offenders who killed stepfathers were Asian/Pacific Islander. No significant differences were found for race of offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide.

Compared to female offenders, male offenders were significantly more likely to kill their mothers (78% vs. 22%) and fathers (88% vs. 12%) (χ^2 (1, 514) = 8.804, Phi = .131, $p<.01$). Male

offenders were also more likely to kill their stepmothers (92% vs. 8%) and stepfathers (90% vs. 10%) than female offenders. However, these values were not statistically significant.

Victim characteristics

Characteristics of victims of single-victim, single-offender parricide and stepparricide are in Table 6. There were a total of 603 parents and stepparents slain in single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents. These victims ranged in age from 23 to 99 years of age and averaged 57.4 years old. Their racial composition was approximately 77% white, 22% black, and less than 2% Asian/Pacific Islander and American Indian/Alaskan Native.

Victims of matricide ranged in age from 33 to 98 years of age and averaged 62.6 years old. Victims of patricide ranged in age from 28 to 99 years of age and averaged 55.5 years old. The mean difference of age of mothers or fathers killed was 7.0. Mothers who were killed in single-victim, single-offender parricide were significantly older than fathers who were killed in single-victim, single-offender parricide (t = 4.819, df = 512, 95% C.I. = 4.173-9.918, p<.001).

Victims of stepmatricide ranged in age from 23 to 75 years of age and averaged 51.2 years old. Victims of steppatricide ranged in age from 24 to 86 years of age and averaged 47.9 years old. There were no significant differences for age of stepmothers and stepfathers killed in single-victim, single-offender parricide.

Not surprisingly, the racial composition of the victims was similar to the racial composition of the offenders. Of mothers killed, approximately 81% were white, 17% were black, 2% were Asian/Pacific Islander, and less than 1% was American Indian/Alaskan Native. Of fathers killed, approximately 76% were white, 23% were black, and less than 2% were

Table 6. Single-victim, single-offender parricide (SVSO) – victim data

	All SVSO Parricide Victims (N=603)	Mothers (N=251)	Fathers (N=263)	Stepmothers (N=13)	Stepfathers (N=76)
Age					
Mean	57.4	62.6 [a]	55.5 [a]	51.2	47.9
Median	56	61	55	48	49
Range	23-99	33-98	28-99	23-75	24-86
Race	(N=596)	(N=249)	(N=261)	(N=13)	(N=73)
White	458 (76.9%)	202 (81.1%)	197 (75.5%)	10 (86.9%)	49 (67.1%)
Black	129 (21.6%)	42 (16.9%)	60 (23%)	3 (23.1%)	24 (32.9%)
Asian/Pacific Islander	5 (0.8%)	4 (1.6%)	1 (0.4%)	0	0
American Indian/Alaskan Native	4 (0.7%)	1 (0.4%)	3 (1.1%)	0	0

[a]t = 4.819, df = 512, 95% C.I. = 4.173-9.918, p<.001

Asian/Pacific Islander and American Indian/Alaskan Native. Of stepmothers killed, approximately 87% were white and 23% were black. Of stepfathers killed, approximately 67% were white and 33% were black. All of the stepmothers and stepfathers killed were either white or black. No significant differences were found for race of victims of single-victim, single-offender parricide.

Types of weapons used

As depicted in Table 7, weapons used in single-victim, single-offender parricide and stepparricide incidents were categorized into five groups. The weapon types were: firearm, knife/cutting instrument, blunt object, personal weapons (hands, feet, teeth, etc.), and other (fire, poison, asphyxiation, drugs). Among mothers slain, the weapon pattern was diverse. Approximately 55% of offenders used firearms (29%) or a knife/cutting instrument (26%) when killing their mother, approximately 30% of offenders used a blunt object (15%) or personal weapons (15%), and approximately 15% of offenders used other means when killing their mother. Firearms predominated as the weapon type when offenders killed their father or stepmother. Offenders who killed their father used a firearm in approximately 56% of the incidents. Approximately 22% of offenders used a knife/cutting instrument when killing their father and the remaining 22% of offenders used a blunt object (6%), personal weapons (10%), or other means (6%) when killing their father. Offenders who killed fathers were significantly more likely than those who killed mothers to use a firearm (56% vs. 29%). However, offenders who killed mothers were significantly more likely than those who killed fathers to use a blunt object (15% vs. 6%) and offenders who killed mothers were significantly more likely to use

Table 7. Single-victim, single-offender parricide (SVSO) – weapon type

	Total (N=568)	Mother (N=231)	Father (N=252)	Stepmother (N=11)	Stepfather (N=74)
Firearm	252 (44.4%)	67 (29%)$_a$	142 (56.3%)$_b$	7 (63.6%)$_{a, b}$	36 (48.6%)$_b$
Knife/Cutting Instrument	142 (25%)	60 (26%)$_a$	55 (21.8%)$_a$	2 (18.2%)$_a$	25 (33.8%)$_a$
Blunt Object	58 (10.2%)	35 (15.2%)$_a$	15 (6%)$_b$	1 (9.1%)$_{a, b}$	7 (9.5%)$_{a, b}$
Personal Weapons (hands, feet, teeth, etc)	64 (11.2%)	34 (14.7%)$_a$	25 (9.9%)$_a$	1 (9.1%)$_a$	4 (5.4%)$_a$
Other (fire, poison, asphyxiation, drugs)	52 (9.2%)	35 (15.2%)$_a$	15 (6%)$_b$	0$_{a, b}$	2 (2.7%)$_b$

Note. χ^2 (12, 568) = 56.733, Cramer's V = .182, p<.001; each subscript letter denotes a subset of victim type categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level

other methods to kill than those who killed fathers (15% vs. 6%) or stepfathers (15% vs. 3%) (χ^2 (12, 568) = 56.733, Cramer's V = .182, p<.001).

Offenders who killed their stepmother used a firearm in approximately 64% of the incidents. Approximately 18% of offenders used a knife/cutting instrument when killing their stepmother and the remaining 18% of offenders used a blunt object (9%) or personal weapons (9%) when killing their stepmother. None of the offenders who killed their stepmother used other means such as fire, poison, asphyxiation, or drugs. Among stepfathers slain, a firearm (49%) or knife/cutting instrument (34%) was used in approximately 83% of the incidents. The remaining 17% of offenders used a blunt object (10%), personal weapons (5%), or other means (3%) when killing their stepfather. Offenders who killed stepfathers were significantly less likely to use a firearm than those who killed fathers (49% vs. 56%) but not mothers (49% vs. 29%) (χ^2 (12, 568) = 56.733, Cramer's V = .182, p<.001).

Single-victim, multiple-offender parricide

Offender characteristics

There were 22 incidents of single-victim, multiple-offender parricide and stepparricide; 13 involved mothers as victims, seven involved fathers, and two involved stepfathers. No stepmothers were killed in single-victim, multiple-offender incidents over the 20 year time frame. Each of these cases involved at least one offspring as an offender. Sixty-eight offenders were involved in these 22 incidents. Ten cases involved two offenders, seven cases involved three offenders, three cases involved four offenders, one case involved five offenders, and one case involved 10 offenders.

One of these 22 cases involved a sibling pair and an uncle as the offenders. This case involved two sisters, aged 38 and 46, of white (Caucasian) descent and their 64 year old uncle,

who used a fire/incendiary device to kill their mother/sister. This case was noted separately from the other single-victim, multiple-offender parricide incidents because it was the only case that involved a sibling pair. Apart from offspring, the other offenders involved in the remaining 21 cases were an in-law, acquaintance, otherwise known, stranger, or unknown to the victim.

Data were provided for 23 of the offspring offenders involved in single-victim, multiple-offender parricide incidents. (As noted above, one incident involved two sisters.) As depicted in Table 8, the offenders ranged in age from 14 to 52 years of age and averaged 31 years old. Five of the 23 offspring offenders were 18 years of age or younger. The racial composition was approximately 83% white, 13% black, and 4% Asian/Pacific Islander. The gender distribution was approximately 78% male and 22% female.

Offenders who killed their mothers ranged in age from 14 to 52 years of age and averaged 32.6 years old. Offenders who killed their fathers ranged in age from 16 to 42 years of age and averaged 25.6 years old. There were no significant differences of the ages of single-victim, multiple-offender matricide and patricide offenders. There were two offenders who killed their stepfathers and they were 36 and 41.

The racial composition of matricide offenders was approximately 79% white, 14% black, and 7% Asian/Pacific Islander. Patricide offenders were approximately 86% and 14% black. Both of the steppatricide offenders were white. No offenders who killed fathers and stepfathers were Asian/Pacific Islander; none of the offenders involved in single-victim, multiple offender parricide were American Indian/Alaskan Native. There were no significant differences across races of single-victim, multiple-offender matricide and patricide offenders.

The gender distribution of offenders who killed their mothers was approximately 64% male and 36% female. The seven offenders who killed their fathers were male. The two

Table 8. Single-victim, multiple-offender parricide (SVMO) – offspring offender data

	All SVMO Parricide Offspring Offenders (N=23)	Mothers (N=14)	Fathers (N=7)	Stepfathers (N=2)
Age				
Mean	31	32.6	25.6	38.5
Median	29	30.5	25	38.5
Range	14-52	14-52	16-42	36-41
18 years old and under	5 (21.7%)	2 (14.3%)	3 (42.9%)	0
Sex				
Female	5 (21.7%)	5 (35.7%)	0	0
Male	18 (78.3%)	9 (64.3%)	7 (100%)	2 (100%)
Race				
White	19 (82.6%)	11 (78.6%)	6 (85.7%)	2 (100%)
Black	3 (13.1%)	2 (14.3%)	1 (14.3%)	0
Asian/Pacific Islander	1 (4.3%)	1 (7.1%)	0	0
American Indian/ Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0

offenders who killed their stepfathers were also male. These differences were not statistically significant.

    Data were provided for 11 of the non-offspring offenders involved in single-victim, multiple-offender parricide incidents. These data are depicted in Table 9. The offenders ranged in age from 17 to 64 years of age and averaged 27.8 years old. Two of the 11 non-offspring offenders were 18 years of age or younger. The racial composition was approximately 73% white and 27% black. None of the non-offspring offenders involved in single-victim, multiple-offender parricide incidents were Asian/Pacific Islander or American Indian/Alaskan Native. The gender distribution was approximately 55% male and 45% female. The nine offenders who

Table 9. Single-victim, multiple-offender parricide (SVMO) – non-offspring offender data

	All SVMO Parricide Non-Offspring Offenders (N=11)	Mothers (N=9)	Fathers (N=2)
Age			
Mean	27.8	30.1	17.5
Median	24	25	17.5
Range	17-64	19-52	17-18
18 years old and under	2 (18.2%)	0	2 (100%)
Sex			
Female	5 (45.5%)	4 (44.4%)	1 (50%)
Male	6 (54.5%)	5 (55.6%)	1 (50%)
Race			
White	8 (72.7%)	7 (77.8%)	1 (50%)
Black	3 (27.3%)	2 (22.2%)	1 (50%)
Asian/Pacific Islander	0	0	0
American Indian/Alaskan Native	0	0	0

helped kill a mother ranged in age from 19 to 52 years of age and averaged 30.1 years old. The two offenders who helped kill a father were 17 and 18 years old. None of the non-offspring offenders involved in single-victim, multiple-offender parricide helped kill a stepmother or a stepfather.

The racial composition of matricide offenders was approximately 78% white and 22% black. One patricide offender was white and one patricide offender was black. None of the non-offenders involved in single-victim, multiple offender parricide were Asian/Pacific Islander or American Indian/Alaskan Native.

Four of the nine offenders involved in killing mothers were female. The other five offenders who killed mothers were male. Of the two offenders who helped kill a father, one was female and one was male.

Victim characteristics

As depicted in Table 10, victims of single-victim, multiple-offender parricide ranged in age from 39 to 82 years of age and averaged 61.7 years old. The racial composition of the victims was approximately 82% white, 14% black, and 5% Asian/Pacific Islander.

Victims of matricide ranged in age from 39 to 82 years of age and averaged 63.5 years old. Victims of patricide ranged in age from 43 to76 years of age and averaged 56.3 years old. Victims of steppatricide ranged in age from 68 to 70 years of age and averaged 69 years old. There were no significant differences in the ages of single-victim, multiple-offender matricide and patricides.

Table 10. Single-victim, multiple-offender parricide (SVMO) – victim data

	All SVMO Parricide Victims (N=22)	Mothers (N=13)	Fathers (N=7)	Stepfathers (N=2)
Age				
Mean	61.7	63.5	56.3	69
Median	60	59	54	69
Range	39-82	39-82	43-76	68-70
Race				
White	18 (81.8%)	10 (76.9%)	6 (85.7%)	2 (100%)
Black	3 (13.6%)	2 (15.4%)	1 (14.3%)	0
Asian/Pacific Islander	1 (4.5%)	1 (7.7%)	0	0
American Indian/Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0

Not surprisingly, the racial composition of the victims was similar to the racial composition of the offenders. Of mothers killed, approximately 77% were white, 15% were black, and 8% were Asian/Pacific Islander. Of fathers killed, approximately 86% were white and 14% were black. Both of the stepfathers killed were white. None of the fathers and

stepfathers killed was Asian/Pacific Islander; none of the victims of single-victim, multiple-offender parricide were American Indian/Alaskan Native. There were no significant differences in the races of single-victim, multiple-offender matricide and patricide victims.

Types of weapons used

As depicted in Table 11, weapons used in single-victim, multiple-offender parricide and stepparricide incidents were categorized into four groups. The weapon types were: firearm, knife/cutting instrument, personal weapons (hands, feet, teeth, etc.), and other (fire, poison, asphyxiation, drugs). For mothers slain, the types of weapons most commonly used were a knife/cutting instrument (36%) and personal weapons (36%). For fathers and stepfathers slain, a firearm or knife/cutting instrument was used in 50% of the cases, respectively.

Single-offender double parricide

As discussed in the two subsections below, the number of single and multiple offenders in double parricide incidents during the 20 year period was small. Statistical tests, however, were still performed to test for differences. However, largely due to the small number of double parricide cases, demographic differences with respect to offender types, victim types, and weapons used to kill various types of parricide victims were not statistically significant.

Offender characteristics

As depicted in Table 12, there were 60 offenders involved in single-offender double parricide incidents, 35 of whom killed two parent types. Mothers and fathers were the pairs in 69% of these 35 incidents (n=24); mother and stepfathers, in 26% of these incidents (n=9); and fathers and stepmothers, in the remaining 6% (n=2). These offenders ranged in age from 13 to 79 years of age and averaged 33 years old. Ten of the 60 single-offender double parricide offenders were 18 years of age or younger. These offenders were approximately 82% white;

Table 11. Single-victim, multiple-offender (SVMO) – weapon type

	Total (N=19)	Mother (N=11)	Father (N=6)	Stepfather (N=2)
Firearm	5 (26.3%)	1 (9%)	3 (50%)	1 (50%)
Knife/Cutting Instrument	8 (42.1%)	4 (36.4%)	3 (50%)	1 (50%)
Personal Weapons (hands, feet, teeth, etc)	4 (21.1%)	4 (36.4%)	0	0
Other (fire, poison, asphyxiation, drugs)	2 (10.5%)	2 (18.2%)	0	0

Table 12. Single-offender double parricide (SODP) – offender data by parent type dyads

	All Double Parricide Offenders (N=60)	Mothers + Fathers (N=24)	Mothers + Stepfathers (N=9)	Fathers + Stepmothers (N=2)
Age				
Mean	33	29.8	28.3	34.5
Median	29	32.5	26	34.5
Range	13-79	13-46	15-49	17-52
18 years old and under	10 (16.7%)	4 (16.7%)	2 (22.2%)	1 (50%)
Sex				
Female	4 (6.7%)	0	2 (22.2%)	0
Male	56 (93.3%)	24 (100%)	7 (77.8%)	2 (100%)
Race				
White	49 (81.7%)	22 (91.6%)	8 (88.9%)	2 (100%)
Black	10 (16.7%)	1 (4.2%)	1 (11.1%)	0
Asian/Pacific Islander	1 (1.6%)	1 (4.2%)	0	0
American Indian/ Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0

17% were black and less than 2% were Asian/Pacific Islander. None of the offenders involved in single-offender double parricide were American Indian/Alaskan Native. The gender distribution was approximately 93% male and 7% female.

The results of single-offender double parricide incidents analyzed by dyad are presented in Table 12. Offenders who killed their mothers and fathers ranged in age from 13 to 46 years of age and averaged 29.8 years old. The 24 offenders who slayed their mothers and fathers were male. Offenders who killed their mothers and fathers were approximately 92% white, 4% black, and 4% Asian/Pacific Islander.

Offenders who killed their mothers and stepfathers ranged in age from 15 to 49 years of age and averaged 28.3 years old. Seven of the nine offenders who slayed their mothers and stepfathers were male. Offenders who killed their mothers and stepfathers were approximately 89% white and 11% black.

Offenders who killed their fathers and stepmothers ranged in age from 17 to 52 years of age and averaged 29 years old. Both offenders who slayed their fathers and stepmothers were male. Offenders who killed their fathers and stepmothers were both white.

Victim characteristics

As depicted in Table 13, there were 120 victims of single-offender double parricide, 95 of whom were parents. Mothers comprised more than half of these victims (52%, n=49); fathers, 34% (n=32); stepmothers, 4% (n=4); and stepfathers, 11% (n=10). Victims of single-offender double parricide ranged in age from 3 to 98 years of age and averaged 53.2 years old. The racial composition of the victims was approximately 84% white and 16% black. None of the victims slain in single-offender double parricide incidents were Asian/Pacific Islander or American Indian/Alaskan Native.

Table 13. Single-offender double parricide (SODP) – victim data – parent types

	All Double Parricide Victims (N=120)	Mothers (N=49)	Fathers (N=32)	Stepmothers (N=4)	Stepfathers (N=10)
Age					
Mean	53.2	55.8	60.4	55	56.4
Median	53	55	59	58	55.5
Range	3-98	34-88	35-98	33-71	42-74
Race					
White	101 (84.2%)	41 (83.6%)	30 (93.7%)	3 (75%)	9 (90%)
Black	19 (15.8%)	8 (16.3%)	2 (6.3%)	1 (25%)	1 (10%)
Asian/Pacific Islander	0	0	0	0	0
Amer. Indian/ Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0	0

Mothers killed ranged in age from 34 to 88 years of age and averaged 55.8 years old. Fathers killed ranged in age from 35 to 98 years of age and averaged 60.4 years old. Stepmothers killed ranged in age from 33 to 71 years of age and averaged 55 years old. Stepfathers killed ranged in age from 42 to 74 years of age and averaged 56.4 years old.

Not surprisingly, the racial distribution of victims is similar to that of offenders. Of mothers killed, approximately 84% were white and 16% were black. Of fathers killed, approximately 94% were white and 6% were black. Of stepmothers killed, 75% were white and 25% were black. Of stepfathers killed, 90% were white and 10% were black.

There were 25 non-parental victims of single-offender double parricide. Data pertaining to these non-parental victims included five brothers, seven sisters, one child, three other family members, two boyfriends or girlfriends, three acquaintances, one neighbor, two unknown relationships, and one spouse of the offender's. These data are summarized in Table 14.

Types of weapons used

As depicted in Table 15, four types of weapons were used in single-offender double parricide and double stepparricide incidents. These weapon types were analyzed by dyad involving two parent types. The weapon types were: firearm, knife/cutting instrument, blunt object, and fire/incendiary device.

For the mother and father dyad, the offender used a firearm (58%) or knife/cutting instrument (21%) in approximately 80% of the murders. For the mother and stepfather dyad, they were killed either by a firearm (67%) or a knife/cutting instrument (33%) in 100% of the incidents. The father and stepmother dyad shows that one case involved a firearm and the other case involved a blunt object.

Weapon types used in other dyads of single-offender double parricide incidents are summarized in Table 16. There were 25 cases of single-offender double parricide that involved a parent or stepparent plus one other person. A firearm was used in approximately two-thirds of these incidents (n=16). Weapon types used in the remaining third of cases were diverse and included a knife/cutting instrument in five cases. In two cases blunt objects were used; in the remaining two cases, fire/incendiary device, or other (poison, drugs, other) were each used.

Multiple-offender double parricide

Offender characteristics

There were 17 incidents of double parricides and stepparricides committed by multiple offenders. Each of these incidents involved two victims, at least one parent or stepparent plus one other person, and was therefore referred to as multiple-offender double parricide incidents. Each of these cases involved at least one offspring as an offender. Forty-seven offenders were involved in these 17 incidents. Eleven cases involved two offenders, four

Table 14. Single-offender double parricide (SODP) – victim data – non-parental victim types

	Brother (N=5)	Sister (N=7)	Child (N=1)	Other Family Members (N=3)	Boyfriend or Girlfriend (N=2)	Acquaintance (N=3)	Neighbor (N=1)	U/K (N=2)	Spouse (N=1)
Age									
Mean	56.2	22.4	3	52.7	40	41.7	52	36.5	73
Median	53	23	3	53	40	33	52	36.5	73
Range	38-77	12-30	3	30-75	32-48	31-61	52	30-43	73
Race									
White	3 (60%)	6 (85.7%)	1 (100%)	0	2 (100%)	2 (66.7%)	1 (100%)	2 (100%)	1 (100%)
Black	2 (40%)	1 (14.3%)	0	3 (100%)	0	1 (33.3%)	0	0	0
Asian/ Pacific Isl.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Amer. Indian/ Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 15. Single-offender double parricide (SODP) – weapon type by dyad – parent types

	Total (N=60)	Mother + Father (N=24)	Mother + Stepfather (N=9)	Father + Stepmother (N=2)
Firearm	37 (61.7%)	14 (58.3%)	6 (66.7%)	1 (50%)
Knife/Cutting Instrument	13 (21.7%)	5 (20.8%)	3 (33.3%)	0
Blunt Object	5 (8.3%)	2 (8.3%)	0	1 (50%)
Fire/Incendiary Device	4 (6.7%)	3 (12.5%)	0	0
Other (Poison, drugs, other)	1 (1.6%)	0	0	0

cases involved three offenders, one case involved five offenders, and one case involved eight offenders.

Of these 17 multiple-offender double parricide incidents, the second offender in one case was also an offspring of the victims. This case involved a 16 year old son of Asian/Pacific Islander descent and his 17 year old sister who used fire/incendiary device to kill their mother and father. This incident was noted separately from the other multiple-offender double parricide incidents because it was the only case that involved a sibling pair. The other offenders involved in the remaining 16 cases were acquaintances, unknown, otherwise known, employees, a friend, a stranger, another family member, or an employer of the victims.

As depicted in Table 17, the ages of the 18 offspring offenders involved in multiple-offender double parricide incidents ranged in age from 15 to 34 years of age and averaged 21.1 years old. Seven of the 18 offspring offenders were 18 years of age or younger. Their racial composition was approximately 88% white and 12% Asian/Pacific Islander. The gender distribution was approximately 56% male and 44% female.

Offspring offender data were summarized in Table 17 by dyad. The nine offspring who killed their mother and father ranged in age from 16 to 27 years of age and averaged 20 years old. There was one offspring who killed her mother and stepfather, and she was 34 years old. The three offspring who killed their father and stepmother ranged in age from 15 to 18 years of age and averaged 16.5 years old. The four offspring who killed their mother and one other person ranged in age from 16 to 26 years of age and averaged 20.7 years old. There was one offspring who killed her father and one other person, and she was 28 years old. The racial composition of offspring who killed their mother and father was approximately 78% white and 22% Asian/Pacific Islander. The remaining eight offspring were all white. None of the

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Table 16. Single-offender double parricide (SODP) – weapon type by dyad – parent or stepparent plus other victim types

	Father + Sibling (N=4)	Father + Maybe Known (N=2)	Mother + Sibling (N=8)	Mother + Maybe Known (N=4)	Mother + Other Family (N=3)	Mother + U/K (N=1)	Stepfather + U/K (N=1)	Stepmother + Spouse (N=1)	Stepmother + Other Family (N=1)
Firearm	3 (75%)	1 (50%)	6 (75%)	1 (25%)	1 (33.3%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Knife/ Cutting Instrument	0	1 (50%)	0	3 (75%)	1 (33.3%)	0	0	0	0
Blunt Object	1 (25%)	0	1 (12.5%)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fire/ Incendiary Device	0	0	1 (12.5%)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other (Poison, drugs, other)	0	0	0	0	1 (33.3%)	0	0	0	0

offspring who killed their mother and father were black or American Indian/Alaskan Native.

The gender distribution of offspring who killed their mother and father was approximately 67% male and 33% female. Gender was evenly distributed (50% vs. 50%) amongst those offspring involved in killing their father and stepmother, and mother plus one other person. The one offspring who killed a mother and stepfather was female. The one offspring who killed a father plus one other person was also female.

Data were provided for 22 of the non-offspring offenders involved in the multiple-offender double parricide incidents. As depicted in Table 18, non-offspring offenders ranged in age from 14 to 53 years of age and averaged 25.1 years old. Seven of the 22 non-offspring offenders were 18 years of age or younger. Their racial composition was approximately 96% white and 4% black. The gender distribution of these offenders was 45% male and 55% female.

Non-offspring offender data were summarized in Table 18 by dyad. The eight offenders involved in the slaying of a mother and father ranged in age from 18 to 46 years of age and averaged 25.5 years old. The one non-offspring offender involved in the slaying of a mother and stepfather was 32 years old. The five offenders involved in the slaying of a father and stepmother ranged in age from 18 to 23 years of age and averaged 20.6 years old. The six offenders involved in the slaying of a mother and one other person ranged in age from 14 to 38 years of age and averaged 22.8 years old. The two offenders involved in the slaying of a father and one other person were 28 and 53 years old.

There were two non-offspring offenders involved in the killing of a father plus one other person. One of these offenders was white; the other offender was black. The remaining eighteen non-offspring offenders for whom data were available were all white.

Table 17. Multiple-offender double parricide (MODP) – offspring offender data by dyad

	All MODP Offspring Offenders (N=18)	Mother + Father (N=9)	Mother + Stepfather (N=1)	Father + Stepmother (N=3)	Mother + Other (N=4)	Father + Other (N=1)
Age						
Mean	21.1	20	34	16.5	20.7	28
Median	19.5	18	34	16.5	20	28
Range	15-34	16-27	34	15-18	16-26	28
18 years old and under	7 (38.9%)	4 (44.4%)	0	2 (66.7%)	1 (25%)	0
Sex	(N=16)			(N=2)	(N=4)	
Female	7 (43.8%)	3 (33.3%)	1 (100%)	1 (50%)	2 (50%)	1 (100%)
Male	9 (56.2%)	6 (66.7%)	0	1 (50%)	2 (50%)	0
Race	(N=16)			(N=2)	(N=4)	
White	14 (87.5%)	7 (77.8%)	1 (100%)	2 (100%)	4 (100%)	1 (100%)
Black	0	0	0	0	0	0
Asian/ Pacific Islander	2 (12.5%)	2 (22.2%)	0	0	0	0

Of the eight non-offspring offenders involved in the killing of a mother and father, six were female and two were male. The one non-offspring offender involved in the killing of a mother and stepfather was female. Of the five non-offspring offenders involved in the killing of a father and stepmother, four were male and one was female. Gender was evenly distributed amongst the non-offspring offenders involved in the killing of a mother plus one other person (n=3; n=3) and a father plus one other person (n=1; n=1).

Victim characteristics

As depicted in Table 19, victims of multiple-offender double parricide ranged in age from 18 to 66 years of age and averaged 51.7 years old. The racial composition of the victims was approximately 94% white and 6% Asian/Pacific Islander. None of the victims slain in multiple-offender double parricide incidents were black or American Indian/Alaskan Native. Mothers killed ranged in age from 39 to 66 years of age and averaged 52.3 years old. Fathers killed ranged in age from 46 to 64 years of age and averaged 55.8 years old. Stepmothers killed ranged in age from 41 to 58 years of age and averaged 50.7 years old. The one stepfather killed was 54 years old.

Not surprisingly, the racial distribution of victims is similar to that of offenders. Of mothers killed, approximately 92% were white and 8% were Asian/Pacific Islander. Of fathers killed, approximately 92% were white and 8% were Asian/Pacific Islander. Of the three stepmothers killed, 100% were white. The one stepfather killed was also white. None of the victims slain in multiple-offender double parricide incidents were black or American Indian/Alaskan Native. There were five non-parental victims of multiple-offender double parricide. Data pertaining to the non-parental victims included one sister, one acquaintance, two

Table 18. Multiple-offender double parricide (MODP) – non-offspring offender data by dyad

	All MODP Non-Offspring Offenders (N=22)	Mother + Father (N=8)	Mother + Stepfather (N=1)	Father + Stepmother (N=5)	Mother + Other (N=6)	Father + Other (N=2)
Age						
Mean	25.1	25.5	32	20.6	22.8	40.5
Median	21	19	32	21	20.5	40.5
Range	14-53	18-46	32	18-23	14-38	28-53
18 years old and under	7 (31.8%)	4 (50%)	0	1 (20%)	2 (33.3%)	0
Sex						
Female	12 (54.5%)	6 (75%)	1 (100%)	1 (20%)	3 (50%)	1 (50%)
Male	10 (45.4%)	2 (25%)	0	4 (80%)	3 (50%)	1 (50%)
Race						
White	21 (95.5%)	8 (100%)	1 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	1 (50%)
Black	1 (4.5%)	0	0	0	0	1 (50%)
Asian/Pacific Islander	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 19. Multiple-offender double parricide (MODP) – victim data – parent types

	All MODP Victims (N=34)	Mother (N=13)	Father (N=12)	Stepmother (N=3)	Stepfather (N=1)
Age					
Mean	51.7	52.3	55.8	50.7	54
Median	54	54	58	53	54
Range	18-66	39-66	46-64	41-58	54
Race		(N=12)			
White	31 (93.9%)	11 (91.7%)	11 (91.7%)	3 (100%)	1 (100%)
Black	0	0	0	0	0
Asian/ Pacific Islander	2 (6.1%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (8.3%)	0	0
Amer. Indian/ Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0	0

other family members, and one unknown. These data are summarized in Table 20. Notably, all of these five victims were white.

Types of weapons used

As depicted in Table 21, five types of weapons were used in multiple-offender double parricide and double stepparricide. These weapon types were analyzed by dyad. The weapon types were: firearm, knife/cutting instrument, blunt object, fire/incendiary device, and poison.

In the mother and father dyad homicides, the offenders used a knife/cutting instrument in five of the cases and a firearm in the remaining case. In the one case involving a mother and stepfather dyad, a firearm was used to kill. Examination of the father and stepmother dyad cases shows that two cases involved a firearm and the other case involved a blunt object. Out of the four cases that involved a mother plus one other dyad, the offenders used a firearm in two of the murders. In the remaining two cases, the offenders used either a knife/cutting instrument or poison to kill a mother plus one other person. In the one case involving a father plus one other person, a knife/cutting instrument was used.

Table 20. Multiple-offender Double Parricide (MODP) - victim data – non-parental victim types

	Sisters (N=1)	Acquaintances (N=1)	Other Family Members (N=2)	Unknown Relationship (N=1)
Age				
Mean	41	44	32	54
Median	41	44	32	54
Range	41	44	18-46	54
Race				
White	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	2 (100%)	1 (100%)
Black	0	0	0	0
Asian/Pacific Islander	0	0	0	0
Amer Indian/ Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0

Table 21. Multiple-offender double parricide (MODP) –weapon type by dyad

	Total (N=18)	Mother + Father (N=9)	Mother + Stepfather (N=1)	Father + Stepmother (N=3)	Mother + Other (N=4)	Father + Other (N=1)
Firearm	6 (33.3%)	1 (11.1%)	1 (100%)	2 (66.7%)	2 (50%)	0
Knife/ Cutting Instrument	7 (38.9%)	5 (55.6%)	0	0	1 (25%)	1 (100%)
Blunt Object	2 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)	0	1 (33.3%)	0	0
Fire/ Incendiary Device	2 (11.1%)	2 (22.2%)	0	0	0	0
Poison	1 (5.6%)	0	0	0	1 (25%)	0

Familicide

Notwithstanding the small sample size, tests were conducted to test for significant differences in the demographic characteristics of familicide offenders and victim types, and in the choice of weapons used to kill various familicide victim types. None of these differences was significant.

Offender characteristics

As depicted in Table 22, the 15 offenders involved in single-offender familicide incidents ranged in age from 12 to 46 years of age and averaged 26.4 years old. These offenders were approximately 73% white and 27% black. None of the offenders involved in familicide were Asian/Pacific Islander or American Indian/Alaskan Native. The gender distribution was approximately 93% male and 7% female.

The results of single-offender familicide incidents analyzed by triad are presented in Table 22. There were seven cases wherein the offender killed their mother, father, and one other person. The constellation of victims in these cases was as follows: one case involved a mother, father, and grandmother; three cases involved a mother, father, and sister; two cases involved a mother, father, and brother; and one case involved a mother, father, and other family member. Offenders who killed their mothers, fathers, and one other person ranged in age from 12 to 43 years of age and averaged 25 years old. Three of the fifteen familicide offenders were 18 years of age or younger. All seven of the offenders who slayed their mothers, fathers, and one other person were males. Five of the offenders who killed their mothers, fathers, and one other person were white and the remaining two were black. There were five cases wherein the offender killed their mother and two other people. The constellation of victims in these cases was as follows: one case involved a mother, child, and common-law spouse; one case involved a mother and

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Table 22. Familicide – offender data by triad

	All Familicide (N=15)	Mother + Father + Other (N=7)	Mother + 2 Others (N=5)	Father + 2 Others (N=3)
Age				
Mean	26.4	25	27.2	28.3
Median	24	24	22	24
Range	12-46	12-43	20-46	18-43
18 years old and under	3 (20%)	2 (28.6%)	0	1 (33.3%)
Sex				
Female	1 (6.7%)	0	1 (20%)	0
Male	14 (93.3%)	7 (100%)	4 (80%)	3 (100%)
Race				
White	11 (73.3%)	5 (71.4%)	4 (80%)	2 (66.7%)
Black	4 (26.7%)	2 (28.6%)	1 (20%)	1 (33.3%)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	0	0	0	0
Amer. Indian/ Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0

two acquaintances; one case involved a mother and two sisters; one case involved a mother, stepfather, and brother; and one case involved a mother, brother, and otherwise known person. Offenders who killed their mothers and two other people ranged in age from 20 to 46 years of age and averaged 27.2 years old. Four of the five offenders who slayed their mothers and two other people were male. Four of the offenders who killed their mothers and two other people were white and one was black.

There were three cases wherein the offender killed their father and two other people. The constellation of victims in these cases was as follows: one case involved a father, stepmother, and other family member; one case involved a father, stepmother and stepsister; and one case involved a father, sister, and other family member. Offenders who killed their fathers and two other people ranged in age from 18 to 43 years of age and averaged 28.3 years old. All three of of the offenders who slayed their fathers and two other people were male. Two of these offenders were white and one was black.

Victim characteristics

As depicted in Table 23, the 45 victims of single-offender familicide ranged in age from 1 to 97 years of age and averaged 41 years old. The racial composition of the victims was 80% white and 20% black. None of the victims slain in single-offender familicide incidents were Asian/Pacific Islander or American Indian/Alaskan Native.

Mothers killed ranged in age from 30 to 76 years of age and averaged 50.3 years old. Fathers killed ranged in age from 40 to 76 years of age and averaged 54.4 years old. Stepmothers killed ranged in age from 42 to 58 years of age and averaged 50 years old. The one stepfather killed was 42 years old.

Table 23. Familicide – victim data – parent types

	All Familicide Victims (N=45)	Mothers (N=12)	Fathers (N=10)	Stepmothers (N=2)	Stepfathers (N=1)
Age					
Mean	41	50.3	54.4	50	42
Median	42	47.5	53	50	42
Range	1-97	30-76	40-76	42-58	42
Race					
White	36 (80%)	11 (91.7%)	8 (80%)	2 (100%)	1 (100%)
Black	9 (20%)	1 (8.3%)	2 (20%)	0	0
Asian/ Pacific Islander	0	0	0	0	0
Amer. Indian/ Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0	0

Of the 12 mothers killed, approximately 92% were white and 8% were black. Of the 10 fathers killed, 80% were white and 20% were black. The two stepmothers and one stepfather killed were white. Other victims of single-offender familicide incidents included four brothers, six sisters, one child, one common-law spouse, one grandmother, two acquaintances, one stepsister, three other family members, and one otherwise known individual. Data pertaining to these non-parental victim types can be found in Table 24. Notably, of these 20 victims, 70% were white and the remaining 30% were black.

Types of weapons used

As depicted in Table 25, there were five types of weapons used in single-offender familicide. These weapon types were analyzed by triad. The weapon types were: firearm, knife/cutting instrument, blunt object, fire/incendiary device, and personal (hands, feet, teeth, etc.).

In the seven cases involving a mother, father, and one other person triad, a firearm was used in four of the incidents, a knife/cutting instrument was used in 2 of the incidents, and a blunt object was used in one incident. In the five cases involving a mother and two other people triad, a firearm was used in two of the incidents and a knife/cutting instrument, fire/incendiary device, or personal weapon were used in the other three incidents. A firearm was used in all three of the incidents involving fathers and two other people.

Table 24. Familicide – victim data – non-parental victim types

	Brother (N=4)	Sister (N=6)	Child (N=1)	Common-law spouse (N=1)	Grandmother (N=1)	Acquaintance (N=2)	Stepsister (N=1)	Other family members (N=3)	Otherwise known (N=1)
Age									
Mean	13.5	17.5	1	28	97	56.5	19	27.3	55
Median	13	16	1	28	97	56.5	19	14	55
Range	12-16	8-33	1	28	97	53-60	19	12-56	55
Race									
White	4 (100%)	5 (83.3%)	0	0	1 (100%)	1 (50%)	1 (100%)	1 (33.3%)	1 (100%)
Black	0	1 (16.7%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	0	1 (50%)	0	2 (66.7%)	0
Asian/ Pacific Is.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Amer. Indian/ Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 25. Familicide – weapon type by triad

	Total (N=15)	Mother + Father + Other (N=7)	Mother + 2 Others (N=5)	Father + 2 Others (N=3)
Firearm	9 (60%)	4 (57.1%)	2 (40%)	3 (100%)
Knife/Cutting Instrument	3 (20%)	2 (28.6%)	1 (20%)	0
Blunt Object	1 (6.7%)	1 (14.3%)	0	0
Fire/Incendiary Device	1 (6.7%)	0	1(20%)	0
Personal (hands, feet, teeth, etc.)	1 (6.7%)	0	1 (20%)	0

Chapter Six

CONCLUSIONS

This study used NIBRS data to examine parricide offenders and victims over the 20-year period 1990 to 2010. Parricide incidents involving single victims, single offenders, multiple victims, and multiple offenders were included in these analyses because no other study used NIBRS data in this manner. Findings from analyses of the NIBRS data for the period 1990 to 2010 pertaining to single-victim, single-offender parricide cases allows for a comparison to prior analyses which used SHR data. This study makes it possible to investigate similarities and differences between the two databases. Also, patterns observed within NIBRS data for single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents can be compared to parricide incidents involving multiple victims and or multiple offenders to investigate any similar correlates.

Single-victim, single-offender parricide – SHR vs. NIBRS

Heide (2013c) explored the characteristics of single-victim, single-offender parricide and stepparricide using SHR data. The results indicated the typical offender involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide and stepparricide was a white male. Offenders who killed their mothers averaged 32 years of age, offenders who killed their fathers averaged 26 years of age, offenders who killed their stepmothers averaged 25 years of age, and offenders who killed their stepfathers averaged 23 years of age.

The typical victim of single-victim, single-offender parricide was a father, average age of 56, and was white. The typical victim of single-victim, single-offender stepparricide was a

stepfather, average age of 47, and was white. Similar to offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender stepparricide; victims of single-victim, single-offender stepparricide tended to be younger than the biological parents slain.

The types of weapons that predominated in single-victim, single-offender parricide and stepparricide incidents were firearms and knives or cutting instruments. More than half of the offenders used a firearm when killing a father or stepfather. Offenders who killed their stepmother used a firearm in a little less than half of the incidents. Offenders who killed their mother used diverse methods such as a firearm, knife/cutting instrument, blunt objects, personal weapons, or other means.

Results from this study shared some similarities and differences with the prior studies. These results are compared to the results of Heide's (2013c) study in Tables 26-31. NIBRS data indicated that the typical offender involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide and stepparricide was male, approximately 31 years of age, and was white (Tables 26-28). SHR data indicated younger offenders were involved in single-victim, single-offender stepparricide incidents than NIBRS data. In contrast to SHR data, NIBRS data indicated somewhat older offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender stepparricide incidents compared to those offenders who killed their biological parents.

Table 26. Comparison of SHR and NIBRS – offender mean age

OFFENDER MEAN AGE	SHR (1976-2007)	NIBRS (1991-2010)
Parricide	27	31
Mother	32	35
Father	26	28
Stepmother	25	39
Stepfather	23	26

Table 27. Comparison of SHR and NIBRS – offender gender

OFFENDER GENDER	SHR (1976-2007)	NIBRS (1991-2010)
Parricide	85% Male	84% Male
Mother	83% Male	79% Male
Father	87% Male	88% Male
Stepmother	86% Male	92% Male
Stepfather	83% Male	89% Male

Table 28. Comparison of SHR and NIBRS – offender race

OFFENDER RACE	SHR (1976-2007)	NIBRS (1991-2010)
Parricide	69% White	77% White
Mother	72% White	81% White
Father	67% White	75% White
Stepmother	76% White	69% White
Stepfather	60% White	67% White

The typical victim of single-victim, single-offender parricide and stepparricide was male, approximately 57 years of age, and white (Table 29, Table 30). Similar to SHR data, victims of single-victim, single-offender stepparricide were younger than the biological parents slain.

Table 29. Comparison of SHR and NIBRS – victim mean age

VICTIM MEAN AGE	SHR (1976-2007)	NIBRS (1991-2010)
Parricide	53	57
Mother	60	63
Father	56	56
Stepmother	50	51
Stepfather	47	48

Table 30. Comparison of SHR and NIBRS – victim race

VICTIM RACE	SHR (1976-2007)	NIBRS (1991-2010)
Parricide	69% White	77% White
Mother	72% White	81% White
Father	67% White	76% White
Stepmother	76% White	87% White
Stepfather	60% White	67% White

A firearm or knife/cutting instrument was the weapon of choice in approximately 69% of single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents (Table 31). Similar to SHR data, mothers were slain by more diverse methods. Interestingly, with the exception of stepmothers, the percentages of guns used to kill parricide victim types were less in NIBRS incidents than SHR incidents.

Table 31. Comparison of SHR and NIBRS – weapon used

WEAPON USED	SHR (1976-2007)	NIBRS (1991-2010)
Parricide	52% Firearm, 25% Knife	44% Firearm, 25% Knife
Mother	37% Firearm, 29% Knife	29% Firearm, 26% Knife
Father	60% Firearm, 22% Knife	56% Firearm, 22% Knife
Stepmother	49% Firearm, 25% Knife	64% Firearm, 18% Knife
Stepfather	62% Firearm, 25% Knife	49% Firearm, 34% Knife

Single-victim, single-offender parricide versus single-victim, multiple-offender parricide

Similarities and differences in offender and victim characteristics and weapon type used in single-victim, single-offender parricide versus single-victim, multiple-offender parricide are depicted in Table 32. The age, gender, and race of the offender were similar between the two parricide types. However, the two offenders who killed their stepfathers in single-victim, multiple-offender parricide were noticeably older than offenders who killed their stepfathers in single-victim, single-offender parricide (39 vs. 26).

Victim race was also similar across the two parricide types. The age of mothers and fathers slain in single-victim, multiple-offender parricide was approximately the same age as mothers and fathers slain in single-victim, single-offender parricide. Stepfathers slain in single-victim, multiple-offender parricide were noticeably older than those slain in single-victim, single-offender parricide (69 vs. 48). Although the number of single-victim, multiple-offender cases was small, a mother was the typical victim (13 mothers slain in 17 cases).

Table 32. Comparison of single-victim, single-offender parricide versus single-victim, multiple-offender parricide

	Similarities	Differences
Offender mean age	Approximately 31 years of age	Offenders who killed their stepfathers in SVMO were older than offenders who killed their stepfathers in SVSO (39 vs. 26)
Offender gender	Male	---
Offender race	White	---
Victim mean age	Mothers and fathers slain in SVMO were approximately the same age as mothers and fathers slain in SVSO (64 vs. 63 and 56, respectively)	Stepfathers slain in SVMO tended to be older than stepfathers slain in SVSO (69 vs. 48)
Victim type	---	A mother was the typical victim slain in SVMO (n=13, 59%)
Victim race	White	---
Weapon used	Mothers slain by diverse methods	A knife or personal weapons were used to kill mothers in 73% of SVMO cases; a firearm was used to kill a mother in one SVMO case. A firearm or knife was used to kill in all of the cases involving a father or stepfather as a victim – no other weapons were used

Similarities and differences appeared between single-victim, multiple-offender parricide and single-victim, single-offender parricide in respect to weapon type used in the incident. Similarly, mothers were slain by more diverse weapons, with a knife/cutting instrument or personal weapons used to kill in 73% of the single-victim, multiple-offender incidents; however, a firearm was only used to kill a mother in one of these cases. A firearm or knife/cutting instrument was used to kill in all of the single-victim, multiple-offender cases involving a father or stepfather as a victim. No other weapons were used to kill fathers or stepfathers in single-

victim, multiple-offender parricide incidents. No stepmothers were killed in single-victim, multiple-offender incidents.

Single-victim, single-offender parricide versus single-offender double parricide

Similarities and differences in offender and victim characteristics and weapon type used in single-victim, single-offender parricide versus single-offender double parricide are depicted in Table 33. The age, gender, and race of the offender were similar between the two parricide incident types. While victim race was approximately the same across the two parricide types, the age and type of victim slain differed. Mothers slain in single-offender double parricide tended to be younger than those slain in single-victim, single-offender parricide (56 vs. 63). Relative to those slain in single-victim, single-offender incidents, Relative to those slain in single-victim, single-offender incidents, fathers (60 vs. 56), stepmothers (55 vs. 51), and stepfathers (56 vs. 48) slain in single-offender double parricide were noticeably older. Although the number of single-offender double parricide cases was small, a mother was the typical victim (49 mothers slain in 60 cases).

Similar to single-victim, single-offender parricide, a firearm was the weapon of choice in the majority of the single-offender double parricide incidents involving parent types as victims (44% vs. 60%). Also, approximately 23% of offenders involved in single-offender double parricide used a knife/cutting instrument to kill parent types compared to 25% of single-victim, single-offender incidents. Interestingly, three cases of single-offender double parricide involved a fire/incendiary device as the weapon used to kill parent types. This is noteworthy because although fire was used in only three (13%) of 60 cases of single-offender double parricide, fire was used in only ten (1.7%) of 603 cases of single-victim, single-offender parricide.

Table 33. Comparison of single-victim, single-offender parricide versus single-offender double parricide

	Similarities	Differences
Offender mean age	Approximately 33 years of age	---
Offender gender	Male	---
Offender race	White	---
Victim mean age	---	Mothers slain in SODP tended to be younger than those slain in SVSO (56 vs. 63). Fathers (60 vs. 56), stepmothers (55 vs. 51), and stepfathers (56 vs. 48) slain in SODP were noticeably older than those slain in SVSO.
Victim type	---	A mother was the typical victim slain in SODP (n=49, 41%)
Victim race	White	---
Weapon used	A firearm was used to kill in approximately 60% of SODP incidents involving parent types as victims, compared to 44% of SVSO. A knife/cutting instrument was used to kill in approximately 23% of SODP incidents involving parent types as victims, compared to 25% of SVSO.	Fire used in three of 60 cases of SODP compared to ten of 603 cases of SVSO.

Single-victim, single-offender parricide versus multiple-offender double parricide

Similarities and differences in offender and victim characteristics and weapon type used in single-victim, single-offender parricide versus multiple-offender double parricide are depicted in Table 34. The age and gender of the offender differed between the two parricide incident types. Offenders involved in multiple-offender double parricide incidents were younger than the offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents (21 vs. 30). Approximately 44% of offenders involved in multiple-offender double parricide were female,

Table 34. Comparison of single-victim, single-offender parricide versus multiple-offender double parricide

	Similarities	Differences
Offender mean age	---	Offenders involved in MODP incidents were younger than the offenders involved in SVSO parricide incidents (21 vs. 30).
Offender gender	---	Approximately 44% of offenders involved in MODP were female compared to only 16% of offenders involved in SVSO.
Offender race	White	---
Victim mean age	Fathers and stepmothers were approximately the same age in MODP as in SVSO (56 and 51, respectively)	Mothers slain in MODP tended to be younger than those slain in SVSO (52 vs. 63). The one stepfather slain in MODP was older than the stepfathers slain in SVSO (54 vs. 48).
Victim type	---	A mother was the typical victim slain in MODP (n=13, 38%).
Victim race	White	---
Weapon used	Firearm or knife used in 76% of cases compared to 69% of cases of SVSO.	Poison used in one of 17 cases of MODP compared to four of 603 cases of SVSO.

compared to only 16% of the offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide

incidents. Offender and victim race were similar across the two parricide types.

The age of fathers and stepmothers slain in multiple-offender double parricide were

approximately the same as the age of fathers and stepmothers slain in single-victim, single-

offender parricide (56 and 51, respectively). Mothers slain in multiple-offender double parricide

tended to be younger than those slain in single-victim, single-offender parricide (52 vs. 63).

There was one stepfather slain in multiple-offender double parricide and he was older than the

stepfathers slain in single-victim, single-offender parricide (54 vs. 48). Although the number of multiple-offender double parricide cases was small, a mother was the typical victim (13 mothers slain in 17 cases).

Similar to single-victim, single-offender parricide, a firearm or knife/cutting instrument was the weapon of choice in approximately 76% of the multiple-offender double parricide incidents (compared to 69% of single-victim, single-offender incidents). Interestingly, one of the multiple-offender double parricide cases involved poison as the weapon used to kill. This is noteworthy because although poison was used in only one (5.9%) of 17 cases of multiple-offender double parricide, poison was used in only four (0.7%) of 603 cases of single-victim, single-offender parricide.

Single-victim, single-offender parricide versus familicide

Similarities and differences in offender and victim characteristics and weapon type used in single-victim, single-offender parricide versus familicide are depicted in Table 35. The age of the offender differed between the two parricide types. Offenders involved in familicide were younger than offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide (26 vs. 30). Offender gender and race were similar across the two parricide incident types. Familicide offenders were almost exclusively male (n=14, 93%).

Victim race was similar for familicide and single-victim, single-offender parricide. The age of fathers and the two stepmothers slain in familicide were fairly similar to the fathers and stepmothers slain in single-victim, single-offender parricide (54 vs. 56 and 50 vs. 51, respectively). Mothers slain in familicide tended to be younger than those slain in single-victim, single-offender parricide (50 vs. 63). There was one stepfather slain in familicide and he was younger than the stepfathers slain in single-victim, single-offender parricide (42 vs. 48). The

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Table 35. Comparison of single-victim, single-offender parricide versus familicide

	Similarities	Differences
Offender mean age	---	Offenders involved in familicide were younger than offenders involved in SVSO (26 vs. 30).
Offender gender	Male	Almost exclusively male (n=14, 93%).
Offender race	White	---
Victim mean age	The age of fathers and the two stepmothers slain in familicide were slightly younger than the fathers and stepmothers slain in SVSO (54 vs. 56 and 50 vs. 51, respectively).	Mothers slain in familicide tended to be younger than those slain in SVSO (50 vs. 63). There was one stepfather slain in familicide and he was younger than the stepfathers slain in SVSO (42 vs. 48).
Victim type	---	Almost as likely to be a mother as a father (n=12, n=10); almost as likely to be a stepmother as a stepfather (n=2, n=1)
Victim race	White	---
Weapon used	Firearm or knife used in 80% of cases compared to 69% of cases of SVSO.	Fire was used in one of 15 cases of familicide compared to ten of 603 cases of SVSO.

victim was almost as likely to be a mother as a father (n=12, n=10), and almost as likely to be a stepmother as a stepfather (n=2, n=1) in familicide incidents, due to the small number of cases.

Similar to single-victim, single-offender parricide, a firearm or knife/cutting instrument was the weapon of choice in approximately 80% of familicide incidents (compared to 69% of single-victim, single-offender incidents). Interestingly, one of the familicide cases involved fire/incendiary device as the weapon used to kill. This is noteworthy because although fire was used in only one (6.7%) of 15 cases of familicide, fire was used in only ten (1.7%) of 603 cases of single-victim, single-offender parricide.

In summary, it can be concluded that the correlates of single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents reported to NIBRS were generally similar to those reported to the SHR. The analyses of parricidal incidents involving single and multiple victims or single and multiple offenders conveyed that: 1) The typical offender involved in single-offender parricide incidents was a white male approximately 30 years of age, 2) The typical victim of multiple-victim parricide was a white mother approximately 50 years of age, 3) When multiple offenders were involved in parricide incidents, they tended to be younger than offenders involved in single-offender parricide incidents, 4) More female offenders were involved in multiple-offender parricide incidents than in single-offender parricide incidents, and 5) A firearm was the choice weapon used in the majority of parricide incidents, however, when a mother was the victim, the offender(s) used more diverse methods.

Family portraits

This section reviews the findings from the analyses to provide a portrait of the typical offender and victim in each of the parricide incidents across parent type. For each parricide type, the typical age, gender, and race of the offender(s) and the typical age and race of the victim(s) are reported in tables. The typical offender and victim of single-victim, single-offender parricide is depicted in Table 36. The typical offenders and victim of single-victim, multiple-offender parricide are depicted in Table 37. The typical offender and victims of single-offender double parricide are depicted in Table 38. The typical offenders and victims of multiple-offender double parricide are depicted in Table 39. The typical offender and victims of familicide are depicted in Table 40.

Table 36. Single-victim, single-offender parricide – characteristics of the typical offender and victim

	Mother	Father	Stepmother	Stepfather
Offender mean age	35	28	39	26
Offender gender	Male	Male	Male	Male
Offender race	White	White	White	White
Victim mean age	63	56	51	48
Victim race	White	White	White	White

Table 37. Single-victim, multiple-offender parricide – characteristics of the typical offenders and victim

	Mother	Father	Stepfather
Offender mean ages	33, 30	26, 18	39, X
Offender gender	Male, Male/Female	Male, Male/Female	Male, X
Offender race	White	White	White
Victim mean age	64	56	69
Victim race	White	White	White

Note: X indicates unknown

Table 38. Single-offender double parricide – characteristics of the typical offender and victims

	Mother + Father	Mother + Stepfather	Father + Stepmother
Offender mean age	30	28	35
Offender gender	Male	Male	Male
Offender race	White	White	White
Victim mean ages	56, 60	56, 56	60, 55
Victim race	White	White	White

Table 39. Multiple-offender double parricide – characteristics of the typical offenders and victims

	Mother + Father	Mother + Stepfather	Father + Stepmother
Offender mean ages	20 , 26	34, 32	17, 21
Offender gender	Male, Female	Female, Female	Male/Female, Male
Offender race	White	White	White
Victim mean ages	52, 56	52, 54	56, 51
Victim race	White	White	White

Table 40. Familicide – characteristics of the typical offender and victims

	Mother + Father + Other	Mother + Two Others	Father + Two Others
Offender mean age	25	27	28
Offender gender	Male	Male	Male
Offender race	White	White	White
Victim mean ages	50, 54, X	50, X, X	54, X, X
Victim race	White	White	White

Note: X indicates unknown

Chapter Seven

DISCUSSION

As evidenced through the comparative analyses, there were more similarities than differences between the SHR and NIBRS data sets. Researchers who investigate parricide in general should utilize the SHR as it is representative of the total U.S. population. If researchers want to conduct an in-depth examination of parricide incidents involving multiple victims or offenders, then the NIBRS data should be used as it provides more descriptive detail of the victim to offender relationship for up to three offenders in a given incident.

It is instructive to compare the typical offender involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide with the typical offender involved in general homicide using 20 years of NIBRS data, something that has never been done before. Similar to single-victim, single-offender parricide (84%), the typical offender involved in single-victim, single-offender homicide was male (87%). The majority of the offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide were white (77%), compared to 50% of the offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender homicide. There were noticeably more black offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender homicide than single-victim, single-offender parricide (47% vs. 22%). Due to the biological tie of victims and offenders in single-victim, single-offender parricide, there were virtually no interracial killings in parricide cases unlike homicide cases in general. The mean age of offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender homicide was 23 years of age compared to 31 years of age of single-victim, single-offender parricide offenders. Only 8% of single-victim, single-offender

homicide offenders were 18 years of age or younger (1,360 of 16,640 offenders) compared to approximately 19% of single-victim, single-offender parricide offenders (113 of 603 offenders) over the 20 year period examined.

Results indicated that mothers were slain by more diverse methods than any other parent type victim. A possible explanation for the diversity of weapons used to kill mothers is that mothers were perceived as weaker or easier targets than fathers. The offender(s) would not require as much force to kill a mother compared to a father. Hence, the greater use of firearms selected to kill fathers.

There were more female offenders involved in multiple-offender parricide incidents, specifically, multiple-offender double parricide. It is possible that the female offenders required more assistance to kill a parent or parents than male offenders. The female offenders could have recruited friends or coerced a boyfriend to help her commit the murders.

There were noticeably younger offenders involved in parricide incidents with multiple victims and/or multiple offenders, specifically, multiple-offender double parricide. Approximately 19% of the offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide were 18 years of age or younger compared to approximately 39% of offspring offenders and 32% of accomplices involved in multiple-offender double parricide. Similar to female offenders, it is possible that younger offenders required more assistance to kill, especially in those cases involving multiple victims. Also, juvenile offenders are more likely than adult offenders to kill with accomplices (Heide, 1999).

As previously noted in the literature review, there were no known cases of female perpetrated familicide. Using the NIBRS data, this study identified the first known case of

familicide involving a female offender. This offender was 27 years of age, black, and used a firearm to kill her 53 year old mother, 1 year old child, and 28 year old common-law spouse.

NIBRS data indicated the offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide were older than the offenders involved in single-victim, single-offender parricide from SHR data. A possible explanation for this is the location of the 31 certified NIBRS states that participate in data collection; it is possible that states with noticeably older homicide offenders are over-represented compared to the SHR offender data. A caveat, however, is that differences in offender age were not tested for significance due to the two separate data sets.

Chapter Eight

LIMITATIONS

As noted earlier, data are voluntarily submitted to the National Incident-Based Reporting System. Since it is not mandatory, not all agencies participate in NIBRS. Currently NIBRS represents only 25% of the total U.S. population. The rarity of the event of multiple victim parricide, coupled with the limited number of multiple victim parricide cases from NIBRS data, made statistical analyses in general not possible. Conclusions were drawn with caution in regards to the small number of double parricide and familicide cases.

NIBRS data only provided demographic information for up to three offenders in a given incident. Five cases of single-victim, multiple-offender parricide and two cases of multiple-offender double parricide involved four or more offenders. Due to NIBRS limiting data to three offenders per incident, a complete analysis of these seven cases was not possible. Conclusions were drawn with caution.

When examined by hand, there were a number of cases with likely agency coding errors. While this can be expected when using second-hand data, it resulted in an unfortunate loss of approximately 15 cases. These 15 cases could have provided additional valuable information regarding parricide offenders and victims.

NIBRS data are limited to basic demographic data of the offender and victim (e.g., age, gender, race), and characteristics of the incident (e.g., relationship of each victim to the offender(s), type of weapon used). NIBRS data does not include data pertaining to mental health

history, family dynamics, motivational dynamics, or gun availability. These kinds of data are

important for understanding the factors involved when an offspring kills a parent. Future

research could use NIBRS data to possibly identify cases and conduct a mixed methods study

with interview data, record review, or newspaper articles. This type of analysis could possibly

provide information on the motivational dynamics surrounding those parricide cases which were

identified through NIBRS data.

Chapter Nine

IMPLICATIONS

As previously noted, the majority of parents and stepparents slain were killed in single-victim, single-offender incidents. Prior research has focused primarily on single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents because of the data available through the SHR data set. While the numbers of multiple-victim and/or multiple-offender parricide incidents found using the NIBRS data set were small, this was expected based upon prior research. The information that the NIBRS data provided was invaluable as it allowed access to official data regarding double parricides and familicides. Since this study utilized the NIBRS data set from 1990-2010, it not only summarized 20 consecutive years of parricide information, but was able to report recent information pertaining to multiple-victim, and/or multiple-offender parricide. The purpose of this study was to describe the phenomenon of multiple victim parricide. This was achieved by providing an up-to-date review of parricide literature as well as an in-depth analysis of single-victim, single-offender parricide incidents and parricide incidents involving multiple victims and/or multiple offenders.

Parricide is a rare occurrence in the United States and is not possible to reliably predict. However, certain risk factors for juvenile and adult parricide offenders have been identified throughout prior literature. The typical offspring who kills a parent(s) is a white male averaging 30 years of age. A greater number of female offenders and juvenile offenders are evident in multiple-offender parricide incidents, specifically double parricide incidents. While the use of a

firearm predominates in all types of parricide offenses, those incidents involving a mother as a victim tend to have a more diverse weapon choice; a knife/cutting instrument, blunt object, or other means (fire, asphyxiation, personal weapons).

Understanding that parricide offenders are not limited to adult males in single-victim, single-offender incidents allows for the implication of preventative measures to include juveniles and females, however, designing interventions for such a low base rate phenomenon is next to impossible. To some extent, every parricide incident has unique qualities and there is not likely a common trait shared amongst parricide offenders that distinguish them from any other person. When individuals display antisocial behaviors or suffer from a mental illness, mental health services need to be provided. Individuals being abused by a parent or stepparent need to know what resources are available for help. The implication of preventative measures can improve the quality of life and reduce the killing of parents.

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