

Gun-Free Zones and K-12 Schools: July 9th Legislative meeting of the Joint Performance Review Committee

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General Points

- Gun control
- Mental health
 - Monday morning quarterbacking
- Limited openings to school, metal detectors
- Police or armed School Resource Officers
- Allowing teachers and staff to carry

Gun Control: Some of the Proposals by Stoneman Douglas High School Student

- **Ban semi-automatic weapons that fire high-velocity rounds**
 - AR-15, military-style weapons
 - semi-auto v manually loaded guns
- **Require national registration of guns**
 - Will it help solve crime?
 - Not obvious how it is directly related to mass public shootings, most of these killers die in the attack

- **Universal background checks**
 - Background checks would not have prevented a single mass public shooting in this century
 - 2000 to 2015, states that had universal background checks had [twice](#) the rate of mass public shootings as those that didn't have that law
 - Costs
- **Raise the firearm purchase age to 21**
 - [65 U.S. mass public shootings](#) since 1998, 11 attacks were carried out by people under age 21 – six by people who were already too young to legally purchase their guns and five where increasing the age limit could make a difference.
 - Young people also face threats from crime.

Mental Illness

- Of the mass public shootings since 1998, 60 percent of the killers were seeing psychologists or Psychiatrists prior to their attacks.
 - Only one was identified as a danger to themselves or others: Sutherland Springs church shooting
 - Academic literature on inability to identify those who are a real danger to others
- Easy to interpret comments or actions as being significant in hindsight
- Not all attackers mentally ill
- If you can't be sure that you can identify all those who will attack, what is your

Police/Armed School Resource Officers

- Police are very important in fighting crime
- Strategic advantages of terrorists/mass public shooters
 - Police/SROs have an almost impossible job:
 - But officers become the first targets in these attacks
 - If you are going to have uniformed officers, one has real limits.
 - Charlie Hebdo, Orlando, Istanbul nightclub, Red Lake School Shooting
- Israel
- Costly
 - New Florida law provides almost \$500 million to put one officer in each of the state's 4,200 public schools
- Very boring job

Limited Openings/Metal Detectors

- Schools have multiple entrances for a reason
- Single entrance creates it's own safety hazards
 - crowded bottlenecks of people that present easy targets to attackers
- Exits that are designed to only open from inside the building can be propped open
 - Aurora, Colorado Batman Movie Theater
- Metal detectors won't stop someone from shooting their way into a school

Allow staff to defend themselves

- Behavior of Permit Holders
- Specific concerns about the risks of permit holders carrying guns on campus
- Possible benefits of people carrying

Behavior of Permit Holders

- Permit holders are incredibly law abiding
- Now about 17 Million Permit holders
 - Revocations of permits for any reason in different states at tenths or hundredths of one percent
 - Revocations for firearms related violations at thousandths or tens of thousandths of one percent

- Texas: Had 1 million permits and there were 108 permit holders who were convicted of a misdemeanor or a felony in 2015. Revocation rate for any reason is about 0.010%.
- Florida: Between 10/1/87 and 5/31/12 - 2.1 million people got permits. 168 revoked for firearms related violations (0.008%), most trivial
- Comparison to Police Officers (Data from Police Quarterly for crimes between January 1, 2005 through December 31, 2007)

No other group as law-abiding

- Comparing Police to Texas Permit Holders (Texas Department of Public Safety)
- Study in Police Quarterly, December 2010

	Misdemeanors or Felonies	Firearms violations
Police January 1, 2005 through December 31, 2007	0.102% = 703/683,396 full-time officers, yearly rate	0.017% = 118/683,396 full-time officers, Yearly rate
Texas Permit holders in 2015	0.0102% = 108/1 million permit holders	0.0024% = 24/1 million permit holders
Ratio of Police to Texas Permit Holders	10 times	7.08 times

Experience with K-12 Schools Around the Country

- Extensive experience
 - **20 states** that have, to varying degrees, teachers or staff carry
 - Arkansas (with approval of the superintendent) — February 26, 2018, Teachers in 20 schools allowed to carry concealed handgun
 - States with the most extensive teachers and staff carrying.
 - Utah, Alabama, New Hampshire
 - Texas (with the school's permission) — 172 school districts
 - Kansas (with school district approval), Mississippi (with school board approval), Missouri (with school board approval), Missouri (with school board approval)
 - But these legal restrictions didn't exist in states allowing concealed carry before the early 1990s.

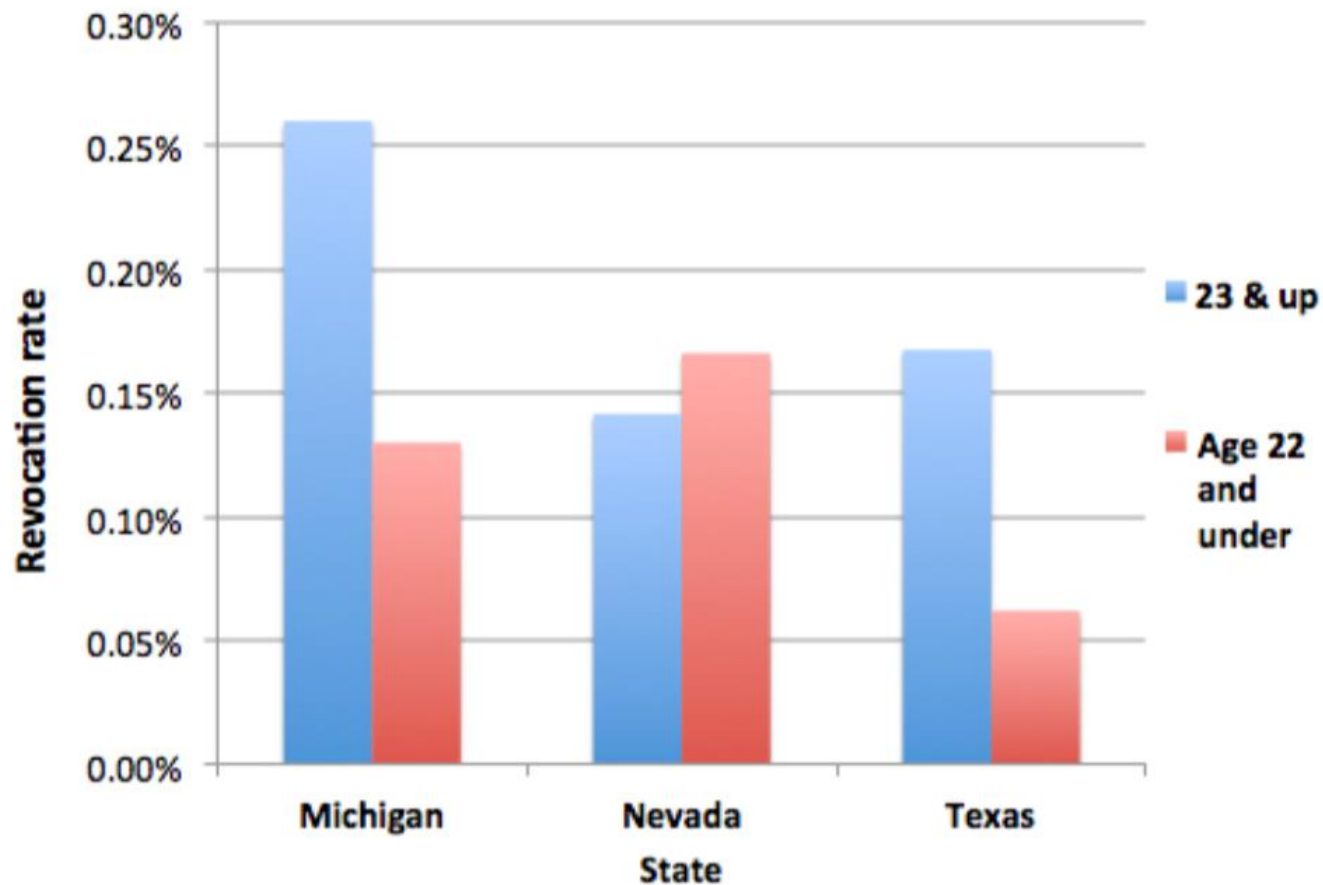
Accidents/Lose Control of guns

- Accidental Discharges by teachers or staff in K-12
 - Westbrook Elementary School, Salt Lake City, Utah, September, 2014
- Accidental discharges in Firearms training classes
 - Seaside High School, California, March 13, 2018
 - Glenwood School, Omaha, Nebraska, January 24, 2014
 - Stillwater, Oklahoma, April 16, 2013
- Accidental discharges of firearms by police
 - George Washington Middle School, Alexandria, Virginia, March 13, 2018

Specific Risks at Universities

- **Concerns about drinking and irresponsible behavior** – the behavior of young people in general doesn't necessarily tell you anything about the behavior of permit holders
- **Not one single example** where a permit holder who has been allowed to carry on a university campus has committed a crime
- **Accidents**
 - **6 accidents** Colorado, Idaho, Mississippi, Texas, and Utah – none life threatening

Revocation rates for any reason for college age students versus older people








Risks of Permit Holders in Stopping Mass Public Shootings

- Most common concerns
 - Accidentally Shoot Bystanders
 - Shot by police
 - Yet, if you look at all the mass public shootings that have been stopped by permit holders, neither type of event has actually occurred
 - <https://tinyurl.com/ycyjr42e>






PoliceOne's Gun Policy & Law Enforcement survey was conducted between March 4 and March 13, 2013

- 450,000 members, 380,000 full-time active law enforcement, 70,000 retired law enforcement
- Officer: 30.5%, Sergeant: 20.4%, Detective: 9.8%, Lieutenant: 9.0%, Deputy: 7.8%, Chief: 4.8%, Assistant Chief: 1.6%, Captain: 3.8%, Sheriff: 0.7%, Other: 10.5%
- From a representative set of department sizes



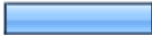





22. Considering the particulars of recent tragedies like Newtown and Aurora, what level of impact do you think a legally-armed citizen could have made? Choose the statement that you feel is most accurate:

		Response Percent	Response Count
Innocent casualties would likely have been avoided altogether		6.2%	865
Casualties would likely have been reduced		80.0%	11,215
There would have been no difference in outcome		4.1%	568
An active gunfight might have resulted in greater loss of innocent lives		5.5%	767
Unsure or prefer not to answer		4.3%	607
	answered question		14,022

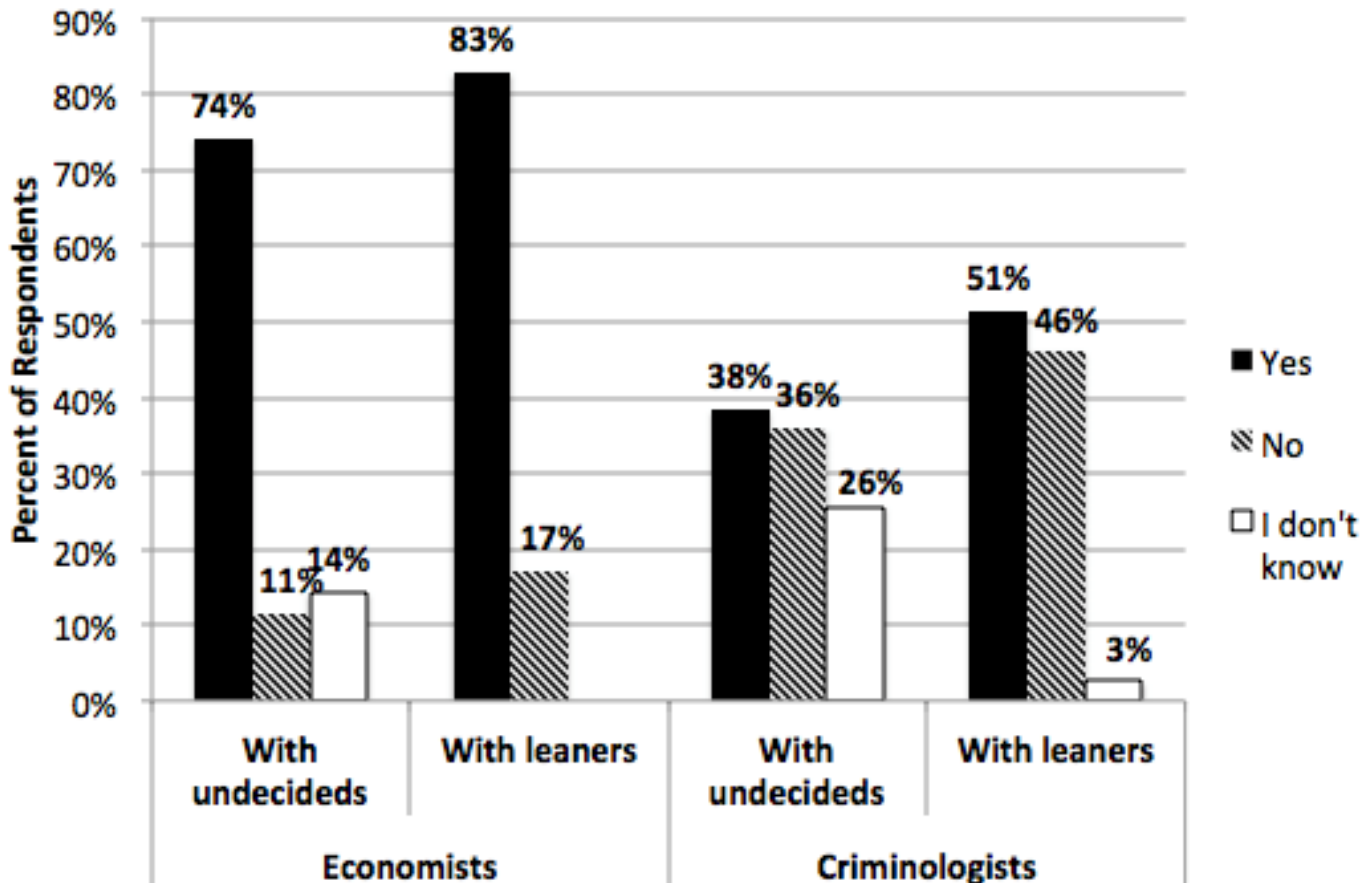
23. Do you support arming teachers and/or school administrators who volunteer to carry at their school? Choose the statement you most agree with:

		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, if they are vetted, trained, and qualified annually		76.6%	10,745
Yes, if they pass a one-time police-level proficiency check		4.7%	662
No, only sworn school resource officers should be armed		15.8%	2,219
No, our schools should be considered 'gun free zones'		1.5%	212
Unsure/No		1.3%	184
		answered question	14,022

21. What would help most in preventing large scale shootings in public? Choose the selection you feel would have the most impact:

		Response Percent	Response Count
Improved background screening to determine mental wellness of gun purchasers		14.0%	1,966
Longer prison terms for gun-related violent crimes		7.9%	1,105
More aggressive institutionalization for mentally ill persons		19.6%	2,749
More legislative restrictions on "assault weapons" and ammo magazines		0.9%	128
Tighter limits on weapons sales and transfers		1.5%	214
More armed guards/paid security personnel		15.8%	2,220
More permissive concealed carry policies for civilians		28.8%	4,035
Other (please add)		11.4%	1,605
		answered question	14,022

Question 2: Are gun-free zones, areas where civilians are banned from having guns, more likely to attract criminals than they are to deter them?



- Regulation, Summer 2016, Vol. 39, No. 2

Mass Public Killers

- Motivated by desire to commit suicide, but they want to kill as many as possible so as to obtain media attention
- Killers so explicitly pick places where others don't have guns
 - Detroit (2/2016): ISIS supporter, Khalil Abu-Rayyan explained his choice of Church target this way: “A lot of people go there. Plus people are not allowed to carry guns in church. Plus it would make the news. Everybody would've heard.”
 - Aurora, Colorado
 - Charleston
 - Santa Barbara
 - New Brunswick, Canada
 - Going all the way back to the Columbine attack

- Ron Noble, Secretary-General of the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol) from 2000 to 2014
- Since at least 1950, all but seven public mass shootings in America (about 98%) have taken place where general citizens are banned from carrying guns.
- Research with Bill Landes at the University of Chicago
 - Relative drops in different types of crime
 - Israel data
- Mass Public Shootings around the world (1998 to 2012)

Figure 1A: Mass Public Shooting Murders by Geographic Region (per 100,000 people)

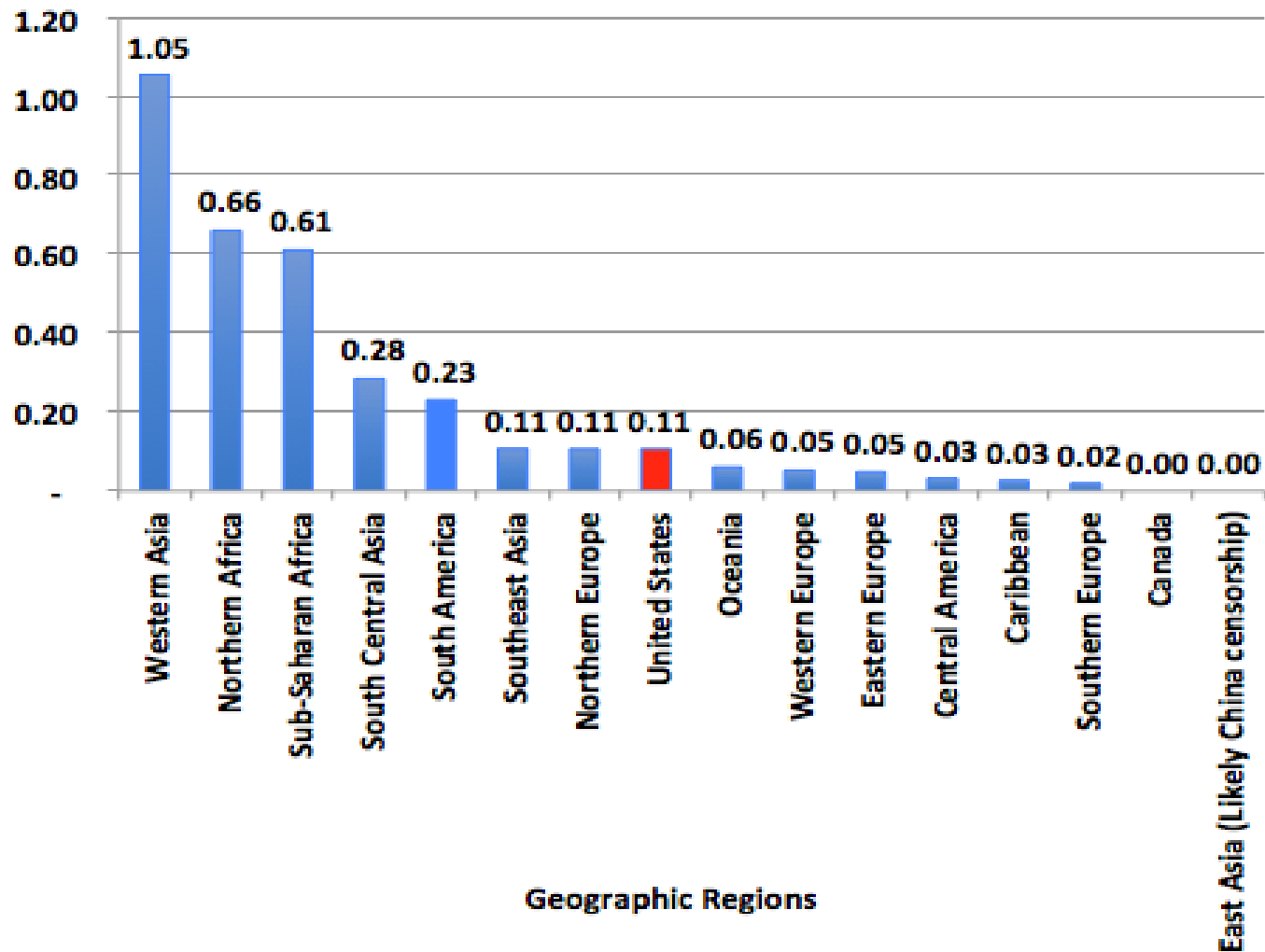


Figure 1D: Mass Public Shooting Attacks by Geographic Region (per 1 million people)

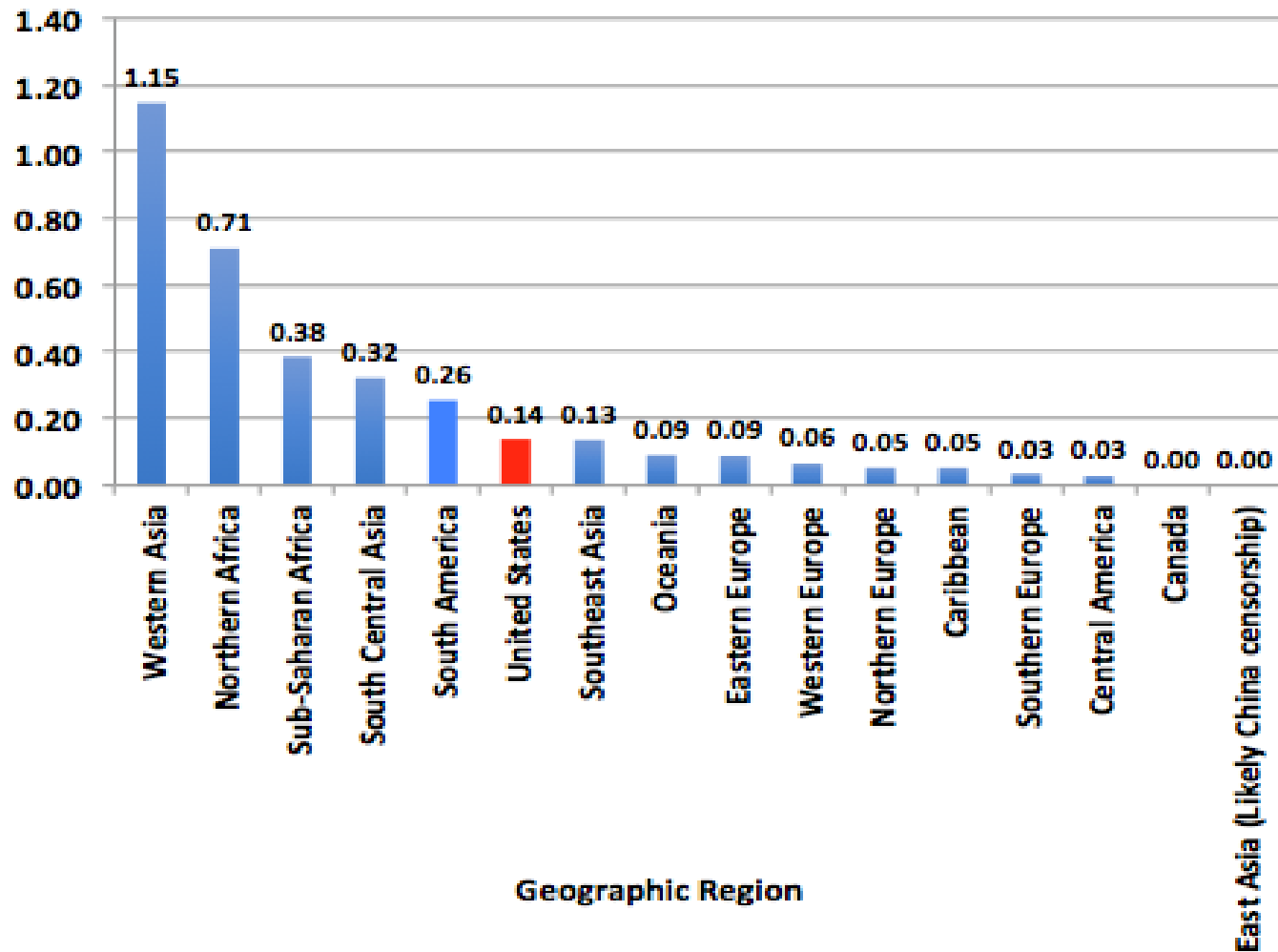
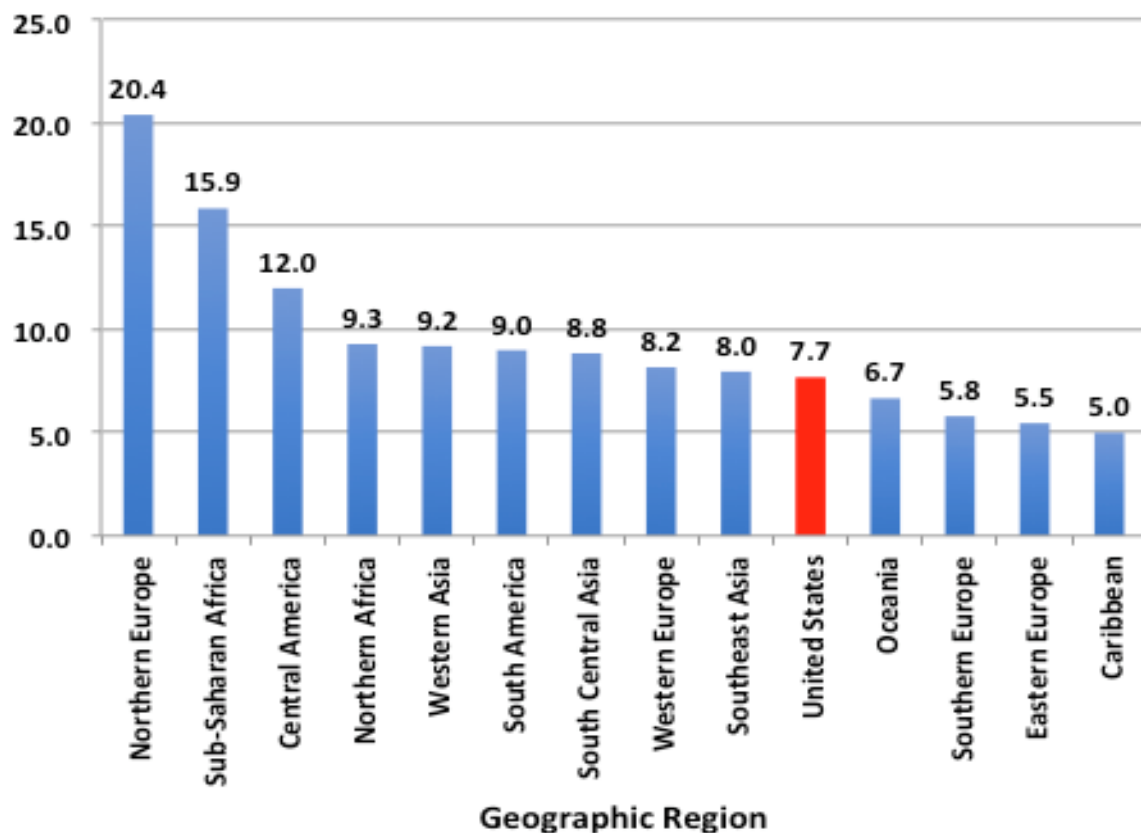


Figure 2: How Deadly are Mass Public Shootings in Different Parts of the World: Number of People Killed per attack



Mass Public Shootings in Europe and the EU (January 2009 through December 2015, EU countries are shown in bold)

Date	Year	Month	Day	Location	Country	Fatalities (Not	Non-fatal Injuries	Europe	Population	Fatalities Per Million	Injuries Per Million	Casualties Per Million	Shooters
03d11d2009	2009	3	11	Winnenden	Germany	13	7	1	79,925,008	0.163	0.088	0.250	Tim Kretschmer
12d31d2009	2009	12	31	Espoo	Finland	5	0	1	5,426,162	0.921	0.000	0.921	Ibrahim Shkupolli
06d02d2010	2010	6	2	Cumbria	England	12	11	1	64,679,700	0.186	0.170	0.356	Derrick Bird
08d30d2010	2010	8	30	Devinska Nova Ves	Slovakia	7	15	1	5,415,949	1.292	2.770	4.062	Lubomir Harman
04d09d2011	2011	4	9	Alphen aan den Rijn	Netherlands	6	17	1	16,942,138	0.354	1.003	1.358	Tristan van der Vlis
22dJuld11	2011	7	22	Oslo and Utoya	Norway	67	110	1	5,068,421	13.219	21.703	34.922	Anders Behring Breivik
12d13d2011	2011	12	13	Liege	Belgium	6	125	1	11,151,966	0.538	11.209	11.747	Nordine Amrani
03d19d2012	2012	3	19	Toulouse	France	4	0	1	64,982,894	0.062	0.000	0.062	Mohammed Merah
04d12d2012	2012	4	12	Smilkovci	Macedonia	5	0	1	2,121,280	2.357	0.000	2.357	Alil Demiri, Afrim Ismail
09d05d2012	2012	9	5	Chevaline	France	4	0	1	64,982,894	0.062	0.000	0.062	
01d05d2012	2012	11	5	Moscow	Russia	6	1	1	146,270,033	0.041	0.007	0.048	Dmitry Vinogradov
02d27d2013	2013	2	27	Menznau	Switzerland	4	5	1	8,047,347	0.497	0.621	1.118	Viktor Berisha
04d09d2013	2013	4	9	Velika Ivanca	Serbia	13	1	1	7,123,368	1.825	0.140	1.965	Ljubisa Bogdanovich
04d22d2013	2013	4	22	Belgorod	Russia	6	1	1	146,270,033	0.041	0.007	0.048	Sergey Pomazun
09d16d2013	2013	9	16	Annaberg	Austria	4	1	1	8,438,592	0.474	0.119	0.593	Alois Huber
05d24d2014	2014	5	24	Brussels	Belgium	4	0	1	11,151,966	0.359	0.000	0.359	Mehdi Nemmouche
11d03d2014	2014	11	3	Tirana	Albania	4	2	1	2,774,000	1.442	0.721	2.163	Konstantin Dzhuvani
01d07d2015	2015	1	7	Paris	France	12	11	1	64,982,894	0.185	0.169	0.354	Cherif Kouachi, Said Kouachi
01d09d2015	2015	1	9	Paris	France	4	0	1	64,982,894	0.062	0.000	0.062	Amedy Coulibaly
02d24d2015	2015	2	24	Uhersky Brod	Czech Republic	9	1	1	10,460,843	0.860	0.096	0.956	Zdenek Kovar
05d10d2015	2015	5	10	Wurenlingen	Switzerland	4	0	1	8,047,347	0.497	0.000	0.497	
05d15d2015	2015	5	15	Naples	Italy	4	6	1	60,293,073	0.066	0.100	0.166	Giulio Murolo
05d17d2015	2015	5	17	Kanjiza	Serbia	6	0	1	7,123,368	0.842	0.000	0.842	
08d25d2015	2015	8	25	Roye	France	4	3	1	64,982,894	0.062	0.046	0.108	
11d13d2015	2015	11	13	Paris	France	130	368	1	64,982,894	2.001	5.663	7.664	
					Total Europe	343	685	25					
					EU Total	230	559	19	508,191,116	0.45	1.100	1.553	
					United States	199	197	25	323,301,078	0.62	0.609	1.225	

- If you were being stalked or threatened, would you post a sign announcing that your home is a gun-free zone? Would you feel safer?
- Victims, not Criminals, obey these signs. In fact, to criminals, gun-free zones look like easy targets.

FIGURE 1

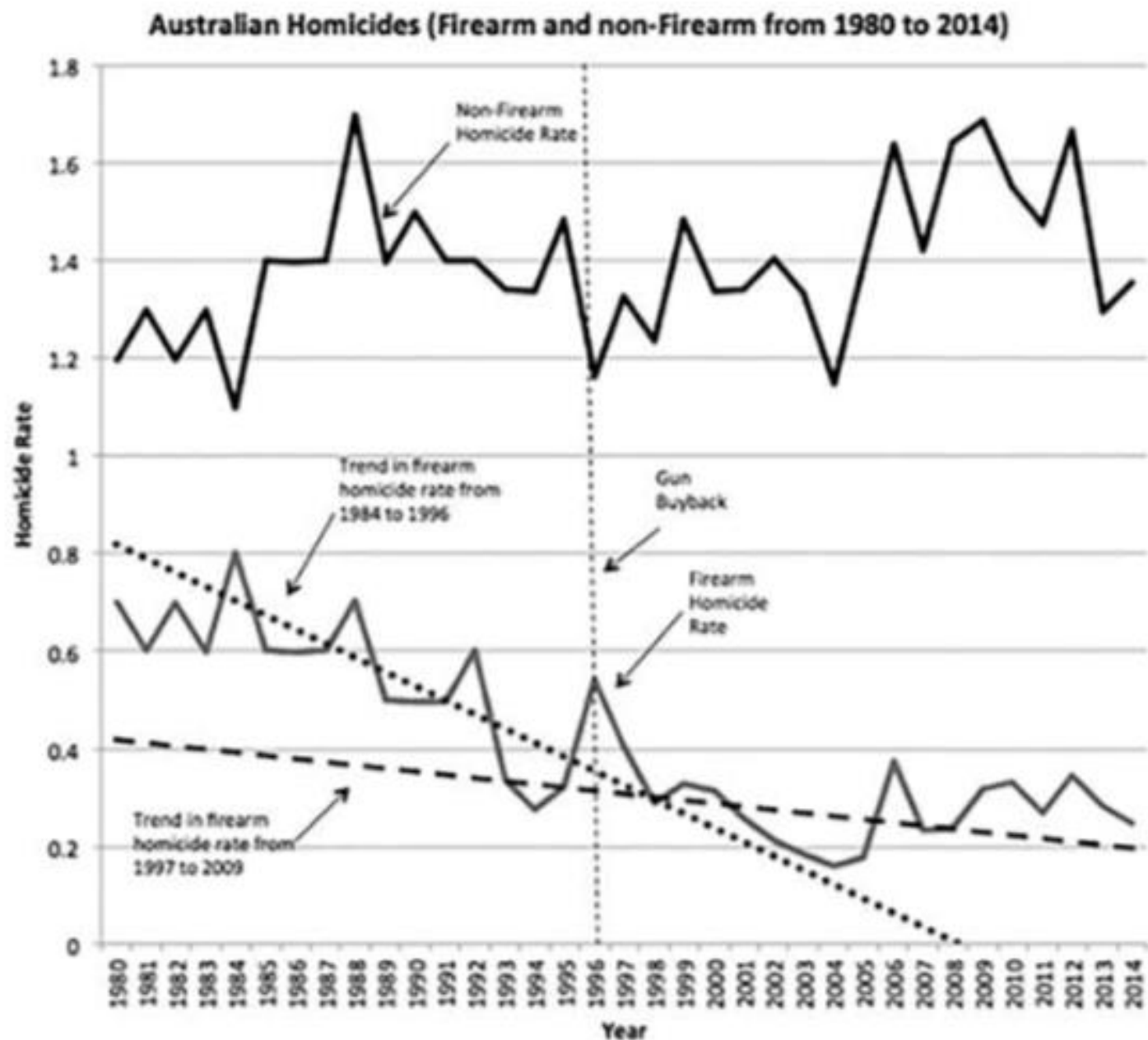
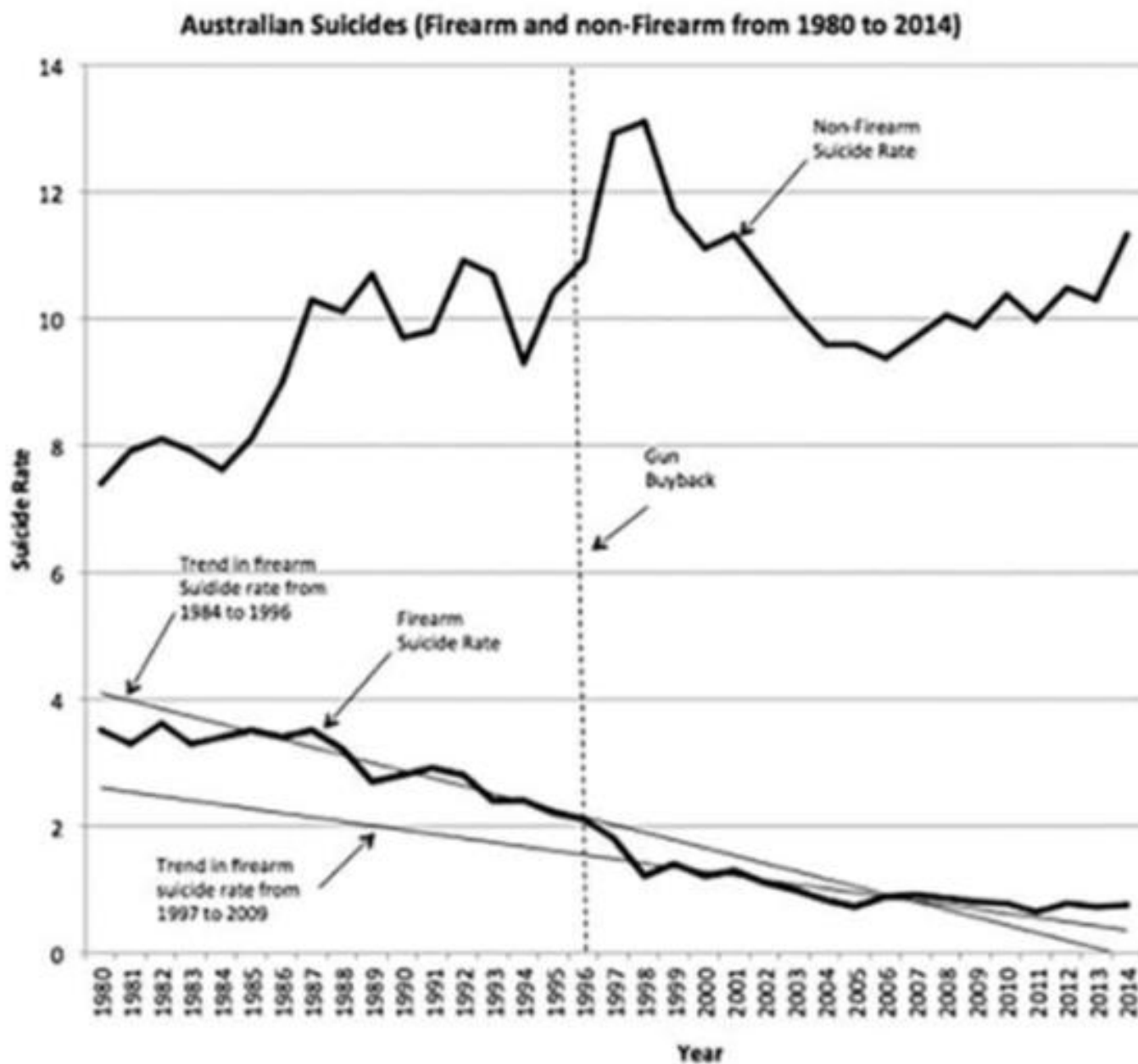
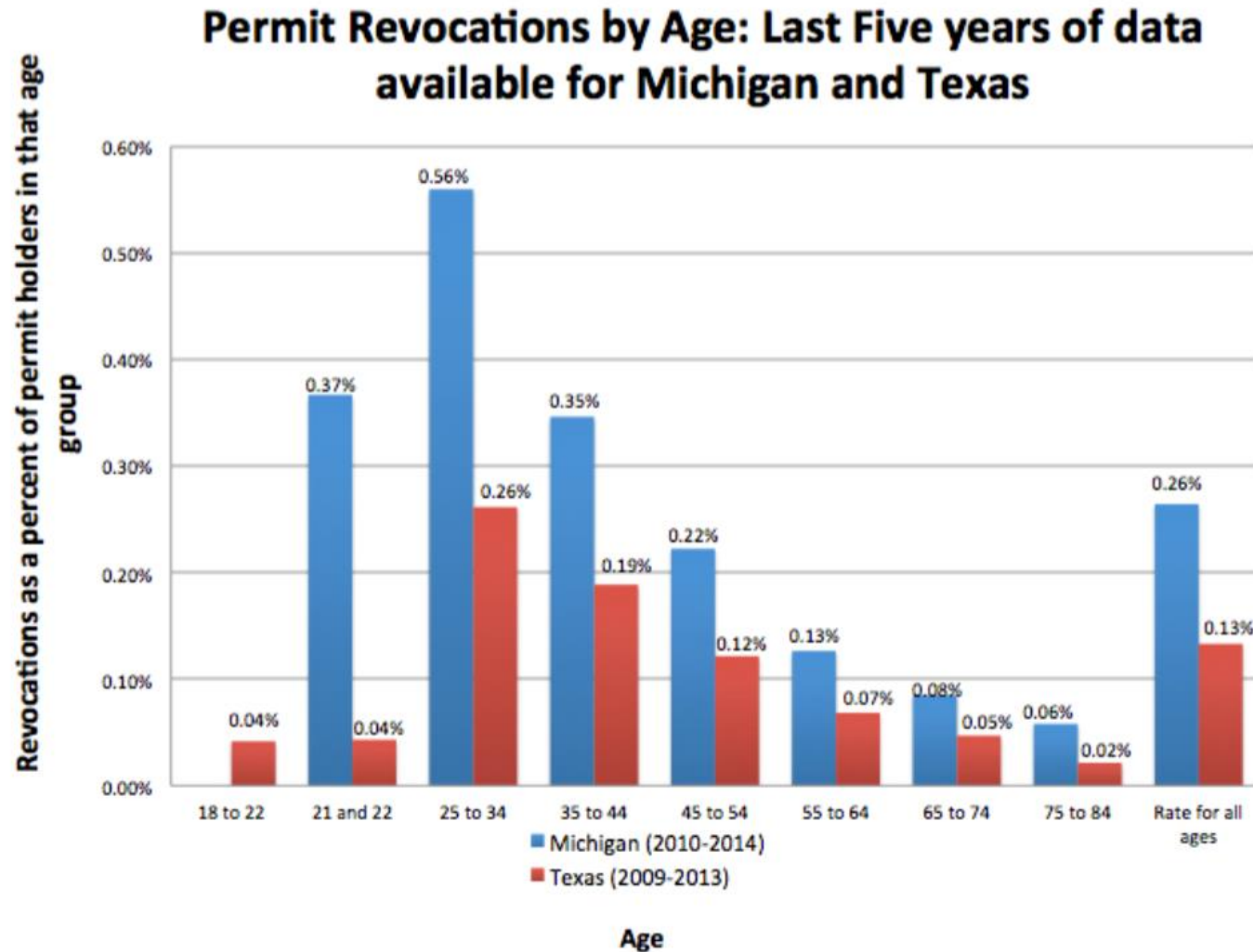


FIGURE 2



- Violence Policy Center
 - Claims over 8.75 years from January 2007 through September 2015 there were 763 deaths caused by permit holders
 - 278 of those were supposedly from Michigan, 215 of those are suicides
 - **quadruple** counting legitimate self-defense cases as criminal murders
 - blaming suicides on permits when the suicides don't even involve guns or outside of home
 - Michigan permit holders have a suicide rate 40% lower than rest of Michigan adults
 - 24 murders and accidents that they claim have occurred up through the end of September this year
 - Assume that their numbers mean something for a moment. 13 million permit holders this year either purposefully or accidentally killed someone at an annual rate of 2 ten-thousandths of one percent (**0.0002 percent**)


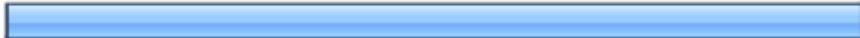

Comparing College Age Students to the Rest of the Population



5. What effect do you think a federal ban on manufacture and sale of some semi-automatic firearms, termed by some as "assault weapons," would have on reducing violent crime?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Significant		1.6%	227
Moderate		6.0%	885
None		71.0%	10,397
Negative		20.5%	3,004
Unsure		0.9%	129
		answered question	14,642

6. Do you think a federal ban on manufacture and sale of ammunition magazines that hold more than 10 rounds would reduce violent crime?

			Response Percent	Response Count
Yes			2.7%	391
No			95.7%	14,013
Unsure			1.6%	238
			answered question	14,642