KH Anglais Presse	File 14 – Guns in the United States	May 2024

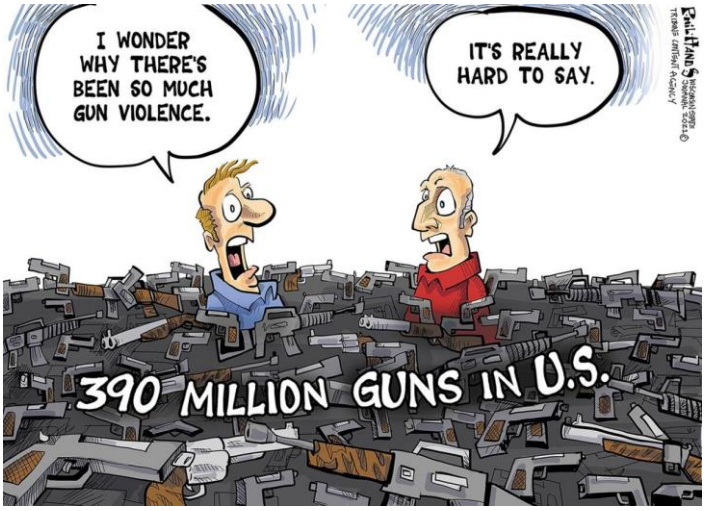
Check what you know:

The Second Amendment
"Stand your ground" law
Background checks
Red flag laws
Conceal carry
Open carry
Bump stock
NRA
Gun control
Gun rights
Gun laws
Mass shooting
Starbucks' gun policy
Federal Assault Weapons Ban
Brady Bill
Gabrielle Giffords
Columbine
Sandy Hook

A few video documents

See the video "Guns in Classrooms" on Cahier de Prépa

•PBS News Hour, May 2022
Bipartisan group of lawmakers look for solutions on gun violence
https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/bipartisan-group-of-lawmakers-look-for-solutions-on-gun-violence
• Channel News, Will anything ever change? America's history of gun control explained
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g1_kMdqw-ew&ab_channel=Channel4News
• VOX, How the NRA hijacks the gun control debate
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qcJeOphUtek&ab_channel=Vox
•VOX, The gun solution we're not talking about
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ENw2y0ek1Jg&ab_channel=Vox
• NPR, "Teens On Guns in America", (URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yxGrsxpcqeA), February 7, 2019.
• CBS, "The New Pro-Gun Generation", (URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DBUOQIhsldU) , October 28, 2023.
• PBS, "What you need to know about the new federal gun violence prevention office", (URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=odQqVFWZ47g), September 23, 2023.
•PBS, "2024 brings new gun restrictions in several states", (URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w_UUyB6SvcI), January 4, 2024.
• CBS, "A history of guns in America", (URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ul6sv7fqKKA), July 31, 2016.
• CNBC, "How Guns Are Advertised In The U.S.", (URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ks2_wY7f-MM), July 26, 2022.



Document 1 - America's Gun Problem

More guns in the U.S. mean more deaths.

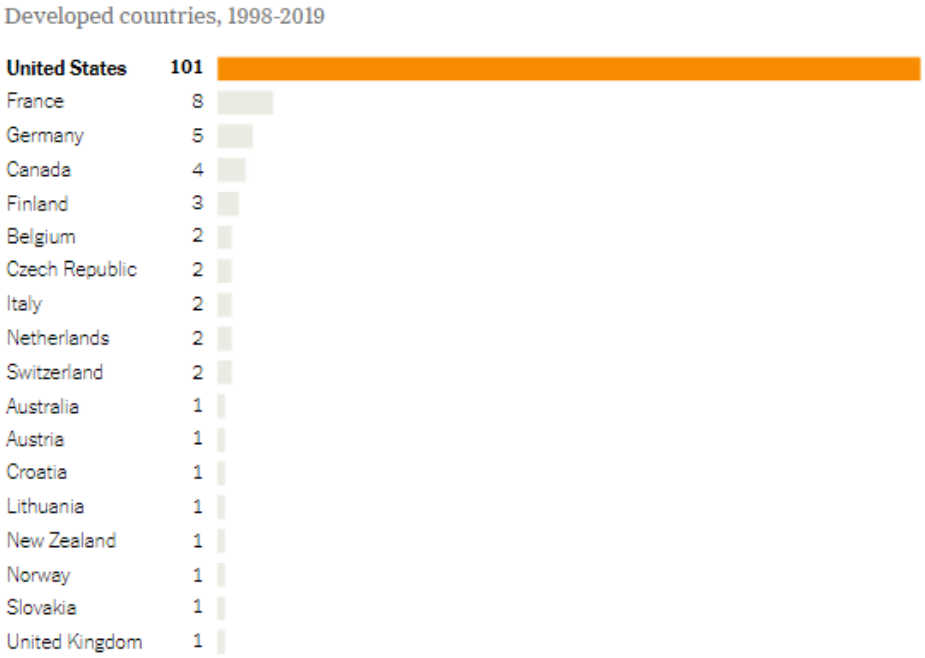
By German Lopez, The Morning Newsletter, *New York Times*, May 26, 2022

In every country, people get into arguments, hold racist views or suffer from mental health issues. But in the U.S., it is easier for those people to pick up a gun and shoot someone.

That reality is what allowed an 18-year-old to obtain an assault rifle and kill 19 children and two teachers at an elementary school classroom in Uvalde, Texas, on Tuesday. And it is what makes the U.S. a global outlier when it comes to gun violence, with more gun deaths than any of its peers.

This chart, looking at public shootings in which four or more people were killed, shows how much the U.S. stands out:

Number of mass shootings



Source: Jason R. Silva, William Paterson University

In today's newsletter, I want to walk through three ways to think about America's gun problem.

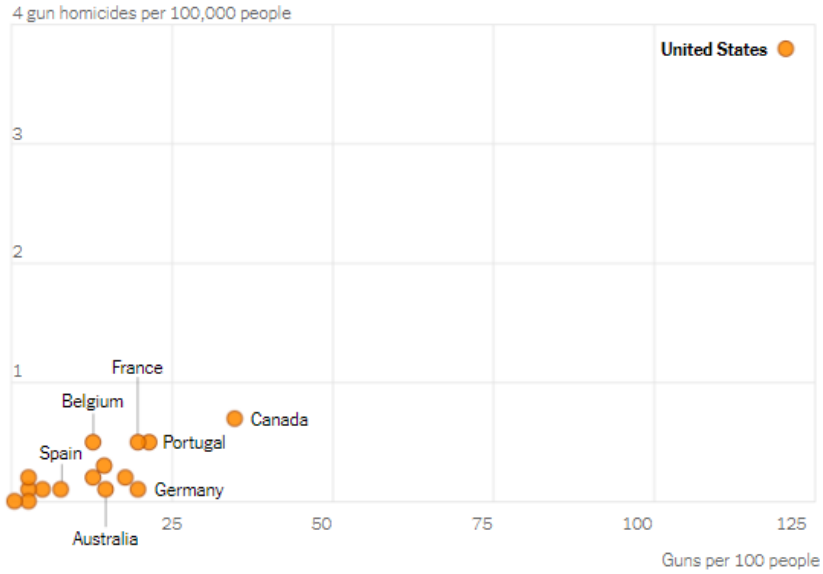
The number of guns

Where there are more guns, there are more gun deaths. Studies have found this to be true at the state and national level. It is true for homicides, suicides, mass shootings and even police shootings.

It is an intuitive idea: If guns are more available, people will use them more often. If you replaced "guns" in that sentence with another noun, it would be so obvious as to be banal.

Stricter gun laws appear to help. They are associated with fewer gun deaths, in both a domestic and global context, while looser gun laws are linked with more gun deaths.

Gun ownership and homicide rates in developed countries



Ownership rates are for 2017 and homicide rates are for 2018.

Source: Small Arms Survey

But federal laws are lax. Other developed countries typically require at least a license to own a gun, if they allow someone to get a firearm at all. In the U.S., even a background check is not always required to buy a gun — a result of poor enforcement and legal loopholes.

Reducing mass shootings

The U.S. is always going to have more guns, and consequently more deaths, than other rich countries. Given the Second Amendment, mixed public opinion and a closely divided federal government, lawmakers face sharp limits on how far they can go.

But since America's gun laws are so weak, there is a lot of room to improve — and at least cut some gun deaths.

To reduce mass shootings, experts have several ideas:

More thorough background checks might stop some gunmen, like those in the church shootings in Charleston, S.C., in 2015 and in Sutherland Springs, Texas, in 2017.

"Red flag" laws allow law enforcement officials to confiscate guns from people who display warning signs of violence, like threatening their peers or family members. The laws might have applied to the gunman in the Parkland, Fla., school shooting in 2018.

Assault weapon bans would restrict or prohibit access to the kinds of rifles shooters often use. A ban could at least make mass shootings less deadly by pushing gunmen toward less effective weapons, some experts argue.

But it is hard to say exactly how much impact these measures would have, because little good research exists on the effects of gun policies on mass shootings. One unanswered question is whether a determined gunman would find a way to bypass the laws: If he can't use an assault rifle, would he resort to a handgun or shotgun? That could make the shooting less deadly, but not stop it altogether.

The bigger problem

Most shootings in America never appear in national headlines. The majority of gun deaths in 2021 were suicides. Nearly half were homicides that occurred outside mass shootings; they are more typical acts of violence on streets and in homes (and most involve handguns). Mass shootings were responsible for less than 2 percent of last year's gun deaths.

Stricter gun laws could also reduce the more common gun deaths. It all comes down to the same problem: More guns equal more gun deaths, whether a gang shootout in California, a suicide in Wyoming or a school shooting in Texas.

Document 2 - **Gun-ownership in America is diversifying, because of safety fears**

Concerns over safety lead more women and minorities to arm themselves

The Economist, Jan 22nd 2022

Picture a gunslinger and Annette Evans probably does not spring to mind. She is Chinese-American, lives in the suburbs of Philadelphia and identifies herself as socially liberal—not the archetypal conservative, rural white man. Yet she owns over a dozen rifles, pistols and shotguns ("one for every occasion, like purses or shoes") and teaches self-defence courses to women. Her race and gender put her at risk, she says. "It may be a low chance that I'll run into someone who will kill me, but without a gun, I'll die."

More gun-owners, especially new ones, look like Ms Evans. Of the 7.5m Americans who bought firearms for the first time between January 2019 and April 2021—as gun-buying surged nationwide—half were female, a fifth black and a fifth Hispanic, according to a recent study by Matthew Miller of Northeastern University and his co-authors. The share of black adults who joined the gun-owning ranks, 5.3%, was more than twice that of white adults. That is new: in a previous survey, in 2015, new buyers skewed white and male, though they were more politically liberal than long-standing ones. Overall, today's gun-owners are still largely white (73%) and male (63%). But they are diversifying.

Gun culture has broadened its appeal. Decades ago most people bought guns for hunting and recreational shooting. Now they mostly do so for self-defence, which is a universal concern. People who feel vulnerable to crime or hold less faith in the police are more likely to arm themselves.

Rising murder rates in 2020 and 2021 heightened those anxieties (blacks are the likeliest victims). Membership of the National African American Gun Association grew in 2020 by more than 25%, to 40,000. Blacks have a long history of owning guns: Harriet Tubman toted them, Martin Luther King kept them at home. But this tradition was long "surreptitious", says Aqil Qadir, a third-generation shooter who runs a firearms-training centre in Tennessee.

Many of the newer gun-owners see firearms as an equaliser—a remedy for the vulnerability they feel. The Pink Pistols, an LGBT group, proclaims "armed queers don't get bashed". "God made man and woman, but Sam Colt made them equal," goes a markswoman's maxim. Women's gun-ownership has always trailed that among men: women tended to shoot because men in the family did. But Robyn Sandoval, boss of A Girl and a Gun, a shooting group, increasingly sees women buying guns on their own initiative: a third of new joiners to her organisation in 2021 said they were the only shooter in their family.

The broadening tent is good for manufacturers and bad for gun-control advocates. Owners are more politically active around gun issues than non-owners. Already it may have had an effect. According to polling by Gallup, in 2021 support for stricter laws dropped by five percentage points, to its lowest in seven years. ■

Document 3 - **Gun Control, Explained**

A quick guide to the debate over gun legislation in the United States.

By ***The New York Times*** Jan. 26, 2023

As the number of mass shootings in America continues to rise, gun control — a term used to describe a wide range of restrictions and measures aimed at controlling the use of firearms — remains at the center of heated discussions among proponents and opponents of stricter gun laws.

To help understand the debate and its political and social implications, we addressed some key questions on the subject.

Is gun control effective?

Throughout the world, mass shootings have frequently been met with a common response: Officials impose new restrictions on gun ownership. Mass shootings become rarer. Homicides and suicides tend to decrease, too.

After a British gunman killed 16 people in 1987, the country banned semiautomatic weapons like the ones he had used. It did the same with most handguns after a school shooting in 1996. It now has one of the lowest gun-related death rates in the developed world.

In Australia, a 1996 massacre prompted mandatory gun buybacks in which, by some estimates, as many as one million firearms were then melted into slag. The rate of mass shootings plummeted.

Only the United States, whose rate and severity of mass shootings is without parallel outside conflict zones, has so consistently refused to respond to those events with tightened gun laws.

Several theories to explain the number of shootings in the United States — like its unusually violent societal, class and racial divides, or its shortcomings in providing mental health care — have been debunked by research. But one variable remains: the astronomical number of guns in the country.

America's gun homicide rate was 33 per one million people in 2009, far exceeding the average among developed countries. In Canada and Britain, it was 5 per million and 0.7 per million, respectively, which also corresponds with differences in gun ownership.

Americans sometimes see this as an expression of its deeper problems with crime, a notion ingrained, in part, by a series of films portraying urban gang violence in the early 1990s. But the United States is not actually more prone to crime than other developed countries, according to a landmark 1999 study by Franklin E. Zimring and Gordon Hawkins of the University of California, Berkeley.

Rather, they found, in data that has since been repeatedly confirmed, that American crime is simply more lethal. A New Yorker is just as likely to be robbed as a Londoner, for instance, but the New Yorker is 54 times more likely to be killed in the process.

They concluded that the discrepancy, like so many other anomalies of American violence, came down to guns.

More gun ownership corresponds with more gun murders across virtually every axis: among developed countries, among American states, among American towns and cities and when controlling for crime rates. And gun control legislation tends to reduce gun murders, according to a recent analysis of 130 studies from 10 countries.

This suggests that the guns themselves cause the violence. — ***Max Fisher and Josh Keller, Why Does the U.S. Have So Many Mass Shootings? Research Is Clear: Guns.***

Every mass shooting is, in some sense, a fringe event, driven by one-off factors like the ideology or personal circumstances of the assailant. The risk is impossible to fully erase.

Still, the record is confirmed by reams of studies that have analyzed the effects of policies like Britain's and Australia's: When countries tighten gun control laws, it leads to fewer guns in private citizens' hands, which leads to less gun violence.

What gun control measures exist at the federal level?

Much of current federal gun control legislation is a baseline, governing who can buy, sell and use certain classes of firearms, with states left free to enact additional restrictions.

Dealers must be licensed, and run background checks to ensure their buyers are not "prohibited persons," including felons or people with a history of domestic violence — though private sellers at gun shows or online marketplaces are not required to run background checks. Federal law also highly restricts the sale of certain firearms, such as fully automatic rifles.

The most recent federal legislation, a bipartisan effort passed last year after a gunman killed 19 children and two teachers at an elementary school in Uvalde, Texas, expanded background checks for buyers under 21 and closed what is known as the boyfriend loophole. It also strengthened existing bans on gun trafficking and straw purchasing.

— Aishvarya Kavi

What are gun buyback programs and do they work?

Gun buyback programs are short-term initiatives that provide incentives, such as money or gift cards, to convince people to surrender firearms to law enforcement, typically with no questions asked. These events are often held by governments or private groups at police stations, houses of worship and community centers. Guns that are collected are either destroyed or stored.

Most programs strive to take guns off the streets, provide a safe place for firearm disposal and stir cultural changes in a community, according to Gun by Gun, a nonprofit dedicated to preventing gun violence.

The first formal gun buyback program was held in Baltimore in 1974 after three police officers were shot

and killed, according to the authors of the book "Why We Are Losing the War on Gun Violence in the United States." The initiative collected more than 13,000 firearms, but failed to reduce gun violence in the city. Hundreds of other buyback programs have since unfolded across the United States.

In 1999, President Bill Clinton announced the nation's first federal gun buyback program. The $15 million program provided grants of up to $500,000 to police departments to buy and destroy firearms. Two years later, the Senate defeated efforts to extend financing for the program after the Bush administration called for it to end.

Despite the popularity of gun buyback programs among certain anti-violence and anti-gun advocates, there is little data to suggest that they work. A study by the National Bureau of Economic Research, a private nonprofit, found that buyback programs adopted in U.S. cities were ineffective in deterring gun crime, firearm-related homicides or firearm-related suicides. . Evidence showed that cities set the sale price of a firearm too low to considerably reduce the supply of weapons; most who participated in such initiatives came from low-crime areas and firearms that were typically collected were either older or not in good working order.

Dr. Brendan Campbell, a pediatric surgeon at Connecticut Children's Medical Center and an author of one chapter in "Why We Are Losing the War on Gun Violence in the United States," said that buyback programs should collect significantly more firearms than they currently do in order to be more effective.

Dr. Campbell said they should also offer higher prices for handguns and assault rifles. "Those are the ones that are most likely to be used in crime," and by people attempting suicide, he said. "If you just give $100 for whatever gun, that's when you'll end up with all these old, rusted guns that are a low risk of causing harm in the community."

Mandatory buyback programs have been enacted elsewhere around the world. After a mass shooting in 1996, Australia put in place a nationwide buyback program, collecting somewhere between one in five and one in three privately held guns. The initiative mostly targeted semiautomatic rifles and many shotguns that, under new laws, were no longer permitted. New Zealand banned military-style semiautomatic weapons, assault rifles and some gun parts and began its own large-scale buyback program in 2019, after a terrorist attack on mosques in Christchurch. The authorities said that more than 56,000 prohibited firearms had been collected from about 32,000 people through the initiative.

Where does the U.S. public stand on the issue?

Expanded background checks for guns purchased routinely receive more than 80 or 90 percent support in polling.

Nationally, a majority of Americans have supported stricter gun laws for decades. A Gallup poll conducted in June found that 55 percent of participants were in favor of a ban on the manufacture, possession and sale of semiautomatic guns. A majority of respondents also supported other measures, including raising the legal age at which people can purchase certain firearms, and enacting a 30-day waiting period for gun sales.

But the jumps in demand for gun control that occur after mass shootings also tend to revert to the partisan mean as time passes. Gallup poll data shows that the percentage of participants who supported stricter gun laws receded to 57 percent in October from 66 percent in June, which was just weeks after mass shootings in Uvalde, Texas, and Buffalo. A PDK poll conducted after the shooting at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde found that 72 percent of Republicans supported arming teachers, in contrast with 24 percent of Democrats.

What do opponents of gun control argue?

Opponents of gun control, including most Republican members of Congress, argue that proposals to limit access to firearms infringe on the right of citizens to bear arms enshrined in the Second Amendment to the Constitution. And they contend that mass shootings are not the result of easily accessible guns, but of criminals and mentally ill people bent on waging violence.

— Annie Karni

Why is it so hard to push for legislation?

Polling suggests that Americans broadly support gun control measures, yet legislation is often stymied in Washington, and Republicans rarely seem to pay a political price for their opposition.

The calculation behind Republicans' steadfast stonewalling of any new gun regulations — even in the face of the kind unthinkable massacres like in Uvalde, Texas — is a fairly simple one for Senator Kevin Cramer of North Dakota.

Asked what the reaction would be from voters back home if he were to support any significant form of gun control, the first-term Republican had a straightforward answer: "Most would probably throw me out of office," he said.

His response helps explain why Republicans have resisted proposals such as the one for universal background checks for gun buyers, despite remarkably broad support from the public for such plans — support

that can reach up to 90 percent nationwide in some cases.

Republicans like Mr. Cramer understand that they would receive little political reward for joining the push for laws to limit access to guns, including assault-style weapons. But they know for certain that they would be pounded — and most likely left facing a primary opponent who could cost them their job — for voting for gun safety laws or even voicing support for them.

Most Republicans in the Senate represent deeply conservative states where gun ownership is treated as a sacred privilege enshrined in the Constitution, a privilege not to be infringed upon no matter how much blood is spilled in classrooms and school hallways around the country.

Though the National Rifle Association has recently been diminished by scandal and financial turmoil, Democrats say that the organization still has a strong hold on Republicans through its financial contributions and support, hardening the party's resistance to any new gun laws. — Carl Hulse, "Why Republicans Won't Budge on Guns."

Yet while the power of the gun lobby, the outsize influence of rural states in the Senate and single-voter issues offer some explanation, there is another possibility: voters.

When voters in four Democratic-leaning states got the opportunity to enact expanded gun or ammunition background checks into law, the overwhelming support suggested by national surveys was nowhere to be found. For Democrats, the story is both unsettling and familiar. Progressives have long been emboldened by national survey results that show overwhelming support for their policy priorities, only to find they don't necessarily translate to Washington legislation and to popularity on Election Day or beyond. President Biden's major policy initiatives are popular, for example, yet voters say he has not accomplished much and his approval ratings have sunk into the low 40s. The apparent progressive political majority in the polls might just be illusory.

Public support for new gun restrictions tends to rise in the wake of mass shootings. There is already evidence that public support for stricter gun laws has surged again in the aftermath of the killings in Buffalo and Uvalde, Texas. While the public's support for new restrictions tends to subside thereafter, these shootings or another could still produce a lasting shift in public opinion.

But the poor results for background checks suggest that public opinion may not be the unequivocal ally of gun control that the polling makes it seem. — ***Nate Cohn, "Voters Say They Want Gun Control. Their Votes Say Something Different."***

Document 4 - **Kamala Harris Visits Parkland and Urges States to Adopt Red-Flag Gun Laws**

At the site of the 2018 school shooting in Florida, the vice president announced federal help for states to limit weapon access for people deemed to be threats.

By Michael D. Shear, *The New York Times,* March 23, 2024

Vice President Kamala Harris on Saturday toured the still-bloody and bullet-pocked classroom building in Parkland, Fla., where a gunman killed 14 students and three staff members in 2018, using the grim backdrop to announce a new federal resource center and to call for stricter enforcement of gun laws.

The freshman building at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School had been preserved as evidence for criminal trials and is set to be demolished this summer. For now, it remains a memorial to one of the most shocking mass shootings in the history of the United States.

In remarks after taking her tour and meeting for more than an hour with family members of victims of the attack, Ms. Harris said the experience had been a compelling one. "Let us, through the courage and the call to action of these families, find it in ourselves to consider what they've been through as some level of motivation and inspiration for all of us," she said. "This school is soon going to be torn down," the vice president added. "But the memory of it will never be erased."

Ms. Harris said the attack, carried out by a former student with a history of mental health and behavior problems, should prompt officials around the country to embrace local red-flag laws. These allow courts to temporarily seize firearms and other dangerous weapons when they believe a person may be a threat to themselves or others. The Parkland shooter had purchased his gun legally.

In her remarks, Ms. Harris announced the creation of the National Extreme Risk Protection Order Resource Center, which White House officials said would provide training and technical assistance to states as they work to implement their red-flag laws.

"Red-flag laws are simply designed to allow communities a vehicle through which they can share, and have somewhere to share it, information about the concern about the potential danger or the crying out for help of an individual," she said.

In her brief remarks, Ms. Harris said that only 21 states had passed red-flag laws and that only six of those had accepted the Biden administration's offer of financial resources to help implement them.

"I challenge the others: 'Come on over. We've got some resources for you to help you implement the work that you have done,'" she said.

The visit by Ms. Harris to the school is part of the administration's broader effort to increase gun control measures as the United States continues to suffer regular episodes of devastating gun violence, sometimes targeting young people in schools.

In 2022, President Biden signed into law the first significant federal gun control measure in decades. The law expanded the background check system for prospective gun buyers under the age of 21, gave authorities up to 10 business days to examine juvenile and mental health records and set aside millions of dollars so states can fund intervention programs.

But shootings have continued at a horrific pace since then. Scores of people have been killed in mass shootings in Lewiston, Maine; Monterey Park, Calif.; Louisville, Ky.; Hollywood, Fla.; and many other cities across the country.

Ms. Harris said that must change. But she expressed determination to continue fighting the political gridlock in Washington, where Republicans and some Democrats on Capitol Hill have long blocked more aggressive measures, like a ban on assault-style weapons that are often used in the deadliest mass shootings.

Document 5 - **The Ineluctable Logic of Gun Ownership**

Daniel Levitin, *The Atlantic*, April 22, 2023 (abridged)

When we were in our 20s, my friend Jim Ferguson would say that if you find yourself living someplace where you need to own a gun, you should move. That made sense to me then; it's not so easy now to find safe places. If you live in a remote area, it can take the sheriff an hour or more to get to you, so if there's a deadly threat from an intruder, you are on your own. And the past few years have shown us that gun violence knows no boundaries of geography, socioeconomic status, or age. This reality has pushed me toward a moral dilemma: I wish no one were armed, but because practically everyone else is, I have a gun myself.

My education as a liberal gun owner began when my 70-year-old mother felt that she needed to get a pistol. My sister and I were against it, figuring that if she ever tried to use it, the most likely outcome would be that she would shoot my father. Despite our objections, she bought herself a Smith & Wesson .357 Magnum. That same day, my father bought himself a Remington 870 12-gauge shotgun (I assumed to defend himself from intruders, not from my mother).

Neither of my parents ever ended up using their gun, so far as I know, in any real-life situation. But the sort of home invasion they feared happened to my wife, Heather, and me, at our house in Hollywood. After that traumatic experience, we made the wrenching decision to keep a firearm in our home.

Two years later, another intruder entered our property. I was sitting at my desk one morning, looking out at the garden, and I saw a man peering into the windows and doors, trying each of them to see if they were unlocked. I called the police and told them what was going on. I didn't know if the man was armed, if he had lock-picking tools, or

even if I had remembered to lock all the doors and windows.

I got out my mother's gun, took a deep breath, and started to run through different scenarios. If the intruder was armed, I might have to shoot him. I would have to live knowing that I had killed a man—justifiably, according to the law—but I'd spend the rest of my life wondering if there had been other options.

I snuck out through the garage with the .357 in my waistband and waited on the corner for the police. When the patrol car arrived, I held my hands out in front of me, palms facing them, and told them I was the one who'd called, and that I had a gun in my waistband. "Thanks for telling us," the lead officer said. "Just don't reach for it." They went to the house and found the man still trying to get in; they arrested him without violent incident.

Since then, we have not had another burglary or forced entry. But a couple of harrowing incidents did occur because of a "destination stalker" who slept in her car for a month in our neighborhood in hopes of finding me. When she did, she told me that the world was going to end in 2035 because of something involving music and the brain, and that I, as a neuroscientist who had written on that subject, was the only person in the world who could help her warn people. The LAPD got involved.

The police detective knew from the state registry that I had firearms—and he was glad to hear that I did. When the police are happy you have a gun, you know there is more violent crime than they can handle. (I am keenly aware that if I were a person of color, my conversation with the police could have been very different.)

I hope I never need to use my guns. My wife and I would like to live in a country where everyone feels that way. But how can we hope to remove the guns from American society, the firearms in so many homes like ours? We can't. That is the conundrum we face: The individual's decision to be armed feels rational, maybe *is* rational, but the societal sum of all those individual decisions is madness. That is the country, the place, we live in now.

Document 6 - **I'm a Black gun owner. I have mixed feelings about gun control**

Akin Olla, *The Guardian*, 8 June 2022 (abridged)

The mass murder of elementary school students in Uvalde, Texas, and a white supremacist attack on Black residents of Buffalo, New York, have reignited the American gun control debate. Both atrocities have left me feeling more broken than I thought possible. As a Black, leftwing gun owner, however, I'm also struck by a feeling of unease.

I believe in many forms of gun control, but the conversation about guns on the left often lacks complexity as we scramble for a simple answer to an extremely complicated problem. I don't have much faith that the government will protect me or other minority Americans from the kind of violence that the police ostensibly exist to combat, and I know that gun control laws have historically been used to target Black people, particularly Black socialists like myself.

I'm also not convinced that most current gun control proposals will even solve the problem. Consider the country's deadliest school shooting, the Virginia Tech murders of 2007. The perpetrator passed his background check and used weapons that most gun control bans wouldn't affect. A waiting period might have delayed his attack but his level of premeditation implies it was nearly inevitable. I feel sorrow for what happened. Yet I feel that as a society we tend to fight over specific gun control policies while ignoring the violent nature of the country we live in.

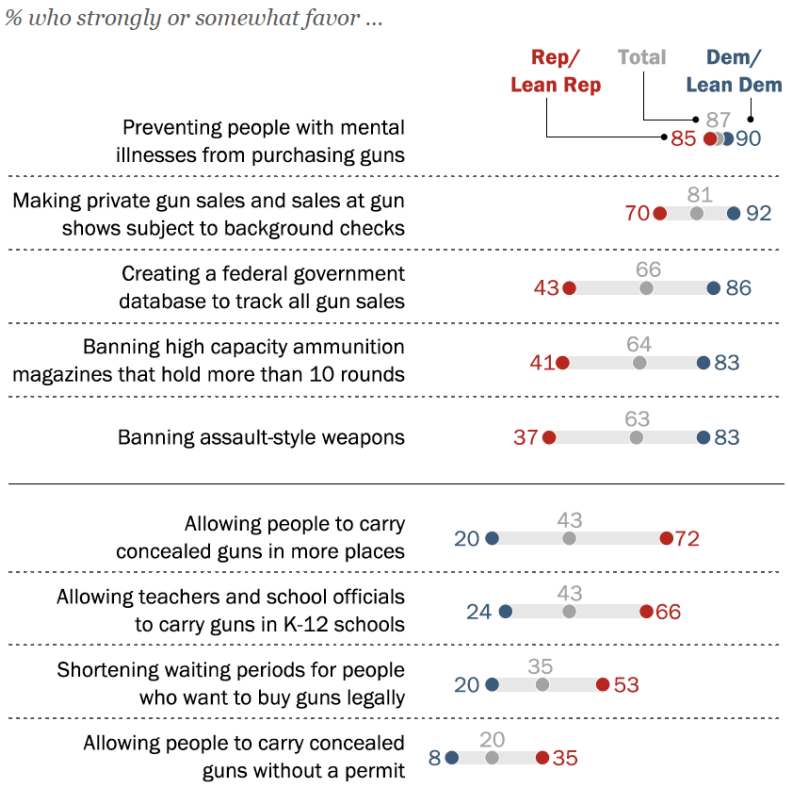
I never thought I'd be a gun owner. I'm not particularly fond of guns. If anything, they terrify me. I've generally hoped my charming personality and acumen at fisticuffs would be enough to deter would-be aggressors; it wasn't until the terror that I experienced during the George Floyd uprising that I, like many Black Americans, was moved to become a first-time gun owner.

I'd participated in protests and witnessed the sheer brutality of the Philadelphia police as they attacked my partner, threatened an elderly woman, and enveloped the entirety of my neighborhood in teargas. I watched Black parents flee their homes, eyes red, small children in tow. When I and others working as medical volunteers tried to evacuate the injured and elderly, we were met with pepper spray, rubber bullets, and batons. On the other side of the city, police officers let white vigilantes with baseball bats patrol the streets. None of this buttressed my belief that the police existed to protect me from violence.

Around this time I received written threats. After a series of them, as well as a direct, in-person threat to my life made in front of my home, I buckled and decided I needed a weapon, and soon. Even without the specific threats, I was wrestling with a sense that society was on the brink. It may sound paranoid now, but to be Black in the midst of the George Floyd uprising and the tail end of the Trump presidency was a time to be paranoid. Guns and ammunition were sold out across the country. More than 5 million new gun owners purchased weapons in 2020, a more than 100% increase from the previous year. After a background check and a few days for the order to be processed, I picked up a gun from a store.

Despite owning a gun, I do think gun control is overdue and necessary. But I also can't ignore the history of American gun control. Much of the modern debate around gun control began in the 1960s, after the state of California – with support, ironically enough, from the NRA – pushed through legislation in response to the Black Panther party and other armed militant groups. We must ensure that any new gun control laws do not disproportionately limit minority communities' ability to own arms for reasons of legitimate self-defense.

There are moments in US history when the right to own weapons made the difference between life and death for communities of color. And despite the common perception of the civil rights movement, many activists kept guns in their homes or were protected by those who did.



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted April 5-11, 2021.

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Gen Z and School Shootings

Document 7

VIDEO – Why some teachers in America are learning to fire a gun – The Economist

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xY1tuzs_xzI&ab_channel=TheEconomist

Document 8

Gen Z grew up with school shootings – why do so many think guns keep them safe?

In the US, gun violence and shared trauma is normalized for young people – which could be why many are open to firearm ownership

Robin Buller, ***The Guardian***, Fri 13 Oct 2023

When MaryAnn Alvarado asks her students if they know how to get a gun, their response always takes her aback. "Everyone raises their hand," she said.

Alvarado, 36, runs Teens on Target, a program operated by YouthAlive! in Oakland, California, that trains middle- and high-schoolers to become violence prevention advocates in their own communities. For many of the teens she sees, especially those coming from underserved neighborhoods, gun violence is normalized, she explained, or they believe that stopping gun violence is impossible. Others feel like gun ownership is okay to protect their family. "I've heard youth say, 'I feel like everybody owns a gun here,'" she said.

In the US, Gen Z grew up doing active shooter drills and watching school massacres and other acts of violence unfold on TV. So it's perhaps unsurprising that many of them have been high-profile faces in the movement for gun reform. But at the same time, research shows many young people, like those Alvarado works with, remain open to – even interested in – gun ownership. What connects those two threads, experts say, is shared trauma and exposure to violence.

Guns are now the leading cause of death for American youth ages 24 and under, and the collective psyche of Gen Z has been reshaped as a result. A 2023 national study conducted by the Southern Poverty Law Center, Everytown for Gun Safety and American University's Polarization and Extremism Research and Innovation Lab (Peril) found that young people report feelings of anxiety, grief, loss and fear from gun violence regardless of whether they have experienced it directly or indirectly.

"We see a lot of rumination, a lot of hyper vigilance, a lot of anxiety and depression and concern around violence in public spaces," said Pasha Dashtgard, director of research at Peril.

While one response to that sense of dread has been to join the gun violence prevention movement, another is to embrace firearms. The 2023 Peril study showed that about one-third of youth under 18 believe they are safer with guns than without them. 39% of participants reported having easy access to a gun, and about half of those answers were from young people who purchased a firearm themselves.

In another study from 2019, 42% of boys and men ages 13-21 reported they will likely own a gun in the future, while 76% of all respondents agreed that gun ownership makes a home safer. And between 2002 and 2019, rates of gun ownership among teens rose by 41%. During the pandemic, one-third of people who purchased guns were between 18 and 29 years old.

These swings coincide with rising ownership among demographics not historically linked to firearms, like women, Latinos and Asian Americans. In the latter two groups, new gun owners say that they are motivated to carry by the increased threat of racist extremism.

"Gun ownership has diversified dramatically," said Kelly Drane, research director at Giffords Law Center in San Francisco.

For young people who are drawn to guns, geography plays a big part in how those interests manifest. In rural areas, support for the second amendment and adherence to gun-related traditions can be driving forces behind ownership. Often, younger people in those parts of the country want to own guns to hunt with or to follow in the footsteps of gun-enthusiast parents and grandparents.

But rates of gun-related deaths are on the rise in rural areas. "Young people in rural areas are particularly susceptible to using a gun for death by suicide," said Nick Wilson, senior director for gun violence prevention at the Center for American Progress.

Seventeen-year-old Erin DeSantis has lived her whole life in rural Pennsylvania, where guns have been a constant presence. Three years ago, she began to volunteer with the youth advocacy group Students Demand Action, and today serves on its national advisory board. But she's not unequivocally anti-gun, and even practices sport shooting. "I wanted to make sure that rural voices were part of the conversation," she said, "because we tend to get forgotten."

In urban settings, high rates of gun violence are directly correlated with exposure to systemic poverty.

Growing up in south central Los Angeles, Manny Macedo heard gunshots almost nightly. "I was kind of raised to just ignore it," he said. Now a junior at UC Berkeley, Macedo leads the university's Students Demand Action campus group, which he hopes will help keep his siblings and other kids in urban centers safe from guns.

While Macedo steered clear of firearms, other young people in his community carried – especially those involved with gangs. That's one of the most common routes toward youth gun ownership in underserved neighborhoods, said Fernando Rejón, executive director of the Urban Peace Institute, a Los Angeles-based violence prevention organization, as well as lack of trust in law enforcement.

For members of Gen Z in particular, social media can escalate gang conflict, leading to more gun-related deaths, Rejón explained, pointing to a recent shooting in LA's Watts neighborhood that was exacerbated by social media posts. "Social media has become a platform to kind of disrespect and challenge other individuals or groups," he said. "That violence can quickly manifest into reality."

In Oakland, Alvarado, has also witnessed how social media can encourage young people to participate in gun culture. "I've heard youth as young as sixth grade say there's a lot of promotion of violence on social media," she said, pointing to videos that "glorify having weapons" and that encourage 11- and 12-year-olds to think guns are "cool".

The notion that owning a gun can improve one's personal or community safety is not a new one, said Peril's Dashtgard.

"It's paired with this masculine protector thing," he said, recounting how one interviewee for the study explained that he keeps a gun in his truck in case he encounters a mass shooter. At the same time, myths that guns allow "the weak to stand up to the strong" are designed to appeal to women and other demographics traditionally seen as vulnerable.

While these narratives predate the internet era, they're perpetuated online, where young people find themselves sucked into channels and chat groups that promote guns as the solution to any number of grievances. From Reddit and Discord to SnapChat and Instagram, content designed to make young people amenable to guns is ubiquitous. Youth influencers have become part of the gun industry's strategy, as well. There's even a gun-focused YouTube lookalike, "GunTube", that's dedicated strictly to promoting pro-gun videos.

The National Rifle Association (NRA) and gun manufacturers play on those narratives through youth-oriented advertising campaigns, seeing young people as an untapped consumer market, said Josh Sugarmann, executive director of Washington's Violence Policy Center. "The gun industry is like any other industry that has a profit motive. It has a goal to sell more guns regardless of the cost," he said.

The NRA did not respond to request for comment.

But guns do not make people or households safer, explained Nina Vinik, the founder of gun violence prevention group Project Unloaded, who hopes to snuff out protectionist falsehoods. In fact, people who own handguns are more likely than non-gun owners to be shot.

People gather for the March for Our Lives rally in Washington DC in June 2022. Photograph: The Washington Post/Getty Images

Research conducted by Project Unloaded last year found that 70% of young people believe owning a gun makes them safer, and half of young people are interested in owning a gun. But it also showed that young people are open to having discussions about gun ownership, and that they are the most likely to have their minds changed by hard evidence.

"Most Americans have bought into the myth that having a gun is going to make them safer," said Vinik. "But for young people, that's not a belief that is deeply held.

They want to learn more and they're interested in knowing more about the risks and responsibilities of gun use."

Vinik and Project Unloaded launched the Snug (Safer Not Using Guns) campaign last year, which uses TikTok videos and paid influencer messaging to connect with young people.

Anvesha Guru, a 16-year-old member of Project Unloaded's Youth Council, said that many of her peers in suburban Wisconsin come from gun-owning families, but are receptive when she talks about gun violence in a non-judgmental and non-partisan manner. "Young people have the ability to actually make an impact in gun deaths and decrease gun homicides [by] changing the narrative surrounding guns," said Guru.

Urban violence prevention groups take a similar approach, by using community navigators or "peacemakers" to intervene in conflicts and help steer young people away from guns. In Oakland, Alvarado sends high schoolers into middle-school classrooms to recount how gun violence has impacted them personally. She explained that the technique not only empowers high schoolers, but is effective at convincing younger students, who look up to their more senior counterparts.

On top of cultural and peer interventions, researchers emphasized the need for systemic changes that can address the root causes of gun violence among young people, including mental health challenges and socio-economic inequities.

"I don't want to disparage the work that a lot of really good organizations are doing in promoting gun safety and gun control legislation, but I really think that we should be looking further upstream," said Dashtgard. "How are we going to create the conditions where people feel like they live in a safe community such that they don't need a gun to protect themselves?" he said. "It's a complicated thing to try and accomplish. But that's the real answer to this problem."

Document 9

Panic Buttons, Classroom Locks: How Schools Have Boosted Security

A new survey shows increased investments in safety measures over the past five years. Yet there are more campus gun incidents than ever

The New York Times, By Sarah Mervosh , Jan. 12, 2023

When Adam Lane became principal at Haines City High School eight years ago, there was little to stop an attacker from entering the school, which sits alongside orange groves, a livestock farm and a cemetery in Central Florida."You could drive right up, walk right in the front office," Mr. Lane said.

Today, the school is surrounded by a 10-foot fence, and access to the grounds is carefully controlled via specific gates. Visitors must press a buzzer to be let into the front office. More than 40 cameras monitor key areas.

New federal data released on Thursday offers insight into the many, growing ways that schools have amped up security over the past five years, as the country has recorded three of the deadliest school shootings on record, and as other, more routine gun incidents on school grounds have also become more frequent.

About two-thirds of public schools in the United States now control access to school grounds — not just the building — during the school day, up from about half in the 2017-2018 school year. An estimated 43 percent of public schools have a "panic button" or silent alarm that connect directly with the police in case of emergency, up from 29 percent five years ago. And a stronger majority, 78 percent, equip classrooms with locks, up from 65 percent, according to survey data released by the National Center for Education Statistics, a research arm of the U.S. Education Department.

In a sign of how much security is a part of regular school life, nearly a third of public schools reported holding evacuation drills nine or more times a year.

Some practices that have stirred the most debate have also grown but are less widespread. Random metal detector use was reported in 9 percent of public schools, with daily use reported in 6 percent. And while many schools have campus police, just 3 percent of public schools reported arming teachers or other nonsecurity employees.

The data was collected in a survey of more than 1,000 public schools in November.

Even as schools spend billions of dollars on security, the number of gun incidents at schools has only grown. The latest tragedy unfolded last week in Virginia, where the police said a first grader, just 6 years old, brought a gun from home and used it to seriously injure his teacher.

Last year, more than 330 people were fatally shot or wounded on school grounds, up from 218 in 2018,

according to the K-12 School Shooting Database, a research project that tracks instances in which a gun is fired or brandished on school property. The overall number of incidents — which can include cases where no one was injured — also increased to more than 300, up from about 120 in 2018, and as few as 22 in 1999, the year of the Columbine High School shooting, when two teenagers killed 13 people.

The uptick in school gun violence comes amid a broader increase in active shooter incidents and gun deaths in the United States. Overall, schools are still quite safe.

School shootings are "very, very rare," said David Riedman, the founder of the K-12 School Shooting Database. His tracker identified 300 schools with gun incidents last year, a tiny fraction of the nearly 130,000 schools in the United States. School shootings account for less than 1 percent of the total gun deaths suffered by American children.

Yet, the growing toll has put more onus on schools to not only educate, feed and counsel children, but also protect them from harm. Best practices include simple solutions like locking classroom doors and limiting access to schools.

But experts say many "deterrent" measures — like metal detectors, clear backpacks or having armed staff members on campus — have not been shown to reliably prevent shootings. Other tools, like security cameras or panic buttons, may help interrupt violence in the moment but are unlikely to forestall shootings.

"There is not a lot of evidence that they work," Marc Zimmerman, co-director of the National Center for School Safety at the University of Michigan, said of many of the safety measures. "If you press a panic button, it probably means somebody is already shooting or threatening to shoot. That is not prevention."

Increasing security can also come with its own risks. A recent study found that Black students are four times as likely as students of other races to be enrolled in high surveillance schools, and that students at those schools can pay a "safety tax" in academic outcomes and suspensions because of those measures.

The most effective time to stop a school shooting, experts say, is before a gun ever gets to campus.

Because most school shootings are carried out by current or recent students, their peers are often best positioned to notice and report a threat, said Frank Straub, director of the Center for Targeted Violence Prevention at the National Policing Institute, who studies averted school shootings.

"Many of these people engage in what's called leakage —they post online, they'll tell a friend," Mr. Straub said. He added that teachers, parents and others should also look out for signs: a child becoming withdrawn and depressed, a student drawing doodles of guns in a notebook.

"Fundamentally, we have to do a better job of recognizing K-12 students that are struggling," he said. "And that's expensive. It's very difficult to prove what you prevented."

Most school shootings, though, are not planned, mass attacks. "The most common occurrence — throughout history and throughout the last couple of years as things have dramatically increased — is there are fights that escalate into shootings," said Mr. Riedman of the K-12 School Shooting Database. He pointed to national upticks in shootings, and said the data suggests that there are simply more people, even adults, bringing guns to school campuses.

Christi Barrett, the superintendent of Hemet Unified School District in Southern California, knows that no matter what she does, she cannot fully eliminate the possibility of risk for each of the 22,000 students and thousands of employees in her sprawling district, which spans 28 schools and nearly 700 square miles.

But she has worked to be proactive, starting several years ago with a locked door policy for every classroom. The district is also in the midst of transitioning to electronic door locks, which she hopes will reduce any "human variable" or fumbling with keys in a crisis. "If there is an intruder, an active shooter, we have the ability to lock down everything instantaneously," she said.

School officials also had rolled out occasional, random metal detector searches in some high schools, with mixed results.

The devices sometimes flagged innocuous items, like school binders, while missing weapons when the devices were not in use. And though she said the searches did not focus on any groups, she acknowledged broader concerns about the disparate impact school surveillance can have on students of color.

"Even with it being random, that perception can be there," said Dr. Barrett, whose district is largely Hispanic, with smaller populations of white and Black students.

Now, every middle and high school in the district has a more universal system, which is designed to specifically detect the metal in firearms. "Every student goes through it," she said, adding that no guns had been identified so far this year.

To address students' mental health, she said, there are counselors in every school. And a software program flags when a student types trigger words — like

"suicide," or "shooting" — on district-issued devices to better identify children who need help.

She said terrifying mass shootings at schools in recent years — in Parkland, Fla., Santa Fe, Texas, and Uvalde, Texas — did not spur the security upgrades, so much as reaffirm them.

"It was more of a reinforcement of, 'Let's not get lax,'" she said.

Document 10 – ENS 2023 -Jury Lettres et Arts

Editorial: Nashville and a nation of mass shooting trauma

The Los Angeles Times, March 28, 2023

Another 200 children became survivors of gun violence Monday, this time in Nashville, when a 28-year-old armed with high-powered weapons broke into their school and opened fire, killing three 9-year-old classmates and three adult staff members.

The kids, along with employees of the private elementary school, join the growing number of Americans who have been touched by gun violence, who have had to shelter in place or run for their lives or confront the possibility that their lives will soon end by a bullet. And they also join the ranks of mourners for family, friends and colleagues who could not be protected or escape.

Just how common is it to be a survivor? Outside the Nashville school, Joylyn Bukovac, a local television reporter covering the killing rampage, shared that she, too, had survived a shooting at her middle school in 2010.

At another point, a woman crashed a television news conference, asking, "Aren't you guys tired of covering this?" That was Ashbey Beasley, who had been at the July 4 parade in Highland Park, Ill., last year when a gunman opened fire on the crowd, killing seven people. Beasley was in Nashville visiting family and was going to have lunch with Shaundelle Brooks, whose older son was killed in a 2018 mass shooting at a Waffle House. The women bonded over their gun control advocacy. But Brooks got word that her younger son's high school was on lockdown because of the gunfire nearby.

"I couldn't even fully process it," Beasley told the Washington Post. "What do you say? Because only in America can you survive a mass shooting and go and make a friend who is the victim of a mass shooting and then go to meet that friend for lunch … and end up in the middle of another mass shooting event."

When we look beyond horrific headline-grabbing mass shootings, the tally of loss and sorrow compounds. Just in the last week, two administrators were shot at a high school in Denver and a student was shot in the parking lot at a high school in Dallas. Each day, children and adults are killed or maimed in shootings in neighborhoods, homes, houses of worship, grocery stores and movie theaters. Even some of the most powerful people in the nation — members of Congress — are not immune. There is no safe place.

How much longer before most Americans can count themselves as survivors of gun violence? What does that do to the national psyche? For parents to say goodbye to their children each morning with the lingering fear it will be the last time they see them. For young people who are trained by the culture to constantly scope out exit routes in case there is a shooter.

We're a country that purports to care about human life, yet we tolerate frequent mass casualties from guns. While conservative legislators in Tennessee and other states spend their time trying to ban books or drag queens, curtail gender-affirming care for transgender youth, or whitewash public school curriculum in the name of protecting children, they refuse to take meaningful steps to reduce the leading cause of their death in America: gun violence.

President Biden on Monday again called on Congress to ban assault weapons and close gun background check loopholes. A majority of Americans support stronger rules on the sale of guns and feel increasingly dissatisfied with the nation's failure to more strictly regulate firearms. But too many state and federal lawmakers, mostly Republican, won't buck the gun lobby and its extreme ideology that even common-sense restrictions amount to government oppression.

So, instead, Americans live with another kind of oppression — the crushing fear that they might be the next victim or survivor of gun violence.

How a Weapon of War Has Worsened the Mass Shootings Epidemic

The AR-15, a civilian version of a gun designed for maximum killing in combat, is ever more popular with mass shooters.

MARK FOLLMAN, MOTHER JONES, APRIL 1, 2023

UPDATE, Oct. 26, 2023: *Since the Nashville school shooting in late March, there have been six additional mass shootings in which attackers used AR-15-style rifles: in Louisville, Kentucky; Allen, Texas; Farmington, New Mexico; Philadelphia; Jacksonville, Florida; and Lewiston, Maine.*

THE FULL ARTICLE CAN BE READ HERE

It was a grim but not terribly surprising coincidence. Last Monday morning, just a few hours after the *Washington Post* published a new series on the popular semiautomatic rifles known as AR-15s, a suicidal 28-year-old used one to murder three children and three adults at a Nashville elementary school. It was the sixth mass shooting in the past 10 months committed with this type of highly lethal firearm, according to our *Mother Jones* database. (…)

The fast rising popularity of AR-15s—a civilian version of a rifle that was designed for maximum killing in war—drove booming overall gun sales. A *Mother Jones* investigation seven years ago into the secretive world of America's 10 biggest gun manufacturers estimated an $8 billion annual business. As we reported then, Remington Outdoor, the maker of the AR-15 used in the Sandy Hook massacre in 2012, saw its profits increase nearly thirtyfold over the following year—with the biggest jump in sales coming from assault rifles. Today, the gun industry estimates that at least 20 million AR-15s are in circulation throughout the country, according to the *Post.* Nearly 14 million of those were manufactured by US gun companies over the past decade alone, generating sales revenues of roughly $11 billion.

The *Post* series also spotlights the horrific damage that these weapons can do to human bodies big and small, like those of the three nine-year-olds gunned down in Nashville. The velocity and impact of the .223-caliber rounds can blast apart organs and demolish bones, as the *Post* illustrates with videos that are harrowing to watch even just as animated visualizations. The bodies of some children killed at Robb Elementary school in Uvalde, where 19 students and two teachers perished, were so obliterated that authorities had to resort to DNA testing to identify those victims.

Moreover, AR-15s have stark implications for law enforcement responding to mass shootings, as the *Texas Tribune* revealed recently with an important investigation into the catastrophe in Uvalde. A significant reason why police failed for an excruciatingly long time to confront the shooter, who was hunkered down inside a classroom with dying victims, was because they feared the firepower of his AR-15 and felt outgunned. According to the *Tribune*, multiple officers who spoke with investigators in the aftermath of the botched response said that they were unwilling to confront the rifle on the other side of the classroom door. "You knew that it was definitely an AR," said one Uvalde PD officer. "There was no way of going in…We had no choice but to wait and try to get something that had better coverage where we could actually stand up to him."

Even by the standards of America's woefully entrenched political battle over gun regulations, the response to these recurring massacres from various Republican lawmakers remains astounding. Texas Republicans apparently sought to bury the police fears about the shooter's weapon in Uvalde, according to the *Tribune*: "A comprehensive and scathing report of law enforcement's response to the shooting, released by a Texas House committee chaired by Republican Rep. Dustin Burrows in July, made no mention of the comments by law enforcement officers that illustrated trepidation about the AR-15." A month after Uvalde, state Sen. Bob Hall argued that the perpetrator's firepower was irrelevant because "he had enough time" to kill the 19 children and two teachers "with his hands or a baseball bat, and so it's not the gun."

At the national level, Republican lawmakers have been unanimous since the Nashville tragedy that they have no intention of strengthening regulations for AR-15s or other guns. A particularly shameful expression of their position came from Rep. Tim Burchett of Tennessee, whose district is home to the newly relocated headquarters of Smith & Wesson (which manufactured the semiautomatic pistol used by the Nashville shooter.)

"We're not gonna fix it," Burchett told reporters on Capitol Hill. "Criminals are gonna be criminals." He suggested that the only solutions might be a "Christian revival" or homeschooling children, as his own family does. "I don't see any

real role that we could do other than mess things up," he said. He also recognized, awkwardly, the universality of the mass shootings scourge: "It doesn't matter what state it's happened in, we're all Americans. It doesn't matter the color of their skin, they all bleed red, and they're bleeding a lot."

Burchett's comments were in their own right remarkably frank. He simply was reinforcing the commonly espoused theme that "nothing ever changes" with this problem, that there's "nothing we can really do" about the epidemic of gun violence. It's a national narrative that affirms outrage and despair, goes hand in hand with misguided blame on mental illness—and gives cover to politicians and others who profit from denying the fundamental role of ubiquitous, easily obtainable, highly lethal firearms.

The next mass shooting to occur somewhere in the country is almost certainly not a matter of if, but only when. And yet, the idea that we can essentially do nothing to stop it from happening stands as an insidious and damaging myth—one that America still, somehow, has yet to really confront.

Mother Jones (abbreviated MoJo) is a nonprofit American progressive magazine that focuses on news, commentary, and investigative journalism on topics including politics, environment, human rights, health and culture. Clara Jeffery serves as editor-in-chief of the magazine. Monika Bauerlein has been the CEO since 2015. Mother Jones is published by the Foundation for National Progress, a 501(c) nonprofit.

The magazine was named after Mary Harris Jones, known as Mother Jones, an Irish-American trade union activist, socialist advocate, and ardent opponent of child labor.

Document 12

Parents of Michigan School Shooter Sentenced to 10 to 15 Years in Prison

The New York Times, April 9, 2024

Jennifer and James Crumbley, who were convicted of involuntary manslaughter for failing to prevent their teenage son from killing four fellow students in the deadliest school shooting in Michigan's history, were each sentenced on Tuesday to 10 to 15 years in prison.

Their separate jury trials ended in guilty verdicts in February and March, making them the first parents in the country to be convicted over the deaths caused by their child in a mass shooting.

Involuntary manslaughter charges carry a penalty in Michigan of up to 15 years in prison, and prosecutors asked in sentencing memos filed to the court last week that the Crumbleys each serve at least 10 years. Both have been in jail for more than two years while awaiting trial and will receive credit for time served.

"Parents are not expected to be psychic," Judge Cheryl Matthews of the Oakland County Circuit Court in Pontiac, Mich., said before issuing the sentence. "But these convictions are not about poor parenting. These convictions confirm repeated acts or lack of acts that could have halted an oncoming runaway train — repeatedly ignoring things that would make a reasonable person feel the hair on the back of her neck stand up."

Before the hearing, prosecutors said that Ms. Crumbley, 46, was asking to be sentenced to house arrest on her defense lawyer's property, rather than serving prison time. And Mr. Crumbley, 47, said that he had been wrongly convicted and his sentence should amount to the time he had already served in prison, adding that he felt "absolutely horrible" about what had happened.

On Tuesday, each of them spoke in the hearing before the judge pronounced sentence.

"I stand today not to ask for your forgiveness, as I know it may be beyond reach, but to express my sincerest apologies for the pain that has been caused," Ms. Crumbley said in court, addressing the relatives of students who were killed. Mr. Crumbley also apologized. (…)

Relatives of some of the victims also spoke during the hearing, describing the overwhelming effects the shooting had on their lives.

"The ripple effects of both James's and Jennifer's failures to act have devastated us all," said Jill Soave, the mother of Justin Shilling, 17, who was killed in the shooting at Oxford High School on Nov. 30, 2021. "This tragedy was completely preventable. If only they had done something, your honor, anything, to shift the course events on Nov. 30, then our four angels would be here today."

Steve St. Juliana, whose daughter, Hana, 14, was killed, said that the Crumbleys continued to fail to take responsibility for what had happened.
"They chose to stay quiet," he said. "They chose to ignore the warning signs. And now, as we've heard through all of the objections, they continue to choose to blame everyone but themselves."
The Crumbleys' son, Ethan, was 15 when he carried out the shooting that killed Justin and Hana, as well as Madisyn Baldwin, 17, and Tate Myre, 16. Seven others were injured. Ethan Crumbley pleaded guilty to 24 charges, including first-degree murder, and was sentenced last year to life in prison without parole. He is still eligible to appeal that decision. His parents may appeal, too. (…)
The trials of Jennifer and James Crumbley became a lightning rod for issues of parental responsibility at a time of high-profile gun violence by minors. In recent months, parents in other states have pleaded guilty to charges of reckless conduct or neglect after their children injured or killed others with guns.
But the manslaughter charges against the Crumbleys were unique, and legal experts said their trials could serve as a playbook for other prosecutors who seek to hold parents accountable in the future.
Ekow Yankah, a professor at the University of Michigan Law School, said the effect of the ruling on Tuesday might be felt beyond the state.
"This is going to be precedent, most obviously in Michigan and its home jurisdiction, but prosecutors all over the country will see this as a new and viable form of liability," Mr. Yankah said. "I think we should not underestimate the precedential power of this case, even as we recognize that the facts were quite extraordinary."

You can also read:

- **"Chicago teens are fighting gun ownership – one TikTok at a time" – The Guardian, April 2024**

https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/ng-interactive/2024/apr/04/can-tiktoks-reduce-gun-violence-ask-these-teenagers

- **"The School Shooting Generation is growing up"** – **VOX**, January 2022
https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/22878920/school-shootings-survivors-columbine-mental-health

- Washington Interactive "**More than370,000students have experienced gun violence at school since Columbine"**
There have been 404 school shootings since 1999, according to Post data
https://wapo.st/3QQURL8
https://edition.cnn.com/2024/04/09/us/james-jennifer-crumbley-sentencing/index.html