Models of Violence and Violence Statistics

This list presents publications from our literature review in which school shooting explanations and/or statistics was a primary topic (e.g., a research question, a primary analysis/interpretation, an emphasized topic with an entire section labeled discussing the topic). Some (15%) of TA publications and almost half of the school shooting publications (44%) discuss possible explanations of/models to explain school violence. More than one-third of school shooting publications (35%) and 3% of TA publications present school shooting statistics (e.g., rates by locale, changing rates over time). Included are peer-reviewed, published articles, government/organization reports, books and book chapters.

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“School shootings” are rarely studied quantitatively due to the fact that they are relatively rare, albeit powerful events. Therefore, prior research on “school shootings” typically relies on case study methodologies, or involves the use of typologies based on perpetrators’ motivations, their relationships to victims, and/or the total number of victims killed. However, not all cases of multiple-victim homicide attacks that take place in schools involve the use of firearms, and not all school-based multiple-victim homicide attacks result in multiple fatalities, as many such cases are either thwarted in advance by police or fail to result in the intended number of victims due to a variety of factors. The present study compares attempted and completed mass murder and rampage style attacks that have taken place at schools, and further compares incidents involving firearms to those that involve other deadly weapons. Utilizing a database of 282 identified cases of mass murder incidents in schools across 38 nations, incidents’ date and location, the demographic characteristics of perpetrators, weapons used, number of victims, and school contexts are examined and compared.


Gun violence is an urgent, complex, and multifaceted problem. It requires evidence-based, multifaceted solutions. Psychology can make important contributions to policies that prevent gun violence. Toward this end, in February 2013 the American Psychological Association commissioned this report by a panel of experts to convey research-based conclusions and recommendations (and to identify gaps in such knowledge) on how to reduce the incidence of gun violence — whether by homicide, suicide, or mass shootings — nationwide.


Traditional law enforcement techniques historically have focused on the apprehension and prosecution of violent offenders 'after' violent crimes are committed. When police are given information that someone may potentially commit a crime or become violent in the future, their responsibilities, authorities, and available investigative tools are suddenly less clear. This guide is about threat assessment and management, or stated another way, 'how law enforcement officers and others may identify, assess, and manage the risk of future, planned violence'. This task is a complex and nuanced one. Published research about intended violence and its perpetrators, along with knowledge and experience derived from previous cases, are applied to the facts and circumstances of each case. In other
words, there is a lot to think about. The FBI Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) held a symposium in mid-2015, bringing together academic researchers, mental health experts, and law enforcement practitioners of threat assessment to discuss the active shooter phenomenon. Specifically, symposium participants focused on prevention strategies with regard to this crime problem. By far the most valuable prevention strategy identified was the threat assessment and management team. The good news is that every organization and community has the potential to stand up or access such a team. The intent of this publication is, therefore, to provide desperately needed guidance on making this a reality for every community based upon a consensus of recommendations in an evolving field. Recommendations are offered about this process in very practical terms. It is not intended as an academic textbook but rather as a hands-on guide for novice and experienced threat assessment practitioners alike.


Context Despite the public alarm following a series of high-profile school shootings that occurred in the United States during the late 1990s, little is known about the actual incidence and characteristics of school-associated violent deaths.

Objective To describe recent trends and features of school-associated violent deaths in the United States.

Design, Setting, and Subjects Population-based surveillance study of data collected from media databases, state and local agencies, and police and school officials for July 1, 1994, through June 30, 1999. A case was defined as a homicide, suicide, legal intervention, or unintentional firearm-related death of a student or nonstudent in which the fatal injury occurred (1) on the campus of a public or private elementary or secondary school, (2) while the victim was on the way to or from such a school, or (3) while the victim was attending or traveling to or from an official school-sponsored event.

Main Outcome Measures National estimates of risk of school-associated violent death; national trends in school-associated violent deaths; common features of these events; and potential risk factors for perpetration and victimization.

Results Between 1994 and 1999, 220 events resulting in 253 deaths were identified; 202 events involved 1 death and 18 involved multiple deaths (median, 2 deaths per multiple-victim event). Of the 220 events, 172 were homicides, 30 were suicides, 11 were homicide-suicides, 5 were legal intervention deaths, and 2 were unintentional firearm-related deaths. Students accounted for 172 (68.0%) of these deaths, resulting in an estimated average annual incidence of 0.068 per 100 000 students. Between 1992 and 1999, the rate of single-victim student homicides decreased significantly (P=.03); however, homicide rates for students killed in multiple-victim events increased (P =.047). Most events occurred around the start of the school day, the lunch period, or the end of the school day. For 120 (54.5%) of the incidents, respondents reported that a note, threat, or other action potentially indicating risk for violence occurred prior to the event. Homicide offenders were more likely than homicide victims to have expressed some form of suicidal behavior prior to the event (odds ratio [OR], 6.96; 95% confidence interval [CI], 1.96-24.65) and been bullied by their peers (OR, 2.57; 95% CI, 1.12-5.92).

Conclusions Although school-associated violent deaths remain rare events, they have occurred often enough to allow for the detection of patterns and the identification of potential risk factors. This information may help schools respond to this problem.

Professionals entered the 21st century with a heightened call to address school safety. Though notable contributions have been made to insure peaceful school communities through a wide range of primary and secondary prevention programs, research suggests that these programs are often an insufficient response to students who are at increased risk for violence. Effective intervention with this subset of youth depends on highly individualized services. This article reviews two empirical justice-based models of threat assessment and expands them with pertinent literature addressing multiple developmental aspects of at-risk youth. The aggregate serves as a cogent structure for examination of individual and systemic factors associated with youth violence.


On April 20, 1999, two boys at Columbine High School in the United States attempted to set off a series of bombs and then opened fire on their classmates and teachers. In less than an hour, they killed twelve students and a teacher, and injured twenty-one others, before committing suicide. This event received worldwide publicity and became emblematic for similar shootings in schools across the United States. Student-perpetrated shootings in schools seemed to represent the high level of societal violence that is often attributed to the United States, but in the decade following the Columbine shooting, there have been at least forty such events in other countries, indicating that the problem is not confined to the United States and deserves international attention. The purpose of this article is to define the problem of student-perpetrated homicidal violence in schools, to describe its international frequency, and to summarize the limited research on risk factors and prevention.


School shootings have generated great public concern and fostered a widespread impression that schools are unsafe for many students; this article counters those misapprehensions by examining empirical evidence of school and community violence trends and reviewing evidence on best practices for preventing school shootings. Many of the school safety and security measures deployed in response to school shootings have little research support, and strategies such as zero-tolerance discipline and student profiling have been widely criticized as unsound practices. Threat assessment is identified as a promising strategy for violence prevention that merits further study. The article concludes with an overview of the need for schools to develop crisis response plans to prepare for and mitigate such rare events.

We investigated the hypothesis that a socio-cultural variable known as the culture of honor would be uniquely predictive of school-violence indicators. Controlling for demographic characteristics associated in previous studies with violent crime among adults, we found that high-school students in culture-of-honor states were significantly more likely than high-school students in non-culture-of-honor states to report having brought a weapon to school in the past month. Using data aggregated over a 20-year period, we also found that culture-of-honor states had more than twice as many school shootings per capita as non-culture-of-honor states. The data revealed important differences between school violence and general patterns of homicide and are consistent with the view that many acts of school violence reflect retaliatory aggression springing from intensely experienced social-identity threats.


The increasing level of public attention to violence in American schools makes the issue a top priority among educators. School psychologists could play an important role in identifying at-risk youth, and planning appropriate individual, school, and community interventions related to school violence. However, there is limited literature examining different assessment approaches that could be used to evaluate student risk for violence. This article reviews (a) characteristics of students “at risk” for violence, (b) informal checklists and matching student characteristics to profiles of typical violent students and (c) threat assessment based on Borum et al.’s (1999) model. Ethical and legal considerations are covered as well.


Recent, widely reported violent deaths associated with schools have led many adults to believe that a school shooting could occur in their community and many children to express increasing concern about their own safety at school. CDC, in collaboration with the U.S. Education and Justice departments, has been tracking school-associated violent deaths since the 1992-1993 school year. To evaluate whether the risk for school-associated violent death varies during the school year, CDC analyzed monthly counts of school-associated homicide and suicide events that occurred among students in elementary and secondary (middle, junior high, and senior high) schools in the United States. This report summarizes the results of these analyses, which indicate that student homicide event rates are usually highest near the start of the fall and spring semesters, and suicide event rates are highest during the spring semester. These findings can assist school personnel in planning and implementing violence-prevention programs.
School-associated student homicide events, especially those involving multiple victims, generate considerable media attention, prompting questions regarding whether rates of school-associated violent deaths are increasing and regarding the characteristics of such events. During the 1990s, the rate of school-associated single-victim student homicides decreased significantly, whereas rates for school associated homicides in which two or more students were killed (i.e., multiple-victim homicides) increased (1). Additional studies of such events during the same decade documented the rarity of lethal school-associated violence (2,3). To 1) update temporal trends in rates for school associated student homicides during July 1992-June 2006 and 2) describe the epidemiologic characteristics of school associated student homicides that occurred during July 1999-June 2006 (the period for which the most recent data are available), CDC analyzed data from the School Associated Violent Death (SAVD) study.* This report describes the results of that analysis, which indicated that rates of school-associated student homicides decreased during the overall period, July 1992-June 2006, but stabilized during July 1999-June 2006, when 116 students were killed in 109 school-associated homicide events. Although school-associated student homicides are rare and represent approximately 1% of homicides that occur among school age youths, schools should expand use of comprehensive measures to prevent behaviors that often precede fatal violence. In addition, comprehensive approaches that address risk factors and protective risk factors for violence at the individual, family, school, and community levels will help address violence both on and off school grounds.


This chapter examines the nature and scope of violence in schools ranging from school shootings to bullying and harassment. Although school shootings have understandably aroused great public concern, an examination of school safety statistics from multiple sources shows that students are much safer from serious violent crime in schools than in other locations. The fear of school shootings has led many schools to adopt policies and practices such as excessive security measures and widespread use of zero tolerance discipline that have deleterious effects. However, students are subjected to high levels of peer aggression at school in the form of bullying and harassment that can have negative effects on their mental health and well-being. The chapter reviews major strategies to prevent violence and aggression in schools, noting the lack of supporting evidence for reactive approaches such as security measures and the substantial body of evidence supporting proactive approaches such as anti-bullying and social-emotional learning programs and the use of school threat assessment. The chapter concludes with policy recommendations for preventing school violence drawn from a widely endorsed eight-point plan to prevent gun violence in schools and communities. These recommendations emphasize implementing proactive, rather than reactive, intervention strategies to prevent violence and aggression in schools.

In this report, 51 averted incidents of school violence, a sample drawn from the Averted School Violence (ASV) database, were analyzed to help further our understanding of averted school attacks. The ASV project defines an incident of averted school violence as a violent attack planned with or without the use of a firearm that was prevented either before or after the potential perpetrator arrived on school grounds but before any injury or loss of life occurred. The 51 averted attacks do not constitute every incident of school violence that has occurred in the United States since April 20, 1999, nor do they constitute a representative sample. Rather, averted attacks (those that were identified from open sources) were selected based on the amount of information available in open sources and with an effort made to find reports in a wide range of states.


This report examines risks that children and youth face in America's schools to determine whether there is a trend toward increasing violent school deaths in America and noting the overall incidence of crime, particularly homicides, inside versus outside of the schools. Data come from the Department of Education, Department of Justice, FBI, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National School Safety Center, National Safe Kids Campaign, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Center To Prevent Handgun Violence, Bureau of Justice Statistics, and newspaper clippings (to obtain school-related violence data). Results indicate that recent school shootings were extremely idiosyncratic events and not part of any trend. The likelihood of becoming a victim of school-associated violent death is less than one in one million. While most children killed by guns are killed by adults, children are killed in gun accidents at 23 times the rate they are killed in schools. American children are 12 times more likely to die from guns than children in 25 other industrialized countries. The paper recommends channeling public energy into removing guns from children and adults and providing constructive opportunities for children during peak crime hours (after school programs and restriction on mass gun sales).


This research considers the role of romantic rejections in rampage school shootings by adolescent males. Examined were the arguments that these young shooters understand such rejections as one of many undeserved humiliations that have damaged their gender credibility and thus their school social status; and that the norms of a traditional masculinity insisting on the repudiation of feminine emotionality constrain them from expressing sadness or vulnerability over the rejection. Fifteen of the 29 adolescent shooters in the study sample had experienced romantic rejection in the period leading up to their rampage. Overall, their reactions to such rejection affirmed the above arguments. The rejected shooters reacted with growing anger to what they perceived as these gendered injustices; at the same time, they typically suppressed any public display of feminine emotionality in response to the hurtful experience of
rejection. While they commonly threatened and derided their rejecter(s), with the exception of one case, they reserved their physical violence, including shooting, for male peers whom they thought were a factor in their breakup or who had emasculated them through bullying. Suggestions for intervention and prevention based on the study findings are offered.


Multiple-homicide school shootings are rare events, but when they happen they significantly impact individuals, the school and the community. We focus on multiple-homicide incidents and identified mental health issues of shooters. To date, studies of school shootings have concluded that no reliable profile of a shooter exists, so risk should be assessed using comprehensive threat assessment protocols. Existing studies primarily utilize retrospective case histories or media accounts. The field requires more empirical and systematic re-search on all types of school shootings including single victim incidents, those that result in injury but not death and those that are successfully averted. We discuss current policies and practices related to school shootings and the role of mental health professionals in assessing risk and supporting surviving victims.


Research on school shootings remains limited, focusing primarily on individual-level risk factors, contagion, and prevention. The community effects literature on homicide and exposure to violence, however, suggests that contextual correlates also play an important role. This study examines whether macro-environmental characteristics impact the odds of a school district experiencing a shooting. A penalized maximum likelihood logistic regression model was used to compare 253 school districts in the United States that experienced at least one shooting from the 1998/1999 to 2017/2018 school years to the 13,201 that did not. Results indicate that districts with high enrollments and expenditures and greater levels of disadvantage and violent crime are at a higher risk for a school shooting. School shootings share similar macro-level contextual risk factors with other types of violent crime. Researchers should account for the context in which a school shooting occurs to avoid inflating the influence of individual-level risk factors.


The current paper applies action systems theory to the phenomenon of school violence perpetrated by children. This framework has been recently applied to understanding other forms of criminal behaviour and was hypothesised to be appropriate for understanding the function of aggression and interaction in school homicides. The data for the study consisted of 93 school-associated violent deaths occurring in North America between 1992 and 1999. Content analysis of these cases produced a set of 29 variables relating to perpetrator actions. In order to test the action systems hypotheses, a Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) was performed. The plot was partitioned according to an angular facet reflecting four modes of
interaction, in the spatial order predicted by the model. Additionally, a radial facet was found that was interpreted as reflecting the offender’s attempts to attain or preserve their sense of power. These results have implications both for understanding the motives and functions of violent behaviour in schools, as well as offering suggestions for interventions targeted at modifying this behaviour.


School shootings are a concern due to their impact in the local community. This paper aimed to (a) establish frequent characteristics of the offender and offence, (b) explore the differences between offenders who are over the age of 18 years and those who are younger, and (c) consider the underlying themes of the offence characteristics. Data were collected on 28 cases through accessing resources such as West Law and case studies. The majority of the offenders were Caucasian and US citizens and suffered from depression. Their offences were primarily well planned, involved more than three deaths, and resulted in the offender committing suicide. Pearson’s chi-square test and Fisher’s exact test identified significant differences between the two age groups. Offenders who were 18 years of age or under were more likely to experience depression, be US citizens and be linked to the school. Additionally, offenders who were 18 years of age or under were more likely to have stolen their weapons and made threats prior to the incident. Smallest space analysis revealed four thematic regions in relation to the offence characteristics: making an impact, delivering a message, doing unrestrained activity, and targeting specific individuals. These findings have implications for risk assessment and furthering understanding.


In addition to the potential loss of life, school shootings can evoke feelings of profound fear and anxiety that disturb a community’s sense of safety and security. Questions have been raised about whether schools’ approaches to addressing student behavior are a factor in school shootings. These approaches include discipline that removes the offending students from the classroom or school, and preventative approaches meant to change student behaviors before problems arise. GAO was asked to examine school shootings, including the link between discipline and shootings. This report examines 1) the characteristics of school shootings and affected schools, and 2) what is known about the link between discipline and school shootings. To do so, GAO analyzed data on school shootings and school characteristics for school years 2009-10 through 2018-19; and conducted a literature review to identify empirical research from 2009 to 2019 that examined discipline approaches in school, and the effects of these approaches on outcomes of school gun violence, school violence, or school safety. GAO also interviewed selected researchers to gather perspectives about challenges and limitations in conducting research on school discipline and school shootings.
To understand trends and characteristics in school-associated homicides involving youths, data from CDC’s School-Associated Violent Death Surveillance System were analyzed for 393 single-victim incidents that occurred during July 1994–June 2016 and 38 multiple-victim incidents (resulting in 121 youth homicides) during July 1994–June 2018. School-associated homicides consistently represent <2% of all youth homicides in the United States (1.2). The overall 22-year trend for single-victim homicide rates did not change significantly. However, multiple-victim incidence rates increased significantly from July 2009 to June 2018. Many school-associated homicides, particularly single-victim incidents, are similar to youth homicides unrelated to schools, often involving male, racial/ethnic minority youth victims, and occurring in urban settings. The majority of both single-victim (62.8%) and multiple-victim (95.0%) homicides were from a firearm-related injury. A comprehensive approach to violence prevention is needed to reduce risk for violence on and off school grounds.

trends and patterns of U.S. school shootings, the researcher makes a general statement about the U.S. school shootings summarizing the overall trends and patterns of the U.S. school shootings. Based on this inductive analysis of data collected from various literatures, the researcher, then, carefully discusses what the findings mean to educators in the U.S. public school systems under the discussions and the implications of these findings. The researcher would like to emphasize that this analysis of the U.S. school shootings is conducted in an educator’s perspective. Thus the discussions and implications target Grades K-12 teachers, parents, students, school administrators, teacher educators, and other supportive faculty and staff in the educational field. The researcher explores possibilities of what parents, students and educators can do to change the pattern of the U.S. school shootings and what roles they can play in order to keep the U.S. public schools safer for teaching and learning. Furthermore, the researcher discusses about the need of teachers’ self-defense training as a new addition to the professional development for teachers. She also discusses the possibility of partnership between the school and the church in order to be more responsive and attentive to the emotional needs of students. In addition, developing threat assessment, gun control issues, parental control of movies with gun violence are discussed as well.


Racial disparities in school discipline today are troubling. Nationally, nearly one third of black male high school and middle school students undergo suspension, while only one in ten white males are suspended. In Virginia, black males are suspended at approximately twice the rate of white males in elementary, middle, and high schools. Black females are suspended at more than twice the rate of white females. There are racial disparities even when controlling for a variety of other factors, such as poverty and delinquency. Because suspension is linked to school dropout and delinquency, reducing disparities in suspension rates could help reduce school dropout and delinquency rates for all students, but especially for black males. This report presents new evidence that the implementation of Virginia Student Threat Assessment Guidelines (VSTAG) in Virginia public schools is associated with marked reductions in both short-term and long-term school suspensions. Furthermore, use of VSTAG is associated with reductions in the racial disparity in long-term suspensions. Schools using VSTAG have substantially lower rates of school suspensions, especially among black males, who tend to have the highest suspension rates. In 2013, Virginia became the first state in the country to mandate the formation of threat assessment teams in all its schools. In light of this new data, it is important for schools to take this mandate seriously. In order to reap the benefits of threat assessment, however, it must be carefully implemented and balanced with student rights, all with the goal of improving school safety and climate for everyone. In addition to the seven recommendations found at the end of this report discussing ways for schools and communities to implement threat assessment safely and fairly, we also make the following policy recommendations:1. The Virginia General Assembly should ensure that sufficient funding is available to provide school employees and law enforcement employees assigned to work in schools training in threat assessment, as well as other interventions that can help reduce suspension rates and improve student behavior. 2. The Virginia Department of Education and The Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services should draft a model memorandum of understanding between schools and law enforcement for implementing threat assessment procedures and related efforts to maintain school safety.3. The Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice should collect data on school-based arrests,
referrals to law enforcement by schools or school resource officers, and filing of delinquency petitions or criminal complaints based on conduct occurring at school. 4. The General Assembly should require that schools ensure that students who are suspended or expelled continue to make academic progress during periods of disciplinary removal.


School shootings have become more common in the United States in recent years. Yet, as media portrayals of these ‘rampages’ shock the public, the characterisation of this violence obscures an important point: many of these crimes culminate in suicide, and they are almost universally committed by males. We examine three recent American cases, which involve suicide, to elucidate how the culture of hegemonic masculinity in the US creates a sense of aggrieved entitlement conducive to violence. This sense of entitlement simultaneously frames suicide as an appropriate, instrumental behaviour for these males to underscore their violent enactment of masculinity.


The deadliest U.S. school shooting to date, occurring on February 14, 2018 at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida serves as a powerful reminder that school violence is ever present. Addressing school violence, however, has been an elusive endeavor. The purpose of this review is to provide a historical examination of United States intentional mass school shootings in the 20th and 21st centuries. In addition, implications for students, schools, and society are discussed in light of policy and legislative initiatives as well as school-based prevention and intervention tiered models of support, such as positive behavior interventions and supports (PBIS).


Safe Passage: A Guide to Addressing School Violence offers expert perspectives and guidance in understanding, assessing, and addressing school violence. Although the book is designed for child and adolescent forensic psychiatrists and psychologists seeking proficiency in youth violence risk assessment, educators, school administrators, mental health clinicians, other health care professionals who work with children, and interested laypersons will also find the book both practical and illuminating. The editors’ approach to school violence is informed by their educational, scholarly, clinical, and forensic work with children and adults who have been disenfranchised through the cumulative effects of poverty, trauma, untreated mental illness, and inadequate access to education. This background has fostered a sensitivity to and understanding of critically important developmental factors that can be passed on generationally, which are explored in depth in the volume. Case vignettes and
follow-ups are used liberally to illustrate and illuminate the range of violent situations (e.g., bullying, cyberbullying, gang violence, sexual violence) likely to be encountered, as well as the advantages and disadvantages inherent in various interventions. The authors stress that threat assessment must take individual, school, and community variables into account, a complex but necessary task for mental health professionals and educators who wish to safeguard individuals and society from harm.


**Background:** Although less than 2% of all homicides among young people are school-associated, since 1970 1373 K-12 school gun violence incidents have injured 1403 people and killed another 728. These incidents have changed the education landscape. Informed stakeholders must work together to prevent school gun violence.

**Methods:** We reviewed the nature of school gun violence in the United States and efforts to prevent it.

**Results:** We briefly outline a public health approach to prevent school gun violence, major actions the nation has taken, current school gun violence surveillance systems, the effects of school gun violence nationwide, the extent to which our schools are implementing various interventions to prevent it, and a national strategy to move forward.

**Conclusions:** Our young people and our schools deserve a more organized national effort.


A number of researchers have sought to identify the features that school shooters have in common in terms of family life, personalities, histories, and behaviors. This article examines the cases of 10 rampage school shooters in an effort to find out not only how they are alike, but also how they differ. Based on available information, these youths are categorized into three types: traumatized, psychotic, and psychopathic. Out of the 10 shooters discussed, three were traumatized, five were psychotic, and two were psychopathic. The three traumatized shooters all came from broken homes with parental substance abuse and parental criminal behavior. They all were physically abused and two were sexually abused outside of the home. The five psychotic shooters had schizophrenia-spectrum disorders, including schizophrenia and schizotypal personality disorder. They all came from intact families with no history of abuse. The two psychopathic shooters were neither abused nor psychotic. They demonstrated narcissism, a lack of empathy, a lack of conscience, and sadistic behavior. Most people who are traumatized, psychotic, and psychopathic do not commit murder. Beyond identifying the three types of rampage shooters, additional factors are explored that may have contributed to the attacks. These include family structure, role models, and peer influence.

This study presents results from the first combined quantitative assessment and comparative analysis of suicide terrorists and rampage, workplace, and school shooters who attempt suicide. Findings suggest that in the United States from 1990 to 2010, the differences between these offenders ($N = 81$) were largely superficial. Prior to their attacks, they struggled with many of the same personal problems, including social marginalization, family problems, work or school problems, and precipitating crisis events. Ultimately, patterns among all four types of offenders can assist those developing security policy, conducting threat assessments, and attempting to intervene in the lives of at-risk individuals.


School shootings have received considerable media attention in recent years. These widely publicized crimes have provoked fear among parents, school staff, and the public at large despite data indicating that school violence has not significantly increased. This article examines the ways in which school shootings are depicted in the media and contrasts these images with official sources of juvenile crime data. The findings indicate that media reports of school shootings lead to grossly distorted perceptions of the potential for victimization. Recommendations are offered to help provide more accurate and balanced coverage of these tragic events.


Media commentators have suggested that recent school shootings were precipitated by social rejection, but no empirical research has examined this claim. Case studies were conducted of 15 school shootings between 1995 and 2001 to examine the possible role of social rejection in school violence. Acute or chronic rejection—in the form of ostracism, bullying, and/or romantic rejection—was present in all but two of the incidents. In addition, the shooters tended to be characterized by one or more of three other risk factors—an interest in firearms or bombs, a fascination with death or Satanism, or psychological problems involving depression, impulse control, or sadistic tendencies. Implications for understanding and preventing school violence are discussed.


To explain the genesis of mass murder committed by students at their schools, the authors propose a five-stage sequential model in which several criminological theories (strain theory, control theory, and routine activities theory) are brought to bear collectively to demonstrate their cumulative effect. These
stages are as follows: chronic strain, uncontrolled strain, acute strain, the planning stage, and the massacre. Long-term frustrations (chronic strains) experienced early in life or in adolescence lead to social isolation, and the resultant lack of prosocial support systems (uncontrolled strain) in turn allows a short-term negative event (acute strain), be it real or imagined, to be particularly devastating. As such, the acute strain initiates a planning stage, wherein a mass killing is fantasized about as a masculine solution to regain lost feelings of control, and actions are taken to ensure the fantasy can become reality. The planning process concludes in a massacre facilitated by weapons that enable mass destruction in schoolrooms and campuses, where students are closely packed together. Based on this analysis, prevention strategies are suggested.


**Background:** Two school shootings with altogether 18 victims took place in Finland in November 2007 and September 2008. Homicides and suicides are both associated with the copycat phenomenon. The aim of the present study was to characterize adolescent copycats who had threatened to carry out a school massacre.

**Methods:** The nation-wide study evaluated 77 13- to 18-year-old adolescents who were sent for adolescent psychiatric evaluations between 8.11.2007 and 30.6.2009, one of the reasons for evaluation being a threat of massacre at school. The medical files of the copycats were retrospectively analysed using a special data collection form. Data on demographics, family- and school-related issues, previous psychiatric treatment and previous delinquency, current symptoms, family adversities and psychiatric diagnoses were collected. The severity of the threat expressed and the risk posed by the adolescent in question were evaluated. The Psychopathy Checklist Youth Version was used to assess psychopathic traits.

**Results:** All of the copycats were native Finns with a mean age of 15.0 years. Almost two thirds of them had a history of previous mental health treatment before the index threat. Almost two thirds of the copycats suffered from anxiety and depressive symptoms, and almost half of the sample expressed either suicidal ideation or suicidal plans. Behavioural problems including impulse control problems, aggressive outbursts, the destruction of property as well as non-physical and physical violence against other persons were common. The diagnosis groups highlighted were behavioural and emotional disorders, mood disorders as well as schizophrenia-related disorders. The prevalence of pervasive developmental disorders was high. Only one of the copycats was assessed as expressing high traits of psychopathy.

**Conclusion:** The copycats with school massacre threats were characterized with a high prevalence of mental and behavioural disorders. Like actual school shooters, they showed psychotic symptoms and traumatic experiences, but unlike the shooters, the copycats were not psychopathic.

**Purpose** The aim of the study was to determine whether characteristics related to the school, shooter, and guns used are associated with school shooting severity (casualty rates, fatality rates, and likelihood of fatality).

**Methods** We analyzed associations between individual-, school-, and gun-level factors and school shooting severity in the United States from April 1999 through May 2018.

**Results** Handguns were used in most school shootings (81%); however, substantially, more fatalities occurred when rifles (relative risk [RR] = 14.74, 95% confidence interval [CI] [5.00, 43.41]) or shotguns (RR = 8.84, 95% CI [2.20, 35.54]) were used. Fatal shootings were more likely to happen in schools that were majority white, taught younger students, and were rural or suburban. When shooters were aged ≥20 years, shootings were more likely to be fatal (RR = 2.44, 95% CI [1.18, 5.07]), have more casualties (RR = 5.15, 95% CI [2.06, 12.90]), and more deaths (RR = 20.13, 95% CI [4.86, 83.28]). No significant differences were observed based on the presence of resource officers.

**Conclusions** More severe shootings were associated with shooters who were older and therefore unlikely to be students, whereas the presence of a school resource officer was unassociated with any reduction in school shooting severity. Importantly, the type of gun used was strongly associated with casualties and fatalities. Study findings suggest a need for prevention efforts beyond those commonly used in schools, as well as the need for improved laws.


While schools are safer today than in years past, one act of school violence is one too many. Recent reports have conveyed the importance of schools developing and implementing protocols and procedures to prevent or mitigate school violence. To assist with this task, this article addresses behavioral threat assessment and management (BTAM) in the K-12 school setting and the school psychologist’s role in risk and threat assessment. Best practices in establishing a K-12 behavioral threat assessment and management process, including the assessment of risk factors and warning signs, identification of concerns, and follow-up interventions and monitoring are discussed. Ethical and legal considerations are also reviewed.


**Objective:** The authors conducted a descriptive, archival study of adolescent (≤19 years of age) mass murderers—subjects who intentionally killed three or more victims in one event—to identify demographic, clinical, and forensic characteristics.

**Method:** A nonrandom sample of convenience of adolescent mass murderers was utilized.
Results: Thirty-four subjects, acting alone or in pairs, committed 27 mass murders between 1958 and 1999. The sample consisted of males with a median age of 17. A majority were described as “loners” and abused alcohol or drugs; almost half were bullied by others, preoccupied with violent fantasy, and violent by history. Although 23% had a documented psychiatric history, only 6% were judged to have been psychotic at the time of the mass murder. Depressive symptoms and historical antisocial behaviors were predominant. There was a precipitating event in most cases—usually a perceived failure in love or school—and most subjects made threatening statements regarding the mass murder to third parties. The majority of the sample clustered into three types: the family annihilator, the classroom avenger, and the criminal opportunist.

Conclusions: The adolescent mass murderer is often predatorily rather than affectively violent and typically does not show any sudden or highly emotional warning signs. Although the act of mass murder is virtually impossible to predict because of its extremely low frequency, certain clinical and forensic findings can alert the clinician to the need for further, intensified primary care, including family, school, community, law enforcement, and mental health intervention.


Violence prevention strategies such as threat assessment rely on information from students; however, students are often unwilling to report threats of violence to school authorities. The current study investigated the hypothesis that middle school students are less likely to report threats of violence when they perceive aggressive behavior as a source of status and popularity among their peers. Our statewide sample consisted of 39,364 7th and 8th graders who completed school climate surveys in 423 schools. Students completed a measure of aggressive attitudes and were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with 2 statements concerning threats of violence: (a) “If another student brought a gun to school, I would tell one of the teachers or staff at school,” and (b) “If another student talked about killing someone, I would tell one of the teachers or staff at school.” Multilevel logistic regression analyses, which controlled for student and school demographics, found that higher levels of aggressive attitudes at both the school and student level were associated with a lower likelihood of reporting threat behavior.


Studies of school shootings have been conducted in a variety of disciplines, including sociology, psychology, and media studies. However, to date there is no unified body of knowledge about such events. In an effort to synthesize past studies, and to orient future studies in school shootings, this article (i) offers a typology for understanding the varieties of school shooting incidents, including rampages, mass murders, terrorist attacks, targeted attacks, and government shootings; (ii) examines the mass media dynamic of school shootings; and (iii) presents a synthesis of the multilevel causes suggested in the research, including those on the individual, community, and social levels. Suggestions for future studies in school shootings are explored.
This report is the 21st in a series of annual publications produced jointly by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), Institute of Education Sciences (IES), in the U.S. Department of Education, and the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) in the U.S. Department of Justice. This report presents the most recent data available on school crime and student safety. The indicators in this report are based on information drawn from a variety of data sources, including national surveys of students, teachers, principals, and postsecondary institutions. Sources include results from the School-Associated Violent Death Surveillance System, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education, the U.S. Department of Justice, and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC); the National Vital Statistics System, sponsored by CDC; the National Crime Victimization Survey and School Crime Supplement to that survey, sponsored by BJS and NCES, respectively; the Youth Risk Behavior Survey, sponsored by CDC; the Schools and Staffing Survey, National Teacher and Principal Survey, School Survey on Crime and Safety, Fast Response Survey System, and EDFacts, all sponsored by NCES; the Studies of Active Shooter Incidents, sponsored by the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the Campus Safety and Security Survey, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education; and the Monitoring the Future Survey, sponsored by the National Institute on Drug Abuse of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The most recent data collection for each indicator varied by survey, from 2015 to 2017. Each data source has an independent sample design, data collection method, and questionnaire design, or is the result of a universe data collection. Findings described in this report with comparative language (e.g., higher, lower, increase, and decrease) are statistically significant at the .05 level. This report covers topics such as victimization, teacher injury, bullying and electronic bullying, school conditions, fights, weapons, availability and student use of drugs and alcohol, student perceptions of personal safety at school, and criminal incidents at postsecondary institutions. Indicators of crime and safety are compared across different population subgroups and over time. Data on crimes that occur away from school are offered as a point of comparison where available.


A school-associated violent death is any homicide, suicide, or weapons-related violent death in the United States in which the fatal injury occurred: (1) on the property of a functioning public, private or parochial elementary or secondary school, Kindergarten through grade 12, (including alternative schools); (2) on the way to or from regular sessions at such a school; (3) while person was attending or was on the way to or from an official school-sponsored event; and (4) as an obvious direct result of school incident/s, function/s or activities, whether on or off school bus/vehicle or school property. Newspaper accounts, on which the National School Safety Center (NSSC) bases this report, frequently do not list names and ages of those who are charged with the deaths of others. Such omissions were in some cases because the person charged was a minor. In some instances, persons were killed in drive-by shootings, gang encounters or during melees in which the killer was not identified, and the killers were either never apprehended or were caught days or months after the crime was first reported. As a result, more is known about victims than about perpetrators and therefore information in
this report relates more to victims than to perpetrators. This report covers all reported school associated violent deaths that the National School Safety Center knows of from the 1992-1993 School year to present. For purposes of this study, the new school year begins on August 1st.


Ensuring the safety of children at school is a responsibility that belongs to everyone, including law enforcement, school staff, mental health practitioners, government officials, and members of the general public. To aid in these efforts, the U.S. Secret Service National Threat Assessment Center (NTAC) studied 41 incidents of targeted school violence that occurred at K-12 schools in the United States from 2008 to 2017. This report builds on 20 years of NTAC research and guidance in the field of threat assessment by offering an in-depth analysis of the motives, behaviors, and situational factors of the attackers, as well as the tactics, resolutions, and other operationally-relevant details of the attacks. The analysis suggests that many of these tragedies could have been prevented, and supports the importance of schools establishing comprehensive targeted violence prevention programs as recommended by the Secret Service in Enhancing School Safety Using a Threat Assessment Model: An Operational Guide for Preventing Targeted School Violence.1 This approach is intended to identify students of concern, assess their risk for engaging in violence or other harmful activities, and implement intervention strategies to manage that risk. The threshold for intervention should be low, so that schools can identify students in distress before their behavior escalates to the level of eliciting concerns about safety.


Objective: In light of public concern about school shootings, this study examined the prevalence and offense characteristics of multiple casualty homicides across locations.

Method: We used the FBI’s National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS) to examine 18,873 homicide incidents involving 25,180 victims who were either killed or injured from 2005 through 2010.

Results: Multiple casualty homicides were surprisingly common events, with approximately 22% of homicide incidents involving 2 or more victims. Multiple casualty homicides were much more common in residences (47%) versus schools (0.8%), but homicides in residences tended to have 1 victim (78%) rather than multiple victims (22%), whereas homicides in schools were about equally likely to have 1 victim (57%) or multiple victims (43%). Multiple homicides were more likely to involve firearms than weapons such as knives or blunt objects. Finally, there were statistical differences in offense characteristics for homicides with 1, 2, and 3 victims.

Conclusion: These findings suggest that the public perception that schools are a high-risk location for homicides is inaccurate. Although concern about school shootings is understandable, the larger problem of multiple casualty shootings is more common in other locations which do not receive comparable media attention.

In the late 1990s, Americans watched in horror as a wave of mass shootings on middle and high school campuses swept across the country. Banner headlines and terrifying photos screamed from the front pages of the nation's dailies. Round-the-clock television coverage broadcast images of distraught teenagers huddled in the hallways, anguished parents weeping behind police lines, ambulance gurneys wheeling the dead and injured from playgrounds to emergency rooms, and grave stones rising. This book is based on interviews with 163 people in Heath and Westside (two communities who three years before had gone through the ordeal of a rampage shooting) along with neighboring communities, including families of the victims, students who were in the schools at the time of the shootings as well as current students who were not, teachers, administrators, lawyers, officials of the court, psychologists, newspaper and television reporters, and friends, family members, and fellow congregation members of the shooters. We reviewed the national and local news coverage of these two cases as well as the other rampage school shootings that have taken place in the past thirty years. The five of us used up many yellow legal pads sketching out and then refining the analyses we present here. This volume is the product of a complete team effort, from the early days of planning the research, to collecting and analyzing the data, all the way through the writing and rewriting of numerous drafts.


This monograph presents a systematic procedure for threat assessment and intervention. The model is designed to be used by educators, mental health professionals and law enforcement agencies. Obviously, the same events that led the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) to this subject have also led school administrators and law enforcement officials across the country to consider and develop their own policies and procedures for dealing with threats or acts of violence in schools. This model is offered in the hope that it may help refine and strengthen those efforts. Its fundamental building blocks are the threat assessment standards outlined in Chapter II, which provide a framework for evaluating a spoken, written, and symbolic threat, and the four-pronged assessment approach, which will be described in Chapter III and provides a logical, methodical process to examine the threatener and assess the risk that the threat will be carried out.


This paper describes the construction and descriptive analysis of a data set of United States school shooting events. Three hundred forty-three shooting events are included, spanning 175 years of United States educational history. All levels of US educational institution are included. Events are included when a firearm is discharged, regardless of whether an injury occurs. The analysis defines a mass shooting as an event in which four or more persons, excluding the shooter, are injured or killed. It defines a mass murder as an event in which four or more persons, excluding the shooter, are killed. The data reveals that US high schools are where most shooting events occur. Relatively speaking, there have been few mass murder events in US campuses, but they have occurred with much greater frequency in
the last 50 years. In most cases, shootings are premeditated. No prescription related to firearms at educational institutions is made.


The recent increase in the number of school shootings in the United States is a great concern. Consistent with General Strain Theory, previous research suggests that high school students who perpetrate gun violence have often experienced bullying victimization. This research investigated the interaction between gender and school bullying victimization on gun carrying, weapon carrying, and weapon carrying at school. Estimates of additive interaction were reported as recommended by the Strengthening the Reporting of Observational Studies in Epidemiology (STROBE) guidelines and compared with the estimates of multiplicative interaction. Data were used from a nationally representative survey of 61,042 U.S. high school students. Secondary analysis of pooled cross-sectional data from the 2009, 2011, 2013, and 2015 Youth Risk Behavior Survey was done, using R to estimate interactive effects on an additive scale between male gender and school bullying victimization on weapon carrying. A significant association was found between school bullying victimization, and gun and weapon carrying. Estimates of additive interaction show that the relationship between school bullying victimization and gun or weapon carrying is significantly greater among males than females as predicted by General Strain Theory. School bullying victimization increases the rate of gun and weapon carrying among all students, and especially among male students. Most mass school shooters are male and most of them experience some form of bullying victimization. Consequently, bullying prevention is likely to be important in a national effort to reduce gun and weapon violence in U.S. schools. This research also illustrates why estimates of adjusted risk differences and additive interactions should be reported for interpersonal violence research.


School shootings and terrorism attacks share many similarities, but these acts are often studied in separate research fields. Therefore, authors of studies on school shootings have not discussed radicalization of the perpetrators in depth, even though in terrorism studies radicalization is a highly researched theme. Online radicalization is even less studied in the school shooting context. Using opinion radicalization theory developed in terrorism studies, we analyzed online interviews (n = 22) with people deeply interested in school shootings. The analysis showed that people deeply interested in school shootings can be divided into three different groups based on the radicalness of their opinions toward school shootings: those with neutral opinions, sympathizers, and those interested in conducting a massacre. Data also indicate that becoming deeply interested in school shootings seems to strengthen an individual’s opinions more than it changes them. Research and risk assessment of school shootings should focus more on the radicalization process of school shooters, because it is also done in the area of terrorism studies. The results imply that online school shooting communities have unused potential in the prevention of school shootings.
School shootings comprise a small proportion of childhood deaths from firearms; however, these shootings receive a disproportionately large share of media attention. We conducted a root cause analysis of 2 recent school shootings in the United States using lay press reports. We reviewed 1760 and analyzed 282 articles from the 10 most trusted news sources. We identified 356 factors associated with the school shootings. Policy-level factors, including a paucity of adequate legislation controlling firearm purchase and ownership, were the most common contributing factors to school shootings. Mental illness was a commonly cited person-level factor, and access to firearms in the home and availability of large-capacity firearms were commonly cited environmental factors. Novel approaches, including root cause analyses using lay media, can identify factors contributing to mass shootings. The policy, person, and environmental factors associated with these school shootings should be addressed as part of a multipronged effort to prevent future mass shootings.


This paper examines US school rampage shootings, focusing on the period from the late 20th century to the present. School rampage shootings are thought to be distinct from other forms of violence because of the relatively safe rural setting in which most of these events occur, the lack of specified individual targets, and the number of deaths involved. While this type of violence seems to have spiked in the mid-1990s, school violence in general and school shootings in particular have occurred throughout the history of formal education. Research shows that certain elements of school rampage shootings are unique, while others do not distinguish them from more common forms of violence. For the most part, theory development is still nascent, with the most advanced explanations relying on psychological factors. Finally, interventions have generally been guided by situational crime prevention rather than theories about why violence occurs in school. This paper argues that more research is needed before firm policy conclusions can be made.


Among rampage shooting massacres, the Sandy Hook elementary School shooting on December 14, 2012 galvanized public attention. In this Commentary we examine the features of this episode of gun violence that has sparked strong reactions and energized discourse that may ultimately lead toward constructive solutions to diminish high rates of fire- arm deaths and injuries in the United States.

**Background:** Several past studies have found that media reports of suicides and homicides appear to subsequently increase the incidence of similar events in the community, apparently due to the coverage planting the seeds of ideation in at-risk individuals to commit similar acts.

**Methods:** Here we explore whether or not contagion is evident in more high-profile incidents, such as school shootings and mass killings (incidents with four or more people killed). We fit a contagion model to recent data sets related to such incidents in the US, with terms that take into account the fact that a school shooting or mass murder may temporarily increase the probability of a similar event in the immediate future, by assuming an exponential decay in contagiousness after an event.

**Conclusions:** We find significant evidence that mass killings involving firearms are incented by similar events in the immediate past. On average, this temporary increase in probability lasts 13 days, and each incident incites at least 0.30 new incidents (p = 0.0015). We also find significant evidence of contagion in school shootings, for which an incident is contagious for an average of 13 days, and incites an average of at least 0.22 new incidents (p = 0.0001). All p-values are assessed based on a likelihood ratio test comparing the likelihood of a contagion model to that of a null model with no contagion. On average, mass killings involving firearms occur approximately every two weeks in the US, while school shootings occur on average monthly. We find that state prevalence of firearm ownership is significantly associated with the state incidence of mass killings with firearms, school shootings, and mass shootings.


Premeditated mass shootings by students in suburban and rural secondary schools have surprised and even terrified our country. Although school violence overall has decreased measurably since 1993 (U.S. Departments of Education and Justice, 1999), multiple-victim homicides and woundings highlight an emerging problem for schools previously thought to be safe from acts of extreme violence. In the past 5 years, premeditated mass shootings in schools all occurred in rural or suburban communities. The assailant was not the stereotypical angry, poor, minority teen abusing drugs and failing academically. The schools were not overtly violent with gangs in control; Columbine High School prided itself in 82% college placement and 95% daily attendance rates. Psychiatrists are often asked to help after there has been a tragedy, when school shootings create a pressing need for trauma interventions and long-term follow-up. However, child and adolescent psychiatrists can be helpful in preventing such tragedies as well, by dealing realistically with the inexactness of all available techniques for assessing children who threaten homicide in schools, and by careful psychiatric assessment of individual children, family dynamics, the school climate, and factors in the social milieu that have an impact on the child’s development. Part of this work might include helping schools develop school threat assessment procedures and select suitable antiviolence programs (Twemlow et al., 2001).

Nine incidents of multiple-victim homicide in American secondary schools are examined and common risk factors are identified. The literature dealing with individual, family, social, societal, and situational risk factors for youth violence and aggression is reviewed along with existing risk assessment methods. Checklists of risk factors for serious youth violence and school violence are used in reviewing each school shooting case. Commonalities among the cases and implications for psychologists practicing in clinical and school settings are discussed.


Littleton, CO; Springfield, OR; West Paducah, KY; Jonesboro, AR. These communities have become familiar to many Americans as among the locations of those schools where shootings have occurred nationwide in recent years. In the aftermath of these tragic events, educators, law enforcement officials, mental health professionals and parents have pressed for answers to two central questions: "Could we have known that these attacks were being planned?" and, if so, "What could we have done to prevent these attacks from occurring?"


This report is the 22nd in a series of annual publications produced jointly by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), Institute of Education Sciences (IES), in the U.S. Department of Education, and the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) in the U.S. Department of Justice. This report is released primarily as a web-based report, and contents of the report can be viewed at https://nces.ed.gov/programs/crimeindicators/index.asp. This report presents the most recent data available on school crime and student safety. The indicators in this report are based on information drawn from a variety of data sources, including national and international surveys of students, teachers, principals, and postsecondary institutions. Sources include results from the SchoolAssociated Violent Death Surveillance System, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education, the U.S. Department of Justice, and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC); the National Vital Statistics System, sponsored by CDC; the K-12 School Shooting Database, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Defense; the National Crime Victimization Survey and School Crime Supplement to that survey, sponsored by BJS and NCES, respectively; the Youth Risk Behavior Survey, sponsored by CDC; the School Survey on Crime and Safety, Fast Response Survey System, EDFacts, and Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Kindergarten Class of 2010–11, all sponsored by NCES; the Teaching and Learning International Survey, sponsored by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; and the Campus Safety and Security Survey, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education. The most recent data collection for each
indicator varied by survey, from 2016 to 2019. Each data source has an independent sample design, data
collection method, and questionnaire design, or is the result of a universe data collection. Findings
described in this report with comparative language (e.g., higher, lower, increase, and decrease) are
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Indicators of crime and safety are compared across different population subgroups and over time. Data
on crimes that occur away from school are offered as a point of comparison where available

Whaley, A. L. (2020). The massacre mentality and school rampage shootings in the United States:

School rampage shootings in the United States are becoming a common occurrence. The purpose of this
article is place school rampage shooting in a broader cultural context. Specifically, in this article, I
introduce the concept of the "massacre mentality" as a cultural manifestation of western and southern
U.S. values. The massacre mentality is a state of mind in which the individual feels justified in
committing indiscriminate killings in defense of honour, protection of property, assurance of absolute
personal safety, or the elimination of challenges to the "natural order" from the perspective of the
offender. A review of the social psychological literature will contrast the massacre mentality with
related concepts of "culture of honour" and "sanctioned massacre." The relationship between street
violence, another major form of violence, and the massacre mentality is also addressed. A cultural
analysis suggests that interactions between individual psychology in the form of U.S. regional values
and sociocultural context of schools contribute to school rampage shootings more often than mental
illness. The prevention of school rampage shootings will require the identification of students
predisposed to adopt the values contributing to the massacre mentality and challenging social hierarchies
by restructuring the context of schools, as well as changing cultural norms in the broader society. The
ultimate goal is to create a U.S. culture where the massacre mentality is obsolete.


School shootings have altered the patina of seclusion and safety that once characterized public and
higher education. Callous and brutal, school shootings seem to make no sense. However, case
comparisons and anecdotal reports are beginning to show patterns that provide clues for understanding
both the individual factors motivating shooting events and the characteristics of schools where shootings
have occurred. We describe these factors and characteristics as the bases for six prevention strategies:
(a) strengthening school attachment, (b) reducing social aggression, (c) breaking down codes of silence,
(d) establishing screening and intervention protocols for troubled and rejected students, (e) bolstering
human and physical security, and (f) increasing communication within educational facilities and
between educational facilities and local resources.