Roper Center Data on Do you favor or oppose stricter gun laws?: February 1993 to June 2015
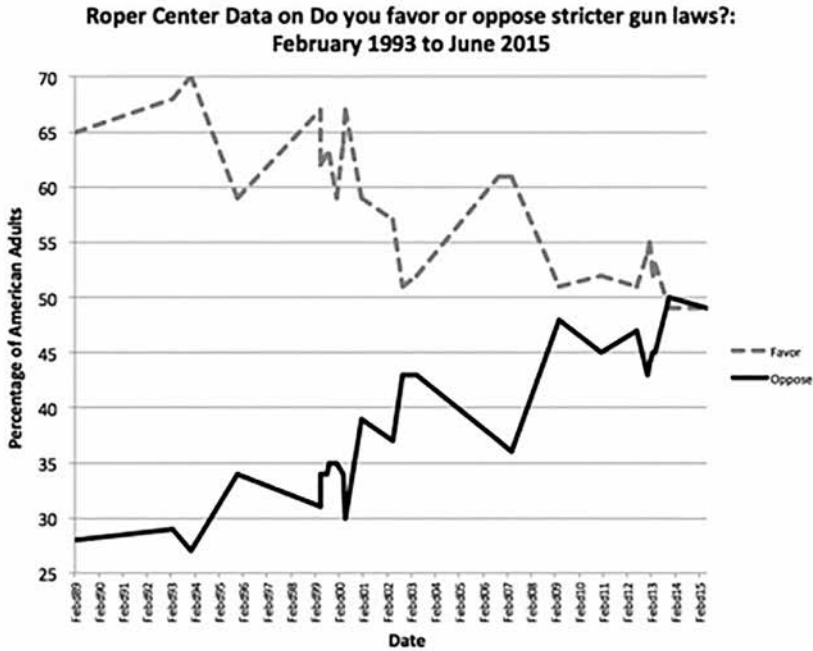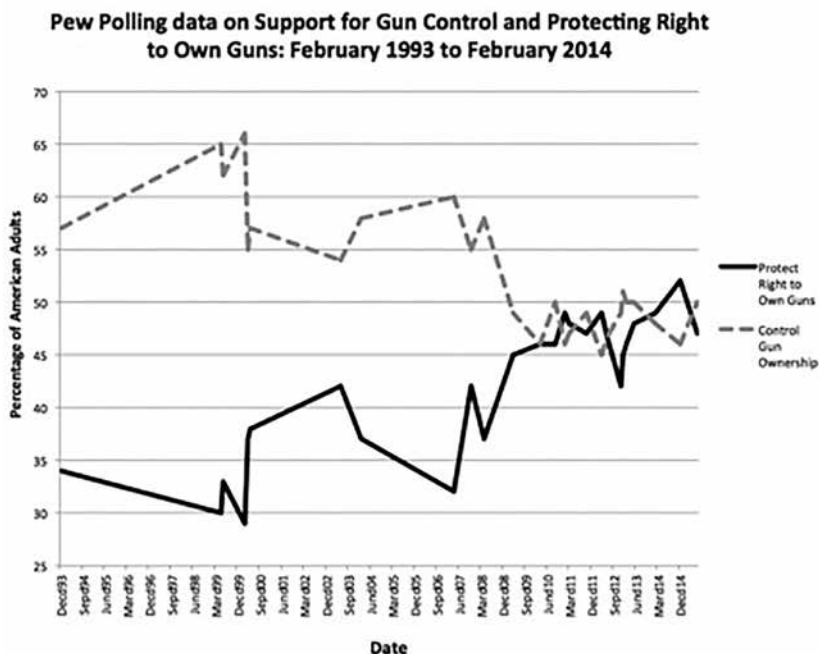
The Pew polling data also shows opposition to gun control rising by eighteen percentage points between 2000 and July 2015, though opposition had reached its peak of 52 percent in December 2014.

Again, this shift is all due to a massive transformation in people's views on the costs and benefits of gun ownership. In 2000, when Gallup began asking Americans whether they thought that they were safer with a gun in the home, only 35 percent of Americans answered *yes*. Fifty-one percent said that a gun would put them in *more* danger. By 2014, the numbers had flipped, with people saying, by a margin of 63 to 30 percent, that they are safer with a gun in the home. That is a twenty-eight percentage point shift, a change which roughly corresponds to the twenty-four percentage point increase in Americans who oppose more gun control.

Changing attitudes also explain the changing demographics of permit holders. Since 2012, the Pew Research Center has been asking this same question of different demographic groups. By 2015, a 25 percent

Pew Polling data on Support for Gun Control and Protecting Right to Own Guns: February 1993 to February 2014

greater proportion of blacks were answering that they thought owning a gun improves safety. There was an 11 percent increase among women—greater than the increase among men. Both blacks and women have seen the largest increase in concealed handgun permits. Blacks now make up 7 to 8 percent of permit holders. Women now hold over a quarter of concealed handgun permits. Between 2007 and 2015, the number of permits has grown by 156 percent among men and 270 percent among women.

Other polls confirm that people have this impression that guns make them safer. An October 2015 Gallup poll found that a 56 to 41 percent margin of Americans believe that increased concealed carry leads to improved safety.[3] The results are reversed only among Democrats and those with postgraduate degrees. This is quite a change from 2005, when 65 percent of Americans told Gallup that they felt less safe in places allowing concealed weapons. Only 25 percent said that they felt safer.[4] Even among gun owners, less than half (45 percent) said that they felt

Do Guns Make Homes Safer?

Gallup Survey Data
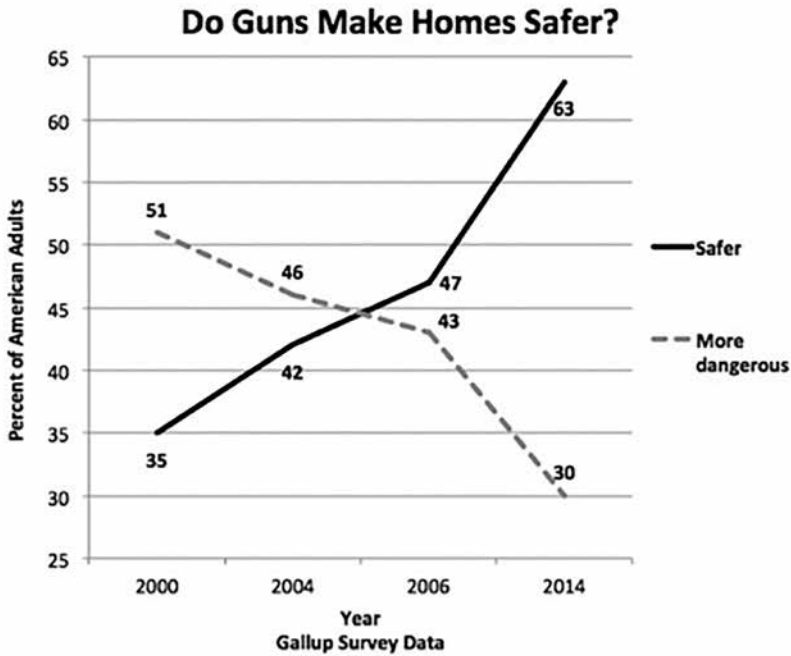
safer. Forty-four percent of Americans said then that only public safety officials should carry guns.

A January 2016 poll by Investor's Business Daily found that a 52 to 42 percent margin of Americans believe that gun ownership is more likely to increase public safety than gun control is to keep guns out of the hands of criminals.[5] In a June 2015 Rasmussen poll, 68 percent of Americans said that they would feel safer living in a neighborhood where guns are allowed.[6]

Gun control advocates are determined to reverse these trends by waging political war in Washington, D.C. and in state legislatures. They are pouring money into bogus research and training reporters on how to cover the issue of gun control. They care only about the conclusions, not the quality of the research. And the media is receptive to their research, failing to interview critics of gun control and not asking proponents the tough questions.

SURVEY RESULTS

FIGURE 1

Question 1: In the United States, are guns used in self-defense more often than they are used in the commission of crime?
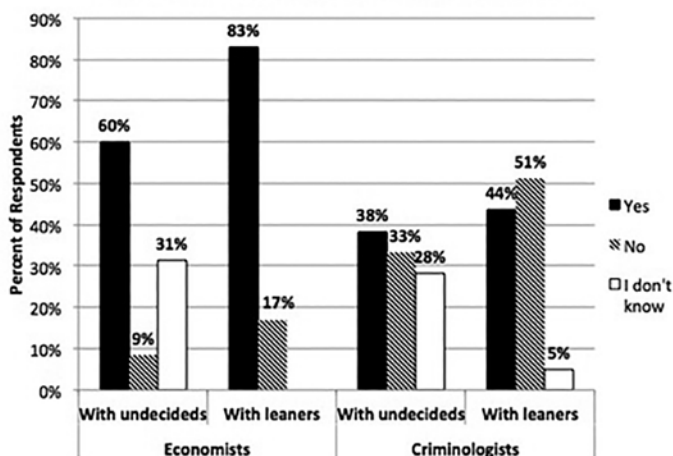
FIGURE 2

Question 2: Are gun-free zones, areas where civilians are banned from having guns, more likely to attract criminals than they are to deter them?
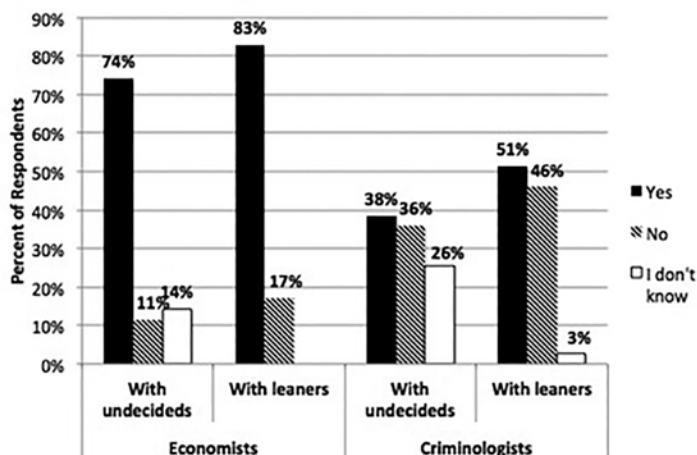
FIGURE 3

Question 3: Would you say that, in the United States, having a gun in the home causes an increase in the risk of suicide?
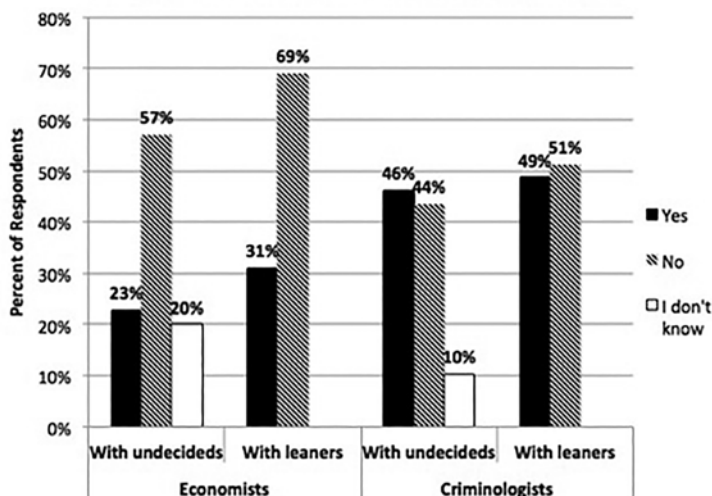
FIGURE 4

Question 4: Would you say that concealed handgun permit holders are much more law-abiding than the typical American?

FIGURE 5

Question 5: How does allowing people to carry a permitted concealed handgun affect the murder rate?

FIGURE 6

Combining Results for Economists and Criminologists from Entire World

FIGURE 7

Combining Results for Economists and Criminologists
from Entire World
**Question 5: How does allowing people to carry a
permitted concealed handgun affect the murder
rate?**
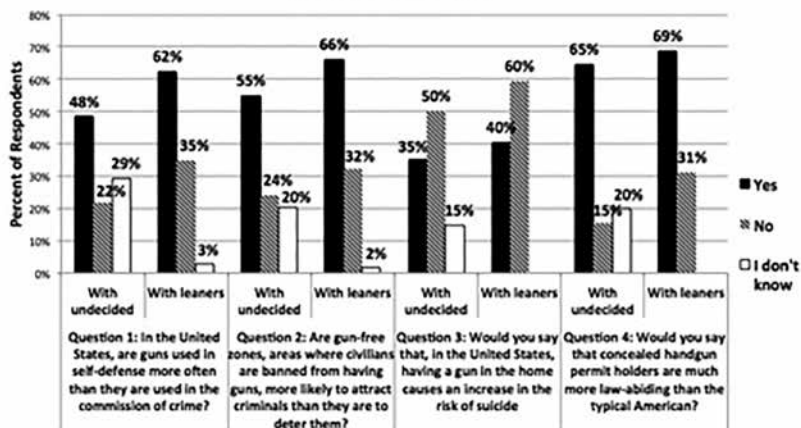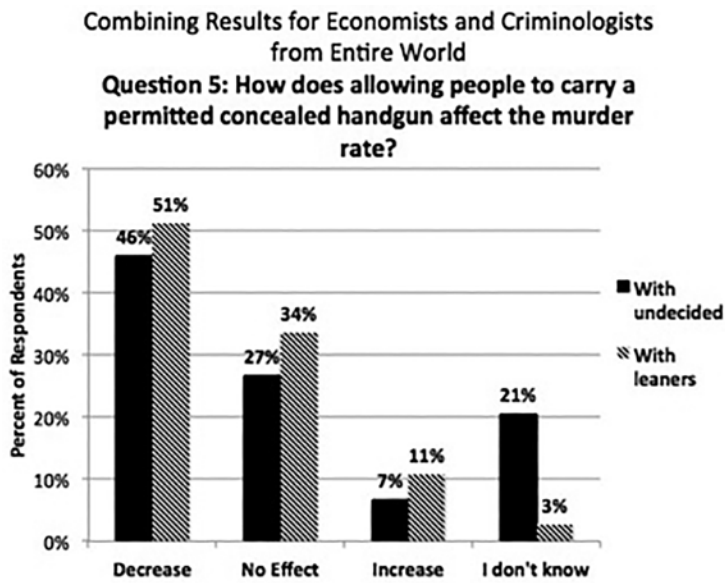
COMPARING ECONOMISTS AND CRIMINOLOGISTS

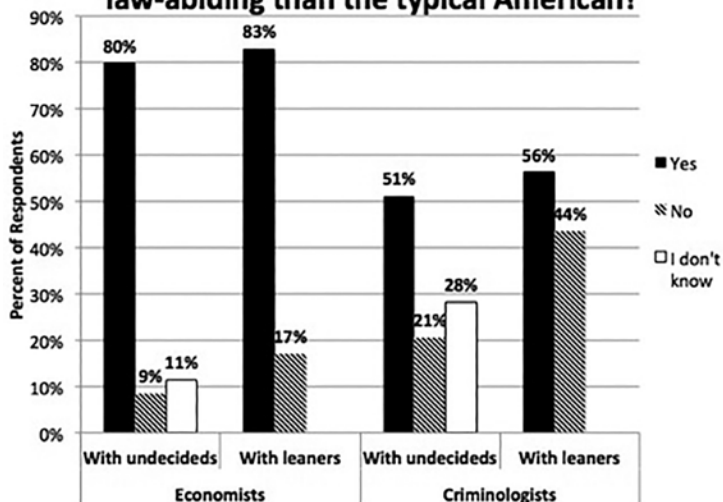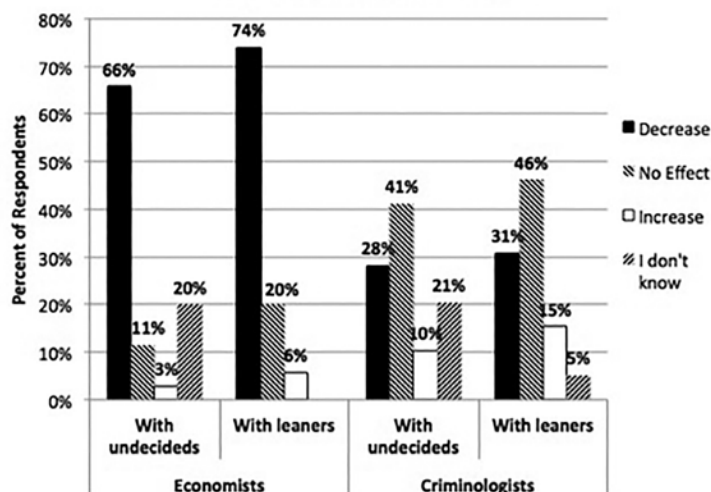The responses to questions one, two, and five clearly show that the notion of deterrence is much less widely accepted among criminologists than among economists (Graph 6).[16] Criminologists are only slightly more likely than not to say that gun-free zones attract criminals. Same with the question of whether guns are more likely to be used in self-defense than in the commission of a crime. The differences were not statistically significant (see Appendix Table 1.2a-c).

Both criminologists and economists, however, overwhelmingly believe that concealed handguns *reduce* rather than *increase* murders. Even when a decision is required of respondents who answered "I don't know," economists are twelve times as likely to answer that concealed handguns reduce murder than they are to answer that they cause an increase. Criminologists are twice as likely to believe this. However, the majority of criminologists think that concealed handguns have no effect.

Figure 1: Firearms articles per 100,000 medical journal articles (Covering period examined by Bloomberg 1985 to 2012)
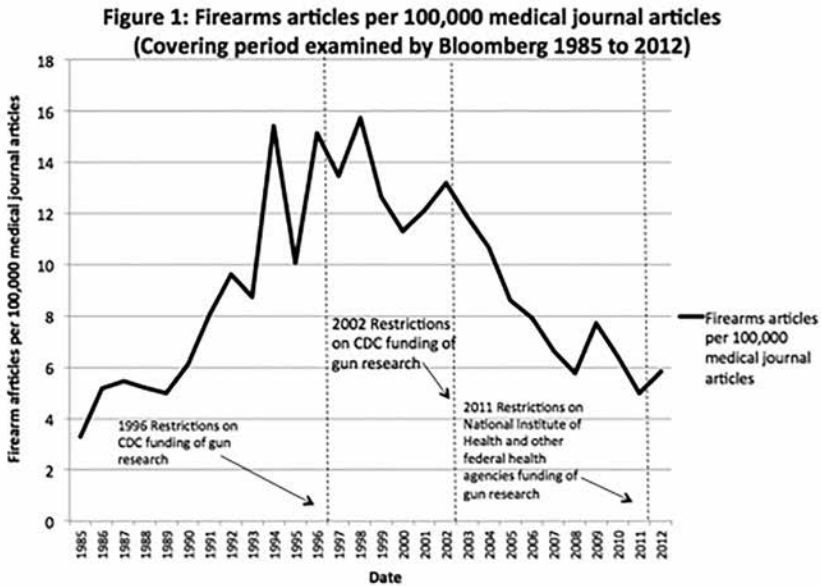
of the Dickey Amendment. The same goes for the more extensive 2011 restrictions, which prevented the NIH and other federal health agencies from funding gun research.

What Bloomberg actually measured was firearms research *relative to all other research*. After 1996, firearms research in medical journals did in fact fall as a percentage of all research (see Figure 1). However, up through 2013, when the concerns over firearms research surfaced, there was clearly no decrease in either the total number of papers or pages devoted to firearms research. After that, well before even the smallest increase in federally funded studies, research had exploded.

Three amendments have been claimed to affect federal funding for firearms research. The funding restrictions are usually labeled depending on when the vote on the amendments took place—1996, 2002, and 2011. However, the funding changes took place respectively for the 1997, 2003, and 2012 federal government appropriation bills. This distinction differentiates between when the congressional votes occurred and when the actual funding changes took place.[26]

Figure 2: Did Restrictions on government funding reduce gun control research?: Public Health/Medical Journal Publications from 1950 to 2015
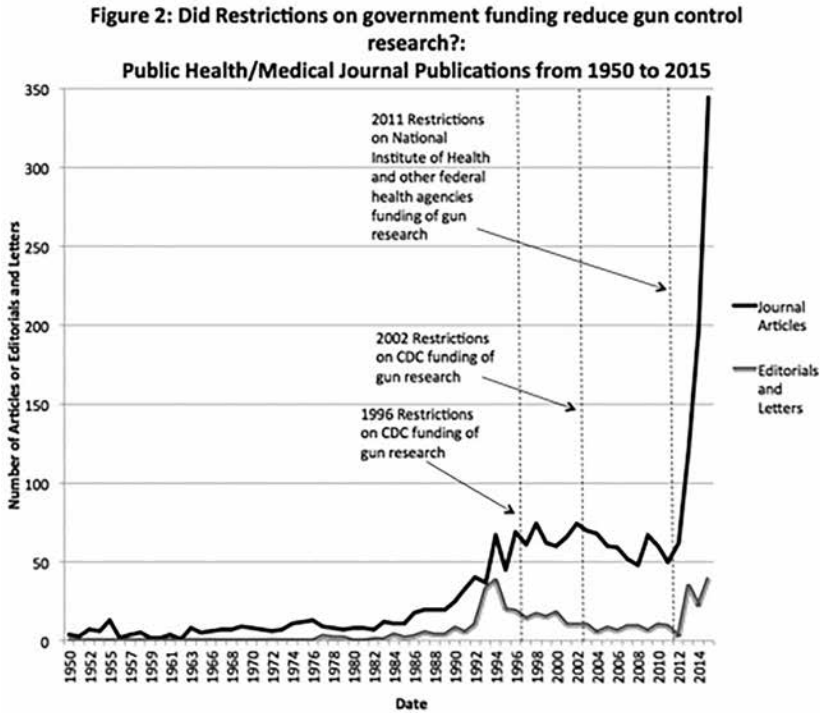
In fact, the number of firearms journal articles published in medical journals was relatively flat between 1996 and 2012, before Obama's changes in research funding could have any effect. But at the same time, those changes were dwarfed by a 133 percent increase in all medical journal articles. By 2013 and 2014, still well before any publications, written or published, could be funded by the federal government, the number of articles had soared to 121 and 196, respectively.[27] In 2015, 229 articles were published through August that year, and 344 at an annual rate.

Another way to measure total research output is the number of pages written on firearms. A couple of very short papers involve less work than a longer one. Given that journal space is scarce, journals will also give more space to research that they regard as more significant. But looking at the number of pages also shows no decrease in research—rising from 459 pages in 1996 to 753 in 2002 and back down to 456 in 2012. After

Figure 3: Did Restrictions on government funding reduce gun control research?: Public Health/Medical Journal Pages from 1950 to 2015
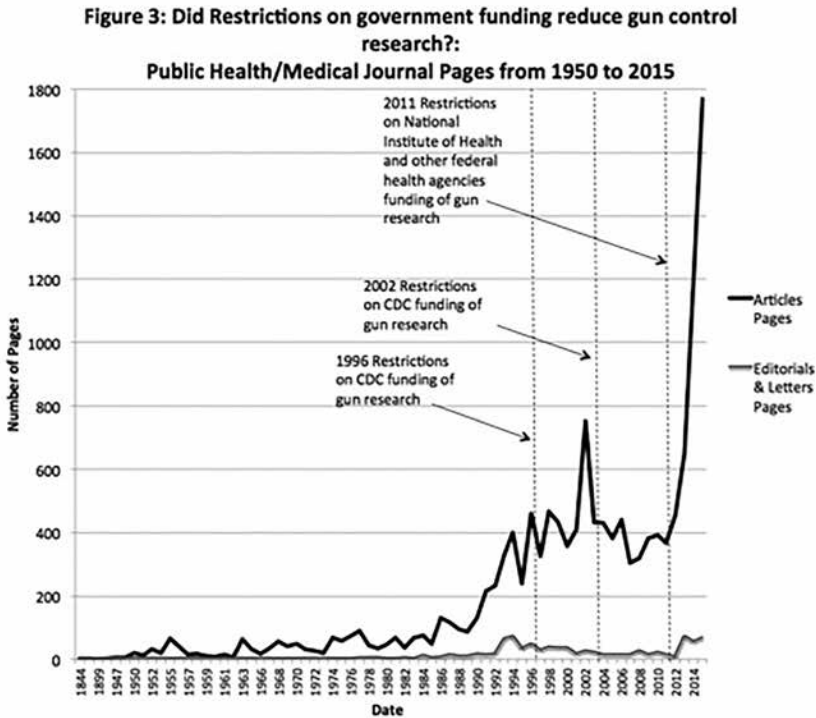
that, it soared to 651 pages in 2013 and 1,202 in 2014. Again, through August 2015, there were 1,179 pages, and at an annual rate of 1,769.

Maybe additional government funding would have led to more research. However, neither Figures 2 nor 3 suggest that experts were driven to "abandon the field." And there certainly was no "virtual ban on basic federal research."

Medical journal articles are required to mention any outside funding sources that they received. I collected data on funding sources for papers published from 1992 to 2013, and only 15 percent of the papers mention a funding source. Such funding isn't really necessary for virtually all research. Part of academic salaries are explicitly designated to cover their research, and the vast majority of social science research isn't that costly—it just involves using data that has already been collected by organizations such as the FBI and Centers for Disease Control.

Table 1: Funding sources for firearms research: assuming a three year lag in impact on research (1992 to 2013)		
	Share of research funded	Share of research federally funded
Pre-2000	8.5%	2.9%
2000 and later	18.2%	3.3%
Average over entire period	14.7%	3.2%

Assume that research is published within about three years after it is funded. If so, both federal funding and funding generally increased after the 1996 Dickey Amendment. As Table 1 shows, just 8.5 percent of the pre-2000 papers mention any funding source. Among later firearm papers, 18.2 percent mention a funding source.[28] From 1992 to 2013, only about 3 percent of papers on gun control ever received U.S. government funding. Moreover, the growth in papers appears to have been driven entirely by private funding (e.g., Bloomberg and the Joyce Foundation).

During 2013 there was a big increase in published firearms research with twenty-three papers receiving private funding, the largest number during the period being studied. Still that increased private funding only supported about a quarter of the increase in the number of papers published between 2012 and 2013. Papers citing the federal government for funding their research only increased by one paper between 2012 and 2013.

BLOOMBERG'S NFL AD CAMPAIGN

Michael Bloomberg is overwhelming the gun debate by spending over 50 million dollars a year just on his Everytown organization. In 2013, Bloomberg alone outspent all self-defense rights groups (including the NRA) by 6.3 to 1 on television ads.[29] Even discounting Bloomberg's massive expenditures, other gun control groups still spent 10 percent more than self-defense rights groups.

FIGURE 1

Connecticut's Firearm Homicide Rate Relative to Rest of US and Northeast
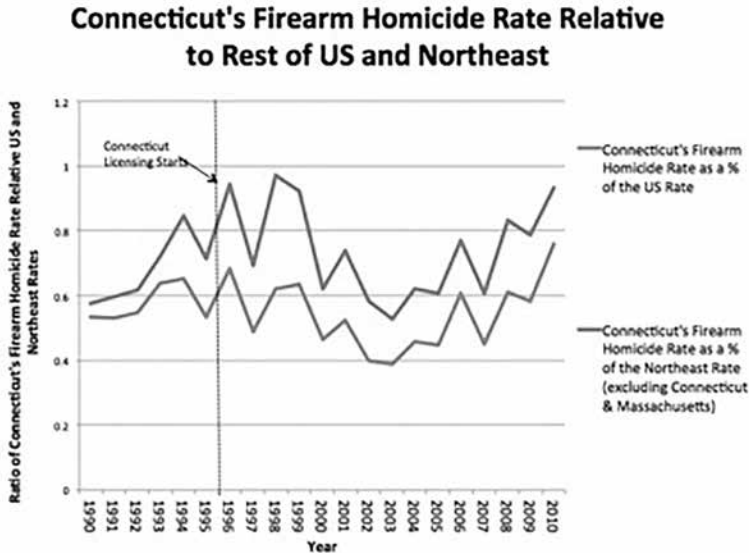
Connecticut's firearm homicide rate rose relative to the firearm homicides in the rest of the U.S. and other Northeastern states (Figure 1). But there is no theory offered for why Connecticut's firearm homicide rate would first rise relative to other Northeastern states, then fall relative to them for six years, and then rise relative to them for four of the next five years.

The same graph for next-door Massachusetts—which had all the same licensing, registration, and background checks as Connecticut—shows how bad things were after the state's 1998 gun licensing law went into effect (Figure 2). No wonder why gun-control advocates pick Connecticut.

The Bloomberg School of Public Health researchers not only cherry-pick the years and states to look at, but also what crime rates they examine. In 1995, Connecticut's overall violent crime rate stopped falling and then flattened relative to the rest of the U.S (Figure 3). There is no clear overall change in murder rates before and after the licensing law went into effect (Figure 4). Robbery and aggravated assaults rates were falling

FIGURE 2

Massachusetts' Firearm Homicide Rate Relative to Rest of US and Northeast

FIGURE 3

Connecticut's Violent Crime Rate Relative to Rest of US

FIGURE 4

Connecticut's Murder Rate Relative to Rest of US

FIGURE 5

Connecticut's Rape Rate Relative to Rest of US

FIGURE 6

Connecticut's Robbery Rate Relative to Rest of US

Licensing Starts

FIGURE 7

Connecticut's Aggravated Assault Rate Relative to Rest of US

Licensing Starts

FIGURE 1

Do you happen to have in your home any guns or revolvers?
General Social Survey

> The amount of households that own guns is like under 30%, or around 30%, and it's not as high as it used to be. What is happening is that those people are creating arsenals, and that is also disconcerting to me. That there are fewer households with guns, but they have a lot more of them. That freaks me out a little bit.[2]

So is gun ownership falling? It depends on which poll you look at. The answer is *yes*, according to a new General Social Survey (GSS) by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). According to the GSS, approximately 32 percent of homes have guns, down from 50 percent in the late 1970s.[3] "The number of Americans who live in a household with at least one gun is lower than it's ever been," reported Emily Swanson of the Associated Press.[4]

A couple of much more limited Pew Research surveys have suggested a similar drop in gun ownership.[5] Surely, gun control advocates such as GSS director Tom Smith view this decline as a good thing. In a 2003 book of mine, I quoted Smith saying that the large drop in gun ownership would "make it easier for politicians to do the right thing on guns."[6]

FIGURE 2

Do you have a gun in your home?
Gallup
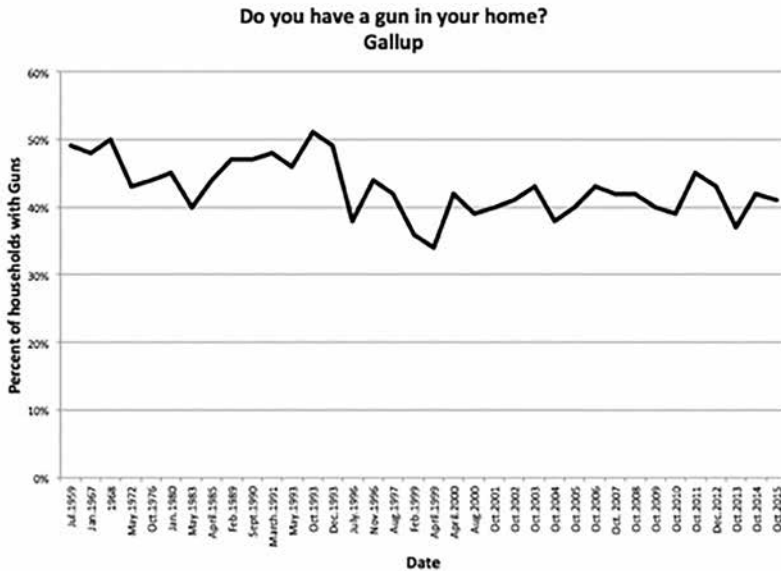
Gun control advocates are already trying to decrease gun ownership by dramatically exaggerating the risks of having guns in the home.[7] Now they are hoping that believing gun ownership is falling will cause people to think twice before buying a gun. That is not mere speculation—gun control advocates have told me this themselves.

Gallup and ABC News/*Washington Post* polls show that gun ownership rates have been relatively flat over the same period. According to Gallup, household gun ownership has ranged from 51 percent in 1994 to 34 percent in 1999. In 2014, the figure was 42 percent—comparable to the 43–45 percent figures during the 1970s.[8] A January 2016 CNN poll showed that 40 percent of Americans lived in households with guns.[9] Another 9 percent were unwilling to say, implying that the true rate is above 40 percent.

The ABC News/*Washington Post*, CNN, and Gallup polls show that in 2015 somewhere between 132 and 136 million Americans lived in homes with guns, with 30 million or so being under age eighteen.

FIGURE 3

Do you or does anyone in your house own a gun, or not?
ABC News/Washington Post Poll
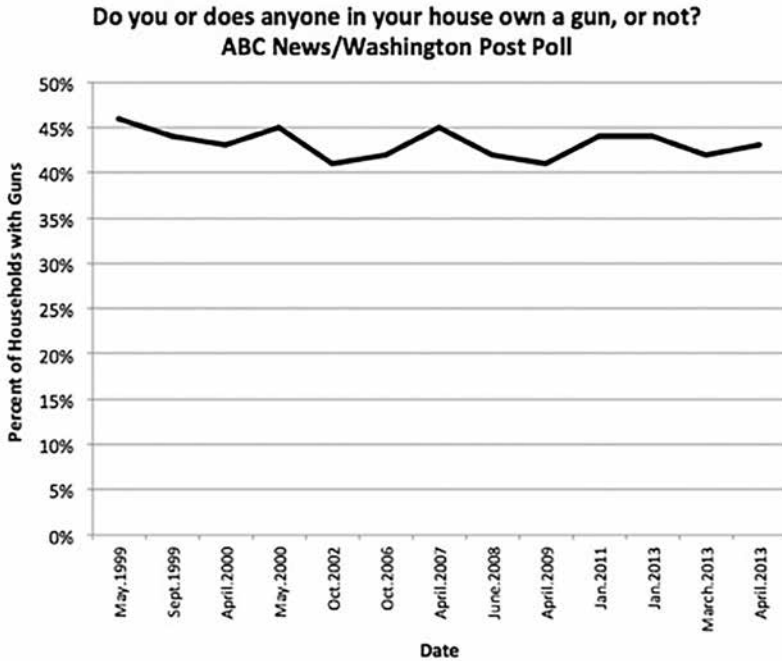
In 2011, Gallup published a poll with the headline, "Self-Reported Gun Ownership in U.S. Is Highest Since 1993." [10] How much news coverage did this get? None, as far as I can see. The ABC News/*Washington Post* poll shows an even more stable pattern. In 1999, the household ownership rate was between 44 and 46 percent.[11] In 2013, the rate was 43 percent.

In late 2013 and early 2014, I witnessed another example of media bias on this issue. Lauren Pearle, a producer with ABC News, contacted me about a special that Diane Sawyer was going to do on kids and guns.[12] Referring to the GSS survey, Pearle pointed to the dramatic fall in gun ownership and wondered whether gun owners would someday be only a "fringe" group. But I pointed out to her how strange it is that ABC News wouldn't use its own survey, which shows that gun ownership hasn't been falling. Pearle was skeptical that such a poll existed until I sent her the links to ABC's polling data. Needless to say, Diane Sawyer's

FIGURE 4

Non-gang, Non-suicide On School Firearm Deaths (K-12 Schools and Universities)
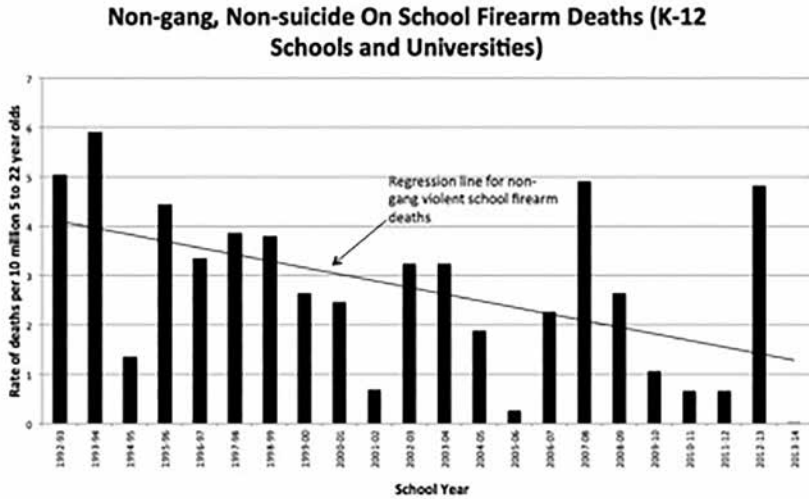
BLOOMBERG'S TACTICS ON MASS SHOOTINGS

In a July 2014 report, Everytown looked at shootings since 2009 where four or more people were killed. Everytown found 110 shootings, but the vast majority of these were gang-related. Many also occurred in residences, not public areas.

The FBI definition of mass public shootings excludes "shootings that resulted from gang or drug violence" or that were part of some other crime.[33] The FBI also defines "public" places as "includ[ing] commercial areas (divided into malls, businesses open to pedestrian traffic, and businesses closed to pedestrian traffic), educational environments (divided into schools [pre-kindergarten through twelfth grade] and IHEs), open spaces, government properties (divided into military and other government properties), houses of worship, and healthcare facilities."[34]

Mass public shootings rivet our attention on the news. In most cases, they are carried out for the purpose of attracting media attention. They occur in areas where it is relatively easy to kill a lot of people—places like schools, malls, and movie theaters.

FIGURE 5

FBI's measure of fatalities from active shooter attacks from 2000 to 2013
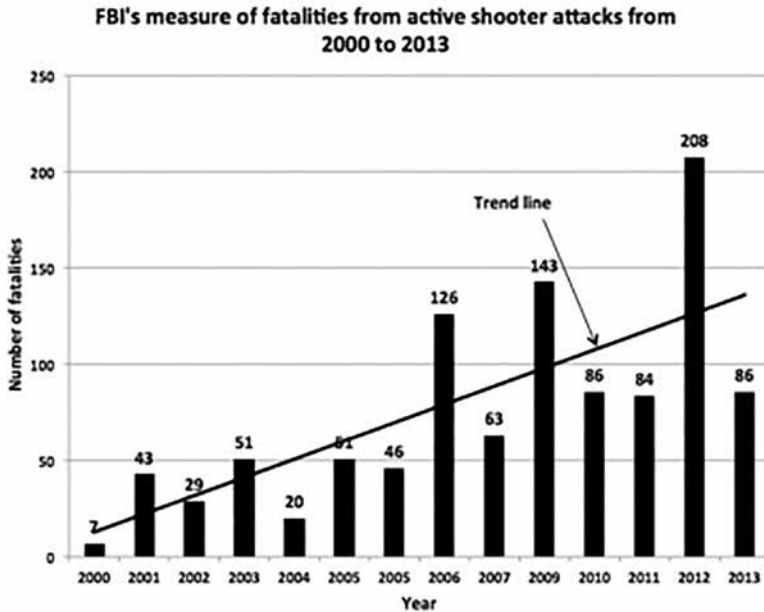
accidents with him."[42] Overall, it is abundantly clear that Everytown did a very sloppy and incomplete job of identifying cases of mental illness.

It is amazing that anyone takes Bloomberg's reports seriously.

EVEN FBI CRIME DATA ISN'T SAFE

Unfortunately, the Obama administration is now using the FBI as a propaganda tool. Just weeks before the November 2014 election, the FBI released a report claiming that public shootings had skyrocketed since 2000.[43] Supposedly, 160 "mass" or "active" shootings had occurred in public places from 2000 to 2013, increasing from just one in 2000 to seventeen in 2013.

Typical newspaper headlines were "F.B.I. Confirms a Sharp Rise in Mass Shootings Since 2000" (*New York Times*); "Mass Shootings on the Rise, FBI says" (*Wall Street Journal*); "FBI: Mass shooting incidents

FIGURE 6

FBI's measure of active shooting attacks from 2000 to 2013
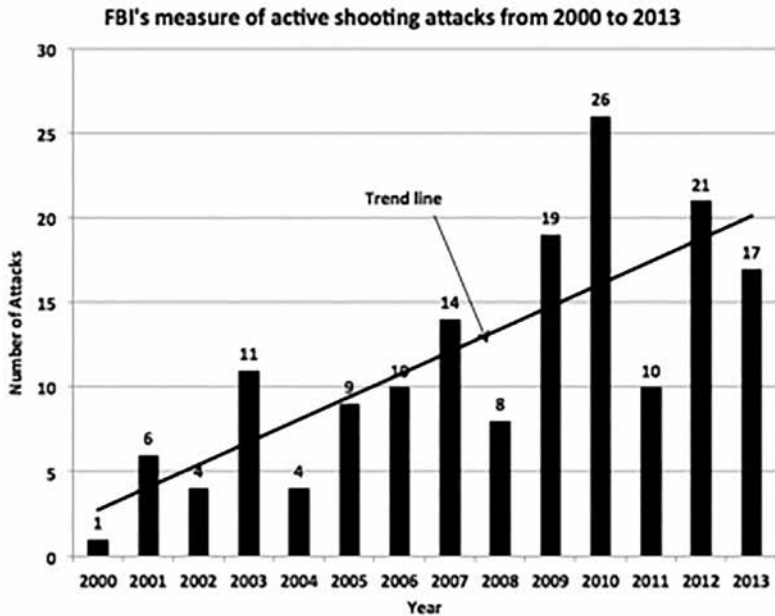
occurring more frequently" (CNN); and "Mass shootings in U.S. have tripled in recent years, FBI says" (*Los Angeles Times*).[44]

In a study recently published in the *Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Today*, I show that the FBI data were remarkably dishonest. Crimes were undercounted at the beginning of the period and over-counted toward the end.[45] In fact, mass public shootings have only increased slightly over the last four decades. The change isn't even statistically significant. Out of the 160 cases the FBI report counts from 2000 to 2013, thirty-two instances involved a gun being fired with no one killed (see Appendix Table 1.3). And eleven of those have either zero or just one person wounded. Another thirty-five cases involved one single person murdered. The increase in attacks is an illusion resulting from how the data was put together.

THE FBI'S MISSING CASES

Year	Mo.	Day	City	State	Attacker Name	Killed in public	Wounded	Location
2000	3	2	Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania	Ronald Taylor	2	3	Restaurant
2000	3	10	Savannah	Georgia	Darrel Ingram	2	1	School
2000	4	28	Mount Lebanon	Pennsylvania	Richard Baumhammers	5	1	Neighborhood
2001	1	11	Nevada County	Nevada	Scott Thorpe	3	2	County mental health office / Restaurant
2001	4	13	Chicago	Illinois	Luther Casteel	2	21	Bar
2002	4	6	Tacoma	Washington	Felise Kaio, Jr.	2	1	Bar
2002	5	31	Long Beach	California	Antonio Pineiro	2	4	Supermarket
2002	6	11	Kearney	Missouri	Lloyd Robert Jeffress	2	2	Monastery
2002	10	29	Tucson	Arizona	Robert S. Flores	3	0	School
2004	12	8	Columbus	Ohio	Nathan Gale	4	7	Concert
2005	2	24	Smith County	Texas	David Hernandez Arroyo, Sr.	2	4	Tyler Courthouse
2005	4	8	Eastern Shore	Maryland	Allison Lamont Norman	9	5	School and multiple public locations
2005	12	4	Fort Lauderdale	Florida	Ralston Davis, Jr.	2	1	Multiple locations (apartment/gas station)
2006	4	19	St. Louis	Missouri	Herbert Chalmers, Jr.	2	1	Home and Workplace
2006	9	3	Shepherdstown	West Virginia	Douglas W. Pennington	2	0	University
2007	8	6	Newark	New Jersey	Melvin Jovel	3	1	School
2008	10	26	Conway	Arkansas	Kawin Brockton, 19, Kelsey Perry, 19, Mario Tony, 20, Brandon Wade, 20	2	1	School
2012	2	21	Norcross	Georgia	Jeong Soo Paek	3	0	At the spa
2013	6	12	St. Louis	Missouri	Ahmed Dirir	3	0	Office (in a Missouri office at AK Home Health Care LLC)
2013	6	20	West Palm Beach	Florida	Javier Burgo	2	0	Alexander W. Dreyfoos School of the Arts

FIGURE 7

Deaths per 10,000,000 Americans from Mass Public Shootings, at least 2 people killed per attack
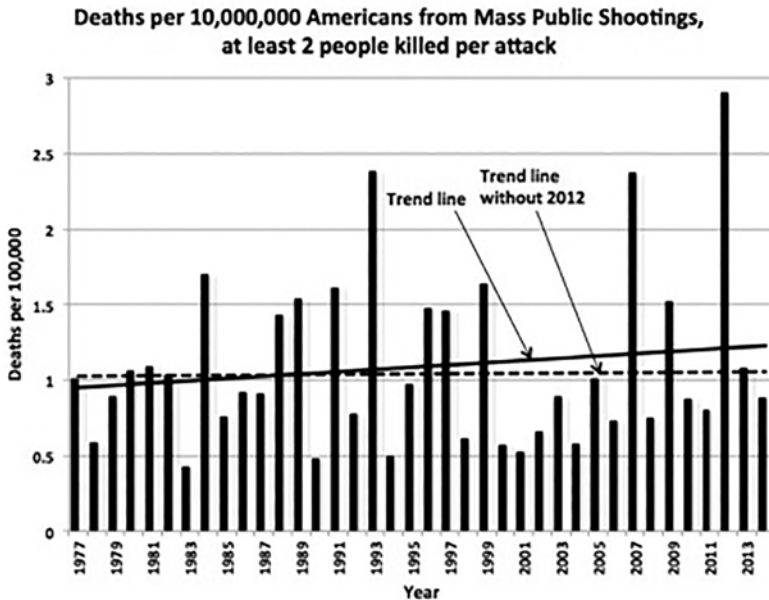
Another slight of hand involves choosing 2000 as the starting date for the analysis. It is widely known that 2000 and 2001 were unusually quiet years with few mass shootings. The authors probably knew perfectly well that they could get the desired results by starting with those years, omitting some of the early shootings, and finally padding later years by counting non-mass shootings.

Let's look at the numbers from before 2000. In 2000, University of Chicago economist Bill Landes and I analyzed data on mass public shootings from 1977 to 1999. Exactly like the later work by the FBI, we limited our study to non-gang attacks that resulted in two or more fatalities in a public place. We also excluded shootings if they occurred in connection with some other crime, such as a robbery.

The attached graph shows the rate of death from mass public shootings. There has only been a slight, statistically insignificant upward trend over the thirty-eight years from 1977 through 2014. Even then, the trend entirely depends on a single year—2012 —when there were ninety-one deaths (Figure 7).

Table 1: Deaths from mass public shootings where at least fifteen people have been killed (1970 through March 20, 2016)			
	Number murdered	Deaths per 1 million people	Percent higher or lower per capita rate than U.S. rate
Africa	1324	1.192	277%
Australia	35	1.513	379%
Europe	312	0.52	65%
India/Pakistan	421	0.294	-7%
Israel	55	6.825	2060%
Philippines	180	1.829	479%
USA	102	0.316	

Compared to Africa, Australia, Europe, and Israel, the U.S. has a relatively low per capita death rate from large mass public shootings. Indeed, among countries whose borders are primarily in Europe, the rate is 65 percent higher than that of the U.S. The U.S. makes up about 4.4 percent of the world population (322.8 million/7.411 billion) and accounts for 4.2 percent of the deaths from these attacks. When we just factor in the sovereignty-related Russian mass public shootings, the U.S. share of total deaths falls to 3.4 percent.

Number of Mass Public Shootings where at least 15 people have been killed (1984 to March 15, 2016)
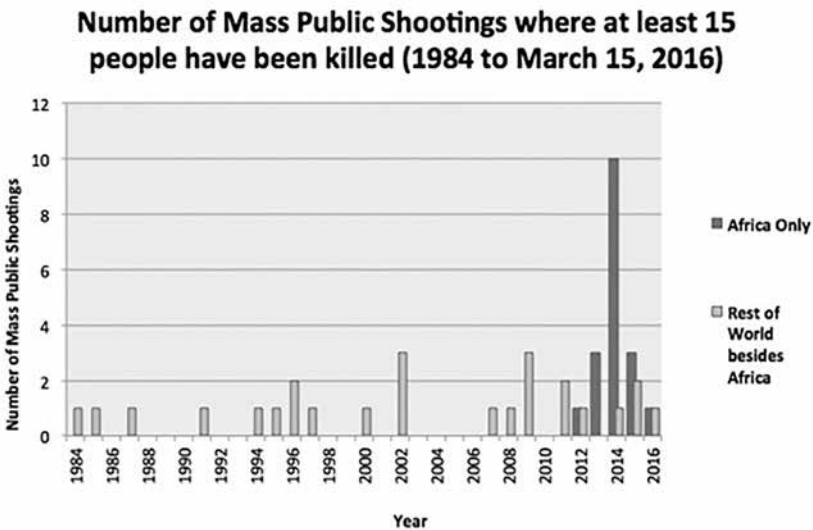
Table 2: The worst mass public shootings in the world from 1970 to March 15, 2016: worst attacks listed first

	Country	Location	Target	Year	Month	Date	Killed	Wounded	Who did the attack?
1	Nigeria[11]	Gamboru and Ngala	Village	2014	May	5 & 6	300		Boko Haram, Islamic
2	Nigeria[12]	Konduga	Village	2014	May	7	>200		Boko Haram, Islamic
3	Pakistan[13]	Peshawar	School	2014	Dec.	16	148	114	Tehrik-i-Taliban (TTP or the "Pakistani Taliban"), an Islamic group
4	Kenya[14]	Garissa	University	2015	Apr.	2	147		Al-Shabaab, an Al-Qaeda offshoot
5	France[15]	Paris	Concert, Restaurant, Other	2015	Nov.	14	130	352	ISIS, Islamic
6	Nigeria[16]	Konduga	Village	2014	Feb.	14	121		Boko Haram, Islamic
7	Nigeria[17]	Izghe	Village	2014	Feb.	15	106		Boko Haram, Islamic
8	India[18]	Mumbai	Rail Terminus, Cafe	2008	Nov.	26	68*		Lashkar-e-Taiba, Islamic
9	Philippines[19]	Manili	Mosque	1971	June	19	70	Unknown number	Christians in retaliation for Muslim attack
10	Norway[20]	Utoya	Summer Camp	2011	July	22	67	110	Anders Behring Breivik, National Socialist Underground
11	Kenya[21]	Nairobi	Shopping Mall	2013	Sept.	21	63	175	Al-Shabaab, Islamic
12	Nigeria[22]	Yobe	College	2014	Feb.	25	59		Boko Haram, Islamic
13	Philippines[23]	Maguindanao	Attacked a group of people while traveling	2009	Nov.	23	57	>4	Muslim political clan
14	Philippines[24]	Ipil	Village	1995	April	3	53		Islamic Command Council

	Country	Location	Target	Year	Month	Date	Killed	Wounded	Who did the attack?
15	Nigeria[25]	Gujba	College	2013	Sept.	29	50		Boko Haram, Islamic
16	Pakistan[26]	Karachi	Bus	2015	May	13	>45	About 36	Jundallah, Islamic
17	Nigeria[27]	Mamudo	School	2013	July	6	42		Boko Haram, Islamic
18	Pakistan[28]	Rawal-pindi	Mosque	2009	Dec.	4	>40	80	Muslim gunmen
19	Tunisia[29]	Sousse	Beach Resort	2015	June	26	39		Seifeddine Rezgui, college student who followed ISIS
20	Nigeria[30]	Kobin	Village	2014	June	23	39		Boko Haram, Islamic
21	Nigeria[31]	Kaduna	Two Neighboring Villages	2014	June	23	38		Boko Haram, Islamic
22	India[32]	Chittis-inghpura	Village	2000	Mar.	18	36		Lashkar-e-Taiba, Islamic
23	Nigeria[33]	Kabamu	Village	2014	June	23	36		Boko Haram, Islamic
24	Australia[34]	Port Arthur	Tourist Site	1996	Apr.	28 & 29	35	23	Martin Bryant
25	Italy[35]	Rome	Airport	1973	Dec.	17	33	>20	Black September, Islamic
26	USA[36]	Blacks-burg	School	2007	Apr.	16	32	17	Seung-Hui Cho
27	India[37]	Gujarat	Temple	2002	Sept.	24 & 25	31	80	Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, Islamic
28	Israel[38]	Hebron	Subterranean Chambers	1994	Feb.	25	29	125	Baruch Goldstein, Jewish
29	India[39]	Jammu	Slum	2002	July	13	29	>=30	Islamic
30	Israel[40]	Tel Aviv	Airport	1972	May	30	26	80	Japanese Red Army, recruited and assisted by Palestinian Liberation Army
31	Pakistan[41]	Ganjidori	Bus	2011	Sept.	20	26	3	The Lashkar-e-Jhangvi

32	USA[42]	Newtown	School	2012	Dec.	14	26	2	Adam Lanza
33	USA[41]	Killeen	Cafeteria	1991	Oct.	16	23	27	George Hennard
34	Nigeria[43]	Dogon-Daji	Village	2014	June	23	21		Boko Haram, Islamic
35	USA[44]	San Ysidro	Restaurant	1984	July	18	21	19	James Huberty
36	Mali[45]	Bamako	Hotel	2015	Nov.	20	20	7	Al-Mourabitoun, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
37	Nigeria[46]	Otite	Church	2012	Aug.	7	19		Boko Haram, Islamic
38	Germany[47]	Erfurt	School	2002	Apr.	26	18		Robert Steinhäuser
39	UK[48]	Stirling	School	1996	Mar.	13	17	15	Thomas Hamilton
40	Italy[49]	Rome	Airport	1985	Dec.	27	16	99	Abu Nidal Organization
41	Africa[50]	Ivory Coast	Beach Resort	2016	Mar.	13	16	33	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Al-Mourabitoun
42	Yemen[51]	Adan	Retirement home	2016	Mar.	5	16		Islamic State group and Yemen's al-Qaeda affiliate suspected, attacked a Christian facility
43	UK[52]	Hungerford	Forest, Petrol Station, School	1987	Aug.	19	16	15	Michael Robert Ryan
44	Nigeria[53]	Naidu	Village	2014	June	23	16		Boko Haram, Islamic
45	Brazil[54]	São Gonçalo do Amarante	Town	1997	May	21	15	3	Genildo Ferreira Do Francais
46	Germany[55]	Winnenden	School	2009	Mar.	11	15	9	Tim Kretschmer

* The Islamic terror group based in Pakistan named Lashkar-e-Taiba (Army of the Pure) killed 164 and wounded 308. Yet, many of these casualties were due to bombs. It is hard to separate out how many of the deaths were due to shootings and bombs and also determine whether the deaths were due to fighting with the Indian military, but on the first day where just deaths by shooting occurred, there were at least sixty-eight people killed in two of the targets—the Rail Terminus (fifty-eight) and the Leopold Cafe (at least ten). Those deaths would by themselves rank this as the seventh worst attack.

Africa has experienced an explosion in large mass public shootings. Since 2012, Africa has been host to 78 percent of all such shootings which claimed fifteen or more lives. Supposedly, Africa didn't have any of these attacks from 1984 to 2011. Given the scant news coverage given to recent mass shootings in Africa, it is very possible that we are simply lacking news reports of earlier attacks.

No matter how you look at it, Obama is wrong in saying that America leads the world in mass public shootings. It is wrong even when we look at mass public shootings as they are traditionally defined: four or more deaths in a public place. Many European countries actually have higher rates of death from mass public shootings. It is simply a matter of adjusting for America's much larger population. Norway, after all, only has a population of 5 million people.

Table 3: The frequency of mass public shootings with four or more people killed (comparing European countries, Canada, and the United States from January 2009 to December 2015)		
Rank	Country	Frequency per million people
1	Macedonia	0.471
2	Albania	0.360
3	Serbia	0.281
4	Switzerland	0.249
5	Norway	0.197
6	Slovakia	0.185
7	Finland	0.184
8	Belgium	0.179
9	Austria	0.119
10	Czech Republic	0.096
11	France	0.092
12	**UNITED STATES**	0.078
13	Canada	0.056
14	Netherlands	0.059
15	Italy	0.017
16	England	0.015
17	Russia	0.014
18	Germany	0.013

During the first seven years of Obama's presidency (January 2009 to December 2015), twenty-five mass public shootings occurred in Europe and the United States. The United States had the twelfth highest frequency of attacks, with 0.078 attacks per million people. Switzerland, Norway, Finland, Belgium, Austria, the Czech Republic, and France all had higher rates.

Table 4: Comparing annual death rate from mass public shootings with four or more people killed (comparing European countries, Canada, and the United States from January 2009 to December 2015)		
Rank	Country	Death rate per million people
1	Norway	1.888
2	Serbia	0.381
3	France	0.347
4	Macedonia	0.337
5	Albania	0.206
6	Slovakia	0.185
7	Switzerland	0.142
8	Finland	0.132
9	Belgium	0.128
10	Czech Republic	0.123
11	**UNITED STATES**	0.089
12	Austria	0.068
13	Netherlands	0.051
14	Canada	0.032
15	England	0.027
16	Germany	0.023
17	Russia	0.012
18	Italy	0.009

In terms of mass public shooting fatalities, the U.S. came in eleventh with an annual rate of 0.09 deaths per million people. Norway had by far the highest rate, 1.9 fatalities per million people. But other "advanced" countries such as France, Switzerland, Finland, Belgium, and the Czech Republic had much higher rates.

Year	Month	Day	Location	Country	Fatali-ties (not including shooters)	Non-fatal Injuries
Table 5: Mass public shootings in Europe and the EU (January 2009 through December 2015, EU countries are shown in bold)						
2009	**3**	**11**	**Winnenden**	**Germany**	**13**	**7**
2009	**12**	**31**	**Espoo**	**Finland**	**5**	**0**
2010	**6**	**2**	**Cumbria**	**England**	**12**	**11**
2010	**8**	**30**	**Devinska Nova Ves**	**Slovakia**	**7**	**15**
2011	**4**	**9**	**Alphen aan den Rijn**	**Netherlands**	**6**	**17**
2011	7	22	Oslo and Utoya	Norway	67	110
2011	**12**	**13**	**Liege**	**Belgium**	**6**	**125**
2012	**3**	**19**	**Toulouse**	**France**	**4**	**0**
2012	4	12	Smilkovci	Macedonia	5	0
2012	**9**	**5**	**Chevaline**	**France**	**4**	**0**
2012	11	5	Moscow	Russia	6	1
2013	2	27	Menznau	Switzerland	4	5
2013	4	9	Velika Ivanca	Serbia	13	1
2013	4	22	Belgorod	Russia	6	1
2013	**9**	**16**	**Annaberg**	**Austria**	**4**	**1**
2014	**5**	**24**	**Brussels**	**Belgium**	**4**	**0**
2014	11	3	Tirana	Albania	4	2
2015	**1**	**7**	**Paris**	**France**	**12**	**11**
2015	**1**	**9**	**Paris**	**France**	**4**	**0**
2015	2	24	Uhersky Brod	Czech Republic	9	1
2015	5	10	Wurenlingen	Switzerland	4	0
2015	**5**	**15**	**Naples**	**Italy**	**4**	**6**
2015	**5**	**17**	**Kanjiza**	**Serbia**	**6**	**0**
2015	8	25	Roye	France	4	3
2015	**11**	**13**	**Paris**	**France**	**130**	**368**
				Total Europe	343	685
				European Union Total*	295	675
				United States	199	197

* Some countries in Europe are not part of the European Union.

Year	Month	Day	City	State	Fatalities (not including shooters)	Non-fatal injuries
**Table 6: Mass public shootings in U.S. from January 2009 through December 31, 2015**
2015	11	2	San Bernardino	CA	14	21
2015	10	1	Umpqua Community College	OR	9	9
2015	7	16	Chattanooga	TN	5	3
2015	6	17	Charleston	SC	9	1
2014	11	15	Springfield	MO	4	0
2014	10	24	Marysville	WA	4	1
2014	2	20	Alturras	CA	4	2
2013	9	16	Washington	DC	12	8
2013	5	4	Aguas Buenas	Puerto Rico	4	6
2013	3	13	Herkimer	NY	4	2
2012	12	14	Newtown	CT	26	2
2012	9	27	Minneapolis	MN	6	3
2012	8	5	Oak Creek	WI	6	3
2012	7	20	Aurora	CO	12	70
2012	5	30	Seattle	WA	5	1
2012	4	2	Oakland	CA	7	3
2011	10	12	Seal Beach	CA	8	1
2011	9	6	Carson City	NV	4	7
2011	1	8	Tucson	AZ	6	13
2010	8	3	Manchester	CT	8	2
2010	6	6	Hialeah	FL	4	3
2009	11	5	Fort Hood	TX	13	30
2009	11	29	Parkland	WA	4	0
2009	4	3	Binghamton	NY	13	4
2009	3	29	Carthage	NC	8	2
				Total	199	197
						396

English-language news media of decades ago couldn't be counted on to cover mass public shootings in Europe, let alone Africa or other parts of the world.

At first, I simply hoped that Lankford had discovered some previously unknown way of collecting these cases. But his paper provides very little specific information, not even telling us the number of shootings in more than four foreign countries. No breakdown is provided by continent. It is hard to believe that Lankford even has such information, but there is no way of checking his data and seeing what cases he has missed.

People shouldn't trust a researcher who refuses to share even the most basic information behind his research.

Finally, we must bear in mind that guns are not the only tools of mass killing. In America, by far the worst mass murder at a school was carried out with dynamite in 1927.[64] That attack left forty-five dead and fifty-eight injured. The 1985 Oklahoma City Bombing and the 2013 Boston Marathon bombings were other rare exceptions in the United States, but bombs are much more commonly used in countries such as Russia. From 2009 to July 2014, Russia saw 0.24 annual deaths per million from bombings with four or more fatalities.[65] That rate is almost 2.7 times higher than the death rate from mass public shootings in the U.S.
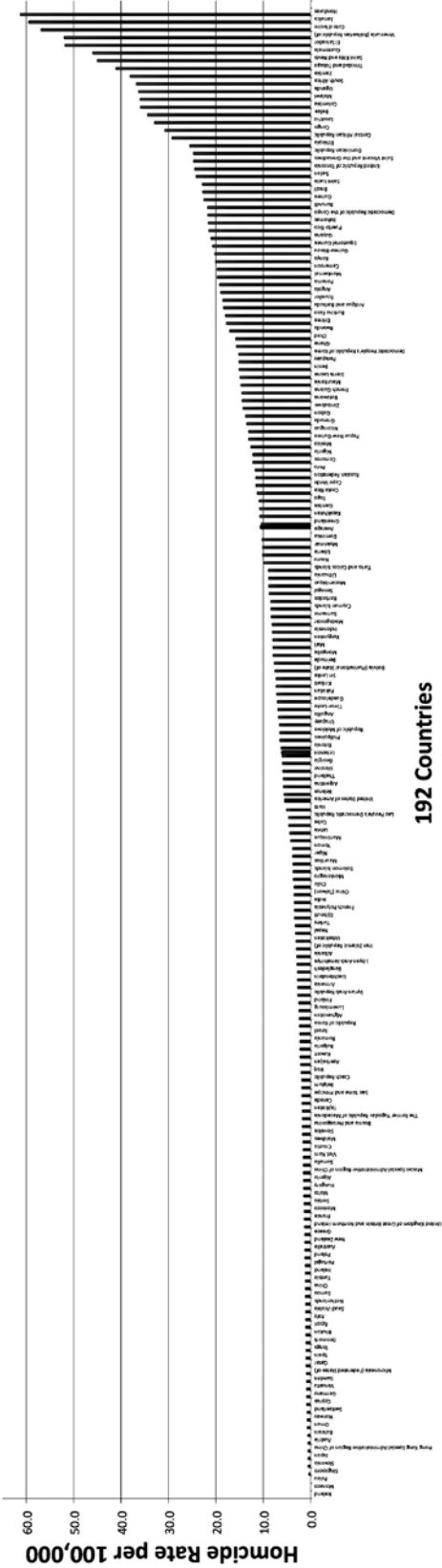
Obama could have looked at his own State Department's annual terrorism reports. Between 2007 and 2011, an average of 6,282 terrorist attacks per year occurred outside of Iraq, Afghanistan, and the U.S. On average, more than 27,000 people were killed, injured, or kidnapped each year.

| Table 7: U.S. State Department counting of terrorist attacks around the world						
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Average
Attacks worldwide **removing war zones**	14,415	11,663	10,968	11,641	10,283	11,794
Attacks worldwide minus Iraq and Afghanistan	7,083	7,189	6,386	5,608	5,146	6,282
People killed, injured, or kidnapped excluding Iraq and Afghanistan	23,142	29,725	34,263	25,785	22,627	27,108

Source for data for 2011: http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/195768.pdf

Homicide rates across all countries

Homicide Rate per 100,000

60.0 50.0 40.0 30.0 20.0 10.0 0.0

192 Countries

UNODC Homicide Statistics 2008

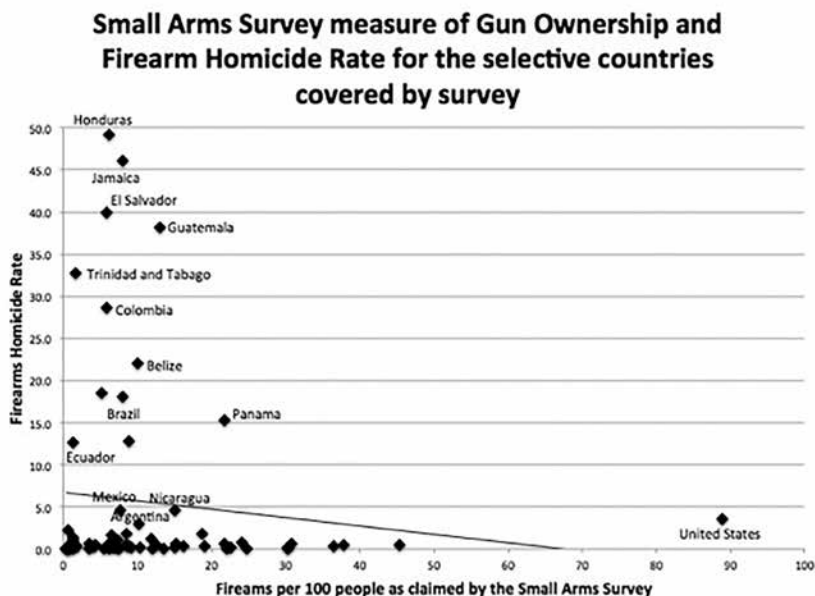Cape Verde, Mozambique, Saudi Arabia 2007; Iran 2009

Color Codes: United States, Median Value (Lebonon), Average Value
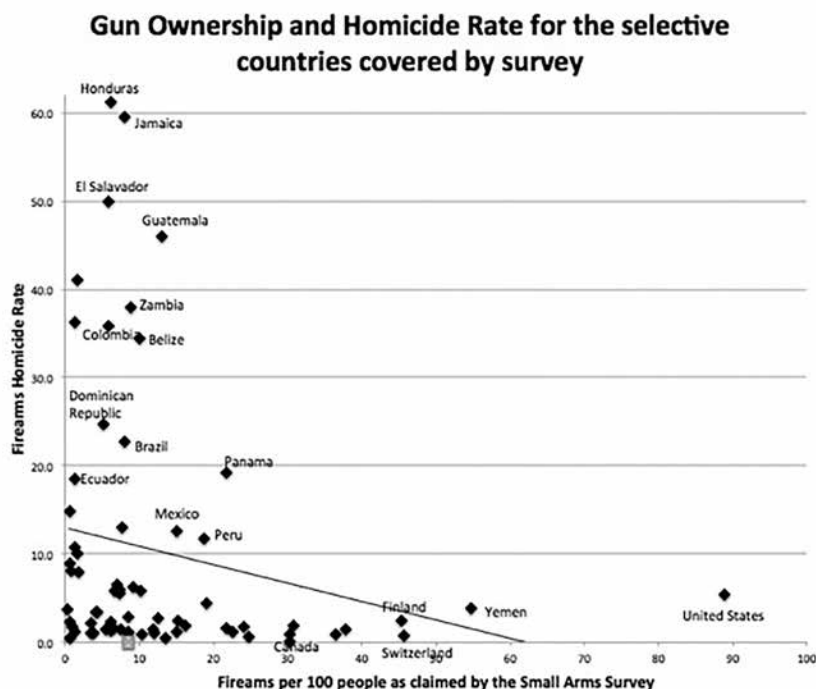
it still turns out that the relationship between either firearm homicides or total homicides and the Small Arms Survey is very similar.

People frequently use the terms "homicide" and "murder" inter-changeably, but they aren't the same. The big difference is justifiable homicides—in other words, self-defense. For most countries there isn't a big difference between homicides and murders, though in the U.S. this difference is quite significant. In 2014, there were 8,124 firearm murders and 10,945 firearm homicides—a 2,821 or 35 percent difference in deaths.[17] Using the murder numbers would reduce the U.S. death rate relative to that in other countries.

Usually, when gun control researchers do a study, only a small set of countries are used in any comparison, typically limited to so-called "civilized," as David Hemenway or Piers Morgan calls them, or
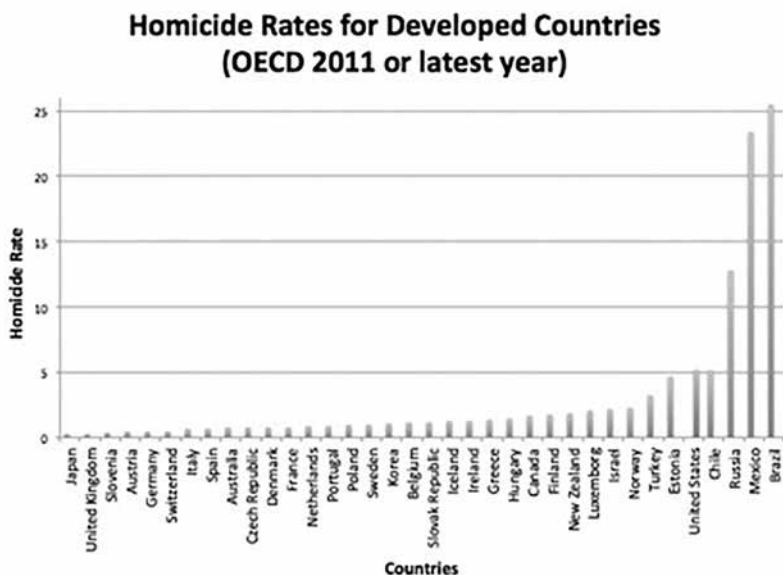
Small Arms Survey measure of Gun Ownership and Firearm Homicide Rate for the selective countries covered by survey

"developed" countries.[18] It isn't clear what is meant by "civilized" countries, so what can Americans learn from these other "developed" nations?

First, here is how homicide rates vary across developed countries. Currently, thirty-four countries are in the OECD, though the agency also includes Brazil and Russia in its statistical data, as they meet the definition of "developed."[19] (Both countries have been negotiating for membership, but Russia has had talks suspended because of the Crimea crisis.)

Among only developed countries, there is still a correlation between fewer homicides and increased gun ownership (as measured by the obviously biased Small Arms Survey). The relationship, however, is not statistically significant.

Even limiting oneself to industrialized countries and using the measure of gun ownership supplied by gun control advocates, the cross-country data continues to imply that more guns equals fewer homicides.[20] Still, this type of comparison isn't very convincing. There is a real problem in using data from only one particular point in time.

**Homicide Rates for Developed Countries
(OECD 2011 or latest year)**

A bar chart titled "Homicide Rates for Developed Countries (OECD 2011 or latest year)." The vertical axis is labeled "Homidde Rate" ranging from 0 to 25. The horizontal axis is labeled "Countries" and lists, from left to right: Japan, United Kingdom, Slovenia, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Australia, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Portugal, Poland, Sweden, Korea, Belgium, Slovak Republic, Iceland, Ireland, Greece, Hungary, Canada, Finland, New Zealand, Luxembourg, Israel, Norway, Turkey, Estonia, United States, Chile, Russia, Mexico, Brazil.

My book *The Bias Against Guns* also provided a simple example of the basic problem with this kind of "cross-sectional" analysis:

> The *New York Times* recently conducted a cross-sectional study of murder rates in states with and without the death penalty and found that "Indeed, 10 of the 12 states without capital punishment have homicide rates below the national average, Federal Bureau of Investigation data shows, while half the states with the death penalty have homicide rates above the national average." However, they erroneously concluded that the death penalty did not deter murder. The problem is that the states without the death penalty (Alaska, Hawaii, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Island, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Vermont) have long enjoyed relatively low murder rates, something that might well have more to do with other factors than the death penalty. Instead one must compare, over time, how

Gun Ownership and Homicide Rates for All Developed Countries (OECD
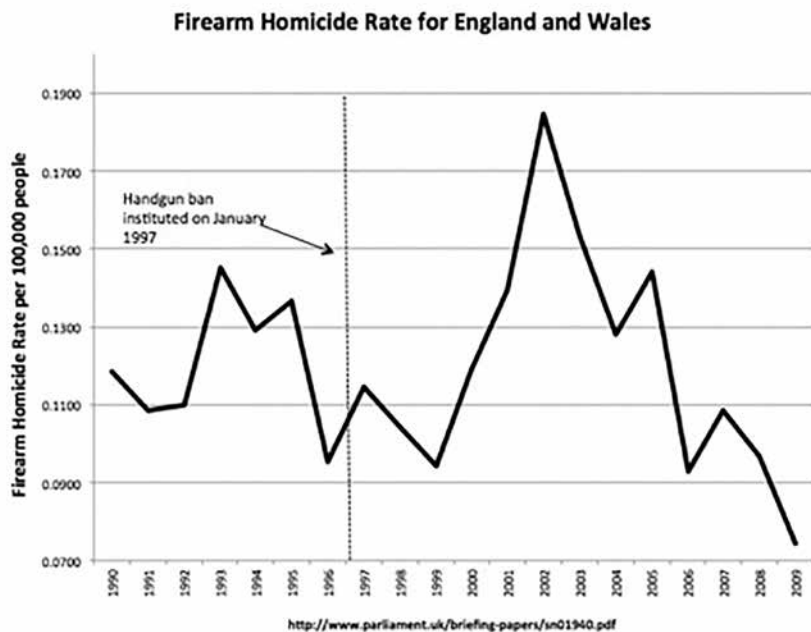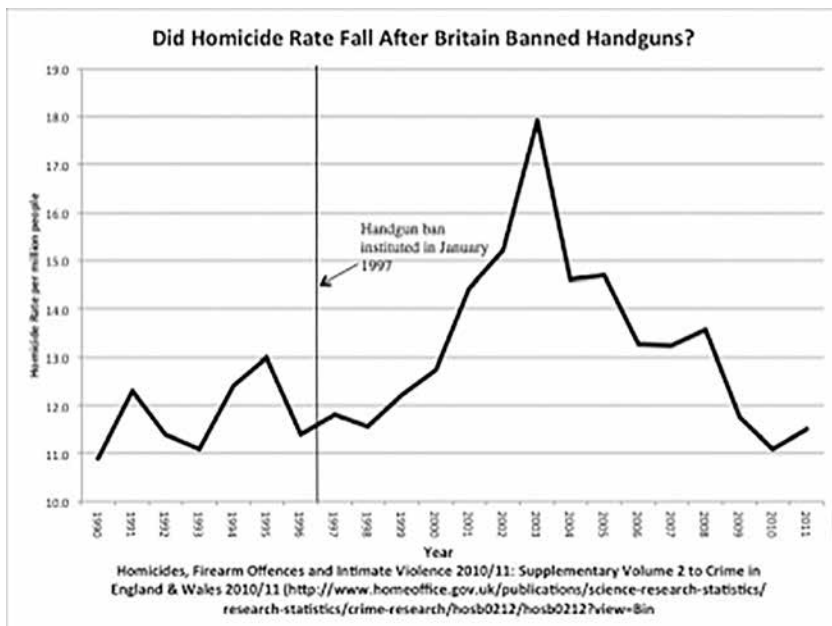2011 or latest year)
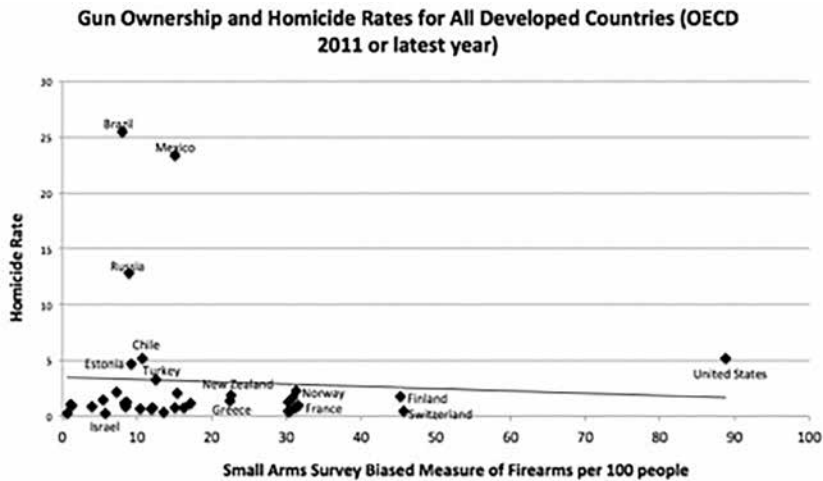
murder rates change in the two groups—those adopting the
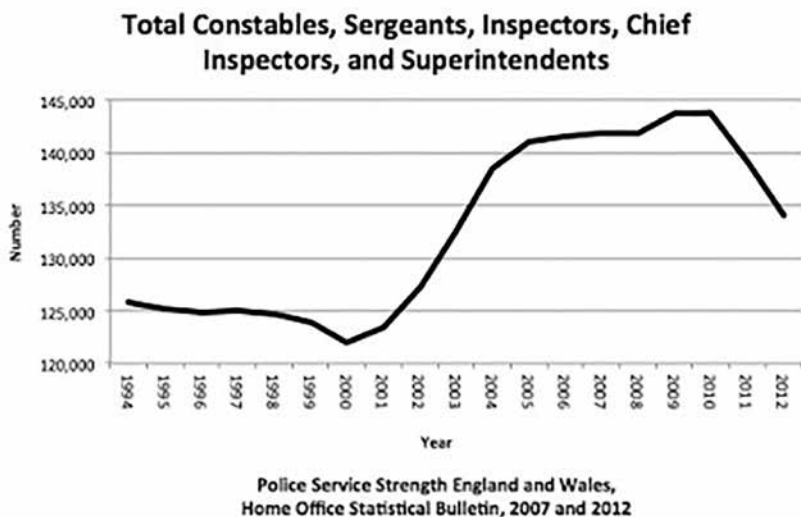death penalty and those that did not.

To resolve this issue, one must examine how the high-crime areas that
chose to adopt the controls changed over time—not only relative to their
own past levels, but also relative to areas that did not institute such con-
trols.

GUN BANS: BEFORE AND AFTER

Every place that has banned guns (either all guns or all handguns)
has seen murder rates go up. You cannot point to one place where mur-
der rates have fallen, whether Chicago or D.C. or even island nations
such as England, Jamaica, and Ireland, or obscure places such as the
Solomon Islands.

Take the handgun ban in England and Wales in January 1997.[21]
Homicide rates were in flux after the ban, but only one year (2010) had
a homicide rate lower than the rate in 1996. The immediate effect was
about a 50 percent increase in homicide rates. Firearm homicide rates
almost doubled between 1996 and 2002. The homicide and firearm
homicide rates only began falling after a large 8 percent increase in the

Did Homicide Rate Fall After Britain Banned Handguns?

Handgun ban
instituted in January
1997

Homicides, Firearm Offences and Intimate Violence 2010/11: Supplementary Volume 2 to Crime in England & Wales 2010/11 (http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/science-research-statistics/research-statistics/crime-research/hosb0212/hosb0212?view=Bin

Firearm Homicide Rate for England and Wales

Handgun ban
instituted on January
1997

http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/sn01940.pdf

Total Constables, Sergeants, Inspectors, Chief Inspectors, and Superintendents

Police Service Strength England and Wales,
Home Office Statistical Bulletin, 2007 and 2012

number of police officers during just 2003 and 2004. Despite the increase in the number of police, the murder rate still remained similar to the immediate pre-ban rate.[22]

Since we are talking about changes within a country, how different countries measure homicide and murder is not relevant to the discussion here.

While they haven't gotten the same attention as the UK's handgun ban, other countries have tried banning guns. In order to make useful comparisons, we limit ourselves to countries that have crime data both before and after the bans were implemented. My previous work has dealt extensively with the dramatic increases in murder rates in Chicago and Washington, D.C. after their handgun bans went into effect respectively in November 1982 and February 1977.

By August 5, 1972, Ireland required that all privately held pistols, revolvers, and all rifles over .22 caliber be surrendered to local police stations.[23] Jamaica's Gun Court Act of 1974 virtually eliminated the issuing of handgun licenses to civilians.[24] In 2012, Venezuela banned guns in an "attempt by the government to improve security and cut crime."[25] The Solomon Islands banned guns in 1999.[26]

Ireland's Homicide Rate

Jamaica's Homicide Rate
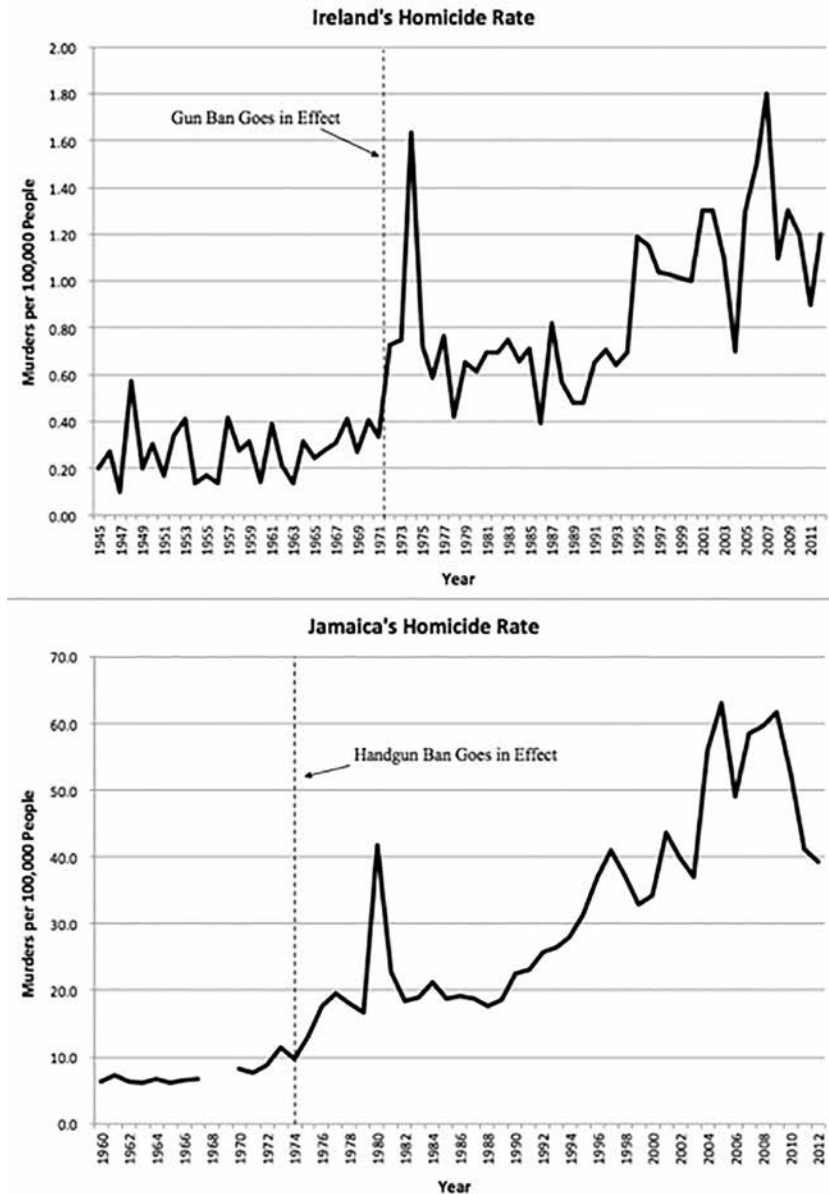
The Republic of Ireland and Jamaica both experienced large increases in homicide rates after enacting handgun bans.[27] From 1945 through 1971, Ireland's homicide rates stayed in the relatively narrow

## Homicide Rates in Venezuela Before and After Gun Ban
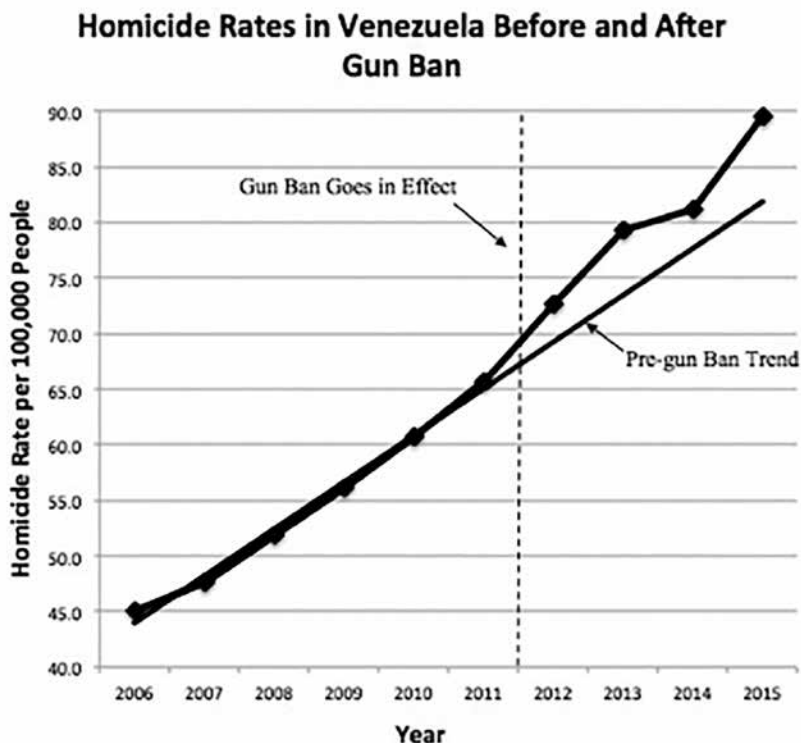
Question: Would it be fair to say that there are more guns here now than there were at the time of the signing of the Townsville Peace Agreement?

Joseph Baetolongia, Deputy Police Commissioner: I would think so. I would think we, we have a lot more guns here now.

This quote by Baetolongia was featured in an article titled: "Guns and Money: Solomon Islands, a one-time South Pacific idyll, is on the brink of collapse." In fact, it is now common for tourists to be warned of gun violence (emphasis added):

Foreign governments also warn their yacht-based citizens to take care in Honiara harbor where there have been reports of

FIGURE 1

Australian Homicides (Firearm and non-Firearm from 1980 to 2014)
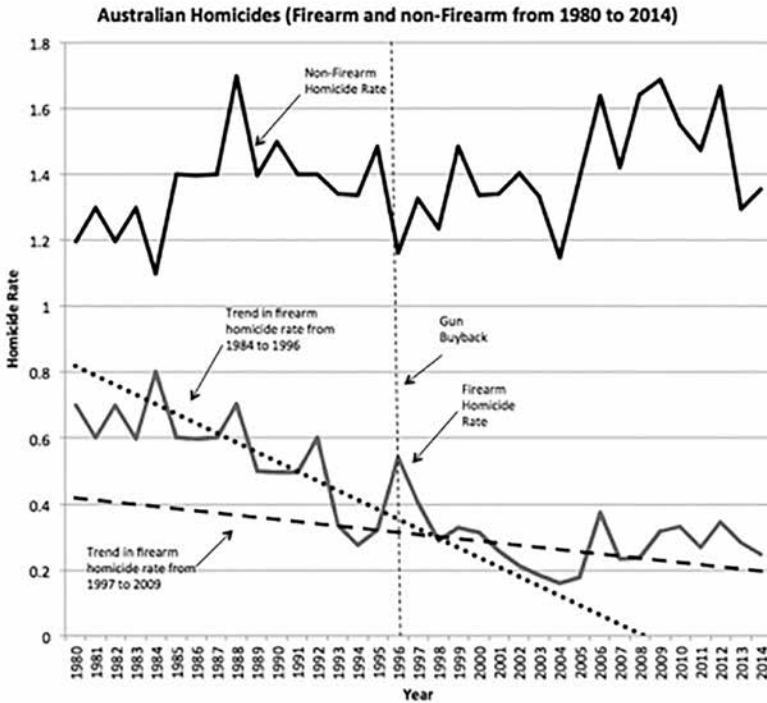
While Australia's population grew by 19 percent between 1997 and 2010, the total number of guns soared by 45 percent. If gun control advocates are correct, gun crimes or suicides should have plunged in 1997, gradually increasing after that. But that is not the pattern we observe.

When former Australian Prime Minister John Howard claims that homicide and suicide rates fell after Australia's 1996 law, what he ignores is that these rates were falling even before the law. Looking at simple before and after averages is extremely misleading. Firearm homicides and suicides were falling from the mid-1980s on, so you could pick any year from the mid-1980s on, not just 1996–97, and the average firearm homicide and suicide rates after the year you picked would always be lower than the average before it. The question is *whether the rate of decline changed* after the law went into effect.

FIGURE 2

Australian Suicides (Firearm and non-Firearm from 1980 to 2014)
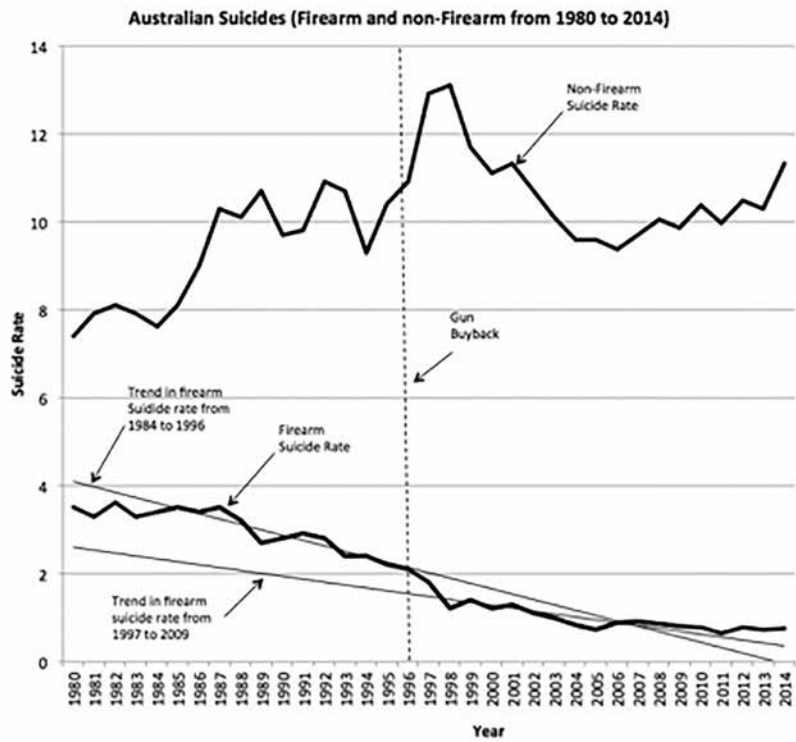
Prior to 1996, there was already a clear downward trend in the firearm homicide rate for at least thirteen years (Figure 1). This pattern continued at a slower rate after the buyback. The trend line is much flatter in the thirteen or more years after the buyback. The change after the buyback would also have been much flatter if one believes that 1996 was an aberration or that the impact of the 1996–1997 buyback wasn't instantaneous and started looking at years after 1997. There is certainly no sudden drop in firearm homicides after the gun buyback. The firearm homicide rates from 1998 to 2000 are virtually the same as the rates from 1993 to 1995. Hence, it is difficult to link the decline to the buyback.

The pattern from firearm suicides can be seen in Figure 2.[4] Compared to homicides, there is relatively little variability from year to year. And again, while it is true that firearm suicides fell after the buyback, they had

FIGURE 3

Australian Robbery Rate Before and After 1996-97 Gun Buyback
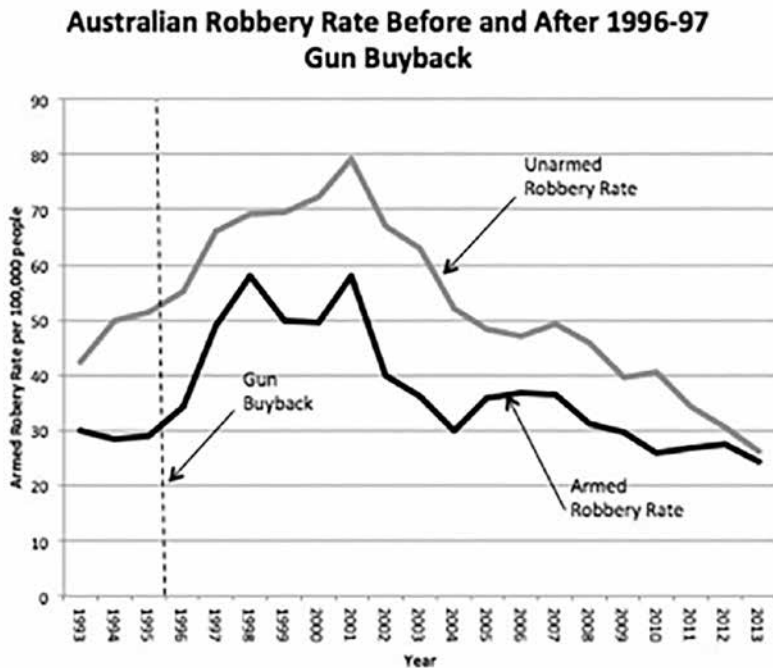
Despite all the wondrous benefits supposedly produced by the Australian gun buyback, any honest reading of the evidence shows no benefit from the law. The reason that these laws didn't produce much of a buyback seems obvious—the buyback only took guns away from law-abiding citizens. The reason the buyback did not produce higher crime rates is simple: self-defense use was already illegal and leads to extreme penalties if detected.

AUSTRALIA VS. NEW ZEALAND

Australia is frequently compared to the United States when it comes to mass public shootings. European countries such as France, Belgium, and Germany have even stricter gun control laws than Australia. They all have mass public shooting rates equal to or higher than those in the United States. With respect to mass public shootings, one could manage to find a

FIGURE 1

Number of People Killed in Mass Public Shootings in Cases: 2009 to 2015
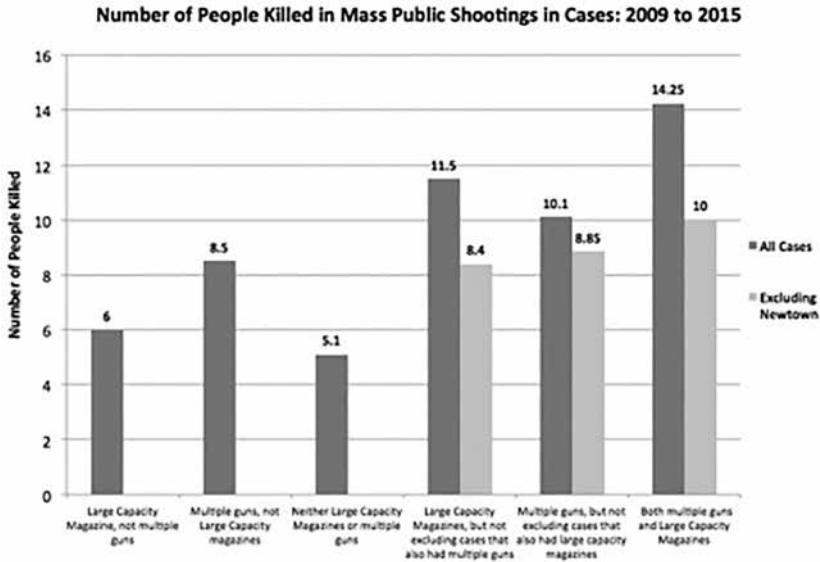
Urban Institute, with funding from the Bill Clinton administration, was unable to find any such evidence.[14]

All this raises another irony. Large capacity magazine bans are only obeyed by law-abiding citizens.[15] This will prevent concealed handgun permit holders from carrying many bullets in their guns. Concealed handgun permit holders who carry in public usually just carry the magazine that is in their gun and don't carry multiple guns. Attackers, on the other hand, can prepare by bringing multiple guns and magazines. They can wear an "urban assault vest," like the one James Holmes wore, with pockets for the magazines. Even if they somehow can't get large magazines, they will be able to take a lot of smaller magazines with them.

For all the emphasis on assault weapons, 68 percent of mass public shootings did not involve any long guns (Figure 2). Eighty-four percent of shootings involved handguns, 24 percent rifles, and 20 percent shotguns (more than one type of weapon can be used in an attack).

FIGURE 2

Weapons used in Mass Public Shootings: 2009 through 2015

- Handgun 68%
- Rifle 12%
- Shotgun 8%
- Handgun & Rifle 4%
- Handgun & Shotgun 4%
- All three types of Weapons 8%

8%
4%
4%
8%
8%
68%

KILLERS CHOOSE GUN-FREE ZONES

I do not recommend that [the policy banning soldiers from carrying guns on military bases] be changed. We have adequate law enforcement on those bases to respond. … You take the Fort Hood incident number two, the one where I was the commander of Third Corps, those police responded within eight minutes and that guy was dead. So that is pretty quick.… [16]
—General Mark Milley, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, April 7, 2016

Many shooters don't really care whether it is a gun-free zone or not, they are just there to kill people and they expect to die in their event…so I don't think that mass shooters are to be as responsive…as a careful calculating rational person might be.[17]
—Adam Winkler, UCLA Law Professor, 2014

What might be an "adequate" and "pretty quick" response time to General Milley may seem like an eternity to those present at these attacks. During the second Fort Hood attack in April 2014, eight minutes was long enough for Ivan Lopez to fire at least thirty-five shots with a semi-automatic pistol and leave three dead and fourteen injured.[18] That

FIGURE 3

Mass Public Shootings in Gun-free zones 2009 through 2015

8%

■ Guns Allowed

■ Gun-free Zone

92%
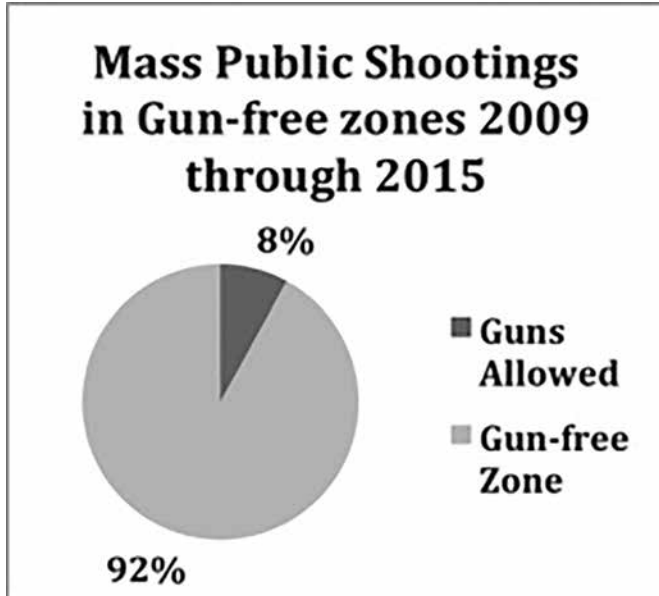
The *Batman* movie theater killer, James Holmes, initially considered attacking an airport. In his diary, which was released in 2015, he explained his decision against targeting the airport because of "substantial security."[23] He then selected the only theater within twenty minutes of his apartment that banned permitted concealed handguns.[24] There were six other theaters he could have gone to. The one he picked wasn't even the one with the largest auditorium or the one that was closest to his home.[25]

Or take Elliot Rodger, who fatally shot three people in 2014 near the campus of UC Santa Barbara. Rodger ruled out various targets where he thought someone with a gun would be able to stop his killing spree.[26] Justin Bourque, who shot to death three people in Canada in 2014, even posted to Facebook a cartoon of a defenseless victim explaining to his killer that guns are prohibited.[27]

As claimed in the above quote by Adam Winkler, it is often suggested that mentally ill killers are unlikely to be careful planners. Some people

FIGURE 4

Mental illness diagnosed before Mass Public Shootings: 2009 through 2015

40%

60%

■ Yes

■ No or unknown
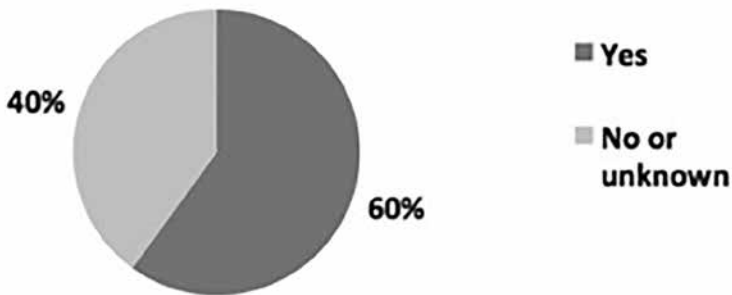
Adam Lanza (Sandy Hook Elementary), James Holmes (Dark Knight movie theater), and Seung-Hui Cho (Virginia Tech).[41]

The Army psychiatrist who last saw Ivan Lopez found no "sign of likely violence, either to himself or to others."[42] James Holmes's psychiatrist warned the University of Colorado officials about her patient's violent fantasies, but she "rejected the idea" that the threat was sufficiently serious for him to be taken into custody.[43]

Seung-Hui Cho, the Virginia Tech killer, was subject to a commitment hearing.[44] However, licensed psychologist Roy Crouse performed an independent evaluation and found Cho to be "mentally ill" but concluded, "he does not present an imminent danger to (himself/others) … he does not require involuntary hospitalization." A staff psychiatrist at Carilion St. Albans Psychiatric Hospital recommended outpatient counseling and determined that Cho "is not a danger to himself or others." The judge accepted these findings and determined not to have Cho involuntarily committed.[45]

These mass killers certainly didn't lack mental health care. The problem was that even top psychiatrists failed to identify them as real

FIGURE 5

### Victims from Mass Public Shootings: 2009 to 2015
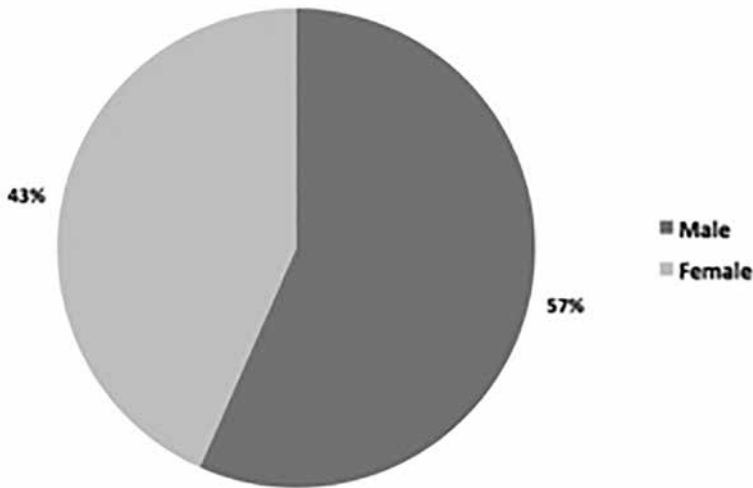
A CLOSER LOOK AT MASS PUBLIC SHOOTERS

Data on mass public shootings allow us to examine both the victims and what happens to the killers themselves. Male victims were somewhat more common than female victims in mass public shootings (57 percent to 43 percent).

Perpetrators of mass public shootings died during their attack 69 percent of the time (38 percent of killers committed suicide and 31 percent were killed by others). The true suicide rate is higher, however, because some attackers chose what amounted to "police-assisted suicide." These killers planned on committing suicide, but found that they just couldn't carry through with killing themselves. So they put the police in the position of having to use lethal force.

When Obama and Hillary Clinton ran for president in 2008, gun control was largely a non-issue.[48] Clinton ran to the right of Obama on the gun issue, and Obama disowned his own past history when he
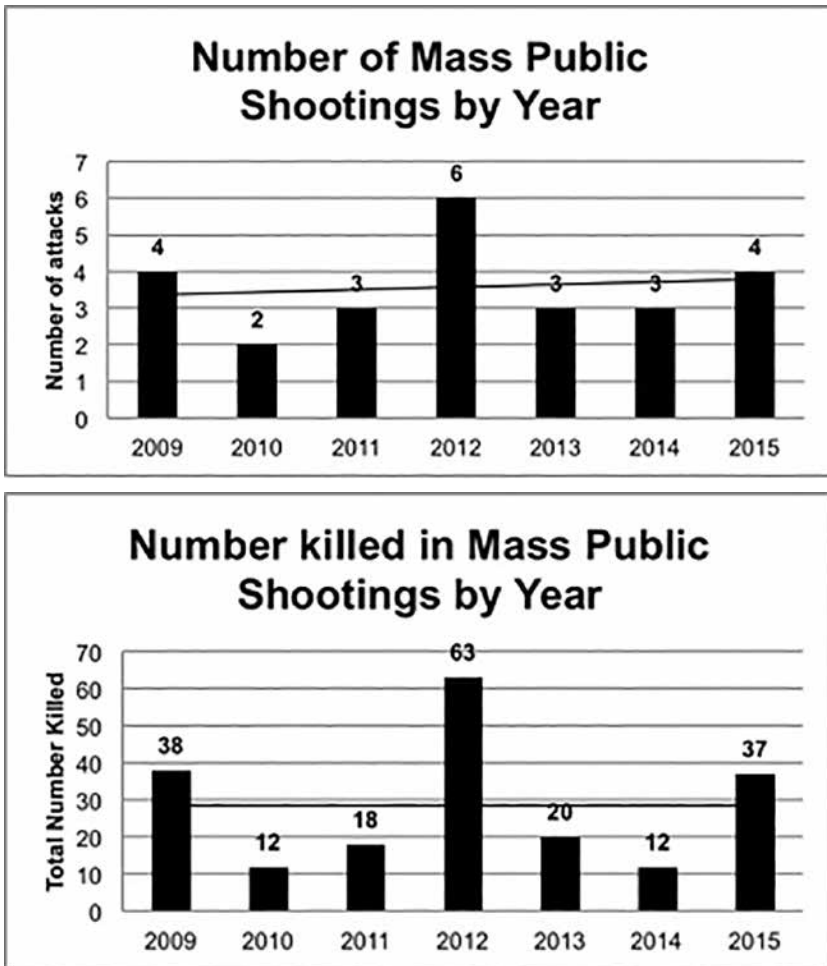
FIGURE 6

Did the shooter die in the Mass Public Shooting?: 2009 to
2015
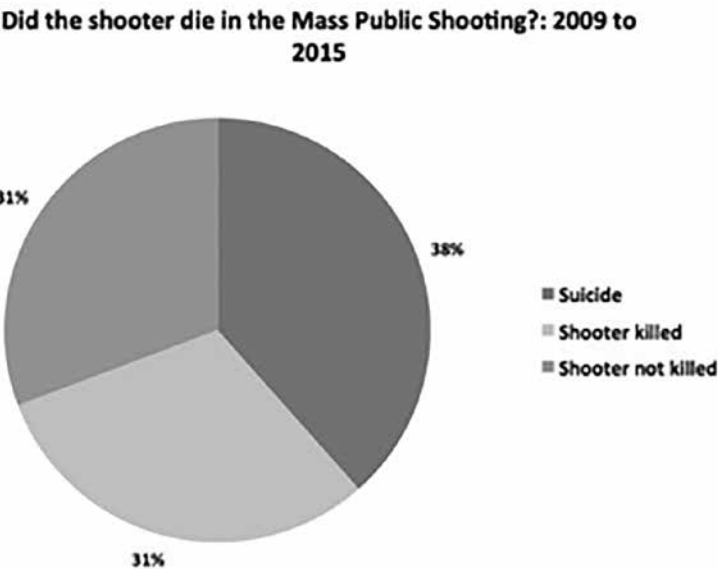
supported bans on guns. Instead, Obama promised to be a strong sup-
porter of the Second Amendment.[49] Nor were guns really an issue during
the 2012 presidential election. The political climate had changed dra-
matically by 2016.

Mass public shootings have been the central focus of much of that
change. As we showed earlier, there hasn't been a significant increase in
occurrences since the late 1970s. These are indeed horrible attacks, and
something needs to be done to stop them, but the frequency and severity
of these attacks hasn't changed during the Obama administration. By
themselves, these attacks can't explain the change in the political atmo-
sphere. What might explain the difference is President Obama's relentless
war on guns during his second term. Presidents have a huge megaphone,
and gun control is an issue that has resonated with the media.

In summary, mass public shooters differ from other mass killers in
many systematic ways. They usually die at the scene of the crime. And
over half are known to have suffered from mental illness prior to the

Number of Mass Public Shootings by Year

Number of attacks

Year	Attacks
2009	4
2010	2
2011	3
2012	6
2013	3
2014	3
2015	4

Number killed in Mass Public Shootings by Year

Total Number Killed

Year	Killed
2009	38
2010	12
2011	18
2012	63
2013	20
2014	12
2015	37

attack. The killers also carefully plan out their attacks: almost all take place where civilians are not allowed to defend themselves. The typical attack involving so-called "assault weapons" is no deadlier than those involving other types of weapons.

Figure 1: Center for American Progress' February 2014 Prediction that in 2014 Gun Deaths and Vehicle Deaths would equal each other
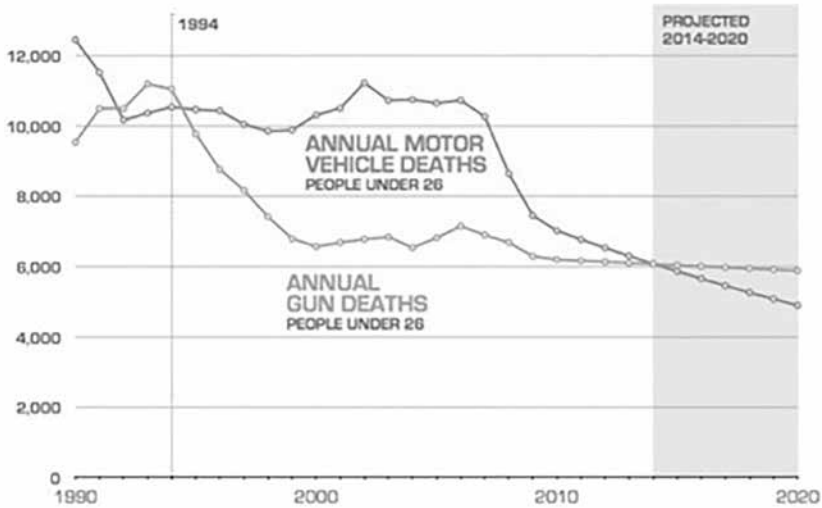

If increased safety regulations are the solution, why is it that accidental firearm death rates have fallen more quickly than accidental motor vehicle death rates? They fell 22 percent faster from 2000 to 2014: 33 percent versus 27 percent (Figure 3).

Since 2000, motor vehicle deaths only really changed between 2007 and 2009, when deaths fell by more than 20 percent. Why the sudden drop? It wasn't because of any safety regulations suddenly going into effect in late 2007. The explanation is much more prosaic: during the recession and anemic recovery, people drove a lot less.

There is a more basic problem with comparing motor vehicle deaths to firearm deaths. The causes of death are very different (Figure 4). In 2014, 99.4 percent of car deaths were accidental in nature. By contrast, only 1.8 percent of gun deaths were accidental. A staggering 65 percent of gun fatalities are suicides.

Although murders and accidental gun death rates have fallen, the firearm suicide rate has risen by 14 percent since 2000 (Figure 5). But the non-firearm suicide rate rose by 49 percent during the same period.

Figure 2: Actual Total Deaths from Firearms and Motor Vehicles between 2000 and 2014 for 15 to 24-year-olds
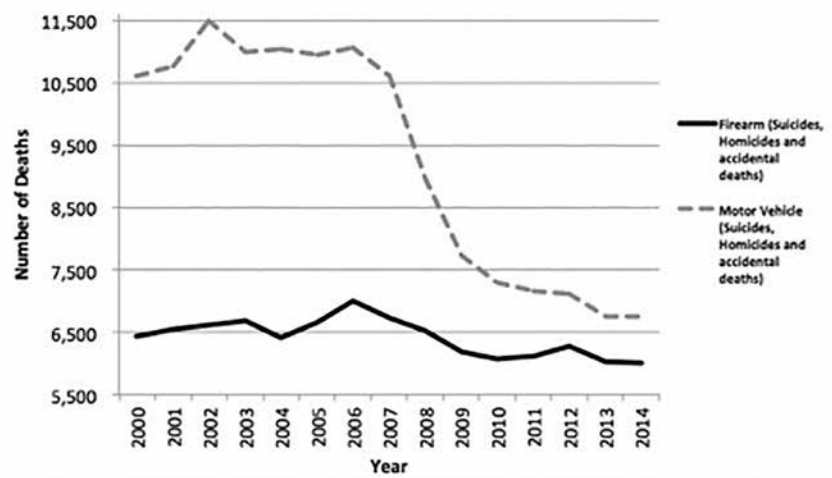
Total deaths from firearms and motor vehicles between 2000 and 2014 for all ages
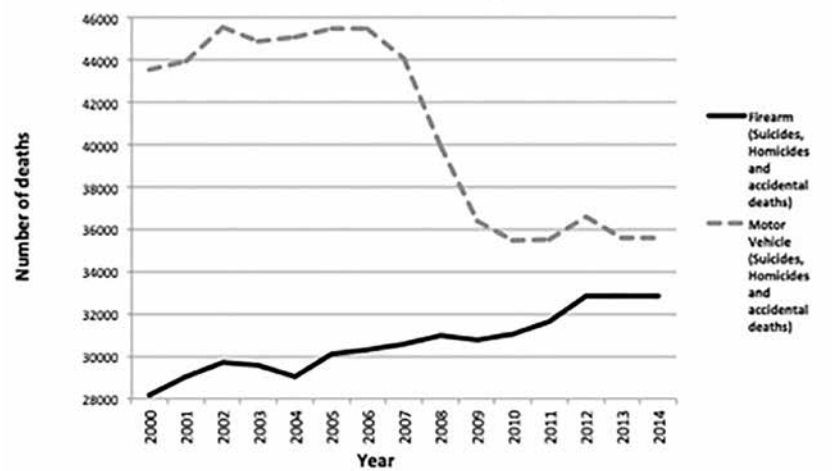
The motor vehicle suicide rate went up 53 percent.[15] Something is causing a general rise in suicide.

Regulations and licensing rules haven't prevented motor vehicle suicides, and they aren't going to prevent firearm suicides. Beyond prohibiting people with psychiatric disorders from owning a gun or driving

Figure 3: Percent change in accidental firearm and motor vehicle deaths rates between 2000 and 2014

a car, as is already done, there is essentially nothing that regulations can do to prevent suicides.[16]
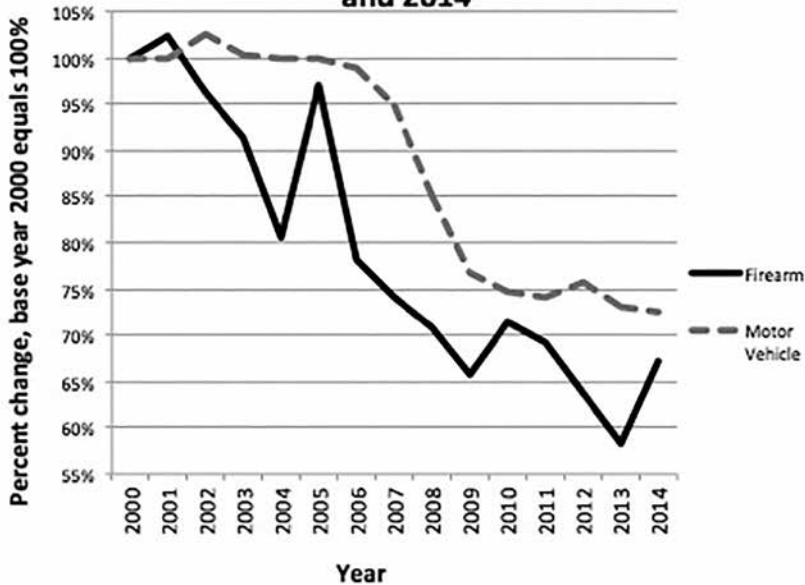
A 2004 National Research Council report found that "Some gun control policies may reduce the number of gun suicides, but they have not yet been shown to reduce the overall risk of suicide in any population."[17]

Even if regulations could be credited with the sudden drop in motor vehicle deaths from 2007 to 2009, that doesn't imply that gun control regulations would have the same result.

The current gun control system is a mess. In the vast majority of cases in which a gun sale is stopped, law-abiding citizens are denied because their names happen to be similar to those of criminals. This is only one reason why academic studies consistently find that background checks have failed to reduce violent crime.

We have no easy answers. Take gun locks, for example. One might think that they are an obvious solution to accidental deaths involving

Figure 4: Firearm and Motor Vehicle Deaths by Cause
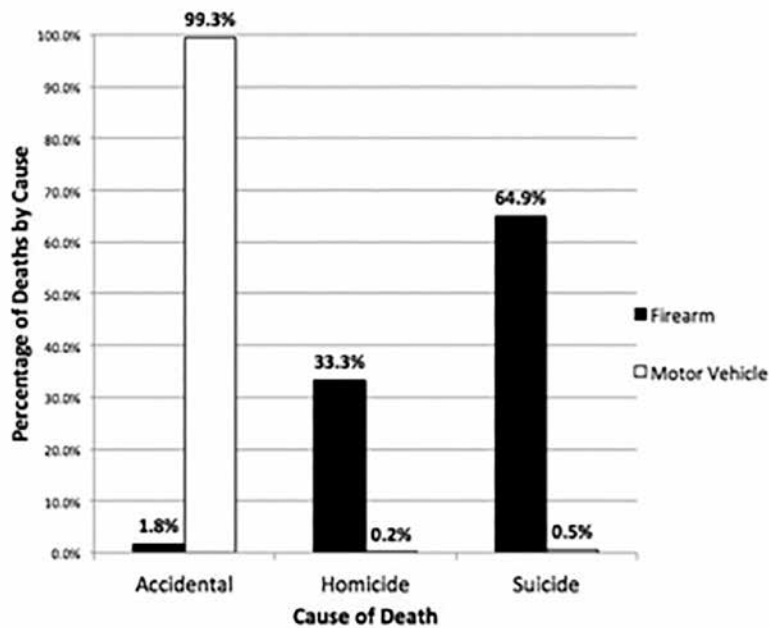
children. But we are dealing with relatively small numbers here—in 2014, fifty children under fifteen died from accidental gun shots. In most of these cases, the child was not playing with the weapon, but was accidentally shot by an adult male.

And, of course, locks aren't going to stop adults from firing their own guns. Except, perhaps, when they actually need to protect themselves. When their homes get broken into, these adults are going to wish that their guns were unlocked and readily accessible. Indeed, peer-reviewed, academic studies find that mandating gun locks causes an increase in death rates.[18]

So will gun control advocates ever explain why accidental gun deaths have fallen more than accidental motor vehicle deaths? Or why non-firearm suicides rose twice as quickly as firearm suicides? We're unlikely to ever get an explanation, since these people have such trouble even correctly reporting numbers.

Figure 5: Percent change in firearm and non-firearm suicide rates between 2000 and 2014
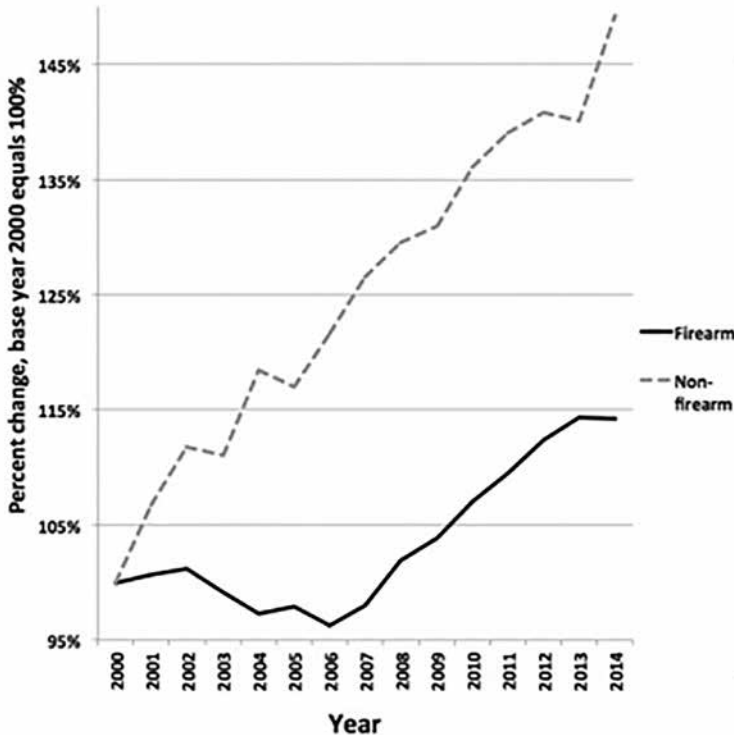
HAVE REGULATIONS REALLY REDUCED MOTOR VEHICLE FATALITIES?

According to the Violence Policy Center in January 2016, "Experts agree that the formation of the federal National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) in 1966, coupled with a sustained, decades-long effort to develop and implement a series of injury-prevention initiatives, have saved countless lives. ... Between 1966 and 2000, the combined efforts of government and advocacy organizations reduced the rate of death per 100,000 population by 43%, which represents a 72% decrease in deaths per vehicle miles traveled."[19]

Figure 6: Motor Vehicle Fatality Rate
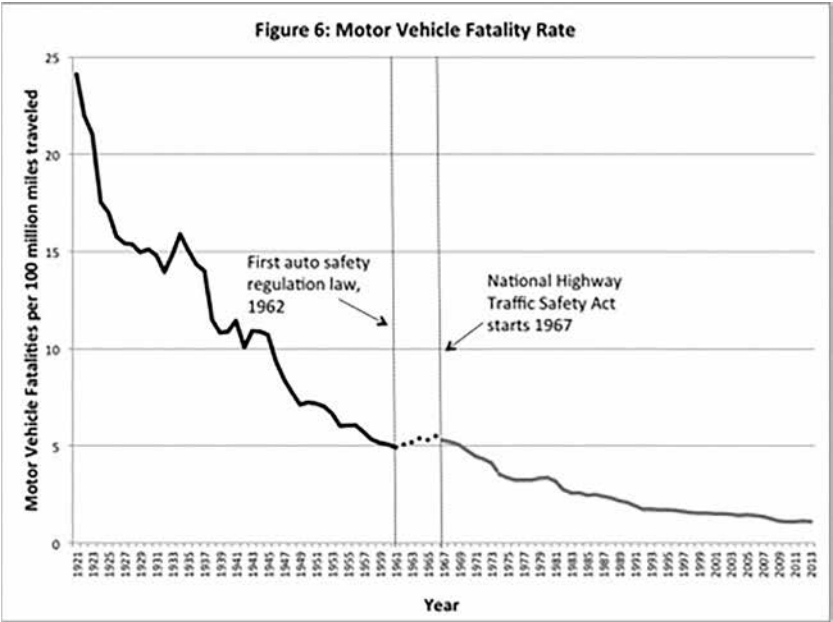
The post-1966 drop in deaths per vehicle mile is often cited as evidence that federal regulation has dramatically improved safety. As touched on earlier, it is sometimes assumed that the same sort of safety improvements could have been achieved with guns. Of course, over the last fifteen years, the drop in gun accidents has greatly exceeded the drop in motor vehicle accidents.

While it is true that motor vehicle safety improved in the wake of federal regulations, the rate of safety improvement was actually much faster prior to adoption of the first auto safety law in 1962 (Figure 6).[20] Figure 7 shows the average trend in fatalities before and after federal involvement. The rate of motor vehicle fatalities fell almost five times more quickly *before* the federal government got involved (see Table 1).

Table 1: Average yearly change in motor vehicle fatality rate per 100 million miles traveled before federal auto safety regulations and after the National Highway Traffic Safety Act			
	Change in rate per year	Absolute t-statistic	Significant level for a two-tailed t-test
Before federal regulations	-0.40	22.90	0.00%
After NHTSA	-0.083	19.45	0.00%

Figure 7: Motor Vehicle Fatality Rate: Comparing rates of change with and without regulations
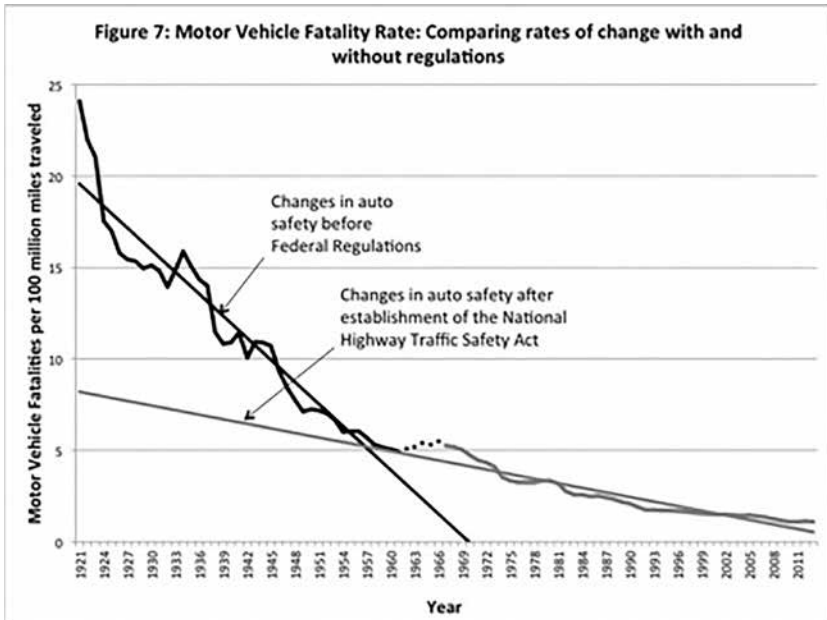
Virtually every year from 1921 to 2013 has a lower death rate than the year before. So there's nothing magical about the post-1966 drop.

CONCLUSION

If government regulations were really so effective, motor vehicle safety should have improved relative to firearm. Yet neither point turned out to be true.

There is no evidence that safety regulations reduced total suicides. There are simply too many ways for people to kill themselves. To the extent that the two products are comparable, it appears that motor vehicles might have more to learn from firearms than the reverse.

Ground was invoked as a defense, 76 percent of blacks were killed by other blacks. Similarly, the vast majority of whites were killed by other whites. This, however, does not appear to be true of Hispanics.

Table 1: Race of killer and person killed in Florida's Stand Your Ground Cases			
	Race of person killed		
Race of person claiming to have acted in self-defense	Black	White	Hispanic
Black	76.3%	11.9%	22.2%
White	18.4%	80.6%	55.6%
Hispanic	5.3%	7.5%	22.2%

Since blacks are most often killing each other, there is a flip side to the high acquittal rate in Stand Your Ground cases involving black victims. It means a lower conviction rate for the black defendants in these cases. *In fact, blacks were more likely than whites to succeed with the Stand Your Ground defense.* The success rate was 64 percent for blacks and 60 percent for whites. Hispanic defendants had a 67 percent success rate, making them the mostly likely to be acquitted.

If blacks are supposedly being discriminated against because their killers so often are not facing any penalty, wouldn't it also follow that blacks are being discriminated *in favor* of when blacks who claim self-defense under the Stand Your Ground law are convicted at a lower rate than whites? If this is indeed a measure of discrimination, rather than merely reflecting something different about these particular cases, why are conviction rates so low for Hispanics who raise the Stand Your Ground defense? The figures used to support claims of racism are cherry-picked from the data.

Table 2: Probability of no conviction			
Race of person killed		Race of person claiming to have acted in self-defense	
Black	67%	Black	64%
White	57%	White	60%
Hispanic	80%	Hispanic	67%

I found that these laws lowered murder rates by about 9 percent. Overall violent crime rates also declined.[24]

THE URBAN INSTITUTE REPORT AND WHAT IT DOESN'T TELL YOU

A recent Urban Institute study by John Roman claims to have found that, "Stand Your Ground laws appear to exacerbate those [racial] differences, as cases overall are significantly more likely to be justified in Stand Your Ground (SYG) states than in non-SYG states."[25] Roman acknowledges that his data is lacking sufficient detail to provide the "setting of the incident."[26] Indeed, Roman's estimates contain virtually none of the information available in the *Tampa Bay Times* data set. For example, he has no data on eyewitnesses and physical evidence. Roman also has no information on who initiated the confrontations, where the attacks occurred, or on the general circumstances of the incidents.[27]

Even using his limited information, Roman draws the wrong conclusions. To the extent to which the Urban Institute study proves anything, it proves the *opposite* of what Roman thinks that it does.

Roman's Table 3: Percentage of homicides ruled justified, attributes, 2005–2010 (Describes the likelihood a homicide is ruled justified when there is a single victim and single shooter, they are both male, both strangers, and a firearm is used. 2,631 cases)		
	Non-Stand Your Ground States	Stand Your Ground States
White on white	12.95	23.58**
White on black	41.14***	44.71***
Black on white	7.69**	11.10
Black on black	10.24***	9.94***
Total	2.15***	3.67

Source: 2005– 2010 FBI Supplementary Homicide Reports. * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Roman thinks that homicides are more likely to be ruled justifiable if the victim is black.[28] He observes that white-on-black homicides are more likely to be ruled justifiable in SYG than in non-SYG states.[29]

indicates that the prevalence of concealed handgun permits depends strongly on the fees and training requirements that different states impose.

I examined Stand Your Ground laws in my book, *More Guns, Less Crime*. I accounted for a wide range of variables including arrest rates, percentage of adults in prison, median family income, poverty rate, and unemployment rate. I also factored in how the population breaks down according to age, race, and gender. After updating all of this data through 2012, I obtained the following figures.

Murder, rape, and aggravated assault rates all consistently fall after the adoption of Stand Your Ground laws. Robbery rates also initially fell, but by year ten end up roughly where they started. There is actually no sudden increase in robberies in year seven—the resurgence occurs because the sample no longer includes Florida, which adopted its law in 2005. Since we only have data going up to 2012, Florida has to be

The Impact of Stand Your Ground Laws on the Murder rate (1977 to 2012)

Y-axis: Percent difference in crime rate between states with and without Stand Your Ground law

X-axis: Years before and after law adopted (year 1 is the first full year the law is in effect)
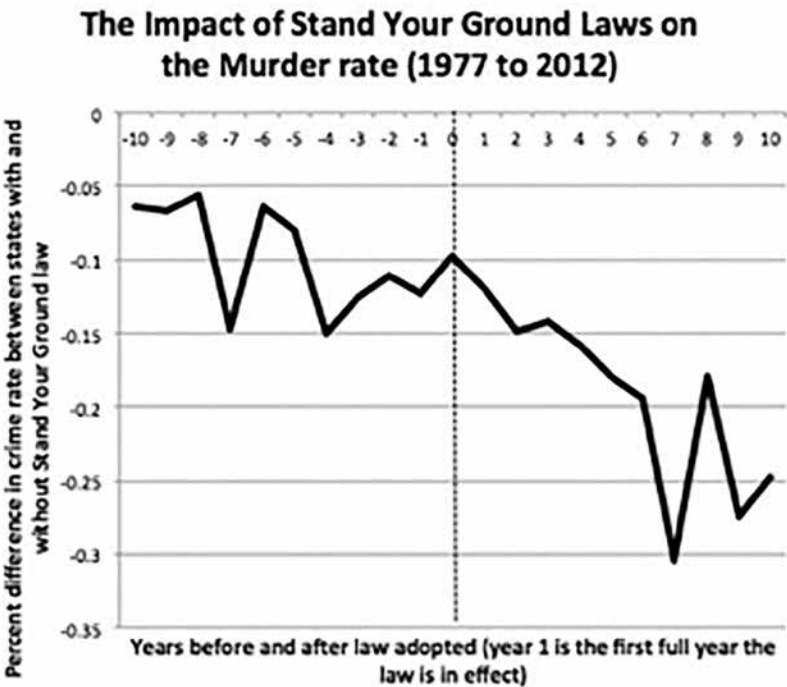
The Impact of Stand Your Ground Laws on the Rape rate (1977 to 2012)

Percent difference in crime rate between states with and without Stand Your Ground law

Years before and after law adopted (year 1 is the first full year the law is in effect)

The Impact of Stand Your Ground Laws on the Robbery Rate (1977 to 2012)

Percent difference in crime rate between states with and without Stand Your Ground law

Years before and after law adopted (year 1 is the first full year the law is in effect)

The Impact of Stand Your Ground Laws on the Aggravated Assault Rate (1977 to 2012)
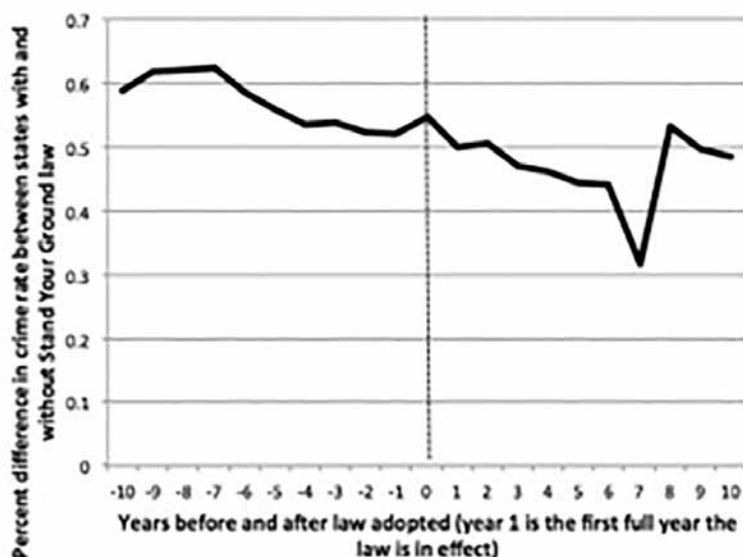
removed from the sample when the graph gets to seven years after adoption of the law. The graph is dramatically affected, because Florida had been experiencing a relatively sharp drop in robbery rates.

CONCLUSION

It is a tragedy that blacks are much more likely to be victims of violent crime. But as police know all too well, they simply can't be there all the time to save people. Blacks have to defend themselves more often than any other racial group. Since they so frequently act in self-defense, it is no wonder that their homicides are more likely to be judged as "justifiable." Blacks have the most to gain from Stand Your Ground laws, and there is no evidence that the laws are applied in any way that discriminates against blacks. My research even suggests just the opposite.

non-gang attacks in which four or more people are killed in a public place.[10] During at least part of the time period from 2000–2015, nineteen states (plus Puerto Rico and D.C.) had background checks on the private transfer of guns for at least part of that period. States are only counted as having background checks on at least some private transfers during the years in which the regulations were in effect.

States with background checks had a 15 percent higher per capita rate of mass public shooting deaths and a 38 percent higher rate of injuries (Table 1 and Figure 1). Mass public shootings rose only very slightly—by just 0.44 percent. There was no clear, year-to-year pattern. In about half the years, states with background checks on private transfers had higher per capita rates of death and injury.

A comparison for so-called universal background checks is more difficult given the small number of states and the short time these laws have been in effect. Six of the eight states with these laws have only had them since 2013, thus limiting the period of time over which one can
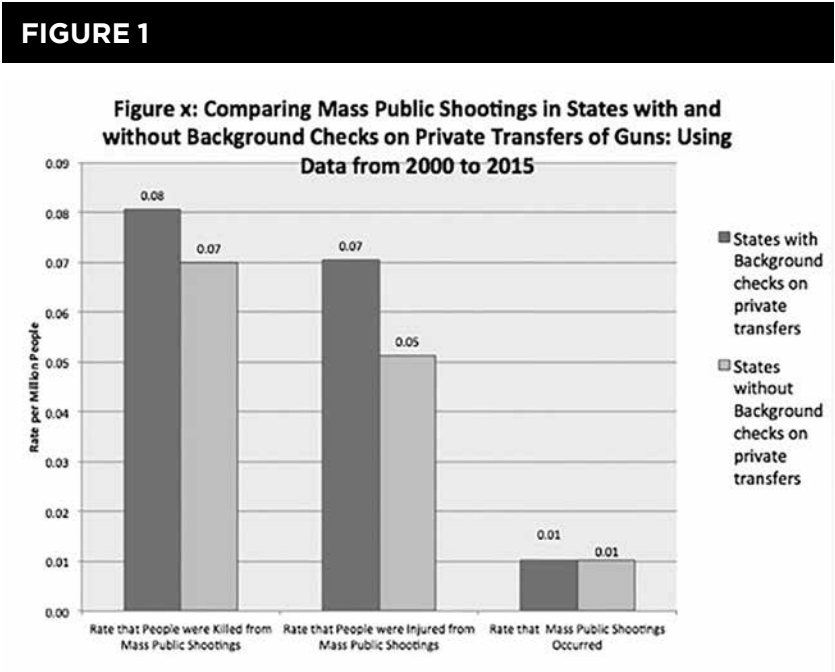
FIGURE 1

Figure x: Comparing Mass Public Shootings in States with and without Background Checks on Private Transfers of Guns: Using Data from 2000 to 2015

Table 1: Mass public shootings in states with and without background checks on private transfers								
	Comparing the rate that people were killed from mass public shootings in the U.S. for states with and without background checks on private transfers (rate per million people)			Comparing the rate that people were injured from mass public shootings in the U.S. for states with and without background checks on private transfers (rate per million people)			Comparing the rate of mass public shootings in the U.S. for states with and without background checks on private transfers (rate per million people)		
	With background checks on at least some private transfers	Without background checks on private transfers	Was rate higher in states with private transfers checks?	With background checks on at least some private transfers	Without background checks on private transfers	Was rate higher in states with private transfers checks?	With background checks on at least some private transfers	Without background checks on private transfers	Was rate higher in states with private transfers checks?
2000	0.081	0.000	Yes	0.007	0.000	Yes	0.015	0.000	Yes
2001	0.029	0.027	Yes	0.029	0.000	Yes	0.007	0.007	Yes
2003	0.043	0.066	No	0.000	0.060	No	0.007	0.013	No
2004	0.035	0.065	No	0.014	0.033	No	0.007	0.013	No
2005	0.000	0.097	No	0.000	0.058	No	0.000	0.013	No
2006	0.084	0.000	Yes	0.035	0.000	Yes	0.014	0.000	Yes
2007	0.035	0.321	No	0.035	0.214	No	0.007	0.025	No
2008	0.000	0.060	No	0.000	0.018	No	0.000	0.012	No
2009	0.151	0.101	Yes	0.043	0.178	No	0.014	0.012	Yes
2010	0.057	0.024	Yes	0.014	0.018	No	0.007	0.006	Yes
2011	0.057	0.058	No	0.007	0.117	No	0.007	0.012	No
2012	0.319	0.098	Yes	0.532	0.040	Yes	0.021	0.017	Yes
2013	0.140	0.000	Yes	0.112	0.000	Yes	0.028	0.000	Yes
2014	0.027	0.048	No	0.013	0.006	Yes	0.007	0.012	No
2015	0.149	0.084	Yes	0.213	0.024	Yes	0.013	0.012	Yes
	Average	Average	Number of times "Yes"	Average	Average	Number of times "Yes"	Average	Average	Number of times "Yes"
	0.0805	0.0700	8	0.0704	0.0511	7	0.010308	0.010268	8
	Difference	14.9%		Difference	37.8%		Difference	0.44%	

Table 2: Mass public shootings in states with and without "universal" background checks on private transfers (Six of the eight states with these universal background checks didn't adopt them until the years 2013 to 2015. Shootings are only counted as occurring in a universal background check state if they occurred after the shooting took place.)								
	Comparing the rate that people were killed from mass public shootings in the U.S. for states with and without universal background checks (rate per million people)			Comparing the rate that people were injured from mass public shootings in the U.S. for states with and without universal background checks (rate per million people)			Comparing the rate of mass public shootings in the U.S. for states with and without universal background checks (rate per million people)		
	With background checks on at least some private transfers	Without background checks on private transfers	Was rate higher in states with private transfers checks?	With background checks on at least some private transfers	Without background checks on private transfers	Was rate higher in states with private transfers checks?	With background checks on at least some private transfers	Without background checks on private transfers	Was rate higher in states with private transfers checks?
2013	0.2320	0.0231	Yes	0.2030	0.0115	Yes	0.0290	0.0058	Yes
2014	0.0523	0.0476	Yes	0.0261	0.0060	Yes	0.0131	0.0119	Yes
2015	0.2833	0.0841	Yes	0.4065	0.0240	Yes	0.0246	0.0120	Yes
	Average	Average	Number of times "Yes"	Average	Average	Number of times "Yes"	Average	Average	Number of times "Yes"
	0.1892	0.0516	3	0.2119	0.0138	3	0.0222	0.0099	3
	Difference	267%		Difference	1431%	Difference	124%		

make a reasonable comparison. Naturally, shootings are only counted as occurring in a universal background check state if they occurred *after* the law was in place. The narrowest time gap came before the Umpqua Community College shooting in Oregon. The law went into effect on August 9, 2015, and the attack occurred at the beginning of October. In this case, however, the shooter legally obtained all of his guns through a federally licensed firearms dealer. The law wouldn't have made a difference even if it had been enacted years earlier.[11]

FIGURE 2

Figure x: Comparing Mass Public Shootings in States with and without Universal Background Checks on Private Transfers of Guns: Using Data from 2000 to 2015
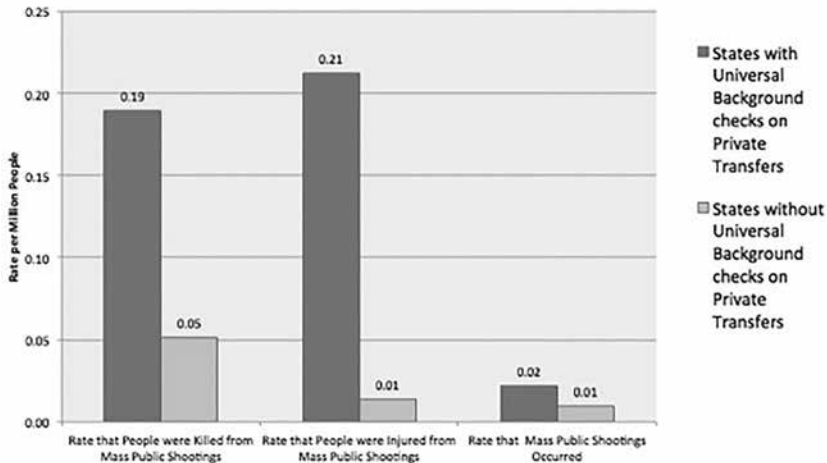
But since 2013, states with "universal" background checks have experienced 124 percent more mass public shootings and dramatically higher rates of death and injury. Per capita, there were 267 percent more deaths and 1,431 percent more injuries (Table 2). In addition, in each year, all three rates were higher in states with universal background checks. Yet, even eight states is a small sample, and with so few years of data, it is hard to put a lot of weight on these results. What is clear is that the initial data on universal background checks definitely does not confirm the claims of supporters.

DO BACKGROUND CHECKS ON PRIVATE TRANSFERS STOP MASS PUBLIC SHOOTINGS?

Looking across places at one point in time can be extremely misleading. Mass public shootings may vary between states for many reasons that have nothing to do with background checks. States with expanded

Table 3: Impact of background checks on mass public shootings after accounting for average differences across states and years and other factors (the estimates are shown below as follows: the regression coefficient for background check laws; the percent change in murders, injuries, or events from these laws is shown in brackets; absolute t-statistics are shown in parentheses; and the level of statistical significance below that)

Explanatory variables

	Data for years from 2000 through 2015		Data for years from 2000 through 2014	
	Fixed state and year effects as well as whether all the guns used in crime were purchased in another state and state population		Same variables used in columns (1) and (2) as well as murder rate, percent of population black, percent Hispanic, poverty rate, median income, percent of population in prison, divorce rate, and the unemployment rate	
Endogenous variable	Background checks on at least some private transfers	Universal background checks	Background checks on at least some private transfers	Universal background checks
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log of number killed in mass public shootings per million people	**.620 [80%]**	.228 [26%]	.2676 [31%]	.027 [3%]
	(2.06)	(0.73)	(0.79)	(0.07)
	0.04	0.467	0.427	0.947
Log of number wounded in mass public shootings per million people	**.725 [101%]**	.239 [27%]	.3656 [44%]	-.031 [-3%]
	(2.79)	(0.89)	(1.28)	(0.09)
	0.01	0.376	0.201	0.928
Log of total casualties in mass public shootings per million people	**.709 [96%]**	.242 [27%]	.3066 [36%]	.002 [0%]
	(2.13)	(0.70)	(0.83)	(0.00)
	0.03	0.484	0.409	0.996
Log of number of mass public shootings per million people	. 235 [24%]	.168 [18%]	.005 [1%]	.059 [6%]
	(1.30)	(0.90)	(0.03)	(0.25)
	0.19	0.370	0.979	0.806

Estimates in **bold** are statistically significant at least at the ten percent level for a two-tailed t-test.

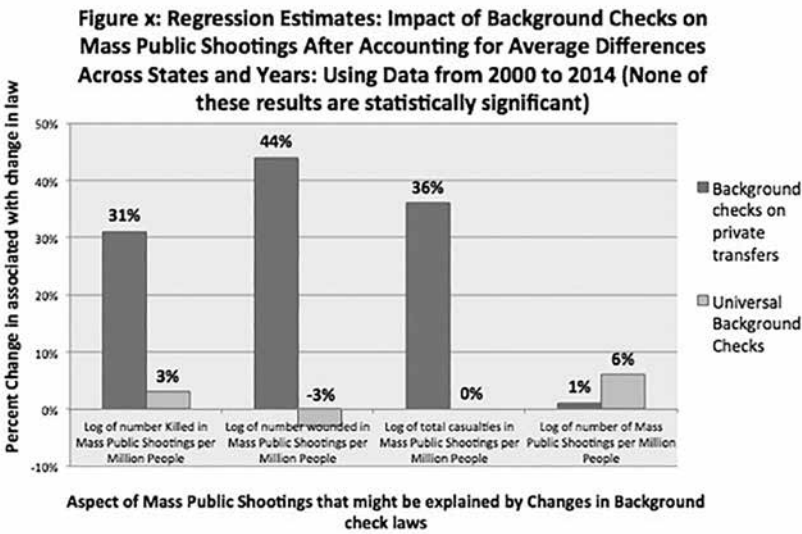|	Table 4: Does having background checks on private transfers for more years make states safer?	
	(The estimates are shown below as follows: the regression coefficient for background check laws; the percent change in murders, injuries, or events from these laws is shown in brackets; absolute t-statistics are shown in parentheses; and the level of statistical significance below that)	
	Explanatory variables	
	Data for years from 2000 through 2015	
	Fixed state and year effects as well as whether all the guns used in crime were purchased in another state and state population	
Endogenous variable	Background checks on at least some private transfers	Number of years that background checks on private transfers have been in effect
Log of number killed in mass public shootings per million people	**.600 [82%]**	.0077 [1%]
	(1.82)	(0.15)
	0.069	0.880
Log of number wounded in mass public shootings per million people	**.676 [97%]**	.019 [2%]
	(2.39)	(0.44)
	0.017	0.664
Log of total casualties in mass public shootings per million people	**. 655 [93%]**	.021 [2%]
	(1.80)	(0.37)
	0.072	0.713
Log of number of mass public shootings per million people	.2045 [23%]	.0116 [1%]
	(1.04)	(0.38)
	0.299	0.700
	Estimates in **bold** are statistically significant at least at the 10 percent level for a two-tailed t-test.	

Table 4 indicates that the number of years for which private transfer background checks have been in place has no statistically significant, additional impact on the frequency of mass shootings or the number of people harmed in those attacks. If anything, each additional year that they are in effect is associated with an extremely small percent increase in the number of people killed in mass public shootings.

Accounting for the penalty for not conducting a background check or for providing false information doesn't alter any of the results

FIGURE 3

Figure x: Regression Estimates: Impact of Background Checks on Mass Public Shootings After Accounting for Average Differences Across States and Years: Using Data from 2000 to 2014 (None of these results are statistically significant)

presented in Tables 3 and 4, and these factors (whether included separately or together) are not statistically significant.

OTHER SUPPOSED BENEFITS FROM EXPANDED BACKGROUND CHECKS

While the gun violence debate often focuses on mass shootings of strangers, hundreds of Americans are fatally shot every year by spouses or partners.... Between 2008 and 2012, states that required background checks on private sales had 46% fewer gun homicides of women by partners, adjusted for population, than states with no such requirement.[17]

—Editorial, *New York Times*, January 16, 2016

Bloomberg's Everytown is responsible for the above claim by *the New York Times*. Everytown has also claimed that expanded background

FIGURE 4

Expanded Background Checks and the Crime Categories Examined by Bloomberg's Everytown: Comparing State with and without Expanded Background Checks 2000 to 2014 (except for women where the data is for 2000 to 2013)
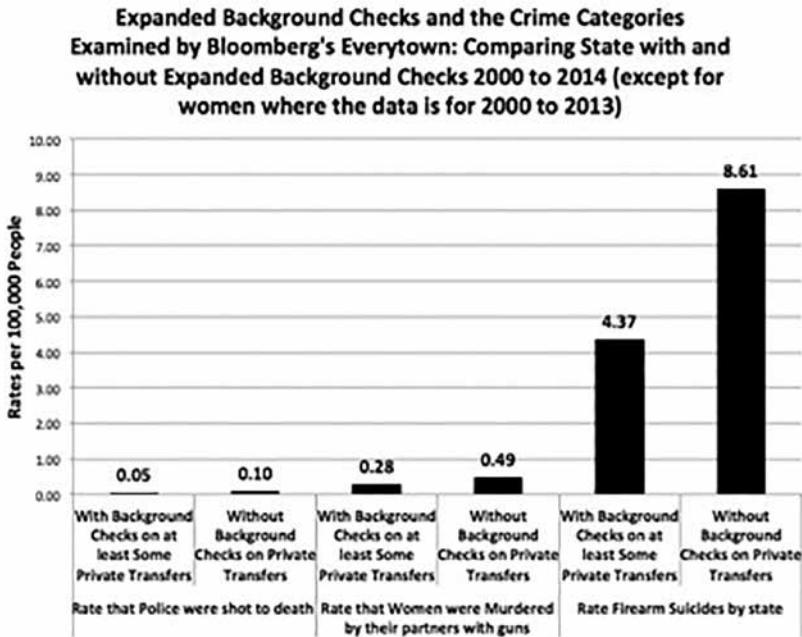
checks on private gun transfers reduced firearm suicides and police gun deaths by similarly extreme margins of between 46 and 48 percent.[18] Figure 4 shows the results for those same categories over the years from 2000 to 2014, and the pattern is very similar to what they showed over 2008 to 2012.

But the problem isn't only with looking across places at one point in time. There is also the issue of what types of crimes to compare. It is no surprise that a Bloomberg organization would selectively pick whatever categories appeared to support their conclusions. Look at murder, robbery, or aggravated assault, and we find that states with expanded background checks experienced higher rates from 2000 to 2014 (see Figure 5). If Bloomberg's group really believes that this is the proper way to analyze data, are they going to accept the fact that murders are 49 percent higher and robberies are 75 percent higher in states with expanded background checks?

FIGURE 5

What if you used the Bloomberg Approach to look at
other Crime Rates Across States?: Looking at Violent
Crime for their years from 2000 to 2014
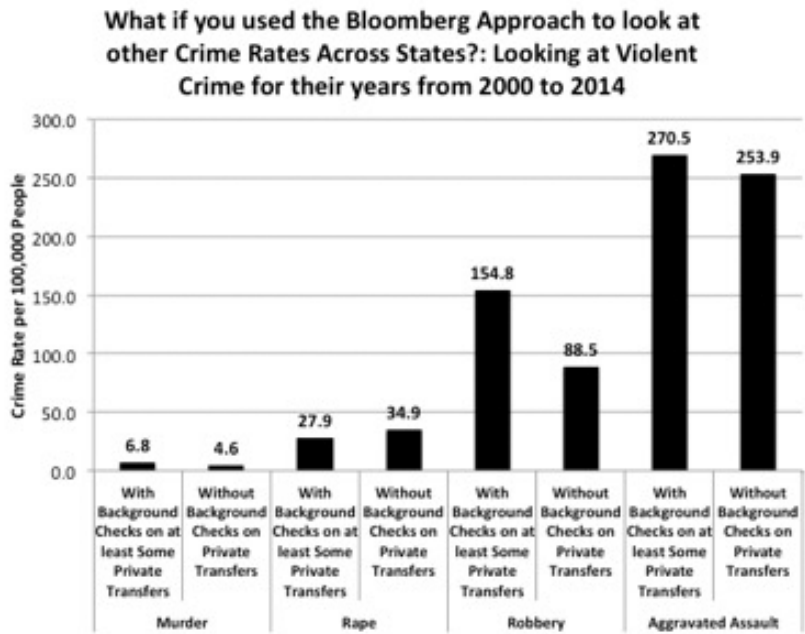
Of course, this fact doesn't mean that expanded background checks cause higher violent crime rates any more than looking across states proves that these laws lowered police shooting deaths or the other claimed benefits. In my book *More Guns, Less Crime*, I found no change in violent crime rates after states passed these background checks on private transfers.[19] There was a small 2 percent increase in murder rates, but the effect wasn't statistically significant.

Table 5 looks at changes in the suicide rate and in the murder rate against women and police. We looked again at states before and after they changed their laws and compared these states with those that didn't change their laws. But twenty-two of the twenty-four estimates show *no change* in crimes or suicides as a result of these new background checks; half of these statistically insignificant results imply that background checks make things worse and half imply that they get better. I obtained only two statistically significant results. One showed that states with expanded background checks on transfers had a large increase in police

gun deaths. The other showed a relatively miniscule drop in total suicides. But even these results are no longer statistically significant when other factors are taken into account.

The bottom line is that these background checks on private transfers don't help. Economists, criminologists, and public health researchers have yet to find that the Brady background checks did *anything* to reduce violent crime. Additional checks aren't the solution. We've been about as successful in stopping criminals from getting guns as we have been in preventing people from obtaining illegal drugs.

Table 5: Impact of background checks on police and female murders after accounting for average differences across states and years and other factors (the estimates are shown below as follows: the regression coefficient for background check laws; the percent change in murders, injuries, or events from these laws is shown in brackets; absolute t-statistics are shown in parentheses; and the level of statistical significance below that)

	Explanatory variables			
	Data for years from 2000 through 2014 for police and suicides, 2000 to 2013 for women's murder rate			
	Fixed state and year effects as well as whether all the guns used in crime were purchased in another state and state population		Same variables used in columns (1) and (2) as well as murder rate, percent of population black, percent Hispanic, poverty rate, median income, percent of population in prison, divorce rate, and the unemployment rate. In the case of female murder rate regression, the overall murder rate is replaced with the male murder rate. Data for 2000-2013.	
Endogenous variable	Background checks on at least some private transfers	Universal background checks	Background checks on at least some private transfers	Universal background checks
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Log of number police murdered by guns per 100,000 police	.0118 [1.2%]	.696 [101%]	.6015 [82%]	-.211 [24%]
	(0.03)	(1.22)	(1.28)	(0.22)

0.01	0.223	0.202	0.825
Log of number police murdered per 100,000 police .0024 [0.2%]	.558 [75%]	**.818 [127%]**	.4054 [50%]
(0.02)	(0.91)	**(1.71)**	(1.13)
0.974	0.363	**0.089**	0.261
Log of women shot to death by partner, rate per 100,000 women .2651 [30.4%]	-.2073 [23%]	-.039 [4%]	-.989 [169%]
(0.81)	(0.36)	(0.11)	(1.42)
0.418	0.715	0.909	0.155
Log of women's murder rate per 100,000 women .00235 [0.2%]	.2108 [23%]	-.1388 [15%]	.1099 [12%]
(0.02)	(1.01)	(1.15)	(0.47)
0.984	0.311	0.250	0.648
Log of firearm suicide rate per 100,000 people -.0500 [5.1%]	.0026 [0.3%]	-.0688 [7%]	-.132 [14%]
(1.52)	(0.06)	(0.59)	(1.28)
0.130	0.949	0.555	0.202
Log of total suicide rate per 100,000 people -.0065 [0.7%]	-.0036 [0.4%]	**-.0685 [7%]**	-.0577 [5.9%]
(0.29)	(0.14)	**(1.86)**	(1.17)
0.772	0.892	**0.064**	0.243
Estimates in **bold** are statistically significant at least at the 10 percent level for a two-tailed t-test.			

CONCLUSION

Despite the continual calls for expanded background checks after mass public shootings, there is *no* evidence that background checks on private transfers of guns would have prevented any of the attacks. Nor

APPENDIX 1

Table 1.1a: For question six in the survey of economists and criminologists, we asked to "please cite one academic study that best supports your answer as to how allowing people to carry a permitted concealed handgun will affect the murder rate." Studies with at least two citations are listed here. Ten of those surveyed could not reference a single "best" study to support their answer.

Table 1.1a: For economists: "Please cite one academic study that best supports your answer as to how allowing people to carry a permitted concealed handgun will affect the murder rate."	
Studies that got at least two cites	
John Lott and David Mustard, *Journal of Legal Studies*, 1997	5
John Lott, *More Guns, Less Crime*, University of Chicago Press	3
F. Plassmann & T.N. Tideman, "Does the Right to Carry Concealed Handguns Deter Countable Crimes-Only a Count Analysis Can Say," *Journal of Law & Economics*, 2001	2

Carl Moody and Teb Marvell, *Southern Economic Journal*, 2005	2
Eric Helland and Alex Tabarrok, *Advances in Economic Analysis & Policy*, 2004	2
Other answers	
Papers that got only one cite	11
Researchers who said that they could not point to a "best study"	10

Table 1.1b: For criminologists: "Please cite one academic study that best supports your answer as to how allowing people to carry a permitted concealed handgun will affect the murder rate."	
Studies that got at least two cites	
John Lott and David Mustard, *Journal of Legal Studies*, 1997	4
John Lott, *More Guns, Less Crime*, University of Chicago Press	4
Carl Moody and Teb Marvell, "The Debate on Shall-Issue Laws," *Econ Journal Watch*, 5(3) September 2008	2
Nagin (unspecified)	2
Other answers	
Papers that got only one cite	9
Researchers who said that they could not point to a "best study"	18

Table 1.2a: Do economists and criminologists have clear views on the issue of guns? (Researchers from entire world with undecideds)		
Question	Is the difference between "yes" and "no" answers for economists statistically significant? (Probability of significance shown in parentheses)	Is the difference between "yes" and "no" answers for criminologists statistically significant? (Probability of significance shown in parentheses)

In the United States, are guns used in self-defense more often than they are used in the commission of crime?	Yes (0.0%)	No (71.1%)
Are gun-free zones, areas where civilians are banned from having guns, more likely to attract criminals than they are to deter them?	Yes (0.0%)	No (85.6%)
Would you say that, in the United States, having a gun in the home causes an increase in the risk of suicide?	Yes (0.0%)	No (86.8%)
Would you say that concealed handgun permit holders are much more law-abiding than the typical American?	Yes (0.0%)	Yes (2.1%)
	Is the difference between "Decrease" and "Increase" answers for economists statistically significant? (Probability of significance shown in parentheses)	Is the difference between "Decrease" and "Increase" answers for criminologists statistically significant? (Probability of significance shown in parentheses)
How does allowing people to carry a permitted concealed handgun affect the murder rate?	Yes (0.0%)	Yes (7.0%)
These estimates assume that the distributions for economists and criminologists have unequal variances.		

Table 1.2b: Do economists and criminologists give statistically significantly different answers to survey questions on guns? (Researchers from entire world with undecideds)

Question	Is the difference between the percentage of economists and criminologists who answer "yes" statistically significant for a two-tailed t-test? (Probability of significance shown in parentheses)

In the United States, are guns used in self-defense more often than they are used in the commission of crime?	Yes (6.6%)
Are gun-free zones, areas where civilians are banned from having guns, more likely to attract criminals than they are to deter them?	Yes (0.15%)
Would you say that, in the United States, having a gun in the home causes an increase in the risk of suicide?	Yes (3.5%)
Would you say that concealed handgun permit holders are much more law-abiding than the typical American?	Yes (0.86%)
	Is the difference between the percentage of economists and criminologists who answer "decrease" statistically significant for a two-tailed t-test? (Probability of significance shown in parentheses)
How does allowing people to carry a permitted concealed handgun affect the murder rate?	Yes (0.10%)
These estimates assume that the distributions for economists and criminologists have unequal variances and an unequal number of observations.	

EVERYTOWN'S ERRORS IN IDENTIFYING MASS SHOOTINGS AND GUN-FREE ZONES

As noted in Chapter 2, Everytown's report on mass shootings contains many errors. In addition, it muddies the discussion on mass public shootings by including shootings in private homes along with ones in public places, and the vast majority of the cases they include are in private homes. But there is a distinction between what motivates mass public shooters who are committing their crimes to get media attention and those who engage in attacks in private residences.

There are three mass public shootings since at least 1950 that have not been part of some other crime where at least four people have been killed in an area where civilians are generally allowed to have guns. These

are the International House of Pancakes restaurant in Carson City, Nevada on September 6, 2011; the Gabrielle Giffords shooting in Tucson, Arizona on January 8, 2011; and the Kalamazoo shooting on February 20, 2016, where four people died in one attack at a Cracker Barrel restaurant and two others in another one (while the Cracker Barrel restaurant didn't ban guns, Uber does ban its drivers from carrying guns and the killer was on the job when he did the shootings, and the shooting was done while he was in his car).

Here are some general points about how to classify mass public shootings that have occurred in gun-free zones.

1. A lot of work is involved in obtaining information on whether the attacks occurred in gun-free zones. This includes calling the businesses or other facilities involved. But many times those organizations are uncooperative, and in those cases much time is spent contacting individuals in the area of the attack and asking them if they can provide pictures or other information on the facilities. Indeed, the media virtually always refuses to mention whether the attack occurred in a gun-free zone. Unfortunately, Everytown for Gun Safety/ Mayors Against Illegal Guns did not do this work, and they have also inaccurately stated, ignored, or simply missed facts that are readily available in news stories.

2. What motivates mass public shootings where the killer is trying to kill or injure as many people as possible to get publicity is quite different from what motivates robbers or gang fights (see Lott and Landes). The issue of gun-free zones is particularly important for mass public shootings.

3. The word "public" is also key to these cases. Shootings that occur in people's homes will often involve killers who know if guns are owned in the home. And if there is a gun in the home, the killer will know who has access to it.

4. There is also the distinction between right-to-carry and may-issue laws. If virtually no one, especially no civilian, is allowed to get a concealed handgun permit as occurs in most may-issue jurisdictions, the area is essentially a gun-free zone.

EXAMPLES: BLOOMBERG'S EVERYTOWN ORGANIZATION INCORRECTLY REPORTS AS MASS PUBLIC SHOOTINGS AND/OR SHOOTINGS IN GUN-FREE ZONES

The Bloomberg discussions are indented and put in block quotes. After the quotes there is an explanation for why they shouldn't be counted as mass public shootings. The Bloomberg report doesn't number these events, but we will assign numbers just to make them easier to reference.

> 1) **Terrell, TX, 10/28/13:** The shooter shot and killed his mother, his aunt, two acquaintances, and a store clerk in a spree of attacks before he was captured by police. He killed the first four victims in their respective homes and the final one—the clerk—at Ali's Market on W. Moore Avenue, apparently in an attempt to rob the store. Shooter Name: Charles Everett Brownlow Jr. Gun details: Unknown. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: The shooter had a criminal record that prohibited him from possessing firearms. He was convicted of burglarizing a vehicle in 1996, a Class A misdemeanor, and convicted of felony burglary in 1997. In 2008, he was served a three-year sentence for unlawful possession of a firearm and in 2011 he was convicted of misdemeanor assault against a family

member. Not a gun-free zone: The manager of the Ali's Market reported that customers are allowed to carry firearms in the store.

FACTS: There was not a mass public shooting at Ali's Market. Only one person was killed at that store. Permitted concealed handguns can deter many attacks from occurring and can limit the harm that does occur. But permit holders aren't expected to limit the harm for those attacks that do occur to zero. Permitted concealed handguns deter mass shootings because they can limit the harm and take away the incentive that these killers obtain from their warped desire to get media attention.

2) **Washington, DC, 9/16/13**: The alleged shooter, who was a civilian contractor and former non-combat military, killed twelve and wounded three more in an attack on Building 197 at the Navy Yard. Shooter Name: Aaron Alexis, 34. Gun details: The shooter arrived with a shotgun and also obtained a handgun from a security guard that he killed. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Two days before the incident the shooter passed a National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) at the licensed gun dealer Sharpshooters in Lorton, VA, and purchased the shotgun. Prohibiting criteria: The shooter had been arrested at least three times including: in September 2010 in Fort Worth, Texas for shooting a firearm into a neighbor's apartment; in August 2008 in Dekalb County, Georgia for disorderly conduct; and in 2004 in Seattle, Washington for shooting out the tires of another man's vehicle. But court records do not indicate he was convicted in any of these cases, and this record did not prohibit him from buying guns. He had also received treatment for mental health conditions at two VA hospitals beginning in August, 2013 following an incident where he called Newport Rhode Island Police

to report hearing voices. But these incidents did not rise to the level of prohibiting from buying guns. And during his military service he was reportedly cited on at least eight occasions for misconduct ranging from traffic tickets and showing up late for work to insubordination, extended absences from work, and disorderly conduct. On account of this the Navy sought to offer him a "general discharge" but he was ultimately honorably discharged through the early-enlisted transition program in January 2011. Not a gun-free zone: There were armed guards at the Washington Navy Yard, and the shooter was familiar with the premises, so he did not select it as a target on the presumption he would not faced armed resistance. In fact, the shooter reportedly used a gun that he took from a guard after killing him.

FACTS: Whether one is looking at the attacks at the Washington Navy Yard or Fort Hood, letting military police carry guns is much different than letting other soldiers protect themselves. While military police tend to be at the entrances to military bases, they largely patrol the rest of the base in the same way that police patrol a city. One no more expects military police to instantly arrive at the scene of a mass public shooting than one expects police to arrive at one. In Alexis's attack, since he worked at the Navy Yard, he knew what entrance to go to that would have only one guard and that is where he went. For related discussions, read my April 2014 Fox News articles.

3) **Crab Orchard, TN, 9/11/13**: The shooters killed a woman and three teenagers, apparently during an attempted robbery during a marijuana exchange. The victims' bodies were discovered in a car parked along the side of the road in the Renegade Mountain resort community near Crossville. Shooter Name: Jacob Allen Bennett, 26 and Brittany Lina Yvonn Moser, 25. Gun

details: Handgun. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: Bennett was prohibited from possessing firearms. In 2010 he received a 6-year prison sentence for charges of theft, forgery, and possession of a handgun during a felony, but was paroled on March 4, 2013. The Cumberland County sheriff's office estimated they had previously arrested Bennett five times. Not a gun-free zone: We could find no evidence that permit holders were prohibited from carrying guns in this area. In Tennessee, concealed weapons would be prohibited only if the county or municipality declared itself a gun-free zone.

FACTS: This shooting was part of another crime, a robbery of illegal marijuana (see point two in the introduction). It was not a mass public shooting where the point of the crime was to kill as many people as possible so as to obtain media coverage.

4) **Herkimer, NY, 4/13/13**: The shooter killed two people and critically wounded one at John's Barber Shop and then killed two more people at Gaffey's Fast Lube, a car care facility. He was killed by responding officers. Shooter Name: Kurt Myers, 64. Gun details: According to the police superintendent, Myers used a shotgun. Additional guns and ammunition were found by emergency crews after Myers set fire to the apartment. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: There is no reason to believe Myers was prohibited him from possessing a gun. He was arrested in 1973 for drunk driving. Not a gun-free zone: Gaffey's Fast Lube does not have a specific policy prohibiting guns and allows permit holders to carry concealed weapons on the premises. John's Barbershop did not reopen following the shooting but the owner of a neighboring business did not

recall the barbershop having any explicit firearm policy or ban, which would have been required to prohibit customers from carrying guns on the premises.

FACTS: New York is a May-Issue state, not a right-to-carry state. We don't yet have the number of civilian concealed carry permits, but they seem to be extremely rare. The possession of a handgun in New York State requires a NYS Pistol Permit. In 2012 there were only 154 permits issued to own a pistol in Herkimer county. Over the previous five years, there were 667 permits issued, though not all of those permits to own a handgun would have been active at the beginning of 2013. When talking to the pistol permit office, Lott was told that there were zero restricted licenses that allowed people to carry for business purposes (concealed carry licenses that allow a business owner to carry in the course of doing business) and zero restricted for self defense purposes (e.g., a woman who is being actively stalked).

Report from February 2013: At this point, the Everytown for Gun Safety report mainly repeats cases previously discussed by Bloomberg's Mayors Against Illegal Guns on MASS SHOOTING INCIDENTS, JANUARY 2009–JANUARY 2013. An earlier report on the problems with their claims about the attacks not being in gun-free zones was never corrected. Here is the analysis of these previous cases.

> 5) **Geneva County, AL, 3/10/09:** The shooter killed ten, including four members of his family, before killing himself. Shooter Name: Michael Kenneth McLendon, 28. Gun details: Bushmaster AR-15, SKS Rifle, Shotgun, and .38 Pistol. Ammo details: Police recovered additional ammunition from his vehicle after the shooting. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: The shooter had no criminal record and there is no indication he was prohibited from owning a gun. Not a gun-free zone: It was lawful to carry a firearm in the public intersection and gas station where two of the individuals were shot.

FACTS: Nine people were killed by McLendon. In the first shooting in a house on Pullum Street, five people were killed. There was also a second shooting in another home that left two people dead. Neither were public places. It is true that two individuals were killed in separate public places as McLendon was driving along, but that is not a multiple victim public shooting in which at least four are killed in a public place. However, MAIG's report implies that all these shootings occurred in public places.

> 6) **Lakewood, WA, 11/29/09**: The shooter killed four police officers in a Tacoma Coffee shop, eluding police for two days before being killed as he fled. Shooter Name: Maurice Clemmons, 37. Gun details: When he was killed, he was in possession of the handgun of one of the officers he had killed. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: The shooter was prohibited from purchasing a firearm, having been charged with at least 13 felonies across two states. He had posted bail for raping a child just six days before the attack. Not a gun-free zone: The police officers were armed at the time of the shooting.

FACTS: Lott and Landes didn't define gun-free zones in terms of whether police were allowed to carry guns, but whether private citizens are able to readily obtain concealed handguns for their protection. What is important is that the coffee shop was posted to prevent concealed carry permit holders from carrying. Presumably MAIG understood this point and that is the reason why they focused on police officers being able to carry in this venue. Obviously, however, on-duty police can carry any place. The problem for uniformed police is that they provide an easily identifiable target and it is easy to take them out. Possibly if the attacker had to worry about permit holders who he could not identify, it would have dissuaded him from attacking. While Lott had checked when this event originally occurred, he reconfirmed

this information with Dave Workman who lived nearby via email on January 8, 2013.

> 7) **Carthage, NC, 3/29/09:** The shooter opened fire at a nursing home where his estranged wife worked, killing eight and injuring three before he was shot and arrested by a police officer. Shooter Name: Robert Stewart, 45. Gun details: .357 Magnum handgun and Winchester 1300 shotgun. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: The guns were acquired legally from a local sporting good store. Prohibiting criteria: There is no indication the Stewart was prohibited from owning a gun. Not a gun-free zone: We could find no indication that the property-owner forbid carrying of firearms on their property.

FACTS: This facility informed Lott in April 2009 that it did not allow guns in the facility for either the people living there or the staff. He called up to ask what its policies had been before the attack.

Here are places listed by Bloomberg's group that may have allowed people with permits to carry in places, but that made it extremely difficult or impossible for civilians to get a concealed handgun permit.

> 8) **Boston, MA, 09/28/10:** The shooter killed four and wounded one during a drug-related robbery. Shooter Name: Edward Washington, 33, and Dwayne Moore, 35, were both charged in the killings. Washington was acquitted. In Moore's first trial, the jury deadlocked 11-1 in favor of his guilt, but he was later convicted in a retrial. Gun details: 40-caliber Iberia handgun and 9mm Cobray semiautomatic. The Cobray has not been recovered, but the weapon was identified based on recovered bullets and shell casings. Ammo details: 14 rounds fired. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: Unknown. Not a gun free zone: A person with a

Massachusetts Class A license could lawfully carry a firearm in this area.

9) **Buffalo, NY, 8/14/10**: The shooter opened fire on a group of people outside a bar, killing four and wounding four others. Shooter Name: Riccardo McCray, 24. Gun details: Unknown. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: McCray had been arrested earlier that year on felony drug charges and the previous year for having a loaded rifle in his car. If he was found guilty of either crime, he would have been prohibited from possessing firearms. Not a gun-free zone: We could find no indication that it was unlawful to carry a firearm in the area.

10) **Northridge, CA, 12/2/12**: The shooter arrived at an unlicensed boarding house on Devonshire street, reportedly in search of his girlfriend, and after a dispute shot and killed four people out- side. Shooter Name: Ka Pasasouk, 31. Gun details: semiautomatic handgun. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: The shooter was prohibited from possessing guns, having been convicted for car theft and felony robbery. While on probation in September 2012, he was arrested again for possession of methamphetamine. According to the district attorney, a prosecutor then released him on probation over the objection of probation officials, who believed he posed a threat to the safety of the community. Not a gun-free zone: Permit holders were not prohibited from carrying guns in this area.

11) **East Oakland, CA, 3/21/09**: The shooter used a semi-automatic handgun to kill two police officers after they stopped his car and then fled on foot to an apartment where he killed two SWAT officers with an assault weapon and injured a third before being killed by police. Shooter Name: Lovelle Mixon Gun details: 9mm

semiautomatic handgun and SKS assault-style rifle Ammo details: Police said the assault weapon had a high-capacity magazine. Gun acquired: The shooter took part in a home invasion robbery in Modesto, CA, on February 21 2009 in which a rifle was reported stolen. Police did not comment on whether the stolen rifle was the one used in the shooting. Prohibiting criteria: The shooter had a lengthy criminal history, including a conviction for armed battery, which would have prohibited him from possessing a gun, and he was on parole for assault with a deadly weapon at the time of the shootings. Not a gun-free zone: Two of the victims were shot on a public roadway—the 7400 block of Macarthur Boulevard in East Oakland—where no state law would have prohibited a citizen with the appropriate permit to carry a gun. All of the police officers killed in the incident were armed.

12) **Medford, NY, 6/9/11**: The shooter killed four people at a pharmacy, Haven Drugs, and stole thou- sands of hydrocodone pills before fleeing in a vehicle. During the trial he acknowledged that he and his wife were addicted to prescription medication. Shooter Name: David Laffer. Gun details: A .45 caliber handgun was used in the shooting. Several other legally registered guns were also recovered from the shooter's home. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: The gun was legally registered to the shooter, and there is no evidence he was prohibited from possessing a gun. But five months before the shooting, Suffolk County Detective Kenneth Ripp investigated an identity theft claim made by the shooter's mother, who said the shooter had stolen her debit card. After questioning the shooter and his mother, Ripp advised the Suffolk County Pistol License Bureau that the shooter was dangerous and that his guns should be confiscated. Despite Ripp's report, the guns

were not removed. Not a gun-free zone: We could find no evidence that Haven Drugs posted a sign or had a policy prohibiting the carrying of firearms. Current employees declined to comment.

13) **Brockport, NY, 2/14/09**: The shooter killed a nurse in the Lakeside Memorial Hospital parking lot and a motorist who intervened, and wounded the motorist's girlfriend. The shooter had been fired from the hospital after the nurse filed a sexual harassment complaint against him. He then drove 50 miles and killed another nurse — who had filed a similar complaint against the shooter— and her husband in their home. Shooter Name: Frank Garcia, 34. Gun details: .40 caliber Glock handgun Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: There is no evidence that the shooter was prohibited from owning a gun. However, he had applied for concealed carry permits and been denied three times. In his 1995 application, he omit- ted information about his criminal record—including arrests for criminal possession of a weapon, assault, and harassment. In 2001 and 2006 he made further omissions, and was evaluated as lacking moral character. But in 2007, a judge reversed the denial and granted Garcia a concealed weapon permit. Not a gun-free zone: We found no indication that permit holders were prohibited from carrying guns in this area at the time of the incident.

FACTS: All these cities either forbid or make it incredibly difficult for law-abiding citizens to carry concealed handguns for protection. In Boston, it is so bad that even off-duty and retired police are regularly denied unrestricted license to carry permits. Northridge, California is part of Los Angeles County, which refuses to issue permits to regular citizens. In September 2011, there were 240 permits in all of Los Angeles County when the population was about 7.6 million adults. That equals a

permit rate of 0.0032 percent. In addition, the attack was at a residential dwelling, not a public place.

By contrast, we estimate that there are 10.82 million permits in right-to-carry states with an adult population of 161 million—that is a permit rate of about 6.7 percent (209 times the rate of permits issued in Los Angeles). (This doesn't include the six states that allow carrying concealed handguns without a permit, and these states presumably have higher rates of carrying.) In these states, the general population is simply not able to carry a gun for protection.

Similarly, East Oakland, California is part of Alameda County. In 2010, Alameda County had granted concealed handgun permits to seventy-five people out of 1,182,534—a permit rate of 0.006 percent.

Just as with Herkimer, New York; Medford in Suffolk County, New York, and Brockport in Monroe County, New York were similarly very restrictive in issuing May-Issue permits. In Suffolk County, the police and sheriff's departments each handle permits in half of the permits for the county. For the sheriff's office, Robert E. Draffin (the Suffolk County Sheriff's Freedom of information officer) informed us that there were 569 sportsman permits (limited to carrying to or from a shooting range or to go hunting) and seventy-nine business permits (where a business owner is allowed to carry only in the course of doing business). For the police department, Inspector Derrocco noted that the department "virtually never gives out permits for anything other than sportsmen to carry to and from the range and for premises and dwellings." Given that there are about 1.2 million adults in Suffolk County, even assuming that the police department issued permits at the same rate as the sheriff's office, this implies a permit rate of about 0.1 percent and virtually none of these permits would have allowed a concealed handgun to be carried in the pharmacy where the attack occurred.

> 14) **Oak Creek, WI, 8/5/12**: The shooter killed six people at a Sikh temple and injured three others, including a responding police officer, before killing himself. Shooter Name: Wade Michael, 40. Gun details: 9mm

semiautomatic handgun. Ammo details: Page reportedly bought three 19-round magazines when he purchased the gun. Gun acquired: Page acquired the gun at a local gun shop a week before the shooting. Prohibiting criteria: Page was involved with the white supremacist movement but he does not appear to have been prohibited from purchasing a gun. Federal officials investigated Page's ties to supremacist groups more than once prior to the shooting, but did not collect enough evidence to open an investigation.

FACTS: From FoxNews.com: "No guns [were] allowed in the temple," Kulbir Singh, an attendee of the Sikh Temple of Wisconsin, told FoxNews.com. "Everyone knows that it's not allowed, anywhere in the temple."

15) **Norcross, GA, 2/22/12**: The shooter returned to a Korean spa from which he'd been kicked out after an altercation, where he shot and killed two of his sisters and their husbands before committing suicide. Shooter Name: Jeong Soo Paek, 59. Gun details: .45 caliber handgun. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Police reported that he acquired the gun legally. Prohibiting criteria: Paek does not appear to have been prohibited, although he had allegedly served two months in jail for assaulting his sister six years earlier. Not a gun-free zone: We could find no indication that the property owner forbade possession of a firearm on their property.

FACTS: Lott spoke with someone at the spa after the attack and was told that the killer knew "nobody there had a gun." The person at the spa indicated that they were sure that neither the sisters nor their husbands had guns at the spa and that the killer who was the brother of the women knew that was the case. While the official policy at the spa isn't

clear because the conversation was very short, the important thing was that the killer knew that there were no guns for people to defend themselves there. This was a small family owned establishment so it is most likely that this was the official policy of the family. Note that they have the wrong date on this event. (UPDATE: Mayors Against Illegal Guns originally claimed that this event occurred on February 22, but the event actually occurred on February 20, 2012. After Lott wrote his analysis, they corrected the data but did not update their discussion of gun-free zones.) Note also that the business has since closed.

> 16) **Hialeah, FL, 6/6/10**: The shooter killed four women, including his wife—who had just separated from him. He injured three others before shooting and killing himself. The shooting occurred in Yoyito-Cafe Restaurant, where the shooter's wife was employed as a waitress, and in the parking lot immediately outside. Shooter Name: Gerardo Regalado, 38. Gun details: .45 caliber handgun. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: The shooter had a concealed weapons permit. Prohibiting criteria: There is no evidence that the shooter was prohibited from owning a gun. However, relatives said the shooter had abused and terrorized women in the past, and had been imprisoned in Cuba for a particularly violent incident, but he did not have a criminal record in the United States. Not a gun-free zone: We could find no indication that guns were prohibited in this area. Guns are prohibited in Florida restaurants only in areas primarily devoted to the serving of alcohol.

FACTS: Strangely, while Bloomberg's group mentions the restaurants that get 50 percent of their revenue from alcohol, it didn't actually go and check whether that was the case for this restaurant, which apparently was at the time a very popular venue for parties serving alcohol. If

Bloomberg's group had checked, it would have found that the restaurant was a gun-free zone.

> 17) **Washington, DC, 3/30/10**: Three gunmen killed four and wounded five in retaliation for another murder. Shooter Name: Nathaniel D. Simms, 26; Orlando Carter, 20, and unnamed 14-year-old juvenile. Gun details: An AK-47 assault rifle and 9mm and .45-caliber handguns. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Unknown. Prohibiting criteria: The adults were reported to have lengthy criminal histories, which prohibited them from purchasing guns, and the 14-year-old was too young to purchase or own a gun.

FACTS: This is one case where Bloomberg's Everytown doesn't include this as a place that allows guns (obviously D.C. completely bans the carrying of concealed handguns); we include it here simply as an example of one of the many cases where it is including what are pretty obviously drive-by gang shootings. Even the D.C. police chief, Cathy Lanier, indicated that it was a "gang retaliation." The AK-47 was used to spray bullets into a group in another gang's territory in retaliation for another murder. We are focused on cases identified by Everytown as occurring in gun-free zones, but gang shootings are obviously quite different from the types of mass public shootings that garner national attention.

> 18) **Mount Airy, NC, 11/1/09**: The shooter killed four people outside a television store before eventually surrendering to the police. Shooter Name: Marcos Chavez Gonzalez, 29. Gun details: Assault rifle. Ammo details: Unknown. Gun acquired: Unknown. Not a gun-free zone: It was lawful to carry a firearm in the area of the shooting.

FACTS: Indications are that the attack was part of gang related crime. As explained above, that would exclude it from the mass public shootings done specifically to harm people as distinct from other types of violent crime.

TABLE 1.3: THE FBI'S CASES WHERE ZERO OR ONE PERSON HAS BEEN KILLED

Year	Month	Day	City	State	Attacker Name	Killed
2001	3	22	El Cajon	California	Jason Anthony Hoffman	0
2003	7	17	Charleston	West Virginia	Richard Dean Bright	0
2004	2	9	East Greenbush	New York	Jon William Romano	0
2005	2	13	Kingston	New York	Robert Charles Bonelli Jr.	0
2005	11	20	Tacoma	Washington	Dominick Sergil Maldonado	0
2006	3	25	Reno	Nevada	James Scott Newman	0
2006	10	9	Joplin	Missouri	Thomas White	0
2007	3	5	Signal Hill	California	Alonso Jose Mendez	0
2007	10	10	Cleveland	Ohio	Asa Halley Coon	0
2009	4	26	Hampton	Virginia	Odane Greg Maye	0
2009	5	18	Cut Off	Louisiana	Justin Doucet	0
2010	2	3	Macomb	Illinois	Jonathan Joseph Labbe	0

Year	Month	Day	City	State	Attacker Name	Killed
2010	2	10	Knoxville	Tennessee	Mark Stephen Foster	0
2010	2	23	Littleton	Colorado	Bruco Strongeagle Eastwood	0
2010	3	4	Arlington	Virginia	John Patrick Bedell	0
2010	5	7	Bloomfield	New Jersey	Rasheed Cherry	0
2010	5	27	New York Mills	New York	Abraham Dickan	0
2010	9	22	Crete	Nebraska	Akouch Kashoual	0
2010	10	8	Carlsbad	California	Brendan O'Rourke	0
2010	10	29	Reno	Nevada	John Dennis Gillane	0
2010	12	14	Panama City	Florida	Clay Allen Duke	0
2011	8	27	Queens	New York	Tyrone Miller	0
2011	9	13	Girard	Kansas	Jesse Ray Palmer	0
2012	2	8	Middletown	New York	Timothy Patrick Mulqueen	0
2012	7	17	Tuscaloosa	Alabama	Nathan Van Wilkins	0
2012	8	27	Baltimore	Maryland	Robert Wayne Gladden Jr.	0
2012	12	15	Birmingham	Alabama	Jason Heath Letts	0
2013	1	10	Taft	California	Bryan Oliver	0
2013	4	12	Christiansburg	Virginia	Neil Allen MacInnis	0

Year	Month	Day	City	State	Attacker Name	Killed
2013	6	21	Greenville	North Carolina	Lakin Anthony Faust	0
2013	10	26	Albuquerque	New Mexico	Christopher Thomas Chase	0
2001	4	23	San Jose	California	Cathline Repunte	1
2001	12	6	Goshen	Indiana	Robert L. Wissman	1
2003	4	24	Red Lion	Pennsylvania	James Sheets	1
2003	5	9	Cleveland	Ohio	Biswanath A. Halder	1
2003	8	19	Andover	Ohio	Richard Wayne Shadle	1
2005	1	26	Toledo	Ohio	Myles Wesley Meyers	1
2005	11	8	Jacksboro	Tennessee	Kenneth S. Bartley	1
2005	11	22	North Augusta	South Carolina	Unknown	1
2006	6	25	Denver	Colorado	Michael Julius Ford	1
2006	7	28	Seattle	Washington	Naveed Afzal Haq	1
2006	8	30	Hillsborough	North Carolina	Alvaro Castillo	1
2006	9	29	Cazenovia	Wisconsin	Eric Jordan Hainstock	1
2007	8	30	Bronx	New York	Paulino Valenzuela	1
2007	10	8	Simi Valley	California	Robert Becerra	1
2008	3	3	West Palm Beach	Florida	Alburn Edward Blake	1
2009	4	7	Temecula	California	John Suchan Chong	1

Year	Month	Day	City	State	Attacker Name	Killed
2009	6	1	North Little Rock	Arkansas	Carlos Leon Bledsoe	1
2009	6	10	Washington D.C.	Washington D.C.	James Wenneker von Brunn	1
2009	7	1	Simi Valley	California	Jaime Paredes	1
2009	7	25	Houston	Texas	Unknown	1
2009	11	6	Orlando	Florida	Jason Samuel Rodriguez	1
2009	11	7	Vail	Colorado	Richard Allan Moreau	1
2009	11	10	Tualatin	Oregon	Robert Beiser	1
2010	1	4	Las Vegas	Nevada	Johnny Lee Wicks Jr.	1
2010	3	9	Columbus	Ohio	Nathaniel Alvin Brown	1
2010	3	30	Tarpon Springs	Florida	Arunya Rouch	1
2010	4	19	Knoxville	Tennessee	Abdo Ibssa	1
2010	9	20	El Paso	Texas	Steven Jay Kropf	1
2010	10	4	Gainesville	Florida	Clifford Louis Miller Jr.	1
2010	10	13	Washington	D.C.	Unknown	1
2011	1	5	Omaha	Nebraska	Richard L. Butler Jr.	1
2012	3	8	Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania	John Schick	1
2013	10	21	Sparks	Nevada	Jose Reyes	1
2013	11	1	Los Angeles	California	Paul Anthony Ciancia	1
2013	12	13	Centennial	Colorado	Karl Halverson Pierson	1
2013	12	17	Reno	Nevada	Alan Oliver Frazier	1

APPENDIX 2

ENACTMENT DATES OF LAWS REQUIRING BACKGROUND CHECKS IN PRIVATE TRANSFER OF HANDGUNS OR RIFLES. NOTED WHEN HANDGUNS ONLY. (STATES IN BOLD REQUIRE BACKGROUND CHECKS ON ALL PRIVATE TRANSFERS OF GUNS AT POINT OF SALE.)

State	Date law went into effect*	Type of crime for not conducting check	Type of crime for providing false information
California	1/1/91	Misdemeanor	Misdemeanor
Colorado	3/31/01		

State	Expanded back-ground checks at gun shows Date law went into effect*	Class 1 misde-meanor Type of crime for not conducting check	Class 1 misde-meanor Type of crime for providing false information
Colorado	**7/1/2013**		
	Expanded back-ground checks on all guns	**Class 1 misde-meanor**	**Class 1 misde-meanor**
Connecticut	10/1/94		
	Handgun certificate of eligibility	Class D felony	Fined not more than $500 and/or imprisoned for not more than three years
Connecticut	**April 1, 2014**		
	Long-gun eligibility certificate requiring state and federal background checks	**Class D felony**	**Class D felony For which two years of the sentence imposed may not be suspended or reduced by the court, and $5,000 of the fine imposed may not be remitted or reduced by the court unless the court states on the record its reasons for remitting or reducing such fine**
Delaware	**July 1, 2013**		
	Expanded back-ground check on all guns	**Class A misdemean-or for first offense, Class G felony there after**	**Class G felony**
District of Colum-bia	**Pre-1977**		

State	license necessary to own a gun and that requires back-ground check	First violation is a $100 civil fine, Second violation is a $500 civil fine and five-year prohibition on owning a gun	Fine of not more than $2,500 and not more than one year in prison
State	Date law went into effect*	Type of crime for not conducting check	Type of crime for providing false information
Hawaii	Pre-1977		
	permit required to purchase any gun, and background check required for permit	Misdemeanor	Class C felony
Illinois	Pre-1977		
	permit required to purchase any gun, and background check required for permit	Class A misdemeanor	Perjury
Iowa	7/1/91		
	Handguns	Simple misdemeanor	Class D felony
Maryland	10/1/96		
	Handguns	Misdemeanor	Misdemeanor
Massachusetts	Pre-1977		
	permit required to purchase any gun, and background check required for permit	Felony	$500–1000 and/or six months to two years imprisonment
Michigan	Pre-1977		
	handguns	Felony	Felony
Missouri	9/28/81 Started		
	handguns	Class A misdemeanor	Class A misdemeanor
Missouri	9/28/2007 Ended		
	handguns		
Nebraska	9/6/91		

	Handguns	Class 1 misde-meanor	Class 4 felony
New Jersey	Pre-1977		
	Permit required to purchase any gun, and background check required for permit	Crime of the fourth degree	Crime of the third degree
State	**Date law went into effect***	**Type of crime for not conducting check**	**Type of crime for providing false information**
New York	Pre-1977		
	expanded background checks at gun shows	Class A misde-meanor	Class A misde-meanor
New York	**March 15, 2013**		
	Expanded background checks on all guns	**Class A misde-meanor**	**Class A misde-meanor**
North Carolina	12/1/95		
	Handguns	Class 2 misde-meanor	Class H felony
Oregon	12/7/00		
	Expanded back-ground checks at gun shows	Class A misde-meanor	Class A misde-meanor
Oregon	**8/9/2015**		
	Expanded background checks on all guns	**First violation Class A misdemeanor, subsequent viola-tions Class B felony**	**Class A misde-meanor**
Pennsylvania	10/11/95		
	Handguns	Misdemeanor of the second degree	Felony of the third degree
Puerto Rico	**Pre-1977 license necessary to own a gun and that re-quired background check**		

Puerto Rico	June 20, 2015 Ended licensing requirement		
Rhode Island	**Pre-1977**		
	All private transfers	**Not more than $1000 and/or imprisonment of up to five years**	**Imprisonment of up to five years**
State	**Date law went into effect***	**Type of crime for not conducting check**	**Type of crime for providing false information**
Tennessee	**Until 11/11/98 on handguns**	Class A misdemeanor	Class A misdemeanor
Washington	**12/4/2014**		
	All private transfers	**For first violation a Gross misdemeanor (imprisonment of up to 364 days, fine up to $5,000); for additional violations class C felony**	**Gross misdemeanor**