



TRACING THE GUNS: THE IMPACT OF ILLEGAL GUNS ON VIOLENCE IN CHICAGO



CITY OF CHICAGO - OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT

MAY 27, 2014

Gun violence is Chicago's most urgent problem. Since assuming office in 2011, Mayor Emanuel's top priority has been reducing crime so that all Chicagoans, in every neighborhood, feel safe in our City. The Mayor's comprehensive violence reduction strategy has attacked the problem from every angle, including increasing police resources, fostering economic opportunity, improving education outcomes, empowering youth through prevention programs, and creating opportunities for individuals returning from incarceration.¹

The City's approach is showing signs of progress. Chicago closed 2013 with historic lows in crime and violence. Last year, Chicago had the fewest murders since 1965, the lowest murder rate since 1966, and the lowest overall crime rate since 1972.

But violence in Chicago remains unacceptably high. Too many families, from generation to generation, have lived with the heartbreak and devastation of gun violence. And while the City continues to invest in smarter police strategies and high quality prevention programs, it also must tackle the problem at one of its root causes: the flow of illegal guns into the City.

This report is composed of data and analysis compiled by the Chicago Mayor's Office and the Chicago Police Department examining the impact of illegal guns on violent crime in Chicago and the scope of the City's illegal gun market.² This report updates an analysis previously released in 2012³ and confirms:

- (1) Chicago's violence problem is directly linked to the number of illegal guns available in the City;
- (2) Sixty percent of guns recovered in crimes in Chicago were first sold in other states, many with weaker gun laws; and
- (3) A small handful of gun stores, three from Cook Country and one from Gary, Indiana, continue to be responsible for a disproportionate number of crime guns recovered on Chicago's streets.

Recognizing that there must be a multifaceted approach to reducing gun violence, the Mayor's Office and the Chicago Police Department will take every step to hold accountable the straw purchasers, retail stores, and irresponsible gun owners who arm criminals and young people.

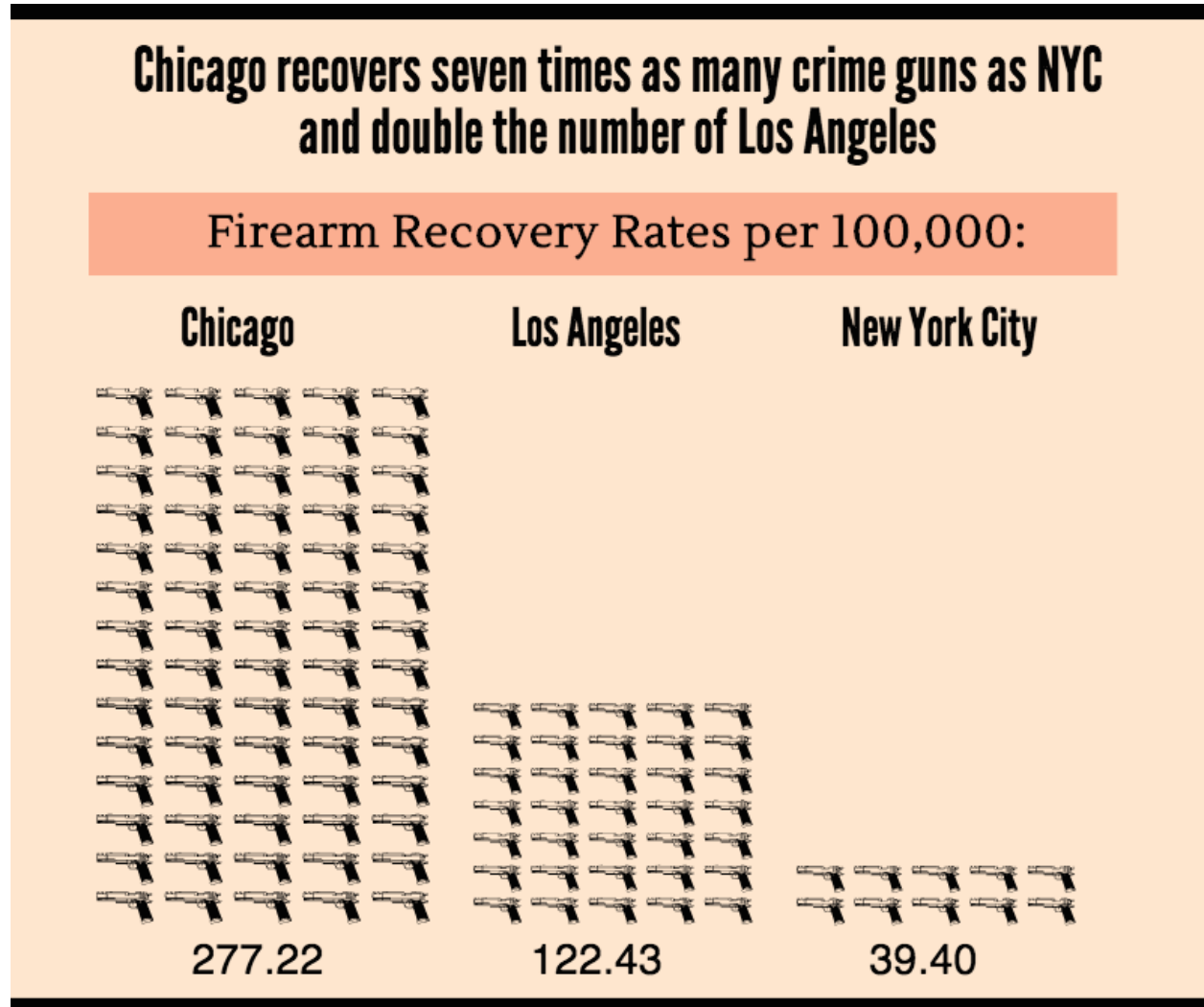
I. Chicago's Violence Is Directly Linked to the Size of its Illegal Gun Market

As has been widely reported, Chicago has in recent years experienced a higher number of murders than the two largest cities in the United States – New York City and Los Angeles. Chicago is not substantially different from those two cities in key indicators thought to have an impact on violent crime, such as poverty rate and the amount of police resources. Indeed, all three cities report that between 19 and 22 percent of residents are living below the poverty line,⁴ and Chicago has more police officers per capita than both New York and Los Angeles.⁵ There is at least one critical factor, however, that sets Chicago apart – the number of illegal guns on the street.

In 2012 the Chicago Police Department confiscated 7,624 guns, which is more gun recoveries *per capita* than LA and NYC combined.⁶ In fact, for every one gun the LAPD recovered, Chicago police

officers recovered 2.25 guns. Measured by the number of guns recovered in crimes per capita, after controlling for population, Chicago police officers recover seven times more guns than in New York City and more than double the amount of guns recovered in Los Angeles.

Figure A. Guns Recovered in Crimes by Law Enforcement in 2012



These data are significant because, when guns are involved, interpersonal violence is much more lethal. Medical research has found that the mortality rate of stabbings is almost tenfold lower than firearm injuries.⁷ Thus, the greater availability of guns in the United States explains in part why this country's criminal homicide rate is significantly higher than in developed countries in Northern and Western Europe, even though overall violent crime rates are the same.

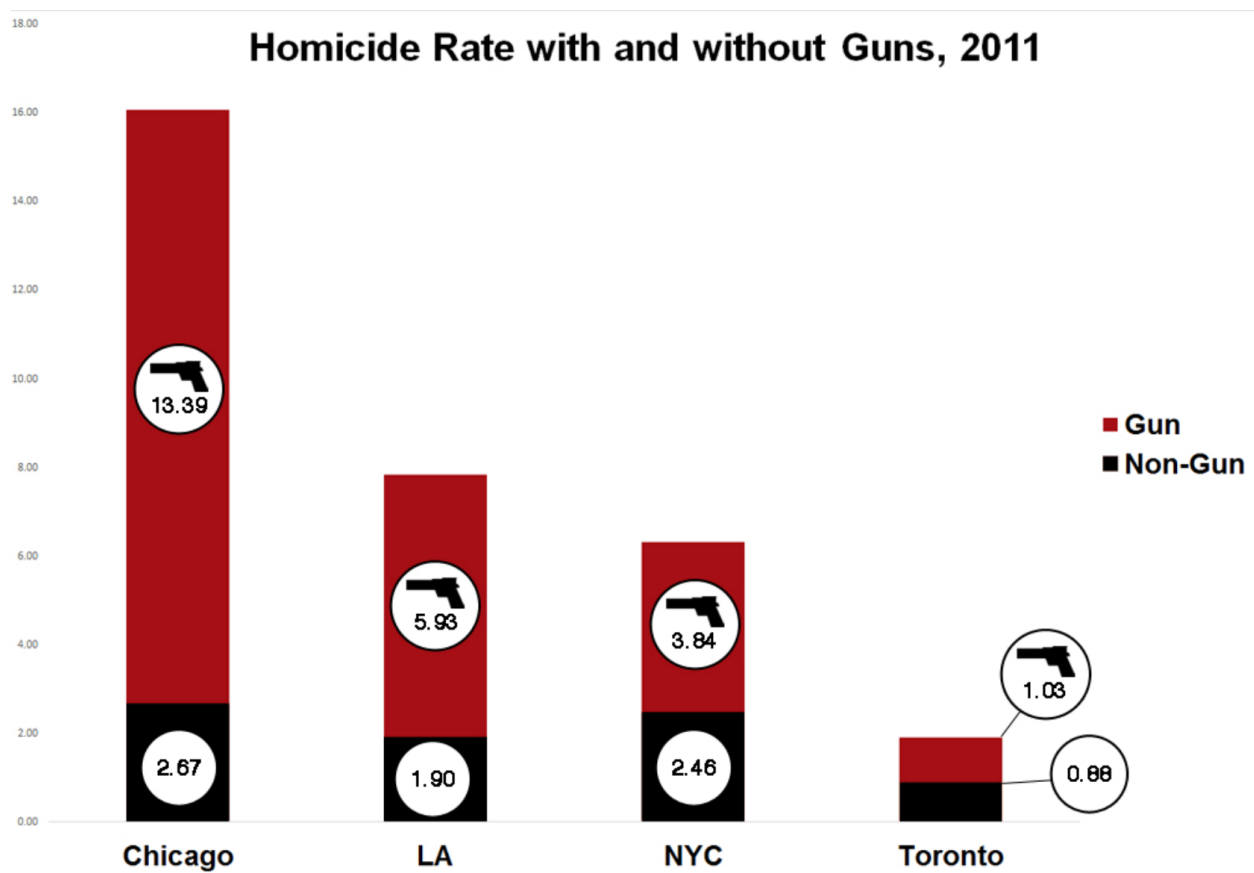
For example, according to the Organisation for Cooperation and Development ("OECD") which is a body composed of 34 of the largest industrialized nations, the United States had one of the lowest rates of "assault" in the world. More specifically, "in the United States, 1.5% of people reported falling victim to assault over the previous 12 months," which is much less than the OECD median assault rate of 3.73% making the rate in the United States one "of the lowest rates across the

OECD.”⁸ Yet, for that same period the United States had the 3rd highest murder rate across OECD member nations: “the United States’ homicide rate is 5.2 [per 100,000],” which is much higher than the OECD median rate of 1.05.⁹

Why the disparity between “assaults” and “murders”? Given that nearly all of U.S. homicides are committed with guns, one answer is that guns make violence more lethal.¹⁰

As shown by the charts below, the connection between murder rate and the size of gun market is apparent when comparing Chicago to New York City and Los Angeles. The three cities have relatively similar rates of non-gun homicides. The difference, however, is Chicago’s large gun market which fuels the murder rate.

Figure B. Homicide Rate with and without Guns, 2011¹¹



Another worthwhile comparison is Toronto. In 2011, Toronto reported just 50 homicides, 27 of which were gun-related.¹² Like Chicago, Toronto has approximately 2.6 million people, but it is much more difficult to access guns in Canada – legally or illegally — than in the United States. In fact, according to a recent report by the Toronto Star, at least “70 percent of all guns used in Toronto crimes are smuggled from the U.S., mostly from states with lax gun purchase laws that make it easy to buy a pistol in a pawnshop, at a gun show or in a parking lot.”¹³

While the scope of Chicago's illegal gun problem is significant, the connection between access to guns and the murder rate offers an opportunity. If the supply and access to illegal guns is reduced, Chicago's murder rate will likely drop.

II. The Sources of Chicago Crime Guns

Tracking the source of illegal guns is essential to cutting off the supply to criminals. Crime gun trace data collected by police departments and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms & Explosives (ATF) is key to understanding how guns end up in the hands of criminals.¹⁴

According to the ATF, almost all of the guns recovered at crime scenes were originally sold at retail stores by federally licensed firearms dealers (FFLs).¹⁵ Thus, unlike narcotics, guns begin as legal products in a legal marketplace. Along the way, however, many guns are diverted into the hands of criminals through theft; "straw purchasing," where a legal gun buyer is paid to purchase a gun for a gun trafficker or criminal; and private sales at gun shows and online, where sellers are not required by federal law to conduct background checks or keep paperwork on the gun transfer.¹⁶

Once a gun is recovered by police officers, they report the gun's unique serial number to ATF, which traces the gun to its manufacturer, distributor, dealer, and ultimately – assuming the dealer has maintained accurate paperwork – original purchaser.¹⁷ For specific cases, trace data allows law enforcement to investigate how the gun went from the hands of its original owner to the crime scene. In the aggregate, trace data can paint a national picture of which states, counties, and individual retail stores are the largest sources of guns recovered in crimes.

According to the ATF, if a gun was recovered in a crime within three years of its original purchase, that is a strong indicator that the gun was illegally trafficked and "suggests illegal diversion or criminal intent associated with the retail purchase from the FFL."¹⁸ This is true for a number of reasons. First, guns are expensive – a new Glock 9mm pistol, without ammunition or accessories, typically costs around \$500. These are not items traded away on a whim. Second, buying a handgun from a retail dealer in most states takes patience. For example, in Illinois, a purchaser must complete the paperwork to obtain a FOID card, travel to the gun store, choose a weapon, wait for the background check to be completed, abide by the 3-day waiting period, and then make a return trip to the store to pick up the gun.

Given the time and money necessary to buy a handgun, the average person is unlikely to quickly discard it; unless of course, the purchaser never intended to keep the gun because they bought it for someone else – a felony under federal law.

Violence in Chicago is fueled by people using illegal guns. The obvious question is: Where are all these guns coming from?

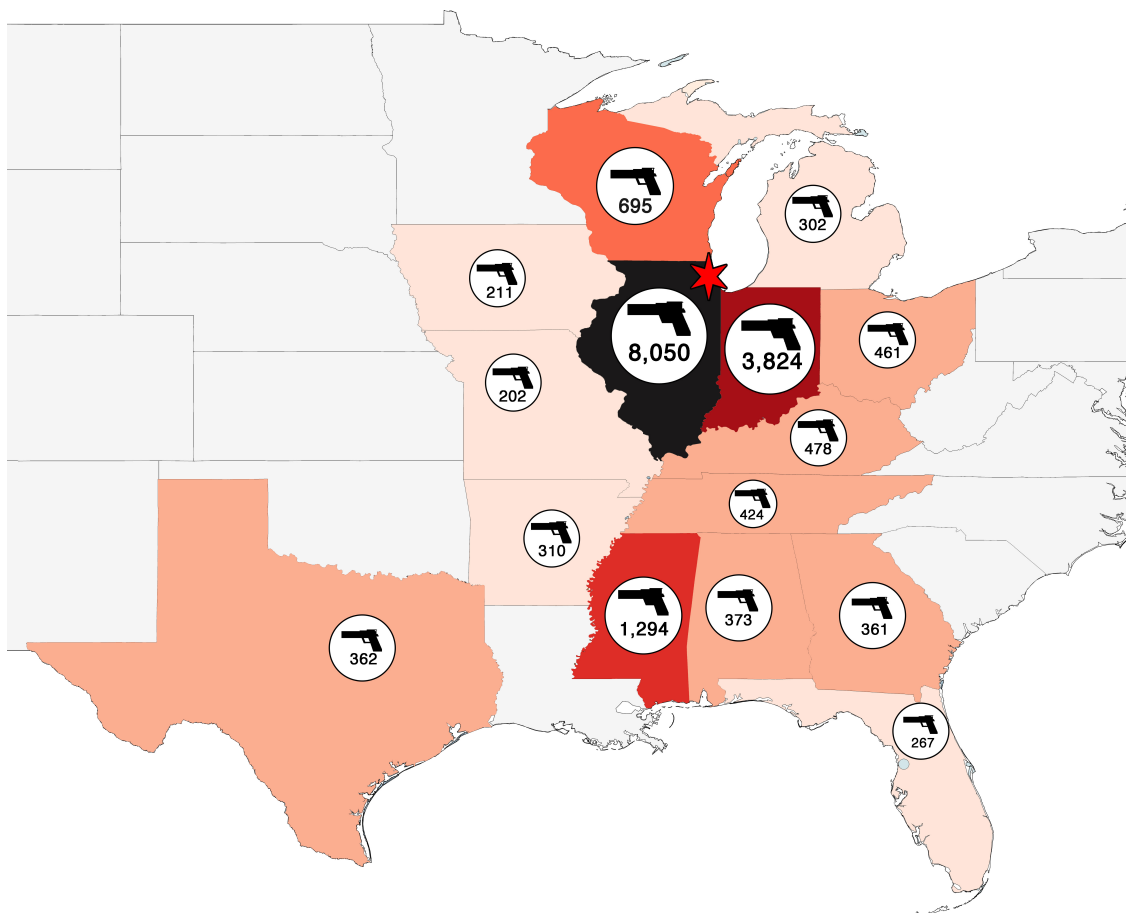
A. Sixty percent of guns recovered in crimes in Chicago are coming from states with weaker gun laws

Between 2009 and 2013, almost 60 percent of guns used to commit crimes in Chicago were first purchased outside of Illinois. That is a slight uptick from analysis published in 2012, when 58

percent were first purchased out of state. All 50 states supplied at least one gun that was eventually used to commit a crime in Chicago. Illinois, like nearly every other state, is the single largest source of guns recovered in Chicago and supplies 40 percent of the total guns recovered in the City. Nationally, on average, each state supplies about 70 percent of guns recovered in crimes in that state and other states supply the remaining 30 percent.¹⁹

The largest out-of-state sources of Chicago's illegal guns were Indiana, Mississippi, and Wisconsin, which supplied 19 percent, 6.7 percent, and 3.6 percent of these crime guns, respectively. None of these states have laws that require background checks for purchasers who buy firearms at gun shows or on the Internet.

Figure C. Number of Firearms Recovered by CPD Originally Sold in other States (2009-2013)



States vary in the degree to which they regulate gun sales. Some require background checks only for some types of gun purchases. Others require gun owners to report any lost or stolen firearms. Some states do not even require gun dealers to obtain licenses. It should come as no surprise that the states with the most permissive gun laws are the states that export crime guns at the highest rates.

Indiana, Mississippi, West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama and Virginia export 31, 50, 46, 34, 33, and 32 handguns per 100,000 residents.²⁰ By contrast, California and New York, which have much tougher gun laws, export approximately 5 and 2 handguns per 100,000 residents.²¹

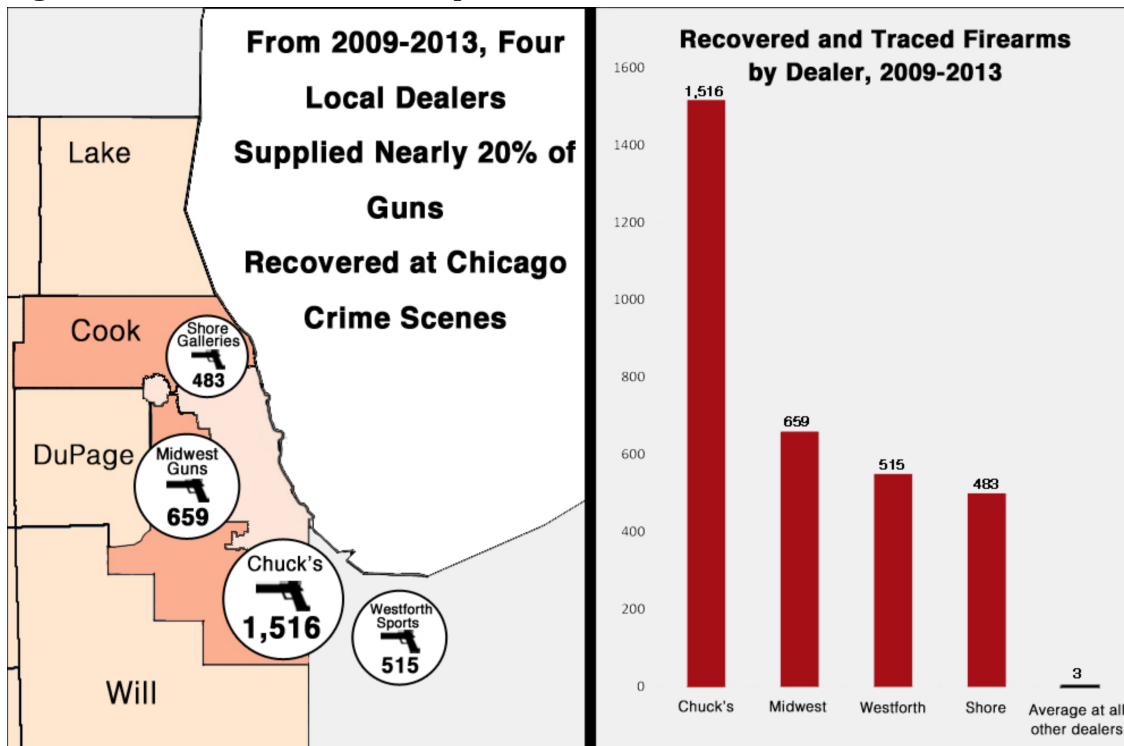
Thus, to a certain extent, Chicago is challenged by geography. Its central location makes it an easy target for gun traffickers. In the last five years 22 different guns recovered from crime scenes in Chicago were traced back to a single purchaser in Indiana. During this same period, 11 guns recovered at crime scenes in Chicago were traced back to a single purchaser in Georgia. Put another way, two out-of-state residents were responsible for supplying 33 separate guns that were used in crimes in Chicago.

Of course, not all of the guns recovered in Chicago come from states with weaker gun laws. Indeed, many guns recovered in crimes were first sold by dealers in surrounding communities.

B. A Small Number of Local Gun Dealers Supply a Large Number of Guns Recovered in Chicago Crimes

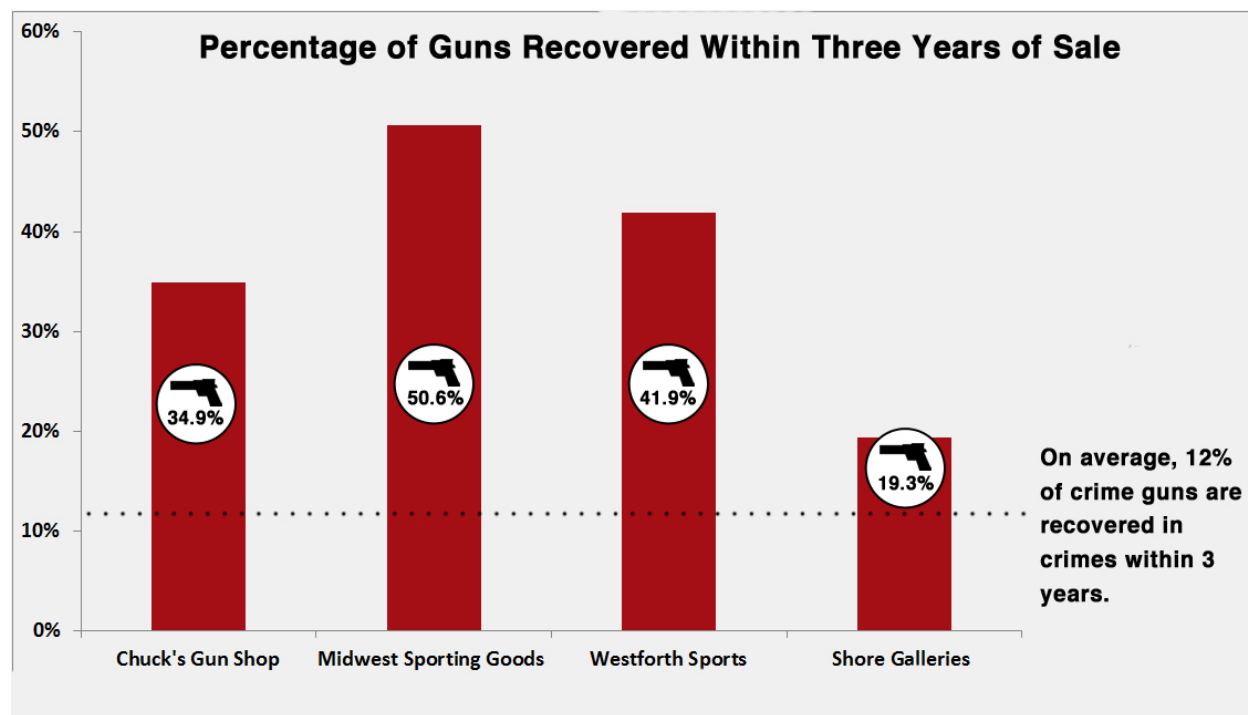
Although the majority of Chicago’s crime guns come from the other 49 states combined, between 2009 and 2013, just four local dealers supplied nearly 20 percent of the guns recovered at Chicago crime scenes. These stores – Chucks (Riverdale, IL), Midwest Sporting Goods (Lyons, IL), Shore Galleries (Lincolnwood, IL), and Westforth Sports, Inc. (Gary, IN)— are all within a short drive of Chicago and are the source of thousands of guns recovered in crimes in Chicago. By contrast, during that same time period, the average number of guns traced back to all other gun stores was three.

Figure D. Gun Dealers that are Top Four Sources for Crime Guns Recovered in Chicago



More significantly, a large proportion of the guns sold by several of these stores were recovered in crimes fewer than three years after their original sale – a key indicator that the sale could have involved criminal activity by the buyer or the dealer, as discussed above. On average, roughly 12 percent of any dealer’s guns that are later recovered in crimes in Chicago move from the store to the street within 3 years. Between 2009 and 2013, Midwest Gun in Lyons, Illinois, sold 659 guns that were used in crimes in Chicago, and 333 (approximately 51 percent) of those firearms were recovered within three years of the original purchase at Midwest Gun. Chucks Gun Shop in Riverdale, Illinois, sold 1,516 guns that were used in crimes in Chicago, and 529 (approximately 35 percent) of these guns were recovered within three years of purchase. Chucks alone accounts for a whopping 8 percent of the total number of guns that were recovered and traced to crimes in Chicago in the last five years.²²

Figure E. Percentage of Guns Recovered in Chicago Crimes by Top Four Gun Dealer Sources



IV. Consequences of Trafficked Guns

Of course, these are not just statistics on a page. Each crime gun trace quantified in this report started with Chicago Police Department recovering a gun in crime, often after a shooting or murder, and the human cost is incalculable. Below are just a few examples:

On November 2, 2011, Ihab Arefeh was minutes away from finishing his shift as a delivery driver and going home to his wife and five children.²³ But Arefeh had to make one last delivery to “The Connect,” a convenience store on the South Side of Chicago.

Salem Weam was a 25-year-old employee of The Connect. That day, he was working with 30-year-old Michael Banks. Banks, the store's security guard, often worked 12-hour shifts, commuting to Chicago from his home in Indiana, which he shared with his fiancée and four children.

None of these men ever made it home. That Wednesday evening, all three were shot to death by armed assailants inside the convenience store.

The three individuals charged with the murders were all younger than 21 years old and prohibited from owning handguns or assault weapons. Two guns recovered from the crime scene were purchased at Westforth Sports just two weeks prior to the murders.

On April 7, 2013, 14-year-old Michael Orozco and a 13-year-old girl were walking in the Heart of Chicago neighborhood to get ice cream.²⁴ Suddenly, a passenger in a van opened fire. Orozco ran to escape the gunfire, but he was shot three times in the back and died from his injuries. The two alleged assailants were 17 and 18 years old--again prohibited from owning handguns. A gun tied to the crime was purchased at Midwest Gun Exchange just over three years prior to Orozco's murder.

That was not the first time this gun had been used in a crime. A Chicago Police ballistics report traced this gun back to an earlier incident of an aggravated assault of a police officer.

On May 10, 2012, Lamont Mattix and William Herron-Junius, both 20 years old, were sitting outside on a porch at around 5 p.m. in the Back of the Yards neighborhood of Chicago.²⁵ A few minutes later, both men were murdered in a drive-by shooting. Chicago Police recovered a gun tied to the crime, which traced back to a purchase at Chuck's Gun Shop a little more than two years prior to the shooting.

In all three cases, the recovered guns traced back to purchasers other than the charged assailants. In the case of the murders at The Connect, the traced guns were originally purchased by an Indiana resident. All of the guns were purchased at retail dealers, yet wound up in the hands of people who could not, and should not, have had them.

V. Solutions

Most guns are diverted from the legal market to the street through secondary private transfers, theft, or via straw purchasers at retail dealers. Laws and enforcement strategies designed to shut down these trafficking channels can be extremely effective.

A. Federal anti-trafficking laws

Sixty percent of guns recovered in crimes in Chicago were originally sold in other states, many with weaker gun laws. Specifically, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Mississippi all permit gun owners to sell their guns to other people without any background checks of the new buyer or paperwork recording the sale. This makes it incredibly easy for gun traffickers, violent offenders, and other prohibited purchasers to buy guns undetected. In those states, guns can move from buyer to buyer and land in the hands of a shooter or murderer without any paper trail.

Because the laws are so weak, law enforcement can often only hold the shooter accountable and not the person(s) who armed the shooter. States like Illinois, California, and New York have passed anti-trafficking laws that require background checks for all gun sales, but guns do not respect state lines. Thus, cities like Chicago need a federal solution.

During the Clinton administration, Mayor Rahm Emanuel worked to pass the Brady Bill, which implemented the first instant background check system. Since then, he has consistently pushed for stronger federal laws. Several pending federal bills would close these gaps and allow law enforcement to hold gun traffickers accountable.²⁶ These federal bills are designed to accomplish two goals: (1) require background checks for private-party gun sales to make it harder for criminals to access guns, and (2) make gun trafficking a federal crime.

After the mass shooting in Newtown, Connecticut, the U.S. Senate considered comprehensive, bi-partisan legislation to require background checks for private gun sales, which ultimately did not pass.²⁷ Laws requiring background checks for private-party sales are effective at reducing gun trafficking. Sixteen states require background checks for all sales of handguns. Compared to the rest of the country, gun trafficking in those states is 68 percent lower, fatal domestic violence with a gun is 38 percent lower, and firearm suicide rates are nearly 50 percent lower.²⁸

Under current federal law, “gun trafficking” is not a distinct federal offense. The bi-partisan *Gun Trafficking Prevention Act* sponsored by U.S. Senators Kirk (R-IL) and Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) and supported by U.S. Senator Dick Durbin (D-IL) seeks to change that. If passed, the law would make it illegal to traffic or assist in the trafficking of a firearm, by making it unlawful to deliver or receive two or more firearms where the individual knows or has reason to believe that the firearms are being, or will be, used in a felony.²⁹ Additionally, the bill prohibits making false statements regarding an actual buyer to a licensed firearm dealer relating to the purchase of two or more firearms. Thus, this law attacks the problem of gun trafficking at every link in the chain, including straw-purchasers who buy a gun for someone else, and the gun dealers who knowingly sell firearms to traffickers.

B. Enhanced Dealer Regulations

Not all of Chicago’s crime guns are trafficked from states that fail to regulate private gun sales. Many are coming from dealers in Illinois. On top of the federal background check conducted by federally licensed gun dealers, to purchase a gun in Illinois, an individual must present a Firearm Owner Identification or “FOID” card, which shows that the purchaser has passed a background check. If a gun owner wishes to resell a gun on the private market in Illinois, starting in January 2014, they must verify the buyer has a valid FOID card. Unlike California and New York, Illinois does not license and regulate gun dealers operating in the state.

To begin to shrink the size of Chicago’s illegal gun market, law enforcement officers and regulators must be empowered to crack down on the businesses that contribute to the supply of trafficked guns. As reported by a former ATF agent in 2012, often dealers are smart enough to follow the letter of federal law by conducting background checks and checking a buyer’s FOID card. But when they suspect but haven’t verified the buyer is a straw purchaser, they look the other way.³⁰

Technically the dealer is not violating federal law unless the dealer “knows or reasonably should have known” the buyer is a trafficker. This can be a very difficult standard to prove, and very few dealers are ever reprimanded, including dealers that are the original source of thousands of crime guns. Dealers that follow the letter but not the spirit of the law can end up directly contributing to hundreds of violent crimes but stay in business for years, seemingly out of reach. These dealers have a responsibility to take every step they can to reduce trafficking in their stores given the huge social costs and consequences of gun violence.

Due to weak federal regulations of dealers, cities and states can make a big impact on gun trafficking by licensing these businesses and requiring them to take common sense steps to reduce straw purchasing and theft in their stores. According to researchers, “state or local regulation of gun dealers, coupled with regular compliance inspections, were associated with significantly less trafficking of guns to criminals.”³¹

There are a number of steps dealers can take to reduce the chances their guns end up in crimes. Due to a federal court decision mandating Chicago allow gun sales within the city limits, each of these common sense preventative measures will be part of the City’s proposed ordinance to regulate gun dealers in Chicago:

- **Employee Background Checks:** Mandate background checks for all gun store employees to make sure they can pass the same background checks as gun purchasers before they handle guns behind the counter and sell those guns to customers.³²
- **Anti-theft Safety Plans:** According to the ATF, in 2012, approximately 16,667 guns were reported lost or stolen from dealers across the country.³³ To lessen this risk, dealers should be required to submit a safety plan, which must be approved by law enforcement before the business may open. Each safety plan must deter theft through adequate exterior lighting, surveillance cameras, alarm systems or other measures. The plans should also address safe storage of weapons and ammunition and fire hazard compliance. Currently, ATF advises dealers on how to minimize theft but federal regulations do not mandate dealers implement measures to protect against theft.
- **Employee Training:** Train employees and managers to identify common signs of straw purchasing and avoid selling to traffickers.
- **Investigation Log:** Maintain an alphabetical log of all guns sales where the gun was later recovered in a crime. If a single purchaser has multiple guns recovered in crimes in a short period of time, that information could lead the dealer to deny future sales.
- **Inventory Audits:** Conduct a mandatory, quarterly audit of the store’s inventory to help detect theft and trafficking. Federal law restricts ATF from conducting more than one inspection per year, and due to manpower constraints, most dealers are inspected only every few years.
- **Video cameras:** Record the point of sale to discourage traffickers and buyers who use false identification.

- **License transfers:** If a business license is revoked for failing to follow the law, making sure the dealer cannot reopen immediately in the same location or by former key employees and managers.

In 2006, New York City sued more than twenty dealers that were the top source of guns recovered in crimes in the city. As part of the settlement agreements, the court assigned a monitor who helped each store implement some of the safety measures described above. As a result, the supply of crime guns from those stores dropped by 85 percent.³⁴

C. Create a Regional Tracing Center

The analysis in this report is based solely on guns recovered and traced by the Chicago Police Department, but every police department in the region also recovers and traces guns. Police departments in northern Illinois, Wisconsin and Indiana should collaborate to combine and share each department's trace data to create a more accurate and detailed view of how illegal guns flow through the region. With this insight, cities could work together to develop enforcement strategies at every stage in the trafficking chain.

IV. Conclusion

Chicago's violence problem is largely a gun problem. Every year, Chicago police officers take thousands of illegal guns off the street. But, despite these efforts, it remains far too easy for criminals to get their hands on deadly weapons. With an enhanced understanding of where these guns are coming from, the City will be using every tool to reduce the supply of trafficked guns, including pursuit of common sense legislation, innovative policing strategies and oversight of gun dealers. Reducing the size of Chicago's illegal gun market will not be easy, but it is absolutely necessary if we want to give all Chicagoan the same opportunity to feel safe in our City.

Endnotes

¹ The City's comprehensive approach to violence prevention is described in greater detail at

² The analysis was informed by technical data assistance from the University of Chicago Crime Lab. Figures presented in this document were generated as part of this technical assistance provided to the City by the Crime Lab. Conclusions and policy recommendations are solely those of the City and the Chicago Police Department.

³ Frank Main, *Chicago Gangs Don't Have to Go Far to Buy Guns*, August 26, 2012, Chicago Sun Times, available at http://www.suntimes.com/news/crime/14715658-418/chicago-gangs-dont-have-to-go-far-to-buy-guns.html#.U3z7Q9JdW_M

⁴ Poverty figures are from the US Census and are available at:
<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/36/3651000.html>;
<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06/0644000.html>;
<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06/0644000.html>

⁵ The Police office per capita figures were calculated using the FBI's National Crime Tables and are available at:
http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2012/crime-in-the-u.s.-2012/tables/78tabledatadecpdf/table-78-state-cuts/table_78_full_time_law_enforcement_employees_illinois_by_city_2012.xls

http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2012/crime-in-the-u.s.-2012/tables/78tabledatadecpdf/table-78-state-cuts/table_78_full_time_law_enforcement_employees_new_york_by_city_2012.xls

http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2012/crime-in-the-u.s.-2012/tables/78tabledatadecpdf/table-78-state-cuts/table_78_full_time_law_enforcement_employees_california_by_city_2012.xls

⁶ Data on gun recoveries in Los Angeles was provided by Los Angeles Police Department to the University of Chicago Crime Lab.

⁷ Crandall, C., Olson, L., Fullerton, L., Skalar, D., and Zumwalt, R. (1997) Guns and knives in New Mexico: Patterns of Penetrating Trauma, 1978-1993. *Academic Emergency Medicine* 4(4): 263-267.

⁸ OECD Better Life Index. Available at <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/topics/safety/>. The average (*i.e.*, mean) OCEC assault and homicide rates are: 3.9% and 4.1% respectively. The median homicide and assault rates were used in this report because the median, opposed to the mean, controls for outlying data points, and in this case provides a more accurate representation of the OECD metrics being discussed.

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ For example, according to the FBI, there were 14,022 murders in the United States in 2011, and more than 80 percent of those murders were committed with a gun. There were also 478,400 incidents of gun-related violence for a rate of 1 homicide per every 43 violent episodes. See, e.g., Planty, M., and Truman, J.L. (2013) Firearm Violence, 1993-2011. *Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report*. Available at <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/fv9311.pdf> on May 20, 2014.

¹¹ Figure B reports homicide data from 2011 because homicide data broken down by weapon type from 2012 is not yet publicly available.

¹² Toronto crime data is compiled from statistics kept by the Toronto police and is available at http://www.torontopolice.on.ca/statistics/ytd_stats.php

¹³ Jayme Poisson and David Bruse, *The gun pipeline: Mules who bring firearms across border pay high price for fast money*, April 19, 2013, Toronto Star, available at http://www.thestar.com/news/investigations/2013/04/19/the_gun_pipeline_mules_who_bring_firearms_across_border_pay_high_price_for_fast_money.html

¹⁴ As stated in other reports, including Trace the Guns (2010) (see page 32), crime gun trace data is a valuable tool to understand trafficking patterns, but it has some limitations. First, traced guns do not represent all crime guns. Many guns used in crime are never recovered by the Chicago Police Department. Second, not all attempts to trace guns are successful. Traces may fail if businesses fail to keep the records necessary to track the chain of ownership or if the serial number of the gun has been obliterated. In 2010, Mayors Against Illegal Guns reported that ATF successfully traced guns just over 60% of the time. (See Trace the Guns, page 4). Finally, trace data only shows the first retail purchaser, and as discussed above, guns can change hands multiple times before being used in a crime – one reason why calculating short “time to crime” is a valuable indicator of trafficking. Nonetheless, trace data is recognized as an important indicator of trafficking channels and is regularly analyzed by ATF to track trends. (See, e.g., ATF’s 2012 aggregate trace data reports, available here: <https://www.atf.gov/statistics/trace-data/2012-trace-data.html>)

¹⁵ *Id.* at pg. 4.

¹⁶ ATF, “Following the Gun” (2000) (available at <http://www.atf.gov/sites/default/files/assets/Firearms/chap1.pdf>)

¹⁷ The ATF provides a description of this process on its website, available at <http://www.atf.gov/publications/factsheets/factsheet-national-tracing-center.html>

¹⁸ ATF Fact Sheet on Inspections of Firearms Dealers (July 2004) (available at <http://www.justice.gov/oig/reports/ATF/e0405/background.htm>.) The Department of Justice Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Reports also defined “short time-to-crime” as 3 years or less. See e.g., the Chicago YCGII report at page 13. (“experienced trafficking investigators view a time-to-crime of less than 3 years as an especially useful indicator) (available at <https://www.atf.gov/files/publications/download/ycgii/2000/cityreports/chicagoil.pdf>). ATF’s annual trace reports also track guns recovered in three years or less compared to guns recovered in more than three years. See, e.g., Illinois’ report at <https://www.atf.gov/sites/default/files/assets/statistics/tracedata-2012/2012-trace-data-illinois.pdf>. In some press releases, ATF has defined “short time-to-crime” as two years. See, e.g., ATF Press Release, available at <https://www.atf.gov/press/releases/2009/07/070809-ny-atf-shares-trace-data.html>

¹⁹ In its 2010 report, “Trace the Guns: the Link Between Gun Laws and Interstate Gun Trafficking,” Mayors Against Illegal Guns analysis trace data from every state. These statistics were reported in on page 6 of the report (available here: <http://tracetheguns.org/report.pdf>) and on the interactive map available here: <http://tracetheguns.org/#>

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.*

²² This analysis does not control for each dealer's sales volume. Dealers with larger sales volume may also have larger number of guns recovered in crimes traced back to those stores. However, it is not currently feasible to control for sales volume because the gun industry does not release sales data. Moreover, more than 6,000 dealers were sources of guns recovered in Chicago crimes, and the average number of guns traced to those stores was three. Those stores presumably have a wide range of sales volume – from large stores to smaller ones.

²³ As reported by John P. Huston, Ryan Haggerty and Jeremy Gerner, *Convenience store dead: 2 employees, wholesaler and possibly a gunman*, Nov. 3, 2011, Chicago Tribune, available at http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2011-11-03/news/ct-met-four-people-killed-2-20111104_1_convenience-store-security-guard-gunmen.

²⁴ As reported by Erin Meyer, Darryl Holliday and Emily Morris, *Teen Killed 14-Year-Old Boy to Avenge Father's Death, Prosecutors Allege*, April 9, 2013, DNAinfo Chicago, available at <http://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20130409/pilsen/teen-killed-14-year-old-pilsen-avenge-fathers-death-prosecutors>

²⁵ As reported by Erin Meyer, *Man Charged in 2012 Drive-By Double Murder*, March 15, 2013, DNAinfo Chicago, available at <http://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20130315/back-of-yards/man-charged-2012-drive-by-double-murder>

²⁶ S.649, Safe Communities, Safe Schools Act of 2013 (113th Congress); S. Amdt 715 to S. 649 & H.R.1565, Public Safety and Second Amendment Rights Protection Act of 2013 (113th Congress); Leahy-Collins Trafficking Amendment, S.Amdt. 713 to S.649 (113th Congress). After the mass shooting in Newtown, Connecticut, Illinois Senators Mark Kirk and Richard Durbin among others were sponsors of comprehensive, bi-partisan legislation to require background checks for private gun sales. The bill is still pending.

²⁷ S. Amdt. 715 to S. 649, Public Safety and Second Amendment Rights Protection Act of 2013 (113th Congress)

²⁸ Analysis by Mayors Against Illegal Guns of data provided by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Centers for Disease Control and certain state law enforcement agencies. Available at http://3gbwir1ummda16xrhf4do9d21bsx.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/MAIG_-_2_-_Background_checks_national_charts_-_b.pdf

²⁹ S. 179 (113th Congress). Full text of the bill available at <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c113:S.179>:

³⁰ Frank Main, *Chicago Gangs Don't Have to Go Far to Buy Guns*, August 26, 2012, Chicago Sun Times, available at http://www.suntimes.com/news/crime/14715658-418/chicago-gangs-dont-have-to-go-far-to-buy-guns.html#.U3z7Q9JdW_M

³¹ Webster DW, Vernick JS, Bulzacchelli MT. "Effects of state-level firearm seller accountability policies on firearms trafficking." *Journal of Urban Health* 2009;86:525-537. ("Using data from ATF crime gun traces from 54 U.S. cities, legal research on state gun sales laws, and surveys of law enforcement, [the researchers] found that comprehensive state or local regulation of gun dealers, coupled with regular compliance inspections, were associated with significantly less trafficking of guns to criminals. This 2009 study was the first to incorporate measures of the enforcement of gun sale laws into a study of the effectiveness of these laws.

³² As a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Illinois Senator Mark Kirk was the co-sponsored federal legislation that would have required background checks for all dealer employees. See H.R.6676 (110th Congress)

³³ ATF 2012 Summary: Firearms Reported Lost or Stolen, at pg. 4. Report is available at <https://www.atf.gov/sites/default/files/assets/Firearms/2012-summary-firearms-reported-lost-and-stolen-2.pdf>

³⁴ *Reducing Gun Violence in America, Informing Policy with Evidence and Analysis* (Daniel Webster & Jon Vernick eds., 2013) pgs. 127-129, full text available at http://jhupress.files.wordpress.com/2013/01/1421411113_updf.pdf

