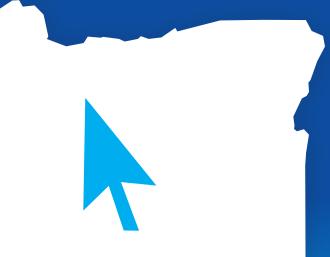
### **Special Report**

# Expanding Brady Background Checks to Internet Gun Sales in Oregon

Why Brady Background Checks Work and Why it's Time for Oregon to Finish the Job







### A Note from Sarah Brady and Dan Gross

This organization knows what it takes to make historic change and pass new laws that really do save lives. The original Brady Bill was a real David and Goliath fight. It took us six years and seven votes to pass it. Now, 21 years later, Brady background checks have blocked more than 2.4 million purchases by dangerous people like felons, domestic abusers, and fugitives. Countless lives have been saved as a result.

We also know that a lot can change over two decades. When President Clinton signed the Brady Bill in 1993, nobody had even heard of the Internet. When we walked the halls of Congress scouting for votes, we never thought we would need to worry about background checks for guns that are sold



Sarah Brady and Dan Gross at a press conference on Capitol Hill in November 2013.

online. Today, there are websites that make it possible to arrange back-alley gun deals with the click of a button, facilitating thousands of sales every day to Lord knows who. In fact, a recent study showed that the site Armslist.com – basically a Craigslist for guns – has 70,000 guns available, many without background checks, from AR-15 assault weapons to Glock handguns, and everything in between.

Encouragingly, since the horrific tragedy at Sandy Hook Elementary in December of 2012, several states have taken initiative where Congress has failed, expanding lifesaving Brady background checks to all gun sales, including those made online. In November 2014, Washington became the fifth state since Sandy Hook to expand background checks to all gun sales. These states are much safer as a result. In fact, states that have expanded Brady background checks on gun sales see 46 percent fewer women killed with guns by intimate partners, 48 percent fewer law enforcement officers killed, and 48 percent fewer gun suicides.

Recognizing the lifesaving importance of background checks, Oregon voters took an extraordinary first step in 2000 by overwhelmingly passing a citizen initiative to require background checks on gun sales at all gun shows. Fifteen years later, Oregonians have an opportunity to "Finish the Job" and save lives by closing the extremely dangerous loophole that allows unchecked sales on the Internet.

Make no mistake: Oregon's people want, need, and deserve Brady background checks on Internet sales. In fact, 87 percent of Oregon voters and 83 percent of gun owners support a Brady background check for every gun purchase, according to a January 2015 poll by Americans for Responsible Solutions.

Now Oregon citizens need to raise their voices once again and hold their state representatives accountable, to put Oregonians ahead of the interests of the corporate gun lobby to make Oregon safer for everyone. Unfortunately, we have learned that you can never underestimate the levels to which the gun lobby and its lapdog politicians will stoop to block even the most sensible, life-saving laws. Even strong polling numbers don't guarantee victory unless Oregonians act and make their voices heard!

nad Brokey

Sarah Brady Chair Emeritus

Malla

Dan Gross President

### **Executive Summary**

Every year, gun violence kills more than 400 Oregonians. From 2004 to 2013, more than 4,000 people were killed with guns. This means that, on average, somebody is killed in Oregon with a gun every 21 hours.

This report demonstrates why Brady background checks on gun purchases are an effective policy that prevents gun crime and saves lives by keeping guns out of the hands of dangerous people prohibited from owning guns.

Since the Brady Law went into effect in 1994, Brady background checks have blocked 2.4 million gun sales to prohibited purchasers such as convicted felons, domestic abusers, fugitives, and other dangerous people. This translates to an estimated 358 prohibited purchases blocked every day, including 163 sales to felons; 46 sales to domestic abusers; and 21 sales to fugitives. In Oregon, in 2013, 2,215 prohibited purchases were blocked because of background checks. That is an estimated six purchases blocked each day.

But in today's gun marketplace, not all sales take place through a gun store or federal licensed firearms dealer. Thousands of gun sales are happening at gun shows and online marketplaces where a Brady background check is not required for purchases from unlicensed dealers. These unchecked sales help arm felons, domestic abusers, and other dangerous people who would not be able to pass a background check to get a gun.

Many states have closed these dangerous, massive loopholes that allow criminals and dangerous people to purchase guns without background checks at gun shows and online. Since the massacre at Sandy Hook Elementary School in December 2012, five states have acted where Congress failed to expand background checks on gun sales. States with expanded Brady background checks see 46 percent fewer women murdered with guns by intimate partners; 48 percent fewer law enforced officers killed by guns; and 48 percent fewer gun-related suicides.

In 2000, the citizens of Oregon took a critical first step to close the dangerous loopholes that have emerged since the original Brady Law went into effect by expanding Brady background checks to include gun show sales. This was a positive step, supported overwhelmingly by the electorate, that has helped to keep guns out of dangerous hands and has saved lives, without limiting the opportunity for safe, law-abiding citizens to legally purchase guns.

This report demonstrates the importance of expanding background checks to online gun sales to Finish the Job started with the Brady Law, and continued in 2000 by Oregon voters, to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and dangerous people and to make Oregon a safer state for all of its residents.

### The Life-saving Impact of Brady Background Checks

Brady background checks have delivered on their promise to make America safer by keeping guns out of the wrong hands.

Brady background checks on gun purchases have blocked more than 2.4 million sales to prohibited, dangerous people since the inception of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act – the Brady Law. That equates to 358 prohibited purchases blocked every day. This means fewer guns are ending up in the hands of criminals, domestic abusers, and other people seeking to do harm.

Background checks are also working in Oregon. In 2013, background checks blocked 2,215 attempted purchases to prohibited and dangerous people. In 2012, 2,525 prohibited purchases were denied in the state. This translates to 850 purchases denied to felons, 232 purchases denied to fugitives from the law, and 256 purchases denied to domestic abusers, among other categories of prohibited purchasers.

2,400,000+

sales blocked to prohibited people since 1994

358 prohibited purchases blocked everyday

2,525 prohibited purchases denied in Oregon in 2012

#### **Did You Know?**

Background checks are fast and efficient. In 2013, the average time it took to complete a background check was only 72 seconds, according to data from the FBI.

#### Keeping Guns Out of the Hands of Dangerous People

Data collected by the U.S. Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Statistics indicates that convicted felons, fugitives from justice, and domestic abusers made up nearly 70 percent of firearm purchase applications denied from 1994 through 2012.

#### Felons

Convicted felons make up the largest category of people denied gun purchases by Brady background checks. A felony conviction indicates that someone has been found guilty of a very serious crime such as murder or assault with a deadly weapon.

Remarkably, felony convictions account for about half the total number of blocked attempts to purchase guns by high-risk people, or an estimated 1,105,513 applications denied.

From 1994 through 2012, felons averaged 163 denied applications to purchase guns per day. It is truly frightening to think what crimes might have been committed and how many lives could have been lost had these purchase attempts succeeded.

In Oregon in 2012, 850 attempted purchases were blocked to convicted felons.

#### **Domestic Violence Offenders**

The Brady Law's impact on stopping domestic violence offenders from getting guns is indisputable. Domestic violence abuse is the second most common reason gun purchase applications are denied. Men and women who have been arrested and convicted of injuring family members and intimate partners—or who are the subject of a qualifying restraining order to protect against such violence—are prohibited by federal law from possessing guns. This is for good reason. A gun in the hands of a domestic violence offender greatly increases the lethality of violence they are likely to commit against their partners and children.

According to the available data, 314,083 domestic violence offenders—a daily average of 46 prohibited people—were denied gun purchases.

In Oregon, background checks blocked 256 purchases to domestic abusers in 2012 alone.

#### **Fugitives from Justice**

Expanded background checks regularly deny guns to yet another category of dangerous people: fugitives from justice.

Brady background checks blocked 145,061 attempted purchases by fugitives from justice from 1994 through 2012, representing an average of 21 gun-seeking fugitives turned away every day.

In 2012, 232 purchases were denied to fugitives in Oregon.

#### U.S. Gun Purchases Blocked by Brady Background Checks (1994-2012)

Reason Purchase was Blocked	Total Blocked Purchases	Blocked Purchases per Month	Blocked Purchases per Day	
All Reasons	2,431,000	10,756	358	
Top Three Reasons				
Felony	1,105,000	4,892	163	
Domestic Violence	314,000	1,390	46	
Fugitive	145,000	642	21	

\*Estimates are rounded to the nearest thousand as per BJS convention.

#### Oregon Gun Purchases Blocked by Brady Background Checks

1999-2012			
Total	30,046		
2005-2012			
All Denials	16,774		
Felons	5,029		
Domestic Abusers	2,027		
Fugitives	1,343		
All Other Categories	8,375		

These estimates are based on data from the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics and FOIA request filed by the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence in February 2015. These numbers undercount the number of background checks since 1994 because of the lag time in data availability. Table Sources: Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Background Checks for Firearm Transfers Series*, 1999-2012, <u>http://www.bjs.gov/content/</u> <u>pub/pdf/bcft12st.pdf</u> and *Presale Handgun Checks Series*, 1994-1999 <u>http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/phc98.pdf</u>.

### The History of Expanding Brady Background Checks in Oregon: A Legacy of Prevention

As effective as the Brady Law is, it is a federal law that only applies to federally-licensed dealers, leaving the door open for guns to be sold through unlicensed sellers without a background check. In 2000, Oregon closed the gaping hole of unlicensed sales at gun shows, passing the citizen initiative, Measure 5, by a margin of 62 percent to 38 percent. The law, which remains in effect, has helped stop countless dangerous people from buying guns without a background check from unlicensed dealers at gun shows.

The legislation to expand background checks to gun show sales narrowly lost in the 1999 Oregon legislature before it went to the voters. Showing tremendous tenacity, ordinary citizens took matters into their own hands and worked to gather signatures to qualify and pass an initiative for the November 2000 ballot.

Measure 5 to expand background checks to gun shows passed by a margin of **62%** to **38%** 

#### The Case For Expanded Brady Background Checks in the States

States that have expanded background check laws to all handgun sales have shown to be safer and to experience fewer gun deaths. In these states, 46 percent fewer women are shot to death by intimate partners. There are 48 percent fewer gun suicides than in states that do not have expanded background checks. And 48 percent fewer law enforcement officers are killed with handguns than in states that do not have expanded background checks, according to statistics from Everytown for Gun Safety.

Research also shows the reverse to be true – that relaxing background check requirements increases gun deaths. In 2007, Missouri repealed its law requiring that buyers of

handguns obtain a permit-to-purchase, which required a thorough criminal background check. According to researchers at the Johns Hopkins Center for Gun Policy and Research, the Missouri repeal contributed to a 16 percent increase in the state's murder rate.

Specifically, repealing the law was shown to be associated with an additional 55 to 63 murders per year in Missouri between 2008 and 2012. Clearly, requiring background checks is an effective policy that saves lives.

## In states that have expanded background check laws:

46%

fewer women are shot to death by intimate partners

fewer gun suicides

fewer law enforcement officers killed by handguns

Estimates provided by Everytown for Gun Safety, January 2015.

#### The Effects of Gun Violence on Oregonians

In Oregon, from 2004 to 2013, 4,143 people were killed with guns, meaning that on average, somebody is killed with a gun in Oregon every 21 hours.<sup>1</sup>

The following data combines information from the Oregon Health Authority and the CDC's National Center for Injury Prevention and Control to illustrate how gun violence affects people in Oregon.

### Every year, more than 400 Oregonians die because of gun violence.<sup>5</sup>

- 82 percent of gun deaths in Oregon are suicides;
  14 percent are homicides
- 85 percent of those killed by guns are male;
  15 percent are female

#### **Gun-related Homicide**

- 54 percent of homicides in Oregon involve a gun
- 73 percent of firearm homicide victims are male;
  27 percent are female

#### **Intimate Partner Violence and Guns**

Guns and intimate partner violence are a lethal combination in Oregon.

### Every 21 Hours

How often someone in Oregon is killed with a gun<sup>1</sup>





Oregonians killed per year because of gun violence **54%** of homicides in Oregon involve a gun

60%

of female domestic abuserelated homicide victims are killed with a gun in Oregon

- Nearly a quarter (24 percent) of firearm homicides involve intimate partner violence
- 60 percent of female intimate partner violence-related homicide victims were killed with a gun

#### **Gun-related Suicides**

Over 600 Oregonians die by suicide every year. More than half – 54 percent – of all suicides involve a gun. Firearms are by far the most common method of suicide, followed by suffocation (19 percent), overdose (19 percent), and cutting/piercing (3 percent). Eighty-seven percent of suicide victims are male; 13 percent are female.

Gun violence is a pervasive problem, requiring multiple approaches to address the myriad causes. Expanding background checks is a very important step to address the scourge of gun violence in Oregon and throughout the country.

States with expanded background checks see fewer suicides, fewer women killed with guns by intimate partners, and fewer law enforcement officers killed. Laws expanding background checks to all gun sales also serve as the foundation for all other gun laws and ensure that dangerous or prohibited people don't slip through the cracks and get guns.

### Why Closing the 'Internet Loophole' Will Keep Guns Out of Dangerous Hands

When President Clinton signed the Brady Bill in 1993, answering machines were more common than voicemails, CDs were the latest in music technology, and certain airlines still allowed passengers to smoke on U.S. flights.

More than 20 years later, the Internet has evolved into a commercial hub where people can buy practically anything, including guns. Today, online venues and Internet weapons bazaars, like Armslist.com, make it very easy for people to purchase guns without going to a licensed gun dealer or attending a gun show. These online marketplaces make guns available for purchase without a background check, contributing to the millions of guns sold every year in "no questions asked" transactions, many to dangerous people who would otherwise be blocked by a Brady background check.

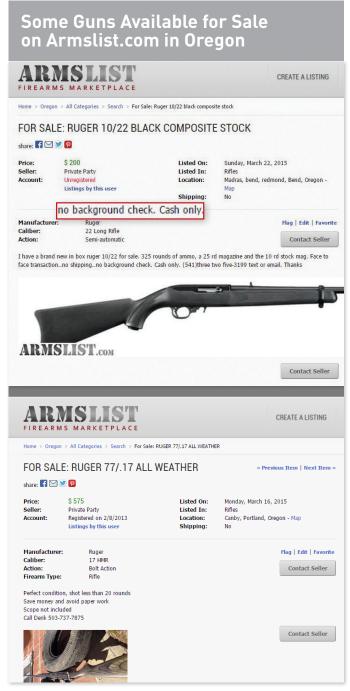
Buying guns over the Internet was not a prevalent problem when voters in Oregon closed the gun show loophole in November of 2000. But today, online purchases represent the easiest way for criminals to exploit weak federal laws to buy guns without a background check that would otherwise prevent them from doing so.

2,550 7

Estimated number of guns available in Oregon for sale on Armslist.com (based on a search of the site on March 25, 2015)

The Internet hosts the largest gun show on the planet – and it never closes. Armslist.com, one of the more popular sites, posts upwards of 70,000 gun advertisements at any given time, many of which can be purchased without a background check.

Failing to close the "Internet loophole" leaves the door open for criminals and dangerous people to get guns and do harm. This translates to a toll on Oregon's families and communities.



Nationally, there are too many examples of gun violence stemming from guns sold online without a background check that illustrate why Oregon needs to pass legislation to close this dangerous loophole. One is the tragic story of Zina Daniel. The Azana hair salon outside Milwaukee, Wisconsin was full of life on Sunday morning, October 12, 2012. Then Radcliffe Haughton stormed in, waving a gun.

Zina Daniel had hoped a restraining order might keep Haughton, her estranged husband, a safe distance away. In her court document, she said Haughton had threatened to burn her with acid. He said he'd kill her if she contacted the police.

Zina put her faith in the law to protect her from her abusive husband. When the order was granted, she believed Haughton would be prohibited from coming near her, and prohibited from owning a gun.

The restraining order only fueled Haughton's rage.

The day he was court-ordered to stay away from his wife, Radcliffe Haughton went gun shopping on the Internet. Later that day, he bought a .40-caliber Glock semi-automatic pistol from an unlicensed seller whom he contacted via Armslist.com. They met in a McDonald's parking lot, exchanged five hundred dollars, and Haughton got his murder weapon—no background check required.

By the time police arrived on the scene, Haughton had killed three women and wounded four others. They found

Haughton six hours later inside the salon, dead from a selfinflicted gunshot wound.

An all-too-familiar loophole enabled Radcliffe Haughton, a prohibited purchaser, to go online and buy a gun that he would use to shoot seven women. Expanded Brady background checks could have saved Zina Daniel's life, as well as the lives of the two other women killed in the rampage.



Zina Daniel

### Finish the Job: It's Time to Expand Brady Background Checks to Online Sales in Oregon

The American public is tired of seeing Congress compromise our safety by failing to expand Brady background checks to all gun sales. Instead of sitting by helplessly, states are stepping up – taking action that's supported by the vast majority of voters.

Now Oregon has the vitally important opportunity to join this wave of momentum by passing legislation that will expand background checks to online sales.

In 2013 alone, Oregon's current background check system stopped 2,215 prohibited persons from buying a gun from a licensed dealer,<sup>2</sup> and in 2012, 3,500 of 260,000 (or 1.4 percent) transactions were denied, most commonly for felony convictions or current indictments.<sup>3</sup> For 2013, that's an average of six people denied each day, and 185 people each month; and for 2012, it's an average of nine people denied each day, 67 people denied every week, and 292 people per month.

The overwhelming majority of Oregonians support background checks. An Americans for Responsible Solutions poll from January 2015 showed that support has been growing: 87 percent of voters support background

> dangerous people blocked each day attempting to acquire a gun in Oregon

185

dangerous people blocked each month attempting to acquire a gun in Oregon 87% 🖌

of Oregonians support background checks on all gun purchases

83% of Oregon gun owners support background checks

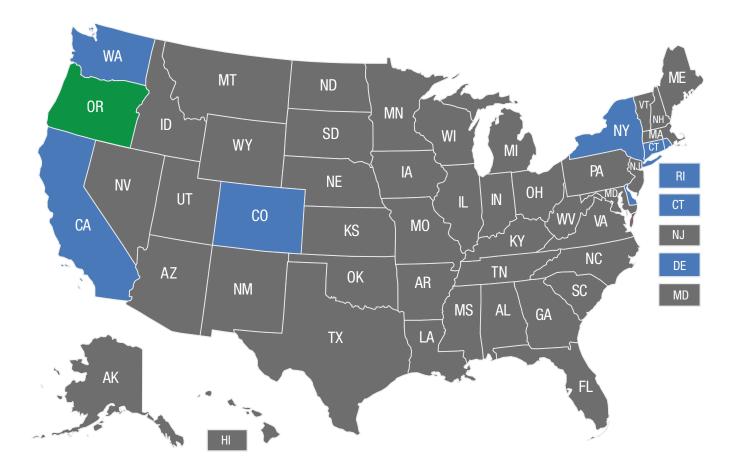
checks on all gun purchases, and 83 percent of gun owners support background checks.<sup>4</sup>

As it stands, Oregon law requires Brady background checks only when a buyer attempts to purchase from a licensed gun dealer or at a gun show. It's time to expand Brady background checks to cover the unchecked sales that happen every day in back alleys as a result of online advertisements.

States that have recently strengthened their gun laws demonstrate that requiring background checks on all gun sales works to keep guns out of dangerous hands like felons, domestic abusers, and fugitives. It is a logical, commonsense proposition that would bring minimal inconvenience to law-abiding gun owners and, most importantly, will save lives.

We have 20 years of proof that Brady background checks work when required before purchasing a gun. It is time for the Oregon legislature to listen to its citizens and take sensible action to protect Oregon's families and communities from the dangers of guns in the wrong hands. It is time to finish the job and expand Brady background checks to cover Internet gun sales in Oregon.

### 7 States with Brady Background Checks on All Gun Sales



By passing legislation to close the dangerous "Internet loophole," Oregon would become the eighth state to expand Brady background checks on all gun sales, and the sixth state to do so since the Sandy Hook massacre in December 2012.

### SOURCES

<sup>1</sup> Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Centers for Injury Prevention and Control. Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS) [online]. (2005) {cited 2015 March 16}. Available from: <a href="http://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars">www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars</a>.

<sup>2</sup> Oregon Alliance for Gun Safety Fact Sheet, January, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Jeff Mapes, O6 March 2014, Oregon Live, "Expanded gun background checks die in Oregon Senate; supporters try another approach", available at: <a href="http://www.oregonlive.com/mapes/index.ssf/2014/03/expanded\_gun\_background\_checks.html">www.oregonlive.com/mapes/index.ssf/2014/03/expanded\_gun\_background\_checks.html</a>.

<sup>4</sup> Benenson Strategy Group Polling Results Memo, January 28, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Centers for Injury Prevention and Control. Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS) [online]. (2005) {cited 2015 March 16}. Available from: <a href="http://www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars">www.cdc.gov/injury/wisqars</a> and the Oregon Health Authority.

