The Effect of State Gun Legislation in the Wake of Sandy Hook

R. Davis DeRodes

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1 Introduction

"No single law - no set of laws can eliminate evil from the world, or prevent every senseless act of violence in our society. But that can't be an excuse for inaction." - Barack Obama (2012) at Sandy Hook Prayer Vigil

On December 14, 2012, 20 children and 6 adults were fatally shot by a severely mentally ill twenty-year-old. The incident was the largest mass shooting at a school in United States history and the third largest mass shooting in United States history. In the wake of the incident, 1,500 pieces of legislation were proposed at the state level (Yourish et al. 2013). Of those 1,500 bills introduced, 178 were passed in at least one chamber and 109 became law (Yourish et al. 2013).

The laws proposed illuminate the partisan intellectual divide on how to solve the issue of gun violence. Of the 109 passed pieces of legislation, 70 resulted in the increased access to guns or an increase in freedom of when, how, and where to use guns. For the rest of this paper, these laws will be called 'pro-gun' laws as their proponents effectively view that more guns should deter future violence as more 'good guys' would have guns. As Wayne LaPierre, vice president of the National Rifle Association, stated after the Sandy Hook massacre, 'The only way to stop a bad guy with a gun is a good guy with a gun' (Tropp 2016). Typically, in American politics, these policies are supported by more conservative and republican politicians.

On the other hand, liberal politicians defend that restrictions on both

access to guns and freedom to use guns would curb gun violence. For the rest of this paper, these laws will be called 'anti-gun' laws as their proponents effectively view that the proliferation of guns in America are the problem with regard to gun violence and should thus be restricted. This view was echoed by President Obama, the de facto leader of the Democratic party, on January 5, 2016, at a gun control event held at the White House.

2 Literature Review

There has been a substantial amount of work done on the topic of state legislation and gun violence in the United States. The topic has appeal due to the ease of creating cross-sections with states, the availability of state level data, and the uniqueness of the prevalence of gun violence in the United States compared to other first world countries.

Fleeger et al. (2013) performed a four-year observation with data on the death rates due to firearms for each state along with a state gun legislation score that was created on a scale of 1 to 25. The methodology of this paper included using a clustered Poisson regression, which assumes that the relationship between the explanatory variable and the response follows a Poisson distribution. The paper concluded that states with higher state-legislative scores, which had more pro-gun laws, had larger death rates due to firearms, while states with lower state-legislative scores had lower death rates due to firearms.

Similarly, Lee et al. (2017) performed a systematic review of peer reviewed articles in order to analyze both the overall trends of gun laws' impact on gun violence and if any specific laws in particular lead to more or less violence. The articles that were analyzed in this paper ranged from 1970 to 2016 and were analyzed for their merit and validity based off of their statistical analysis and methodologies. Lee et al. (2017) concluded that stronger gun laws as a whole lead to an overall decrease in gun violence. Specifically, increased background checks and decrease in availability in permits lead to a decrease in gun violence, while laws that dealt with firearm trafficking, guns in schools, and the banning of military assault style weapons had no effect. Laws that restricted guns in public places and leniency in gun carrying had mixed results in their cumulative review.

Also with regards to the effect of specific state level legislation on firearm mortality rates, Kalesan et al. (2016) also used firearm mortality rate data from the state level from 2008-2010. The paper similar to Fleeger et al. (2013) used a Poisson distribution, but was more specific in their data set with regards to which types of laws were implemented. The paper concluded that most laws were ineffective with curbing gun violence; however, background checks and firearms identification were found to reduce gun violence.

Finally, there's been relatively little discussion especially given the breadth and depth of the literature surrounding this topic about mental health laws and its impact on firearms. None of the aforementioned studies directly addresses it. However, Price et al. (2009) discusses mental health resources

with regards to fire arm mortality rate. In their study, Price et al. (2009) found no relationship between mental health resources and fire arm mortality rate. This could have two possible interpretations with regards to this paper. First, it could imply that mental health and gun violence are completely disjoint from each other. On the other hand, it could suggest that mental health resources are not effective, making it all the more effective an paramount to limit the mentally ill's access to firearms.

3 Objectives and Hypothesis

The objective of this paper is to analyze if state legislation passed in the wake of Sandy Hook had any impact on changing the rate of deaths due to gun violence. Although it seems a given that legislation impacts gun deaths, this point is shockingly debatable. Even President Obama accidentally noted this issue, of the effectiveness of legislation in his speech.

"And the evidence tells us that in states that require background checks, law-abiding Americans don't find it any harder to purchase guns whatsoever."-Barack Obama (Mosendz, 2016)

Although President Obama meant the comment as a statement to calm average law abiding citizens that are worried about gun restrictions, the rhetoric creates a paradox. If the difficulty in acquiring a gun hasn't changed significantly then what has changed? This paper will hypothesize that legis-

lation does have an effect on deaths by firearms; however, there is a chance that it does not have an effect because current legislation might not disrupt the status quo enough.

Secondly, this paper would like to assess the effectiveness of different types of legislation. There are many different types of pro-gun and antigun legislation. It is therefore important to identify which laws are effective in deterring gun violence and which ones are ineffective. This result is of practical importance to both politicians and politically active individuals who need reliable information in supporting and creating legislation.

This paper will take the liberal stance on the issue and hypothesize that anti-gun legislation would lead to a decrease in deaths by firearms, while progun legislation would increase deaths by firearms. The 'good guys having guns' rhetoric has been dismantled by the current literature and has been systemically disproven (Tropp 2016, Fleeger etl al. 2013, Lee et al. 2017, Kalesan et al. 2016). However, a different argument might explain why 'antigun' policies actually lead to a proliferation of guns (Smith 2017). Because gun owners are afraid of extreme 'anti-gun' policies 'taking away' their guns, gun sales rise in order to stock up on guns that will be soon outlawed by state or federal law. Therefore, 'anti-gun' policies, particularly ones that restrict automatic rifle purchasing, might actually cause gun activists to 'stock up' on guns before they are outlawed.

4 Data

All of my data regarding mortality was sourced from the CDC who tracks all types of deaths in the United States. It publishes an annual report on all mortalities by state, including firearm based mortalities. The CDC also scaled the deaths by firearms by population of the state, resulting in a deaths by firearms per 100,000 residents statistic. This statistic will be used in this paper as it automatically controls for the largest confounding factor, population. Data is available for all years since 2012. I will be using data from 2012-2015.

With regard to legislation, I coded the results of 'State Laws Enacted in the Year After Newtown' (Yourish et al. 2013) with dummy variables for each type of law. The article listed and categorized all of the passed legislation in 2013 at the state level. A 1 for the dummy variable for a specific law would mean that the state in 2013 passed a law placed into the category listed by Yourish et al. (2013).

Below are all of the abbreviations for all of the types of laws I will be looking at in this paper.

4.1 Pro-Gun Laws

Pro-Gun Permit (PGP2013) - A law that results in the proliferation of gun permits or a protection of identities of individuals that have gun permits.

Pro-Public Carry (PCP2013) - A law that essentially "increases the number

of places people can take guns" (Yourish et al. 2013).

pro-guns in Schools (PS2013) - A law that allows for guns to be brought on school premises.

Anti-Mental Healthy Restrictions (AM2013) - A law that increases access to guns for mentally ill individuals.

Anti-Background Checks (ABC2013) - A law that removes background checks or makes them more difficult to perform.

Anti-Assault Rifle Restriction (AAR2013) - A law that makes assault rifles more easy to purchase.

Loosen Gun Access (LGA2013) - A law that makes purchasing all guns easier.

Nullify Federal Law (NFL2013) - A law that nullifies any federal anti-gun mandate.

4.2 Anti-Gun Laws

Anti-Gun Permit (AGP2013) - A law that results in the decrease of gun permits.

Pro-Mental Health Restrictions (PM2013) - A law that results in restrictions for mentally ill individuals to obtain guns.

Pro-Background Checks (PBC2013) - A law that results in increased background checks for purchasing guns.

Pro-Assault Rifle Restriction (PAR2013) - A law that restricts the purchase

of assault rifles.

Tighter Gun Access (TGA2013) - A law that makes purchasing guns harder or restricts how an individual can store a gun.

Lost or Stolen Gun Restrictions (LSG2013) - A law that requires individuals or state level agencies to report lost or stolen guns.

In my models, I control for the partisan makeup of the states for several reasons. First, if not included it would undoubtedly cause omitted variable bias as it should in theory be correlated with gun violence and the passing of certain gun violence legislation. Also clearly, partisan makeup of the state level is not post-treatment of passing legislation. Secondly, partisan makeup at the state level is a proxy to some degree of the prevalence of "gun-culture" and also the "urban-ness" of a state. States with stronger pro-gun sentiments are likely to pass pro-gun laws and visa-versa. I gathered data on state legislative partisan status (Republican, Democratic, or Divided), the governor's partisan status (Republican or Democrat), and partisan state control (Republican, Democratic, or Divided) from the National Conference on the State Legislatures' data base.

In the final part of this paper, I generalize the gun-legislation laws from 2012-2015 using data from the Brady Center to Prevent Gun Violence's data base. The National Rifle Association's (NRA) gun score card would have been preferable, but was incomplete. The NRA's scores are clearly not biased as the NRA's only objective is to accurately evaluate which states have the

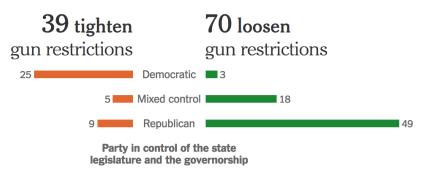
most gun friendly laws. On the other hand, the Brady Center, a non-profit with the aim of reducing gun violence, releases annual "report cards" for each state's gun legislation status. Although the Brady Center claims to have an unbiased procedure, their motives are slightly questionable as they might score the states with their death rate by firearms in mind to prove their claim that stronger gun laws lead to less violence. For the purposes of this paper, we will give the Brady Center the benefit of the doubt and assume that their procedure is scientifically robust and not created to support their purpose of the promotion of anti-gun laws. Because the Brady Center gives their anti-gun law prevalence grade in the standard A-F range, numerical equivalents of each number were produced (See Appendix A).

5 Analysis

There are a few unattractive qualities of the Yourish et al. (2013) data. After 2013, 109 laws were passed at the state level. As one can see in figure 1, there are very few counterfactuals in the data as almost exclusively democratic states passed anti-gun laws, while republican states passed very few pro-gun laws.

From the 109 laws, binary variables were created as to whether or not the law was passed in a state. Some states, for example Arkansas, passed two laws that promoted public carry. The data thus still marks this as a 1 despite Arkansas passing more than 1 pro public carry law. The reason

Figure 1: P-values for Chow Test for Federal Funds Rate



why the variables were created in this manner was because a state passing multiple laws of the same type occurs so few times that states like Arkansas would be given substantially more weight in the models. When duplicates are taken into account, the frequency of laws appearances in states is lowered from 109 to 95.

Furthermore, some of the laws occur very few times (see table 1). For example, there was only 1 anti-mental health law passed in 2013 by Utah that "provide[d] a system to restore gun rights for residents once designated as mentally ill" (Yourish et al. 2013). Some of the laws will be removed when pairing down the model because of their lower frequencies.

5.1 Specific Laws

Fixed effects for this data analysis is appealing as there are likely unobserved fixed effects that are not controlled for in this analysis. In particular, an unobserved fixed effect in this study could be the gun culture in a state. Fixed

Table 1: Frequency of Laws Occurring in States

Law	Frequency
Pro Gun Permit	19
Anti Gun Permit	1
Pro Public Carry	16
Pro School	8
Pro Mental	15
Anti Mental	1
Background Checks	12
Anti Background	1
Pro Assault Restriction	4
Anti-Assault Restriction	1
Nullify Federal Law	4
Tighten Gun Access	6
Loosen Gun Access	2
Lost/Stolen Guns	5
Total	95

effects would thus control for these unobserved fixed effects. A Hausman Test for the full model resulted in a p-value of 0.04106, suggesting that the fixed effects model's use is justified.

As seen from the full model (table 2), most of the laws are highly insignificant with some that are close to significant such as Pro Public Carry (PPC2013), Pro Guns in Schools (PS2013), and Nullify Federal Law (NFL2013). With regards to our control variables, one can clearly see the overall significance of the state politics control variables, but the coefficients to some degree are confusing. The state power coefficients seem to make the most sense as Republican controlled states have a very significant increase in gun violence, while Democratic controlled states have a decrease that is not quite

Table 2: Fixed Effects - Full Model

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
PGP2013	0.0133	0.286	0.0466	0.962
AGP2013	0.296	0.967	0.3066	0.759
PPC2013	0.524	0.356	1.4708	0.143
PS2013	-0.648	0.378	-1.7120	0.089*
PM2013	-0.2	0.362	-0.5543	0.58
AM2013	-0.173	1.0049	-0.1724	0.863
PBC2013	0.01	0.361	0.0270	0.978
ABC2013	-0.64	0.825	-0.7756	0.439
PAR2013	-0.071	0.617	-0.1143	0.909
AAR2013	0.537	0.881	0.61	0.542
NFL2013	0.57	0.471	1.21	0.228
TGA2013	-0.124	0.502	-0.2467	0.805
LGA2013	-0.042	0.678	-0.062	0.95
LSG2013	0.0555	0.456	0.1219	0.903
Rep. Leg.	-0.496	0.411	-1.205	0.23
Dem. Leg.	0.774	0.408	1.9	0.06*
Rep. Gov.	-0.704	0.533	-1.32	0.189
Rep. State	1.039	0.569	1.824	0.07*
Dem. State	-0.495	0.445	-1.113	0.267
2013	0.183	0.155	1.183	0.239
2014	-0.218	0.217	-1.01	0.315
2015	0.929	0.216	4.3	p < .001

Table 3: Estimated Increase in Gun Violence for Different Types of Political Controlled States

Composition	Estimate	Frequency	Example States
Rep. Leg + Rep. Gov	161	95	AL, GA, TX
Rep. Leg $+$ Dem. Gov	496	18	MO, MT, AR (2013-14)
Divided $\text{Leg} + \text{Rep. Gov}$	704	9	IA
Divided Leg + Dem. Gov	0	13	KY, NH (2013-14)
Dem. Leg + Rep. Gov	.07	16	NV (2012-2014), NJ, NM (2012-2014)
Dem. Leg + Dem. Gov	0.279	49	CA, RI, WV (2013-2014)

significant. On the other hand, the Republican governor and Republican legislature variables have negative coefficients, while the Democratic legislature variable has a positive coefficient.

Table 3 displays the frequencies of the various partisan compositions of legislatures and governorships along with their estimated increase or decrease in gun violence compared to a state with a divided legislature and democratic governor. There are very high frequencies for states with single party controlled states with very few states being divided in various ways. Because anti-gun legislation is post-treatment of legislature and governing party, it makes sense that including various gun-violence laws would remove the impact that a democratic legislature would have on it's gun violence rate.

With regards to time in our models, there seems to be a modest increase in gun violence in 2013, modest decrease in 2014, and a very large increase in 2015. The large increase in 2015 was probably due to the large increase in mass shootings as 2015 was dubbed the "year of mass shootings".

In order to achieve a more parsimonious model, several laws were removed

from the models that were either not significant or did not have a substantial amount of occurrences. This leaves us with the more parsimonious model seen in table 4. One can clearly see the very significant coefficient for Pro Public Carry law with a very large positive estimate, implying as expected that Pro Public Carry laws increase deaths due to firearms. Also supporting our hypotheses, Pro Mental Health is close to being significant with a p-value of .3 and has a negative estimate. On the other hand, Pro Guns in Schools has a very negative estimate, which contrary to our expectations decreases gun violence. This seems contradictory to all previous research and even most conservatives would agree that they would not expect guns in schools in particular to prevent massive gun violence as it is much more a deterrent for large school mass shootings versus everyday gun crime.

When breaking the data down, every state that passed a Pro Public Carry law also passed a Pro Guns in School law except for one, Indiana. Mathematically, this means that Pro Guns in School is highly correlated with Pro Public Carry. Indiana also had a modest decrease in gun violence, while most of the states that passed a Pro Public Carry law had an increase in gun violence.

As expected when the Pro Guns in Schools variable is isolated, it's effect disappears (see table 5).

Table 4: Fixed Effects - Reduced

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
PPC2013	0.639	0.264	2.416	0.0169
PS2013	-0.59	0.335	-1.757	0.081
PM2013	-0.239	0.23	-1.039	0.3
Rep. Leg.	-0.548	0.387	-1.41	0.159
Dem. Leg.	0.833	0.391	2.12	0.0351 **
Rep. Gov.	-0.798	0.497	-1.6	0.11
Rep. State	1.149	0.543	2.11	0.0362 **
Dem. State	-0.503	0.422	-1.19	0.235
2013	0.18	0.15	1.197	0.233
2014	-0.22	0.18	-1.226	0.222
2015	0.942	0.18	5.222	p <.001

Table 5: Fixed Effects - Pro Guns in Schools

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
PS2013	-0.198	0.294	-0.675	0.5
Rep. Leg.	-0.445	0.392	-1.136	0.257
Dem. Leg.	0.864	0.398	2.17	0.0316
Rep. Gov.	-0.738	0.504	-1.465	0.145
Rep. State	1.158	0.553	2.095	0.0379
Dem. State	-0.507	0.429	-1.181	0.239
2013	0.177	0.153	1.157	0.249
2014	-0.154	0.159	-0.964	0.337
2015	1	0.161	6.224	p <.001

Table 6: Fixed Effects - Pro Mental Health Restrictions

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
PM2013	-0.26	0.233	-1.116	0.265
Rep. Leg.	-0.469	0.391	-1.198	0.232
Dem. Leg.	0.851	0.397	2.142	0.033
Rep. Gov.	-0.724	0.502	-1.44	0.152
Rep. State	1.135	0.549	2.066	0.0406
Dem. State	-0.493	0.428	-1.1503	0.251
2013	0.177	0.152	1.159	0.248
2014	-0.107	0.167	-0.638	0.524
2015	1.051	0.17	6.2	p <.001

Pro Mental Health on the other hand when isolated does not have it's effect disappear (see table 6).

Therefore, the final model decided upon includes both Pro Public Carry and Pro Mental Health laws. Pro Public Carry is significant at the 10% level with a positive estimate as expected, while Pro Mental health is nearly significant with a p-value of .254 and has the expected negative estimate. Although these estimates seem small, keep in mind that they are per 100,000 citizens. Implementing a Pro Public Carry law would thus cause an expected increase in a state like Georgia (population of 10.21 million) of 41 people dying annually due to firearms. In a state like Texas (population 27.47 million), a Pro Public Carry law could cause an expected increase of 111 people dying annually due to guns.

Table 7: Fixed Effects - Final Model

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
PPC2013	0.4043	0.23	1.757	0.081*
PM2013	-0.264	0.231	-1.143	0.254
Rep. Leg.	-0.509	0.389	-1.307	0.193
Dem. Leg.	0.836	0.394	2.12	0.0357
Rep. Gov.	-0.798	0.501	-1.593	0.113
Rep. State	1.081	0.546	1.98	0.0496
Dem. State	-0.495	0.425	-1.164	0.246
2013	0.18	0.151	1.192	0.235
2014	-0.232	0.181	-1.283	0.202
2015	0.931	0.182	5.126	p <.001

5.2 Larger Trends

In order to analyze how pro-gun legislation as a whole affects the death rate by firearms, several approaches are taken. The first model proposed is the binary model (see table 8), which has two variables: one for whether or not a state passed a pro-gun law and one for whether or not a state passed an anti-gun law in 2013. These variables can be viewed as the "willingness" of a state to pass a pro or anti-gun law. From the model, pro-gun is more significant than the anti-gun variable, but neither are remotely significant. Thus a state's "willingness" to pass a law does not directly affect it's death by gun rate, which is not surprising.

Another approach taken was to add up the total amount of pro-laws and anti-laws passed by each state (see table 9). This approach should take into consideration the magnitude of pro-gun legislation and anti-gun legislation achieved by states. Given this dataset, this method is not extremely useful as

Table 8: Fixed Effects - Binary Model

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
Pro-Gun	0.194	0.218	0.892	0.374
Anti-Gun	0.0439	0.219	0.2	0.841
Rep. Leg.	-0.465	0.399	-1.164	0.247
Dem. Leg.	0.846	0.4	2.118	0.036
Rep. Gov.	-0.742	0.505	-1.468	0.144
Rep. State	1.085	0.554	1.958	0.0523
Dem. State	-0.487	0.432	-1.128	0.261
2013	0.178	0.153	1.1608	0.248
2014	-0.305	0.218	-1.401	0.163
2015	0.855	0.218	3.909	p <.001

there is not that much variation between the states as a large number of states passed no laws of either type and the amount of states that passed multiple laws is few. Unfortunately, neither the total pro-guns or the total anti-gun laws were statistically significant. However, the total pro-gun variable has a positive coefficient and the total anti-gun variable has a negative coefficient, which might be promising for another approach with a different, more varied, dataset.

In order to ameliorate the previous approach, data from the Brady Center's annual scorecard was gathered and modeled (table 10). The Brady Center's scorecard goes from A-F with states receiving higher grades for having better anti-gun laws and fewer pro-gun laws. As previously stated, these letter grades were translated into numerical grades (Appendix A). From the results of the model, the Brady Center's Scorecard is nearly significant at the 10% level with a negative coefficient. This is a promising result as a higher

Table 9: Fixed Effects - Cumulative Model

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
Total Pro	0.0728	0.0869	0.838	0.404
Total Anti	-0.0477	0.0868	-0.549	0.584
Rep. Leg.	-0.468	0.393	-1.188	0.237
Dem. Leg.	0.851	0.399	2.132	0.035
Rep. Gov.	-0.731	0.505	-1.448	0.15
Rep. State	1.082	0.553	1.955	0.053
Dem. State	-0.495	0.431	-1.149	0.253
2013	0.178	0.153	1.164	0.246
2014	-0.218	0.2	-1.094	0.276
2015	0.941	0.2	4.696	p <.001

scorecard grade should in theory lead to lower death rates. At the minimum, this result is confirmation that the Brady Center's metric is predictive to some degree of gun violence and state's should therefore strive to achieve a higher grade in order to lower their gun violence.

Table 10: Fixed Effects - Brady Center Scorecardl

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
Brady	-0.0445	0.0281	-1.58	0.116
Rep. Leg.	-0.393	0.39	-1	0.316
Dem. Leg.	0.821	0.396	2.07	0.04
Rep. Gov.	-0.679	0.502	-1.351	0.179
Rep. State	1.14	0.547	2.084	0.039
Dem. State	-0.388	0.433	-0.896	0.372
Year2013	0.197	0.152	1.287	0.2
Year2014	-0.151	0.153	-0.989	0.324
Year2015	1.053	0.162	6.51	p <.001

6 Discussion

This paper both analyzed individual state laws passed in the wake of Sandy Hook along with the overall effect of passing anti-gun legislation. Our results from using the data from Yourish et al. (2013) showed evidence of laws that promote the public carry of firearms in public as leading to higher death rates per 100,000 citizens. Also, there was mild evidence for more anti-gun legislation and less pro-gun legislation as measured by the Brady Center's scorecard leading to lower death rates due to firearms. This paper thus suggests that the evidence for a macro-trend of anti-gun legislation may be present, while anti-gun advocates should focus their resources on derailing Pro Public Carry laws in particular.

If more time was allotted, this paper would have compiled a larger data set of more laws. Some laws which are crucial in determining the efficacy of gun violence legislation such as Background Checks and Anti-Public Carry laws simply did not have enough observations. Mental health laws also needed more observations as well. Also, more laws were passed in 2014 and 2015, so more data on gun laws passed between this time would be helpful. Furthermore, it would be interesting to compare the results of the Brady Center's scorecard with a full dataset of the NRA's state level scorecard if the full dataset was available.

To conclude, the results of this paper echo President Obama's frustration on gun legislation and gun violence. Clearly, the dominant factor in determining gun violence is no specific law, but simply macro level effects such as gun culture. Most of the guns in the world have already been bought and in some parts of the country they are an integral part of life. Yet, this paper suggests that gun violence can be curbed to some degree by good legislation.

A Brady Scorecard Quantitative Translation



A- -> 91

B+ -> 88

B -> 84.5

B- -> 81

C+ -> 78

C -> 74.5

C-->71

D + -> 68

D -> 64.5

D- -> 61

F -> 58

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Data Citations

Note: Frustratingly, the CDC doesn't have a centralized database for these statistics; however, I found in them on their website (or sources citing their website) in multiple places.

Firearm Death Rates per 100,000 citizens by State 2014-15:

https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/sosmap/firearm mortality/firearm.htm

Firearm Death Rates per 100,000 citizens by State 2013:

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