

MYTH: FIREARMS RESEARCH FELL AFTER THE NRA RESTRICTIONS ON FEDERAL FUNDING

Crime Prevention Research Center

A Crime Prevention Research Center research project

Contact:

John R. Lott, Jr.

President, Crime Prevention Research Center

johnrlott@crimeresearch.org

(484) 802-5373

John E. Whitley

Research Director, Crime Prevention Research Center

johnewhitley@crimeresearch.org

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Abstract

There is no evidence that gun control research fell when restrictions were put on federally funded research. Indeed, whether one looks at the number of total articles or total pages, firearms research has been as high or higher than when the restrictions were enacted. In 2013, well before federal funding could have any impact on publications, there was an explosion in firearms research in medical journals.

Introduction

A year ago, gun control advocates were elated when they were able to get taxpayers to fund their research. News story after news story described how the 1996 restrictions on Centers for Disease Control funding of firearms research “stopped” or a “virtual ban” on all such research.

- Typical headlines in the Washington Post proclaimed “Federal scientists can again research gun violence” or “Gun research is allowed again,” with stark claims that “[Academics] were forced to stop their work at the point of a gun — or at least at the insistence of National Rifle Association.”¹
- Reuters described the impact this way: “Research restrictions pushed by the National Rifle Association have stopped the United States from finding solutions to firearms violence”²
- NBC News described President Obama’s push for more federally funded gun control research this way: “the move effectively reverses 17 years of what scientists say has been a virtual ban on basic federal research”³
- In April 2013, ABC News 20/20 ran segment entitled: “CDC Ban on Gun Research Caused Lasting Damage.”⁴
- This past December, NBC News warned: “While that money may be allocated in 2014, . . . so far, that lack of funding has failed to entice researchers to answer the president’s call [for more research]”⁵
- On January 31, 2014, ABC News noted: “In 1996 the NRA successfully lobbied Congress to pull millions of dollars out of government-funded firearms research. This has resulted in essentially a 17 year moratorium on major studies about gun injuries.”⁶
- On February 23, 2014, Ars Technica claimed: “since 1996, federal funding for the research has been nearly nonexistent. . . .”⁷ The article complains that since the 1996 restrictions, firearms research has been rare.

Last January, a study funded by Michael Bloomberg complained that the Dickey Amendment to the Centers for Disease Control funding in 1996 led to a decline in federal funding that “has driven many experts to abandon the field and kept young researchers from taking it up. . . . But the decline in federal research has undermined overall knowledge-creation because scholars are highly dependent on federal grants to support their research.”⁸

Academics were only too willing to claim the need for more funding. Professor Mark Rosenberg at Emory University, who used to head the CDC’s National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, described how the cut in federal grants cultivated an atmosphere of fear and “scared people” or “terrorized people.”⁹ Jens Ludwig at the University of Chicago said that without federal money “it is very difficult” to do research.¹⁰ Susan Sorenson at the University of Pennsylvania believes that the loss of federal funding “over the past 15 years has decimated the field.”¹¹ A number of academics signed an open letter demanding more federal funding for their research.¹²

The federal money is now starting to be awarded, though it will be some time before the research is written and published. The National Institute of Justice awarded it first four awards totaling \$2 million in October 2013.¹³ The National Institute of Health is taking proposals for another \$800,000 this January.¹⁴

Private funding is gearing up as well. The Fund for a Safer Future, organized by George Soros' Open Society Foundation and the equally left wing Joyce and MacArthur Foundations, have put together \$16 million.¹⁵ Some of their money is going to help the research have more of an impact: "shaping the media conversation around the need for stronger gun laws" and developing grassroots organizations "demanding stronger gun laws."¹⁶

Given the time required for conducting research, writing the papers and receiving feedback, as well as delays in working through the journal process, the Fund for a Safer Future announced that published articles will start appearing "within three years."¹⁷

Thus NBC News ran an article entitled: "Obama's unlocking of federal funding ban on gun research yields little upshot in first year."¹⁸

On January 8th, 2013, President Obama met with 23 large foundations to organize a national push for gun control. They included such organizations as the McCormick Foundation, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the California Endowment.¹⁹

Just one private organization by itself, the Fund for a Safer Future, is awarding up more money for gun control research than the National Institute of Justice and the National Institute of Health. And it is even more than the \$10 million that President Obama proposed for the CDC.²⁰

The dates can some times be confusing. The 1996, 2002, and 2011 changes in funding respectively involve the 1997, 2003, and 2012 federal government appropriation bills. This distinction points to the difference between when the congressional votes occurred and the actual funding changes took place.

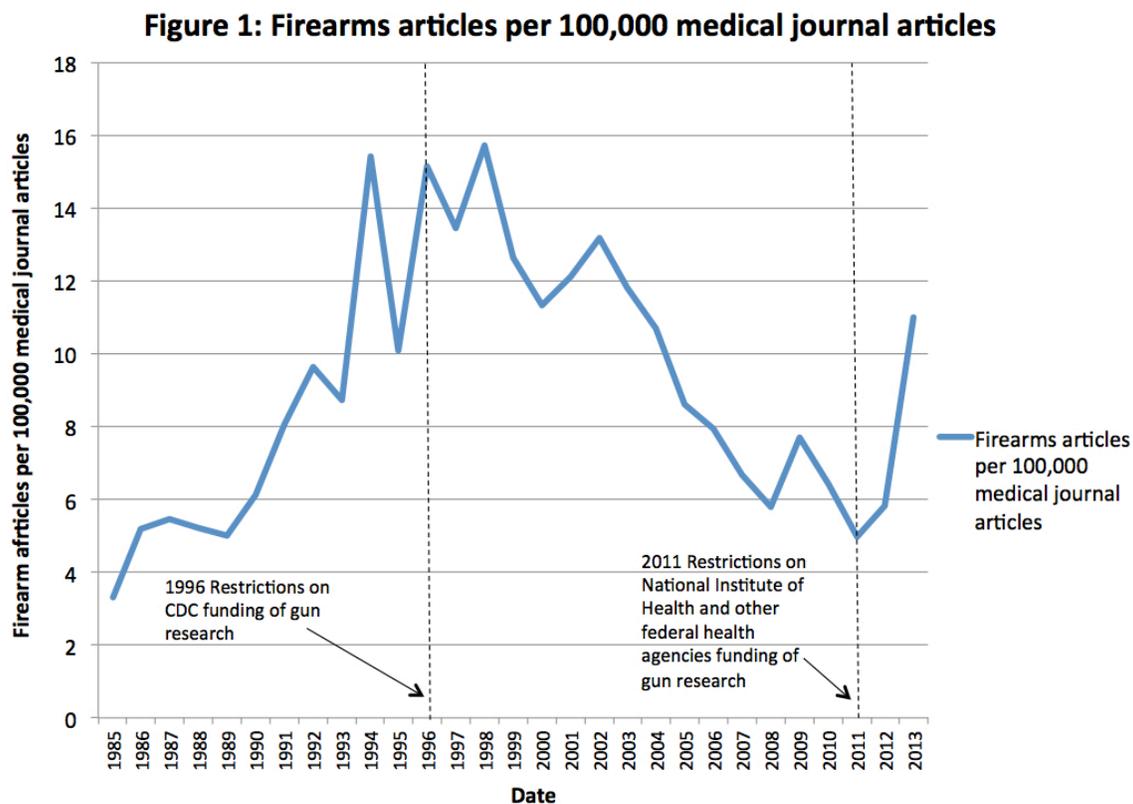
- The 1997 appropriations bill covered the period from October 1, 1996 to September 30, 1997. The bill stated: "None of the funds made available for injury prevention and control at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention may be used to advocate or promote gun control."
- The 2003 appropriations bill covered spending from October 1, 2002 to September 30, 2003, and it amended the 1997 bill to include the words "in whole or in part." The funding debate rarely mentions this change, and there are no obvious changes in research output that occurred after this date.²¹
- Finally, the 2012 appropriations bill, which expanded the restrictions to all Health and Human Services agencies, was delayed by disagreements between the Republican controlled House and Democrat Senate until December 23, 2011, so virtually none of the appropriations bill covered 2011.

A couple of things are clear. Since the restrictions on federally funded research in 1997 and 2012 appropriation bills went into effect, research on gun control did not decline, let alone disappear as frequently alleged. Federal funding declined, but research either remained constant or even increased. Since the additional funding restrictions in 2011, there has been a substantial increase in firearms research, an increase that couldn't have yet been affected by the changes in federal funding initiated last year.

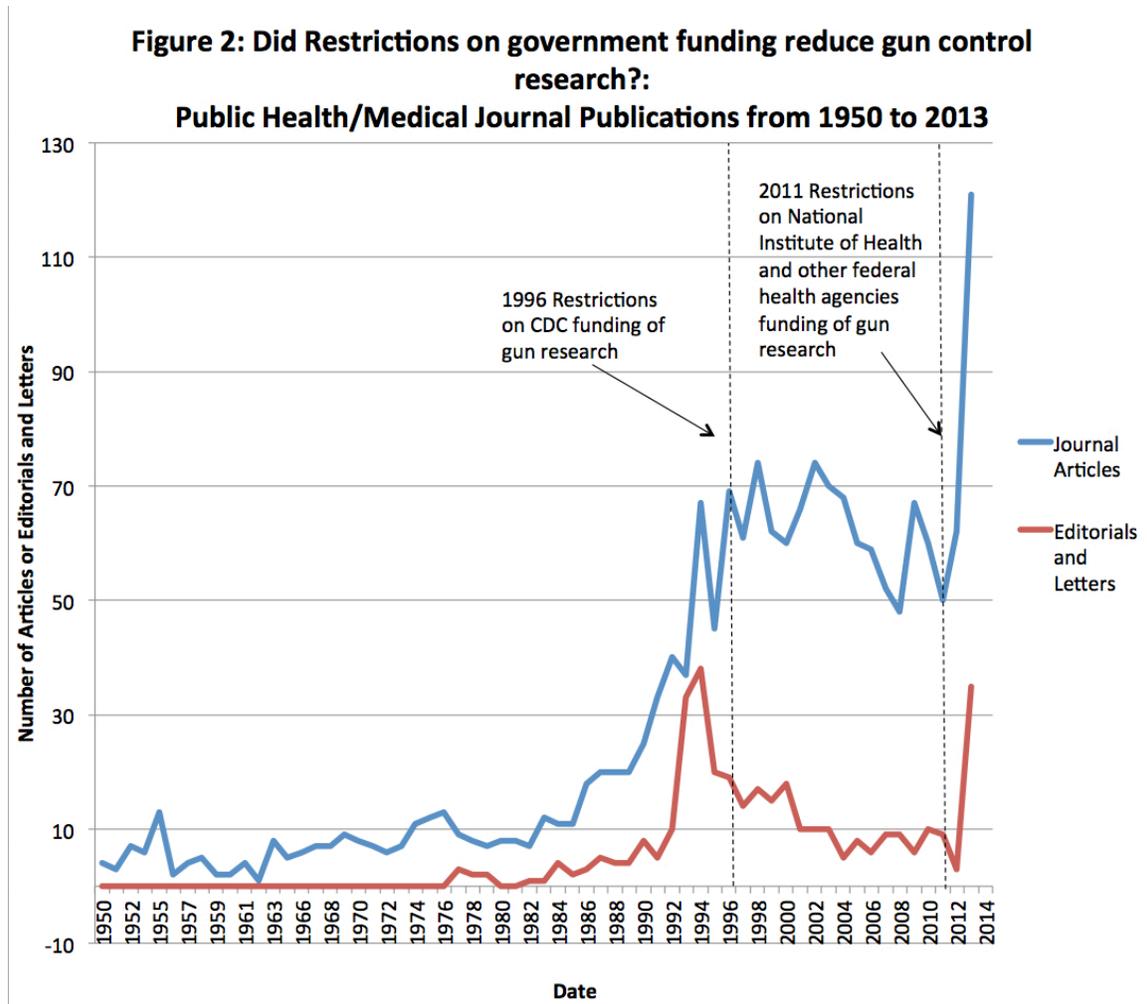
How firearm research has varied since 1950

“academic publishing on firearm violence fell by 60 percent between 1996 and 2010.”
 -- Michael Bloomberg’s Mayors Against Illegal Guns, January, 2013.²²

Despite his widely publicized claim,²³ no evidence has been provided that firearms research actually declined either after the Dickey Amendment to the Centers for Disease Control funding was passed in 1997 appropriations or restrictions were imposed on the National Institute of Health and other federal health agencies funding gun research. What Bloomberg measures is firearms research relative to all other research. And, indeed, after the 1996 restrictions on federal funding, firearms research in medical journals did fall as a percentage of all research (see Figure 1), but total research on firearms has increased over that time.

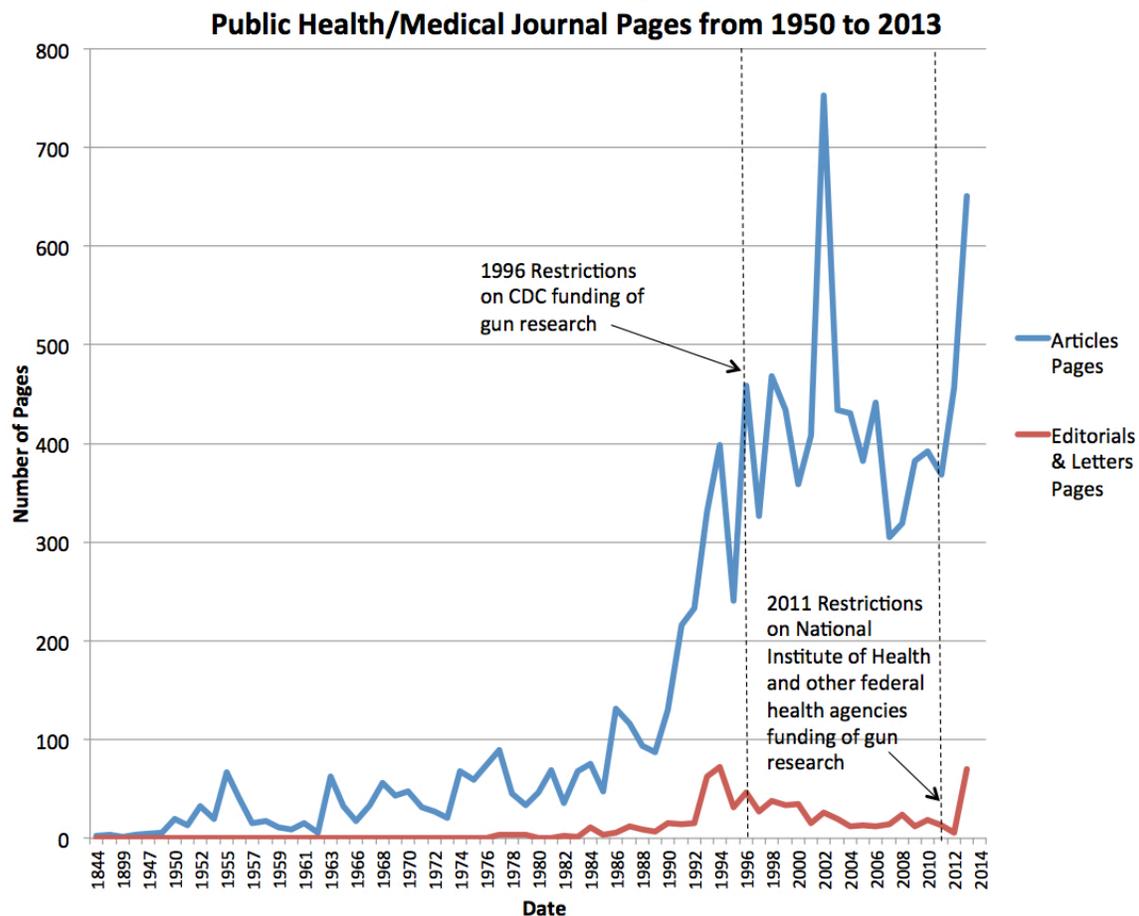


Yet, there was no drop in research. Indeed, the number of firearms journal articles actually generally rose after 1996 (Figure 2). Soaring from 69 to 121. The firearm articles just didn't rise as quickly since 1996 as 140 percent increase in all medical journal articles.



Another measure of total research output is the number of pages written on firearms. A couple of very short papers may involve less work than a longer one. Given 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 a general increase in research – rising from 459 pages in 1996 to 651 in 2013.

Figure 3: Did Restrictions on government funding reduce gun control research?:



Possibly government funding would have increased research even further. However, neither Figures 2 nor 3 suggest that experts have been driven to “abandon the field” or there has been a “virtual ban on basic federal research.”

The big increases in 2012 and 2013 occurred before the current increase in government funding could have any impact on published papers. Even the funding put out this last year won’t result in more published papers for a while.

Interestingly, most firearms papers don’t mention any funding sources. We collected information on paper’s funding sources from 1992 to 2013. Over the whole period, 15 percent of the papers mention a funding source, and just 3 percent mention government funding as their source. Despite the concerns being raised by funding advocates, the percentage of papers mentioning a funding source is greater after 1996 than it was earlier.

Table 1: Funding Sources for Firearms Research: Assuming a 3 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 receiving funding would still be appearing for three years after the Dickey Amendment. In that case, just 8.5 percent of papers published when they could have gotten CDC funding mention any funding source. After the restrictions on federal funding, that grew to 18.2 percent of firearm papers.²⁴

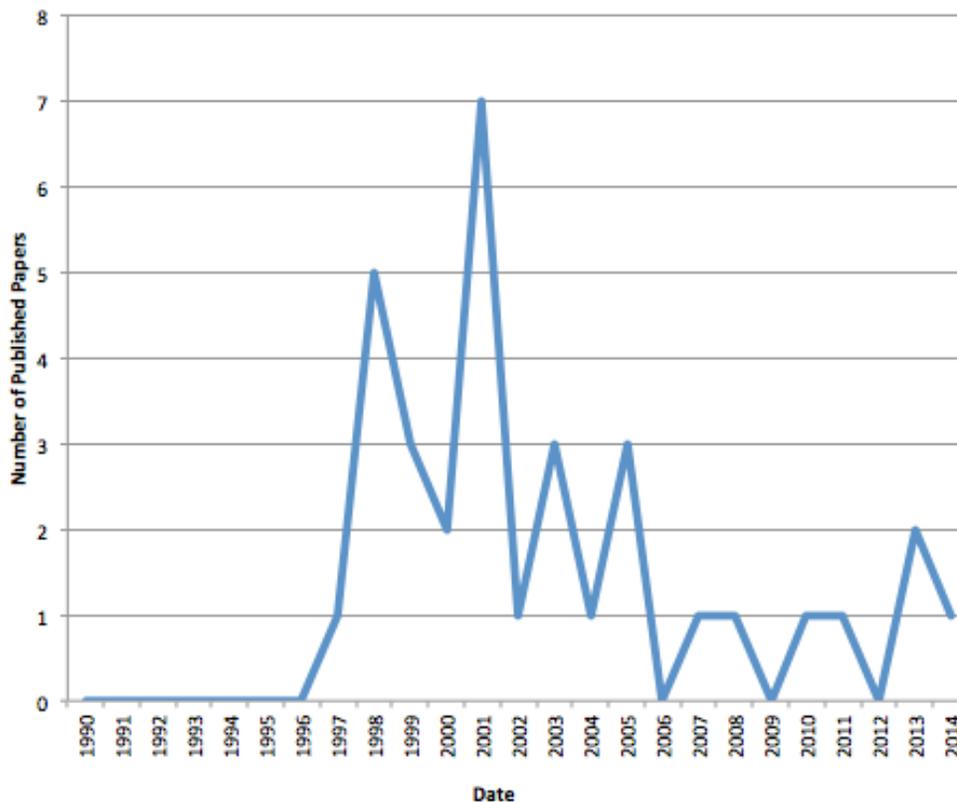
Federal funding only helped support for about a fifth of papers getting assistance. To put it differently, only about 3 percent of papers on gun control ever received US government funding during the entire 1992 to 2013 period. The growth in papers being funded appears to be driven entirely by private funding (e.g., the Joyce Foundation) helping out more research projects.

During 2013 there was a big increase in published firearms research, it was also associated with 23 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.

Other research

One of the points frequently ignored in the debate over funding, is the national research on concealed handgun laws, a literature where all but one of the papers was started after the 1996 Dickey Amendment. A large regression study in the Public Health literature may involve four thousand or so separate pieces of data. By contrast, the work on concealed carry laws and their attempts to control up to 12 other different types of gun control laws contain up to 9.2 million pieces of data (or cells). Some of this research covered such laws as the assault weapons ban (federal and state), background checks (federal and state), one gun a month rules, gun show regulations, handgun bans, Stand Your Ground/Castle Doctrine laws, and safe storage laws. Yet, the data collected for these massively larger studies was done without any government funding. Still the 33-refereed papers by criminologist and economists were done during a period when research on gun control issues had ended.²⁵

Figure 4: Refereed Papers on Concealed Handgun Laws



Conclusion

Researchers always want more money. After all, who doesn't?

But there is no shortage of firearms research. Indeed, despite the restrictions on CDC funding imposed by the Dickey Amendment, academic research on firearms has continued to increase.²⁶ To some extent this can be attributed to increased private funding. However, it seems that various academics across the nation simply decided to devote more of their own time on gun control research projects. After all, academics are usually paid to do research as part of their normal professorial activities and they typically spend at least half of their working hours on research. They also have a lot of freedom to choose what to focus on.

Bloomberg's Mayors Against Illegal Guns appears to be so anti-gun that they have been willing to manipulate their data to get their desired results. Unfortunately, data manipulation is appearing to be a consistent pattern Mayors Against Illegal Guns reports, and the misrepresentations can be seen in their studies from shootings in gun-free zones to the number of school shootings since Newtown.²⁷

Being anti-government funding of research is not to be against “science,” but it is simply not credible to believe that the Obama administration can keep politics out the grant giving process. It isn’t just academics who will be subsidized, but academics who agree with the Obama administration.

There is also the problem that Public Health research is very poorly done, using primitive statistics, and is filled with statistical and logical errors.²⁸

What is clear is that both the number of papers and the number of pages devoted to firearms research definitely didn’t fall after 1996 and appears to have even increased significantly in recent years before the new federal funding took place. Claims that restrictions on federal funding dramatically reduced the amount of firearms research is highly misleading.

Appendix on identifying firearms research, editorials, and letters

We searched PubMed (MEDLine). Our search methods overseen by C.Bret Jessee (Boston, MA) included looking for (firearm* OR gun OR gun) anywhere in the article, or in the title as a more rigorous search, with added search terms AND'd by a long string of other relevant terms (homicid* OR suicid* OR murder* OR fatal* OR mortal* OR kill* OR morbid* OR criminal OR crime* OR violen* OR accident* OR injur* OR assault* OR shoot* OR robber* OR burglar* OR legal* OR illegal* OR law OR laws OR control* OR background OR restrict* OR arms OR armed OR disarm* OR unarm* OR bullet* OR handgun* OR rifle* OR pistol* OR shotgun* OR weapon* OR victim* OR perpetrator*). This search method yielded more hits, but our search format bypasses NLM curation. Broader terms to help identify Letter/Editorials were included for the PubMed document type (letter[dt] OR comment[dt] OR editorial[dt] OR ephemera[dt] OR news[dt] OR personal narratives[dt] OR published erratum[DT]), to filter our citations that would not be primary research publications.

After we identified papers it was still necessary to go through and look at each paper individually to make sure that we weren't including "glue guns," "nail guns," "taser guns," "stun guns," "spear guns," or other unrelated articles that simply used the term "gun." On the other hand we did include BB-guns and air-guns.

Annual total publication was obtained from PubMed (MEDLine). Tags for funding sources were used for USGFunds, NonUSGFunds, and, given Michael Bloomberg's large donations to the Bloomberg School of Public Health at Hopkins, Bloomberg.

Another search using the tag for firearms was used as a check on our sample. While such a search obviously missed some journal articles, it indicated a similar pattern in publications over time.

Chengyu Huang provided valuable work going through each of the articles, editorials, and letters in the sample.

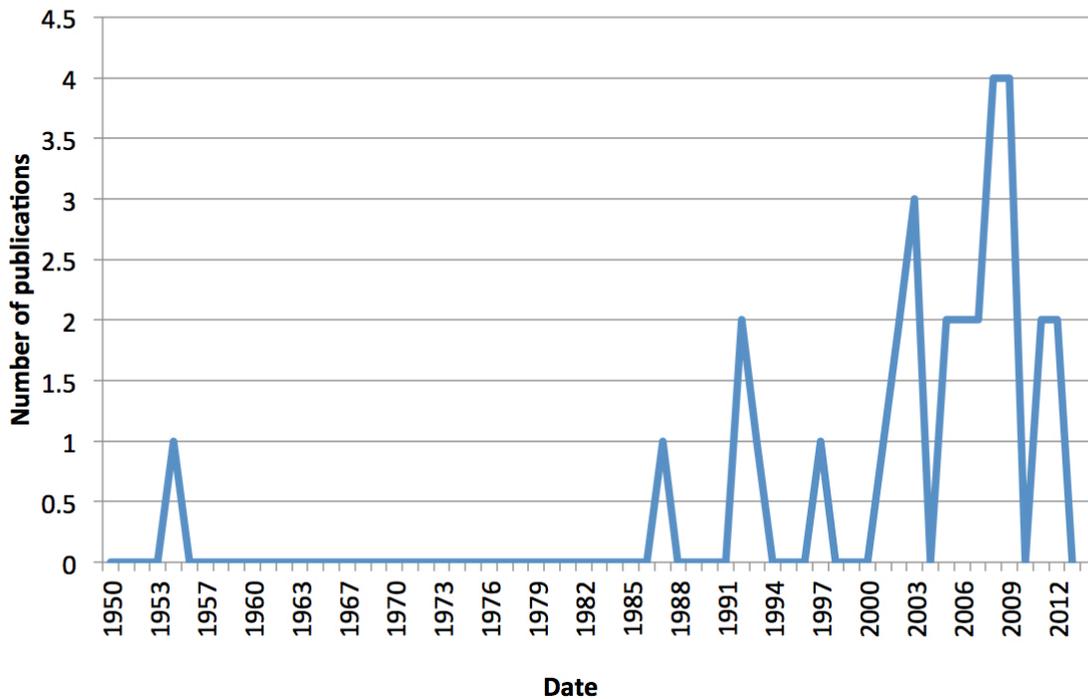
Appendix: Raw data on Firearm Articles as well as Editorials and Letters						
Year	Journal Articles	Editorials and Letters	Articles Pages	Editorials & Letters Pages	Number of medical journal articles	Firearms articles per 100,000 medical journal articles
1950	4	0	20	0		
1951	3	0	13	0		
1952	7	0	33	0		
1953	6	0	20	0		
1955	13	0	67	0		
1956	2	0	40	0		
1957	4	0	15	0		
1958	5	0	17	0		
1959	2	0	11	0		
1960	2	0	9	0		
1961	4	0	15	0		
1962	1	0	6	0		
1963	8	0	63	0		
1964	5	0	33	0		
1966	6	0	17	0		
1967	7	0	34	0		
1968	7	0	56	0		
1969	9	0	43	0		
1970	8	0	48	0		
1971	7	0	31	0		
1972	6	0	27	0		
1973	7	0	21	0		
1974	11	0	68	0		
1975	12	0	59	0		
1976	13	0	74	0		
1977	9	3	89	4		
1978	8	2	45	4		
1979	7	2	34	4		
1980	8	0	46	0		
1981	8	0	69	0		
1982	7	1	36	2		
1983	12	1	68	1		
1984	11	4	75	11		
1985	11	2	48	4	333,699	3.30

1986	18	3	131	6	347,886	5.17
1987	20	5	116	12	365,805	5.47
1988	20	4	94	9	384,046	5.21
1989	20	4	87	7	400,610	4.99
1990	25	8	130	15	408,392	6.12
1991	33	5	216	14	409,879	8.05
1992	40	10	233	15	415,301	9.63
1993	37	33	331	63	423,684	8.73
1994	67	38	399	72	434,793	15.41
1995	45	20	241	31	446,055	10.09
1996	69	19	459	47	455,900	15.13
1997	61	14	327	27	453,211	13.46
1998	74	17	468	38	470,870	15.72
1999	62	15	434	34	490,427	12.64
2000	60	18	359	35	529,784	11.33
2001	66	10	408	15	544,068	12.13
2002	74	10	753	26	561,607	13.18
2003	70	10	434	20	591,607	11.83
2004	68	5	431	12	636,259	10.69
2005	60	8	382	13	696,861	8.61
2006	59	6	441	12	743,114	7.94
2007	52	9	305	14	780,998	6.66
2008	48	9	319	24	829,978	5.78
2009	67	6	382	12	869,750	7.70
2010	60	10	392	19	932,285	6.44
2011	50	9	369	13	1,005,188	4.97
2012	62	3	456	6	1,064,199	5.83
2013	121	35	651	70	1,100,667	10.99

Appendix on Tasers, Stun guns, and electric guns

In the process of collecting data on firearms research, we also obtained data on other types of weapons. It is difficult to compare research on firearms to Tasers, Stun guns, and electric guns for the simple reason that the later types of weapons using an electrical charge are relatively modern and part of the increased interest in doing research is surely driven by their increased use. Still the general change in research is similar to that observed by firearms. Relatively little research was done on firearms or these electric weapons until the early 1990s.

Medical Journal articles on tasers, stun guns, and electric guns



* C. Bret Jessee and Chengyu Huang provided valuable work on this project.

¹ Brad Plumber, “Gun research is allowed again. So what will we find out?” Washington Post, January 17, 2013

(<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/01/17/gun-research-is-allowed-again-so-what-will-we-find-out/>). Joe Davidson, “Federal scientists can again research gun violence,” Washington Post, January 17, 2013

(http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/federal-scientists-can-again-research-gun-violence/2013/01/17/19d959fc-60e5-11e2-b05a-605528f6b712_story.html).

² Peter Henderson, “Scientists urge end to limits on gun safety research,” Reuters, January 10, 2013 (<http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/01/10/us-usa-guns-scientists-idUSBRE90915F20130110>).

³ JoNel Aleccia, “Obama plan eases freeze on CDC gun violence research,” NBC News, January 16, 2013 (<http://www.nbcnews.com/health/obama-plan-eases-freeze-cdc-gun-violence-research-1B7999574>).

⁴ Sydney Lupkin, “CDC Ban on Gun Research Caused Lasting Damage,” ABC News, April 9, 2013 (<http://abcnews.go.com/Health/cdc-ban-gun-research-caused-lasting-damage/story?id=18909347>).

⁵ Bill Briggs, “Obama’s unlocking of federal funding ban on gun research yields little upshot in first year,” NBC News, December 13, 2013 (<http://www.nbcnews.com/health/health-news/obamas-unlocking-federal-funding-ban-gun-research-yields-little-upshot-f2D11733547>).

⁶ Lauren Pearle, “Unanswered Questions Gun Violence Researchers Would Tackle If They Had The Money,” ABC News, January 31, 2014 (<http://abcnews.go.com/US/unanswered-questions-gun-violence-researchers-tackle-money/story?id=22322439>).

The list of additional related quotes is quite long. On January 21, 2014, Healthline News had this headline: “With Ban Lifted, New Research Shows How Firearm Access Increases Homicides, Suicides” (<http://www.healthline.com/health-news/policy-gun-violence-research-ban-lifted-after-newtown-shooting-012114>).

⁷ John Timmer, “Researcher finds evidence that relaxing gun laws ups murder rate,” Ars Technica, February 23, 2014 (<http://arstechnica.com/science/2014/02/researcher-finds-evidence-that-relaxing-gun-laws-ups-murder-rate/>).

⁸ Mayors Against Illegal Guns, “Access Denied: How the gun lobby is depriving police, policy makers, and the public of the data we need to prevent gun violence,” January 2013, pp. 2, 15 (http://libcloud.s3.amazonaws.com/9/c1/6/1017/3/access_denied.pdf).

⁹ Mayors Against Illegal Guns, “Access Denied: How the gun lobby is depriving police, policy makers, and the public of the data we need to prevent gun violence,” January 2013, p. 15 (http://libcloud.s3.amazonaws.com/9/c1/6/1017/3/access_denied.pdf). The claim by Rosenberg that they “terrorized people” is available from this CBS News report (Mark Strassmann, “NRA, Congress stymied CDC gun research budget,” CBS Evening News w Scott Pelley, January 17, 2013 (<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/nra-congress-stymied-cdc-gun-research-budget/>)). Rosenberg’s affiliation is available here (<http://www.taskforce.org/our-team/our-staff/mark-rosenberg-president-and-ceo>).

¹⁰ Eliot Marshall, “Obama lifts ban on funding gun violence research,” Science Insider, January 16, 2013 (<http://news.sciencemag.org/2013/01/obama-lifts-ban-funding-gun-violence-research>).

¹¹ The quote is POLITICO’s description of Ms. Sorenson’s beliefs. Brett Norman, “Mayors: Do gun research right,” POLITICO, January 9, 2013 (http://www.politico.com/story/2013/01/mayors-group-blasts-restrictions-on-gun-research-85928_Page2.html).

¹² Letter to Vice President Joseph P. Biden by 102 academics (https://crimelab.uchicago.edu/sites/crimelab.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/Biden%20Commission%20letter_20130110_final.pdf).

¹³ “Awards Related to: Research on Firearms and Violence,” National Institute of Justice, October 2013 (<http://nij.gov/funding/awards/pages/awards-list.aspx?solicitationid=3455>).

¹⁴ National Institute of Health, “NIH calls for research projects examining violence,” U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, September 27, 2013 (<http://www.nih.gov/news/health/sep2013/nih-27.htm>).

¹⁵ Reporting on fundraising as of November 2013 they had raised \$16 million. “The Fund for a Safer Future – 2013 Action Fund,” New Venture Fund (<http://www.newventurefund.org/wp-content/uploads/FSF-2013ActionFund.pdf>). “5 Questions for Ellen Alberding, President, Joyce Foundation,” Philanthropy Digest, January 10, 2013 (<http://www.philanthropynewsdigest.org/5-questions-for/ellen-alberding-joyce-foundation>). New Venture Fund, U.S. Programs, Open Society Foundations (<http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/programs/us-programs/grantees/new-venture-fund>).

¹⁶ “The Fund for a Safer Future – 2013 Action Fund,” New Venture Fund (<http://www.newventurefund.org/wp-content/uploads/FSF-2013ActionFund.pdf>).

¹⁷ Bill Briggs, “Obama's unlocking of federal funding ban on gun research yields little upshot in first year,” NBC News, December 13, 2013 (<http://www.nbcnews.com/health/obamas-unlocking-federal-funding-ban-gun-research-yields-little-upshot-2D11733547>).

¹⁸ Bill Briggs, “Obama's unlocking of federal funding ban on gun research yields little upshot in first year,” NBC News, December 13, 2013 (<http://www.nbcnews.com/health/obamas-unlocking-federal-funding-ban-gun-research-yields-little-upshot-2D11733547>).

¹⁹ Reid J. Epstein, “White House gun plan: An end run around the NRA,” Politico, January 11, 2013 (<http://www.politico.com/story/2013/01/wh-gun-plan-out-organize-the-nra-86049.html>). Rick Cohen, “Will Deep-Pocket Foundations Join the Call for Gun Control?” Nonprofit Quarterly, January 10, 2013 (<http://nonprofitquarterly.org/policysocial-context/21621-will-deep-pocket-foundations-join-the-call-for-gun-control.html>).

²⁰ UPI, “Obama: \$30 million for gun research,” UPI, April 10, 2013 (http://www.upi.com/Health_News/2013/04/11/Obama-30-million-for-gun-research/UPI-34631365653165/).

²¹ The one of the very rare exceptions is provided by Sydney Lupkin, “CDC Ban on Gun Research Caused Lasting Damage,” ABC News, April 9, 2013

(<http://abcnews.go.com/Health/cdc-ban-gun-research-caused-lasting-damage/story?id=18909347>).

²² Mayors Against Illegal Guns, “Access Denied: How the gun lobby is depriving police, policy makers, and the public of the data we need to prevent gun violence,” January 2013, p. 2 (http://libcloud.s3.amazonaws.com/9/c1/6/1017/3/access_denied.pdf).

²³ Brad Plumber, “Gun research is allowed again. So what will we find out?” Washington Post, January 17, 2013

(<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/01/17/gun-research-is-allowed-again-so-what-will-we-find-out/>); Liz Goodwin, “Can Obama end the long fight over gun violence research?” Yahoo News, January 17, 2013

(<http://news.yahoo.com/blogs/lookout/obama-end-long-fight-over-gun-violence-research-201708897.html>); and Peter Henderson, “Scientists urge end to limits of gun safety research,” Reuters, January 10, 2013 (<http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/01/10/us-usa-guns-scientists-idUSBRE90915F20130110>).

²⁴ Whether one looks at the impact of the research immediately after the Dickey Amendment or whether you allow for a lag doesn’t seem to make any real difference.

	Share of research funded	Share of research federally funded
Pre-1997	7.8%	2.5%
1997 and later	16.7%	3.4%
Average over entire period	14.7%	3.2%

²⁵ For a survey in 2012, see John R. Lott, Jr., “What a balancing test will show for right-to-carry laws,” *University of Maryland Law Review*, Vol. 71 (2012). See also Carlisle E. Moody, John R. Lott, Jr., and Thomas B. Marvell, “Did John Lott Provide Bad Data to the NRC? A Note on Aneja, Donohue, and Zhang,” *EconWatch*, January 2013: 25-31; Mark Gius, “An examination of the effects of concealed weapons laws and assault weapons bans on state-level murder rates,” *Applied Economics Letters*, November 2013; Carlisle E. Moody, Thomas B. Marvell, Paul R. Zimmerman, and Fasil Alemante, “The impact of right-to-carry laws on crime: An exercise in replication,” *Review of Economics and Finance*, forthcoming 2014.

²⁶ The results here might not be that surprising to some economists who have noted that government programs have crowded out charitable donations. Russell D. Roberts, “A Positive Model of Private Charity and Public Transfers,” *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (Feb., 1984), pp. 136-148.

²⁷ On Mayors Against Illegal Guns report on gun-free zones see John R. Lott, Jr., “Mayors Against Illegal Guns gets supposed list of shootings where guns were allowed all wrong,” February 2, 2013 (<http://johnrlott.blogspot.com/2013/02/mayors-against-illegal-guns-supposed.html>). For errors in their count on the number of school shootings see John R. Lott, Jr., “Bloomberg’s latest stats on school gun violence ignore reality,” Fox

News, February 18, 2014 (<http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2014/02/17/bloomberg-latest-stats-on-school-gun-violence-ignore-reality/>).

²⁸ For a detailed discussion see John R. Lott, Jr., “More Guns, Less Crime,” University of Chicago Press, 3rd edition, 2010. See also some work from the CPRC: Evaluating: “Racism, gun ownership and gun control: Biased attitudes in US whites may influence policy decisions” (<http://crimepreventionresearchcenter.org/2013/10/some-very-poorly-done-research-racism-gun-ownership-and-gun-control-biased-attitudes-in-us-whites-may-influence-policy-decisions/>) and Problems with Public Health Research: Michael Siegel, Craig Ross, and Charles King, “The Relationship Between Gun Ownership and Firearm Homicide Rates in the United States, 1981-2010,” American Journal of Public Health (<http://crimepreventionresearchcenter.org/2013/12/problems-with-public-health-research-michael-siegel-craig-ross-and-charles-king-the-relationship-between-gun-ownership-and-firearm-homicide-rates-in-the-united-states-1981-2010-ajph/>).