

***THE SUPPLIERS OF
AMERICA'S GUN
VIOLENCE EPIDEMIC***



ABOUT BRADY

Founded in 1974, Brady works to change the laws, the industry, and the culture to free America from gun violence. At Brady, gun violence is personal. From our founder, to our namesakes, to today, we are survivor led — it's our legacy, it's our lineage, and it's our present. Our organization carries the name of Jim Brady, who was shot and severely injured in the assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan. Jim and his wife Sarah led the fight to pass federal legislation requiring background checks for gun sales. Brady continues to uphold Jim and Sarah's legacy by uniting Americans from coast to coast — gun owners and non-gun owners, red and blue, young and old, liberal and conservative — against the epidemic of gun violence.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Understanding the source of America's gun violence epidemic is essential to building effective solutions to prevent it. For decades, laws passed at the behest of the gun industry have shielded important information from public view, making it nearly impossible to understand how, and from where, guns are funneled into the criminal market.

Brady has used Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests to uncover information in an attempt to better understand how guns make their way from the legal marketplace to ultimately being used in crime. This report examines federal records that identify gun dealers subject to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives' (ATF) Demand Letter 2 program — a program created to identify firearms dealers that sell the most crime guns and to aid law enforcement investigations. Only 2% of gun dealers nationwide are subject to this program, which includes dealers who have sold at least 25 guns that were recovered in crime during the past year that were found to have taken less than three years to make it from point of sale to being recovered in that crime. The ATF had identified that this low “time-to-crime” is a strong indicator of gun trafficking.

This report, and its [underlying national data](#), are the clearest look we've had in two decades as to which gun dealers sell the most crime guns. Absent complete transparency into the gun industry's role in supplying firearms that fuel our nation's gun violence epidemic, this data is the best indicator we have as to which gun dealers are fueling crime.

INTRODUCTION

Gun violence is an American public health crisis,¹ with guns now being the leading cause of death for children and teens.² In 2021, the most recent year with available data, gun violence killed 48,293 people in the U.S. — including 2,584 children.³ Firearm homicide deaths increased by 8.1%,⁴ most acutely impacting Black and Latino communities.⁵ Black Americans are now over 13 times more likely to be murdered by a firearm than their white counterparts.⁶ This is especially true of young Black men (15-24), who are over 25 times as likely to be a victim of firearm homicide as their white peers.⁷

Reducing gun violence requires the same public health approach as any other epidemic, which includes identifying the sources. Only once the sources of America’s gun violence crisis are identified and understood can we develop the most impactful, evidence-informed solutions to reduce the gun violence plaguing our communities. Since evidence shows that firearms trafficking is a primary driver of gun violence, a comprehensive approach to solving this crisis must include addressing the upstream sources of firearms that infiltrate communities.⁸

Unfortunately, the gun industry and its friends in political office have made identifying the gun violence epidemic’s exact upstream sources exceedingly difficult, as the gun industry enjoys unique protections allowing it to operate in the shadows. One such special protection is known as

the “Tiahrt Amendment,” which was authored in 2003 at the gun industry’s behest⁹ to prohibit the use of federal funds to make raw trace data available to the public. The Tiahrt Amendment (Tiahrt) has been used by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF) to shield almost all detailed information in its possession on the retail sources of guns recovered in crime.

Trace Data: Data that links a gun used in crime and recovered by law enforcement to the location of its first retail sale

Indeed, ATF’s interpretation of Tiahrt’s restrictions on the disclosure of trace data — data that links a gun used in crime and recovered by law enforcement to the location of its first retail sale — has cut off attempts to identify the sources of guns recovered by law enforcement in crime (crime guns), frustrating efforts to study federal trace data from a public health perspective and implement informed solutions.¹⁰ Further, Tiahrt has significantly impacted researchers’ abilities to study the effects of certain gun safety policies that have been implemented.¹¹ Before Tiahrt, publicly available trace data “provide[d] a statistical basis for understanding the supply side of the firearm violence problem,”¹² and researchers routinely used trace data to analyze,

THE TIAHRT AMENDMENT, WHICH WAS AUTHORED IN 2003 AT THE GUN INDUSTRY’S BEHEST, HAS BEEN USED BY THE ATF TO SHIELD ALMOST ALL DETAILED INFORMATION ON THE RETAIL SOURCES OF GUNS RECOVERED IN CRIME.

understand, and combat pipelines of firearms diverted from the legal market for illicit use. ATF also published reports with information that greatly assisted Americans' understanding of the sources of gun violence. For example, ATF published a report in 2000 revealing that **approximately 90% of crime guns come from just 5% of licensed gun dealers.**¹³

In an attempt to better understand the current sources of crime guns, this report relies on data from ATF's Demand Letter 2 (DL2) program — a new source of public data obtained by Brady through FOIA requests. The report focuses on the 2%¹⁴ of dealers nationwide — over 1,500¹⁵ — that sold the highest number of “crime guns” with a short time-to-crime (the length of time between the date of a firearm's retail sale to the date of its recovery in a crime). A “crime gun” is a gun that has been recovered by law enforcement after being used in a crime, that is suspected of being used in a crime, and/or that of which its possession itself is a crime. By virtue of being in the DL2 program, it is known that these dealers disproportionately impact gun violence. After all, approximately 85% of dealers do not have a single crime gun traced to them in a year,¹⁶ much less one that goes from being sold to being recovered in a crime so quickly.

Crime Gun: A gun that has been recovered by law enforcement after being used in a crime, that is suspected of being used in a crime, and/or that of which its possession itself is a crime.

This report, and its underlying data, present the clearest look at the largest crime gun sellers nationwide made public in two decades. We invite others to review [the data](#) and draw their own conclusions.

DEMAND LETTER 2s

BACKGROUND ON THE DATA

To work around Tiahrt’s restrictions, Brady obtained this trace information by submitting a [FOIA request](#) for all Demand Letters 2 (DL2s) ATF issued in 2022 and 2023.¹⁷ ATF issues DL2s to dealers that had 25 or more firearms with a short time-to-crime traced back to them in the previous calendar year.¹⁸ These dealers are required to submit information on used firearms that they acquire to ATF to assist the Bureau in more efficiently tracing recovered guns — information that other dealers are not required to submit. DL2 dealers’ records assisted ATF in completing over 190,000 crime gun traces from 2000 to 2021.^{19, 20} In response to the FOIA request, Brady received documents identifying 1,199 dealers in the DL2 program in 2022 and 1,323 in 2023, together comprising 1,520 unique dealers.

Time-to-Crime: The length of time between the date of a firearm’s retail sale to the date of its recovery in a crime

A firearm’s time-to-crime is the time that has elapsed between the retail sale of a firearm and that firearm’s recovery by law enforcement. A short time-to-crime (TTC) — less than three years — is considered by ATF to be a “trafficking indicator”²¹ that “signals direct diversion, by illegal firearms trafficking — for instance through straw purchases or off-the-books sales by corrupt FFLs [federal firearm licensees aka gun dealers].”²² Straw purchasers illegally buy guns on behalf of others — sometimes for a specific person and other times to illegally traffic, buying large quantities of firearms for off-the-books resale — usually to individuals legally prohibited from purchasing a gun themselves.

Demand Letter 2 Criteria

- 25 or more firearms recovered in a crime during the past calendar year;
- that were traced by law enforcement;
- and sold by the dealer three years or less prior to the crime (low time-to-crime)

Notably, federal inspectors have cited many of these DL2 dealers for breaking federal firearms laws, but ATF let them off with warnings. We encourage readers to visit Brady’s ever-growing [Gun Store Transparency Project](#) that includes an easy-to-use map of inspection reports for thousands of dealers, which illustrate the laws the dealers were cited for violating, and what administrative action — or lack thereof — ATF took in response. Currently, only 5% of gun dealers are inspected by ATF every year,²³ far from the ATF’s goal of inspecting each gun dealer once every three years.²⁴

PAWNBROKERS ARE MORE LIKELY TO SELL HIGH QUANTITIES OF CRIME GUNS WITH A SHORT TIME-TO-CRIME

There are two types of firearms dealers eligible for ATF’s DL2 program: retail dealers and pawnbrokers.^{25,26} Retail dealers outnumber pawnbroker dealers 8:1 and therefore account for more than two-thirds of DL2 dealers. However, pawnbrokers are far more likely to receive a DL2. This corroborates past research, which has found that pawnbrokers are more likely to sell crime guns,^{27,28} and that they express greater willingness to conduct illegal sales like straw purchases.²⁹

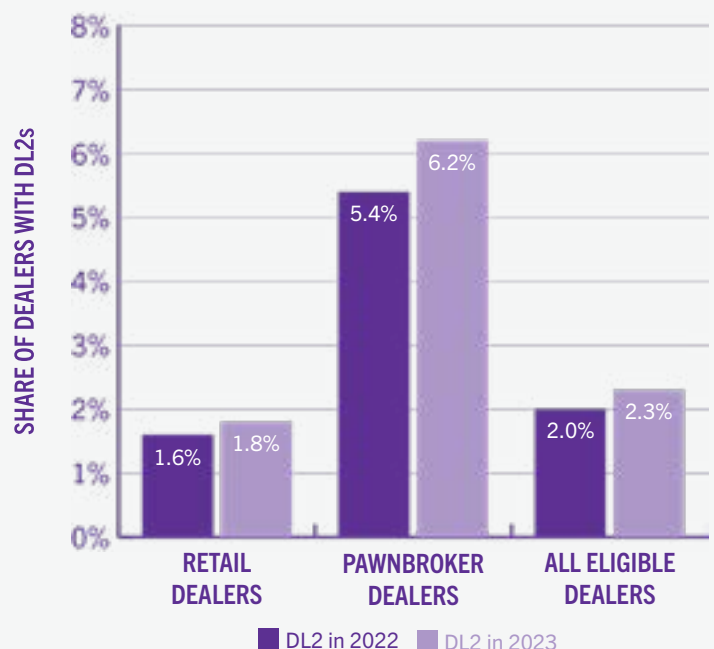
This trend is also true of pawn store chains. FirstCash, EZCorp, and Smart Pawn are the largest pawnbroker gun dealer chains in the nation, and the only ones

that operated at least 25 gun dealing locations in both years examined.³⁰ Many chains require their locations to institute business practices that reduce the risk of supplying the criminal market. Evidence shows this is not the case for at least two of these pawn chains: after a year of research and reaching out to these companies, San Francisco city staff “found no evidence that [either FirstCash or EZCorp] have policies in place to restrict the sale of firearms illegal for sale in California, including assault weapons.”^{31,32} Both chains were then barred from investment by the city’s retirement fund program, consistent with its policy barring investment in firearm chains that sell weapons recklessly.³³

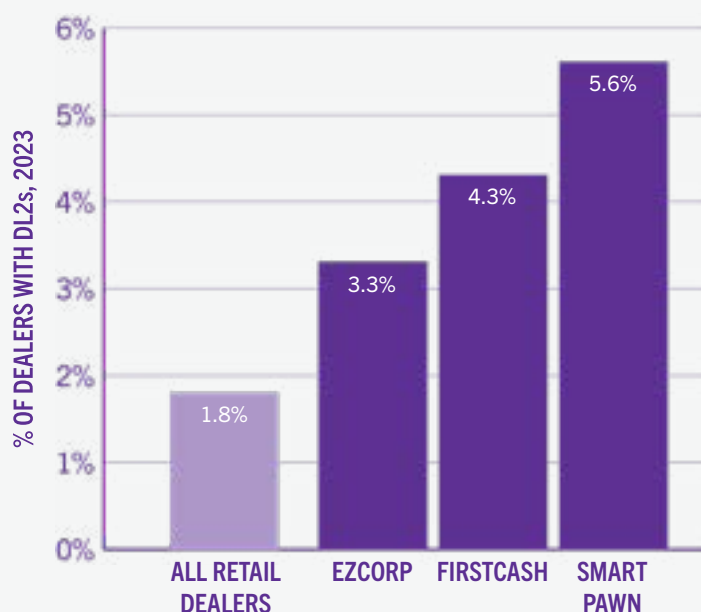
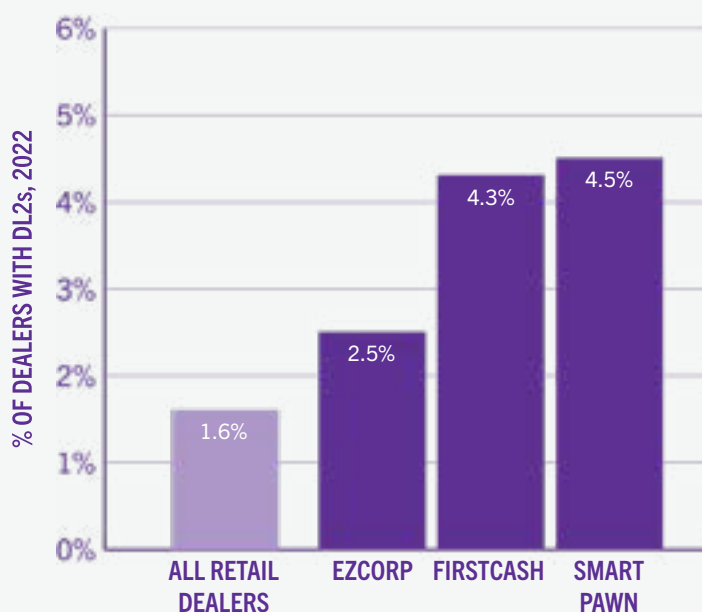
NUMBER OF DEALERS IN DL2 PROGRAM BY TYPE



SHARE OF ELIGIBLE DEALERS WITH DL2s



PAWN CHAINS CONSISTENTLY WORSE THAN RETAIL DEALERS



BUSINESS PRACTICES MATTER

Selling guns that are quickly linked to a crime is by no means a required “cost of doing business” for dealers selling large quantities of firearms. Indeed, ATF analyzed gun dealers that sold a high volume of recovered crime guns and concluded that “sales volume alone does not account for the disproportionately large number of traces associated with these firearms dealers.”^{34, 35}

Outside researchers have confirmed that a gun dealer’s sales volume is not an adequate predictor of that dealer’s associated trace numbers.³⁶ The difference in the rates at which chain retailers received DL2s from ATF illustrates this point: many of the biggest retail chains don’t have a single DL2 dealer, while other large chains have more than half of their stores with DL2s.

Evidence shows that a dealer’s business practices have a direct correlation with the number of crime guns traced back to them.³⁷ Even dealers that sell large volumes of firearms can avoid selling large numbers of crime guns that result in a DL2. Such business practices – which,

in some states, are required by law — include, but are not limited to: requiring employees that sell firearms to pass a background check; conducting regular trainings for employees that sell firearms; empowering employees to refuse sales that raise suspicion; securing firearms behind a locked case and performing regular inventory audits; calling law enforcement when a suspected straw sale is taking place; videotaping the point of sale for firearms and retaining that footage; and requiring all purchasers to pass a background checks for all sales, even if a background check hasn’t been returned in three business days.³⁸ These responsible dealing practices, and others, are included in the Brady [Gun Dealer Code of Conduct](#).³⁹

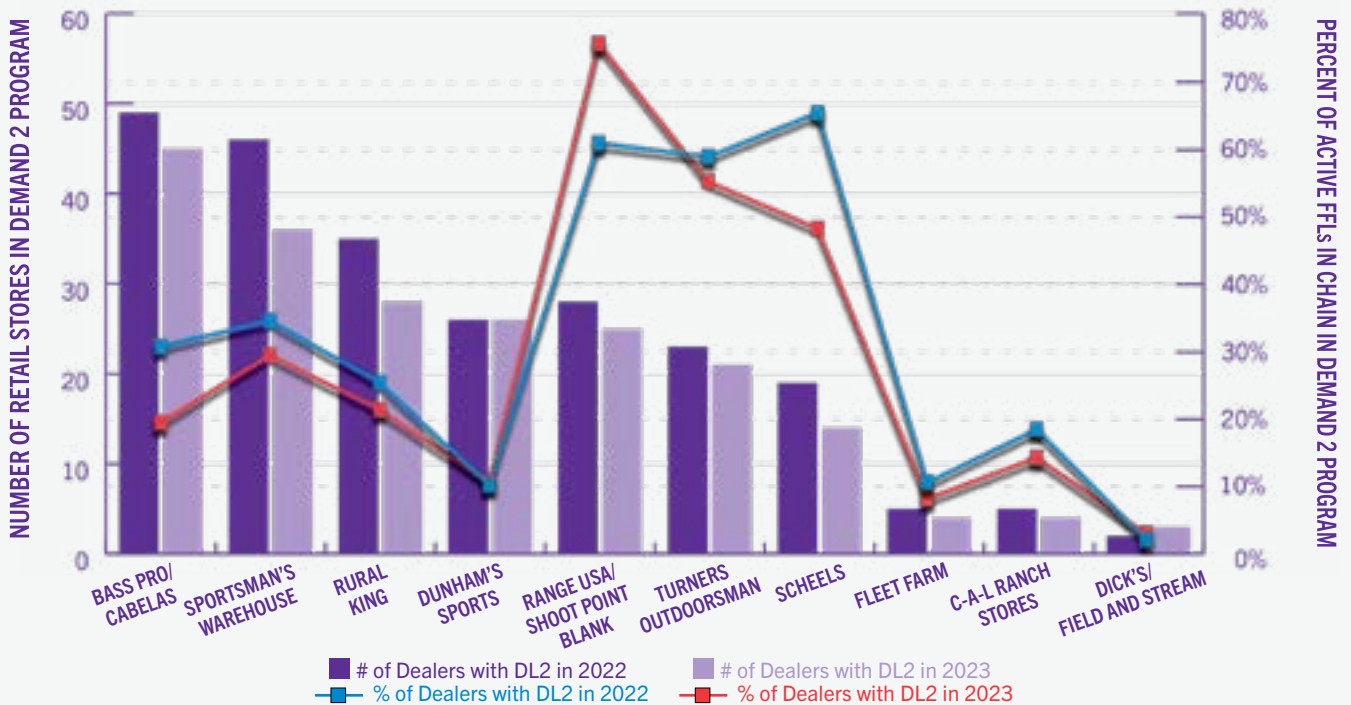
The effectiveness of these practices in reducing the supply of crime guns is evident. Four of the nation’s 10 largest retail gun store chains did not have a single store receive DL2s in either 2022 or 2023.

EVIDENCE SHOWS THAT A DEALER’S BUSINESS PRACTICES HAVE A DIRECT CORRELATION WITH THE NUMBER OF CRIME GUNS TRACED BACK TO THEM, AND THAT A GUN DEALER’S SALES VOLUME IS NOT AN ADEQUATE PREDICTOR OF THAT DEALER’S ASSOCIATED TRACE NUMBERS.

Conversely, some smaller retail chain stores have disproportionate representation on the DL2 list. For example, the majority of Range USA and Turner’s Outdoorsman dealer locations have received DL2s from ATF. In fact, a 2023 report from California identified Turner’s as a top source dealer for crime guns recovered in the state from 2010 to 2022 — with 11 of the chain’s stores present in the top 20 California crime gun dealers identified in the report.⁴⁰ These 11 stores are among the majority of Turner’s locations that received DL2s in both 2022 and 2023 — 59% and 55%, respectively.

Range USA, a retail chain formerly doing business under the name Shoot Point Blank,⁴¹ is the chain with the highest percentage of its stores in the DL2 program in 2022–23, with an average of 68% of its locations receiving DL2 letters in that time period. A review of court documents and news coverage shows that on many occasions, Range USA stores sold firearms despite the presence of known indicators of straw purchases and trafficking, suggesting that Range USA has not adequately adopted and implemented responsible business practices. These indicators include — but are not limited to — multiple or bulk purchases; the

TOP 10 RETAIL CHAINS BY NUMBER OF DEALERS IN DEMAND 2 PROGRAM



purchase of similar or identical firearms, particularly in the same transaction or within a short amount of time; a passive buyer accompanied by others who seem interested in purchasing firearms; and cash payments or buyers that use a bank card with a name that does not match the name on the buyer's identification document.

For example, one man straw-purchased dozens of handguns through 2020 and 2021 — a majority at Range USA locations in Illinois — including several that were later recovered from crime scenes in the Chicago area.⁴² At the Mokena, Illinois, store, he bought 12 firearms in four transactions, including one in which he bought six 9mm pistols — four of which were identical models. He also purchased guns from the chain's Hodgkins, Illinois, store, again buying many similar or identical firearm types, sometimes in the same transaction. Similarly, a Cleveland man bought 30 guns from Ohio stores in 2021, including 19 from Range USA's Mentor, Ohio, location in less than two months. Many were similar makes and models, and sometimes identical models in a single transaction. He later admitted that his uncle would accompany him during gun buys, and that he would often use his uncle's credit card. At least three of the guns the man bought at Range USA were later recovered in crime.⁴³ A third man in Indianapolis straw-purchased guns at multiple Range USA locations for the purpose of illegal resale. At the Avon, Indiana, store, he bought five guns, including three Glock model 19s, in just one month in 2021. Prosecutors in the case stated, "It should be noted that the purchase of identical firearms within a short amount of time is indicative of firearms trafficking."⁴⁴ Further, the store's video surveillance showed the man handing one of the firearms he purchased to another individual immediately after buying it.⁴⁵

In a case involving international gun trafficking, a couple in Texas directed a straw purchasing ring that trafficked more than 100 firearms into Mexico.⁴⁶ ATF agents were alerted when the woman's sister purchased two FN

Scar 17 rifles — of a caliber known to be preferred by Mexican cartels — at Range USA's Arlington, Texas, store on June 3 and June 6 of 2022. The sister paid in cash for the guns — over \$8,000 total. Video footage from the store showed the man directing the scheme, pointing at a wall where the Scar rifles were located, walking with the sister to the counter, and then walking away so the sister could talk to the Range USA clerk, who sold her the rifle. These were not the last straw purchases the ring made at the store — in July 2022, another defendant bought another Scar rifle under similar circumstances.⁴⁷

Indicators of Gun Trafficking

- Multiple or bulk purchases
- The purchase of similar or identical firearms, particularly in the same transaction or in a short period of time
- A passive buyer accompanied by others who seem interested in purchasing firearms
- Cash payments or buyers that use a card with a name that does not match their identification

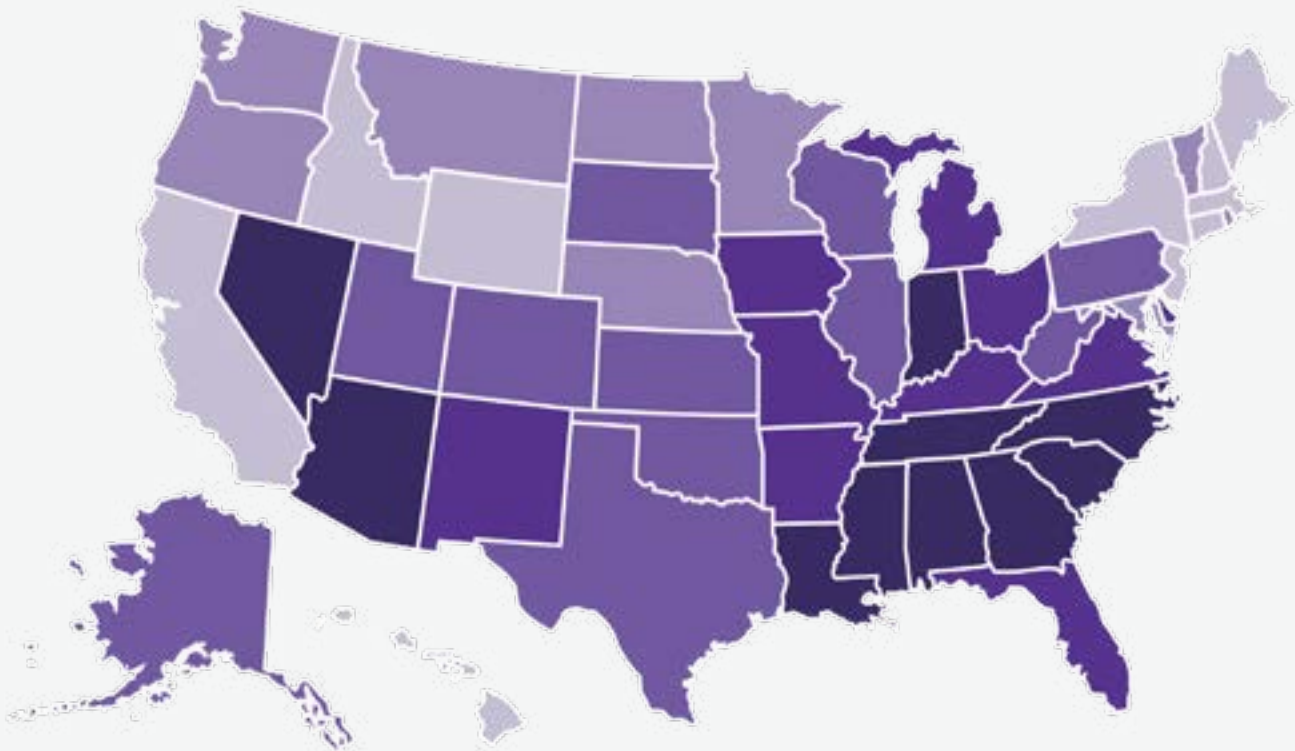
STATE REGULATIONS MATTER

Generally speaking, states with weaker gun sale regulations have more dealers in the DL2 program relative to their population (see map below). This is not surprising. States that have passed strong common-sense gun policies have successfully reduced gun violence within their borders, while states with weaker gun laws have not.^{48,49} States with weaker gun laws do not put only their own residents at risk. Every year, ATF traces hundreds of thousands of guns, and the trafficking patterns remain consistent: States with less restrictive gun laws are steady “source states” for their more restrictive counterparts.^{50,51,52} Indeed, a small

handful of U.S. states drive interstate gun trafficking activity. Between 2017 and 2021, almost half of traced guns that originated in states other from where they were recovered were from only 10 states — Georgia, Texas, Arizona, Florida, Virginia,⁵³ Indiana, the Carolinas, Alabama, and Mississippi.⁵⁴

New Jersey is a leader on gun safety policies, with some of the strongest gun laws in the country — and the third-lowest rate of firearm deaths.⁵⁵ The state requires its firearm dealers and their employees to be licensed by the state,⁵⁶ requires dealers to install comprehensive

DEMAND LETTER 2 DEALERS BY STATE AND POPULATION



- 10** None to 0.12
- 10** Between 0.13 and 0.26
- 10** Between 0.27 and 0.38
- 10** Between 0.39 and 0.61
- 10** 0.62 and Greater (up to 1.12)

Average number of dealers in the Demand 2 program per 100,000 population, 2022-2023 (population source: Jul '23 and Jul '22 census estimates)

safety systems to prevent and detect firearm inventory theft,⁵⁷ and authorizes state inspections of dealers to ensure compliance with the law.⁵⁸ New Jersey also has laws that curb illegal gun trafficking, such as a statute that prohibits dealers from transferring more than one handgun to any person within a 30-day period.⁵⁹

These gun laws work. Not one of New Jersey's 307 in-state firearms dealers received a DL2 in either 2022 or 2023, making it one of only four states to have no dealers in the Demand 2 program. This aligns with ATF statistics that show guns from New Jersey dealers recovered in crime were associated with the fourth lowest median TTC — 9.4 years — of any state between 2017 and 2021.⁶⁰ Indeed, New Jersey's gun safety laws not only reduce the rate of gun violence in the state, but also reduce the rate of gun trafficking.

Georgia and South Carolina — two states with weak gun laws that also repealed their firearms dealer licensing requirements a decade ago⁶¹ — are examples from the other end of the spectrum. Both Georgia and South Carolina have relatively high numbers of DL2 dealers. In 2022, 53 South Carolina dealers received a DL2, making it the state with the highest percentage — 5.1% — of DL2 dealers in the country. In 2023, 5.5% of South Carolina dealers received a DL2, making it the state with the second highest percentage of DL2 dealers in the country. Further, South Carolina's average number of DL2 dealers per 100,000 residents is the second highest of any state, with 1.03 DL2 dealers per 100,000 residents. Similarly, Georgia ranked in the top 5 states with the highest number of dealers receiving DL2s in both 2022 and 2023. Averaged between these two years, 85 gun dealers in Georgia, constituting about 4.65% of its eligible dealer population, had 25 or more firearms with a short time-to-crime traced to them during the previous calendar year.

Unsurprisingly, South Carolina and Georgia export crime guns to other states at high rates. In 2021 and

2022, Georgia was the top exporter of crime guns of any state.⁶² For guns recovered between 2017 and 2021, Georgia was one of the top 5 source states for 22 different states and territories, as well as for over two dozen major U.S. cities.⁶³ Similarly, despite having fewer dealers overall than most states,⁶⁴ South Carolina dealers export more crime guns than all but six states.⁶⁵ The weakness of these states' gun laws, combined with their access to major East Coast cities via Interstate 95 (dubbed the "Iron Pipeline"), make them prime destinations for gun traffickers fueling gun violence throughout the eastern seaboard.⁶⁶ Indeed, the median TTC for guns sourced from both states and recovered between 2017 and 2021 was 2.5 years — significantly shorter than the three-year threshold ATF classifies as a trafficking indicator.⁶⁷

It is important to remember that these numbers can, and often do, represent real-life tragedies. Poor gun industry regulation and the failure of a small minority of gun dealers to adopt safe sales and distribution practices lead to gun trafficking and ultimately the pervasive gun violence felt in communities across the country.

STILL SOURCING LARGE QUANTITIES OF CRIME GUNS, TWO DECADES LATER

A significant number of dealers who received DL2s in 2022 or 2023 were identified two decades ago as being among the largest suppliers of crime guns in the country. Only a few dozen dealers sold 500 or more crime guns found in crimes from 1996 to 2000,⁶⁸ and 43% of them received DL2s in 2022, with most also receiving them in 2023. This number is all the more startling when factoring that just over half of these dealers were still in business and selling firearms through the end of 2022, meaning that nearly 80% of those that could receive DL2s, did — over two decades later. Those 15 dealers, listed below, supplied more than 14,000 recovered crime guns from 1996 - 2000.⁶⁹

- Arrowhead Pawn Shop, Inc. (Jonesboro, GA)
- Atlantic Gun & Tackle (Bedford Heights, OH)
- Bradis Inc. (Camby, IN)
- Candler Road Pawn Shop / Lakewood Avenue Pawn Shop, Inc. (Decatur, GA)
- Chuck’s Gun Shop and Pistol Range (Riverdale, IL)

- Don’s Guns & Galleries, Inc. (Indianapolis, IN)
- Green Top Sporting Goods (Ashland, VA)
- Guns and Ammo (Memphis, TN)
- Hyatt Coin & Gun Shop, Inc. (Charlotte, NC)
- KS&E Sports (Indianapolis, IN)
- Lou’s Police Distributors Inc (Hialeah, FL)
- Realco Guns, Inc. (Forestville, MD)
- Suburban Sporting Goods (Melrose Park, IL)
- Vance Outdoors (Columbus, OH)
- Westforth Sports, Inc. (Gary, IN)⁷⁰

ARROWHEAD PAWN: DECADES OF SUPPLYING CRIME GUNS

Arrowhead Pawn opened in Jonesboro, Georgia, in 1989.⁷¹ From 1996 to 2000, 705 recovered crime guns were traced back to Arrowhead, making it the 19th

Number of Traces 1996 to 2000	Total # of Dealers	# of Dealers with Active FFL as of Dec. 2021	# of Dealers with DL2s in 2022 and/or 2023	% of Dealers* in DL2 Program	% of Still Active Dealers in DL2 Program
500 or more	35	19	15	43%	79%
375 or more (Top 50)	50	21	17	34%	81%

*The denominator here includes the ones that did not have an active FFL by December 2021 or January and thus were not eligible to receive a DL2 in 2022 or 2023.

largest seller of crime guns.⁷² Just a decade later, it was reported that Arrowhead was the 5th top crime gun dealer nationwide for the period of time from 2006 to 2009, with approximately 1,720 traces⁷³ — nearly 2.5 times more than their total traces from 1996 to 2000.⁷⁴ By 2009, the store was also the top out-of-state source of crime guns recovered in New York City.⁷⁵ When asked why Arrowhead was one of the go-to sources of firearms for use in crime, the owner of Arrowhead deflected, saying, “I’m just unlucky, I guess.”⁷⁶ In at least 2021, 2022, and 2023, Arrowhead received DL2s from ATF.

Arrowhead guns have been trafficked up the Iron Pipeline into New York City,⁷⁷ Philadelphia,⁷⁸ Baltimore,⁷⁹ and D.C.⁸⁰ International trafficking rings have also illegally moved Arrowhead guns abroad to the United Kingdom,⁸¹ Canada,⁸² Barbados and other Caribbean nations.⁸³

These firearms have led to numerous tragedies. Arrowhead guns have been used in several homicides across the country, including the murders of two New York City police officers sitting in their patrol car in 2014⁸⁴ and that of Omaha police officer Kerrie Orozco in 2015. The day she was murdered, Orozco was set to finally bring her premature two-month-old baby, Olivia Ruth, home from the hospital.⁸⁵ The gun used to murder Officer Orozco, as well as an attached large-capacity magazine, were straw purchased at Arrowhead just a month prior.⁸⁶

ADVENTURE OUTDOORS: ANOTHER SUPPLIER OF THE IRON PIPELINE

Adventure Outdoors, located in Georgia, was identified as among the top 100 dealers of crime guns in the nation at the turn of the century, having 250 recovered crime guns traced back to it from 1996 to 2000.⁸⁷ In 2006, New York City sued Adventure Outdoors for negligence in preventing its guns from falling into the hands of those intent on doing harm, including by facilitating straw

purchases, resulting in a disproportionately massive number of their guns being used in New York City crimes.⁸⁸ A decade and a half later, Adventure Outdoors continued to sell a high-volume of crime guns, having received a DL2 in 2022.

In *U.S. v. Carr*, one straw purchaser bought 58 guns from Adventure Outdoors in under eight months.⁸⁹ Two brothers worked with the straw purchaser to illegally traffic guns from Georgia to the D.C. area for resale. The trafficking ring often bought multiple guns in the same transaction, and made multiple purchases each week. Many of the firearms were of similar or identical makes, models, and calibers. One of the brothers, who was prohibited from buying guns, often accompanied the straw purchaser to Adventure Outdoors. Prosecutors in the case referred to the buying activity as an “obvious pattern of straw purchasing.”⁹⁰ As of 2019, about 25 of those 58 guns had been recovered in the D.C. region.⁹¹ One of the guns, recovered within months of its sale, was linked to four unsolved shootings in D.C., including a shooting that occurred one day after the gun was purchased at Adventure Outdoors.

Other guns from Adventure Outdoors were recovered only after being used in D.C.-area homicides. One such gun was recovered from a prohibited person in D.C. in March 2017 and was linked to a homicide that occurred on December 11, 2016, mere months after its purchase. On the night of December 11, Grant Dosunmu was watching football with friends. He still lived in his childhood home in Northwest D.C., and his father got worried when there were reports of bad weather, asking Grant to come home before 10 p.m. or to stay at his friend’s for the night. Grant never responded. He was found at 9:30 p.m, two blocks from home in his prized car, given to him by his father, dead from bullet wounds.^{92, 93}

RECOMMENDATIONS

If America is to reduce gun violence and gun trafficking, information on the sources of crime guns must be made public once again. While [the data](#) this report analyzes contains the most information on sources of crime guns nationwide available in decades, it lacks critical information such as the exact number of crime guns traced to each of these dealers, where these firearms were recovered, and in which types of crimes these firearms were recovered. This is why Brady demands more crime gun data transparency — on a more frequent and detailed basis. Transparency is the only way that the public can accurately understand the sources of gun violence in their communities.

Understanding the primary sources of crime guns allows policymakers to develop targeted strategies to reduce gun violence, researchers to study the impact of gun safety policies, and the public to hold the sources of crime guns in their communities accountable. With this in mind, Brady makes the following recommendations:

- **Congress:** Repeal the Tiahrt Amendment, which ATF interprets to block public access to most data on the paths of trafficked firearms and dealers who are top sources of crime guns.
- **ATF:** Interpret the Tiahrt Amendment’s restrictions more narrowly to allow for the release of aggregated data on top source dealers of crime guns in annual reports and in response to FOIA requests.
- **States and localities:** Publish more trace reports. In the wake of Tiahrt’s chilling effect on ATF, many states and localities have published reports identifying top source dealers of guns recovered in their jurisdictions. This information is integral to reducing gun trafficking and violence on a more localized level. In addition, where state law allows, adopt a robust gun dealer inspection program to ensure compliance with federal, state, and local gun laws.
- **Law enforcement agencies:** Implement responsible firearms procurement practices. Procurement policies that screen potential firearms vendors to ensure that they are both [compliant with firearms laws](#) and that they [employ responsible business practices](#) both incentivize safe dealing and prevent taxpayer dollars from benefiting gun dealers that do not prioritize public safety.
- **Researchers:** Use this data to study the associations between state and local gun safety laws and the number of DL2 dealers in those jurisdictions; and the effect any voluntary reforms adopted by a DL2 dealer has on their likelihood to continue to qualify for DL2s.
- **Firearms Dealers, Distributors, Importers, and Manufacturers:** Firearms dealers must adopt and implement voluntary reforms shown to reduce gun trafficking and violence, including, but not limited to, those outlined in Brady’s [Gun Dealer Code of Conduct](#). Distributors, importers, and manufacturers must adequately monitor their distribution chains to ensure they are only selling guns to dealers that have adopted safe business practices and are not disproportionately supplying the criminal market.

ENDNOTES

1. The American Medical Association. (2016, June 14). AMA calls gun violence “a public health crisis.” *Ama-Assn.Org*. Retrieved January 3, 2024, from <https://www.ama-assn.org/press-center/press-releases/ama-calls-gun-violence-public-health-crisis>; and American Public Health Association. (n.d.). Gun violence. *APHA.org*. Retrieved January 3, 2024, from <https://www.apha.org/topics-and-issues/gun-violence>
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3. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. National Vital Statistics System, Mortality 2018-2021 on CDC WONDER Online Database, released in 2021. Data are from the Multiple Cause of Death Files, 2018-2021, as compiled from data provided by the 57 vital statistics jurisdictions through the Vital Statistics Cooperative Program. Accessed at <http://wonder.cdc.gov/ucd-icd10-expanded.html> on Jan 12, 2024 9:49:36 AM
4. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. National Vital Statistics System, Mortality 2018-2021 on CDC WONDER Online Database, released in 2021. Data are from the Multiple Cause of Death Files, 2018-2021, as compiled from data provided by the 57 vital statistics jurisdictions through the Vital Statistics Cooperative Program. Accessed at <http://wonder.cdc.gov/ucd-icd10-expanded.html> on Jan 12, 2024 9:49:36 AM
5. According to CDC data, Black males ages 15–34 die by gun violence at a rate 20 times higher than white males of the same age group, and Black females are four times more likely to be the victims of firearm homicide than their white counterparts. See Educ. Fund to Stop Gun Violence & Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, *A Public Health Crisis Decades in the Making: A Review of 2019 CDC Gun Mortality Data 14* (2021), <https://efsgv.org/wp-content/uploads/2019CDCdata.pdf>.
6. Compares non-hispanic Black and non-hispanic white people. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. National Vital Statistics System, Mortality 2018-2021 on CDC WONDER Online Database, released in 2021. Data are from the Multiple Cause of Death Files, 2018-2021, as compiled from data provided by the 57 vital statistics jurisdictions through the Vital Statistics Cooperative Program. Accessed at <http://wonder.cdc.gov/ucd-icd10-expanded.html> on Jan 12, 2024 9:49:36 AM
7. Compares non-hispanic Black and non-hispanic white people. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. National Vital Statistics System, Mortality 2018-2021 on CDC WONDER Online Database, released in 2021. Data are from the Multiple Cause of Death Files, 2018-2021, as compiled from data provided by the 57 vital statistics jurisdictions through the Vital Statistics Cooperative Program. Accessed at <http://wonder.cdc.gov/ucd-icd10-expanded.html> on Jan 12, 2024 9:49:36 AM
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13. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. (2000, February). *Commerce in Firearms in the United States*. 20. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, U. S. Department of Justice.
14. Only Type 01 and Type 02 dealers are eligible to receive DL2s, so this number is out of all active Type 01 and Type 02 FFLs in December 2021 and, since December 2022 data was unavailable, January 2023. See: Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. (2023). *Federal Firearms Listings*. ATF.gov. <https://www.atf.gov/firearms/listing-federal-firearms-licensees>.
15. Demand 2 Letter Sheet: <https://s3.amazonaws.com/brady-static/Public-Version-Demand-2-Letter-Sheet-Upload.xlsx>
16. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. (2000, February). *Commerce in Firearms in the United States*.
17. Note: All mentions of “DL2 dealers” in this report only include dealers that qualified for the Demand 2 program in that year. Thus, dealers that got DL2 removal letters (which notify the dealer that they did not have enough low TTC traces in the last calendar year to be included in the Demand 2 program for this year) were not counted as DL2 dealers for that year.
18. The fact that a dealer is not in the DL2 program does not necessarily mean that a dealer did not have crime guns traced to them that year, or that they have good business practices.
19. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. (2023). *NFCTA: Crime Guns - Volume Two*. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. Retrieved January 11, 2024, from <https://www.atf.gov/firearms/national-firearms-commerce-and-trafficking-assessment-nfcta-crime-guns-volume-two>.
20. Agency Information Collection Activities; Proposed eCollection eComments Requested; Report of Firearms Transactions—Demand 2 (ATF Form 5300.5), 83 F.R. 26091 (proposed June 5, 2018). <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2018/06/05/2018-12049/agency-information-collection-activities-proposed-ecollection-ecomments-requested-report-of-firearms>
21. Pierce, G. L., Briggs, L., & Carlson, D. A. (1995). The Identification of Patterns in Firearms Trafficking: Implications for Focused Enforcement Strategy. *Northeastern University*.
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26. "All eligible dealers" refers to active FFLs of either the pawn (Type O2) or retail (Type O1) type, as of December 2021 and, since December 2022 data is unavailable, January 2023. See: Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. (2023). *Federal Firearms Listings*. ATF.gov. <https://www.atf.gov/firearms/listing-federal-firearms-licensees>.

27. Wintemute, G. J., Cook, P. J., & Wright, M. A. (2005). Risk factors among handgun retailers for frequent and disproportionate sales of guns used in violent and firearm related crimes. *Injury Prevention*, 11(6), 357–363. <https://doi.org/10.1136/ip.2005.009969>.

28. Wintemute G. J. (2009). Disproportionate sales of crime guns among licensed handgun retailers in the United States: a case-control study. *Injury prevention: Journal of the International Society for Child and Adolescent Injury Prevention*, 15(5), 291–299. <https://doi.org/10.1136/ip.2007.017301>.

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30. These chains all have a large variety of brand and regional names, so whether a store was part of a chain was considered using mailing address information and dealer statements online.

31. City and County of San Francisco Employees' Retirement System, Retirement Board Calendar Sheet, Board Meeting of October 14, 2020 (2020). Retrieved January 11, 2024, from <https://cdn.mysfers.org/uploads/2020/10/10142020-10-Firearms.pdf>.

32. City and County of San Francisco Employees' Retirement System, Retirement Board Calendar Sheet, Board Meeting of November 10, 2020 (2021). Retrieved January 11, 2024, from <https://cdn.mysfers.org/uploads/2021/11/111021-13-Divestment-Firearms.pdf>.

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34. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. (2000). *ATF Report to the Secretary of the Treasury on Firearms Initiative*.

35. Indeed, in its allocation of enforcement resources, ATF announced

that dealers with ten or more traces to them in 1999 would be subject to intensive inspections, without regard to sales volume. *Id.*

36. Wintemute G. J. (2009). Disproportionate sales of crime guns among licensed handgun retailers in the United States: a case-control study. *Injury prevention: Journal of the International Society for Child and Adolescent Injury Prevention*, 15(5), 291–299. <https://doi.org/10.1136/ip.2007.017301>

37. See both: Vernick, J. S., & Webster, D. W. (2013). Curtailing dangerous sales practices by licensed firearm dealers: Legal opportunities and obstacles. In *Reducing Gun Violence in America: Informing Policy with Evidence and Analysis* (Vol. 9781421411118, pp. 133-140). The Johns Hopkins University Press.; and Webster, D. W., & Vernick, J. S. (2013). Spurring responsible firearms sales practices through litigation: The impact of New York City's lawsuits against gun dealers on interstate gun trafficking. In *Reducing Gun Violence in America: Informing Policy with Evidence and Analysis* (Vol. 9781421411118, pp. 123-131). The Johns Hopkins University Press.

38. Under federal law, gun dealers have the discretion to proceed with gun sales after three business days, even if the customer's background check has not yet been completed. See 18 U.S.C. § 922(t)(1)(B)(ii). This loophole is known as the Charleston loophole because it is how the shooter who committed the racist Emanuel AME Church shooting in Charleston, South Carolina, obtained his firearm. See: Kates, G. (2021, February 4). "The Charleston Loophole": Purchases by people barred from buying guns skyrocketed in 2020. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/gun-purchases-charleston-loophole-2020>.

39. Brady. (n.d.). *Gun dealer code of conduct*. Brady. Retrieved January 3 2024, from <https://www.bradyunited.org/program/combating-crime-guns/gun-dealer-code-of-conduct>.

40. California Department of Justice, CRIME GUNS IN CALIFORNIA Mandated Reporting Statistics AB 1191 Legislative Report (2023). Retrieved January 12, 2024, from <https://oag.ca.gov/system/files/attachments/press-docs/AB%201191%20Crime%20Gun%20Report.pdf>.

41. Shoot Point Blank changed its name to Range USA with its re-brand completed in spring of 2022. For conciseness and clarity, this section will use only "Range USA" when referring to one of the chain's stores; we note that in our sources that predate this change, the store may have been referred to as "Shoot Point Blank." See Range USA. (2021, December 1). Shoot Point Blank Re-branding to Range USA(™). RangeUSA.com. Retrieved January 12, 2024, from https://rangeusa.com/download.php?file_id=19850.

42. U.S. Attorney's Office, Northern District of Illinois. (2022, February 3). *Man Indicted for Allegedly Straw Purchasing 27 Handguns From Stores in the Chicago Suburbs* [Press release]. Retrieved December 2023, from <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndil/pr/man-indicted-allegedly-straw-purchasing-27-handguns-stores-chicago-suburbs-0>; Indict., U.S. v. Johnson, No. 22-cr-53 (N.D. Ill. Jan. 27, 2022) (Dkt. 1); Plea Agmt., id. (July 1, 2022) (Dkt. 22); Govt's Sent'g Mem., id. (Oct. 12, 2022) (Dkt. 26).

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44. Am. Stip. Fact. Basis at 2, U.S. v. *Henderson*, No. 21-cr-168 (S.D. Ind. July 26, 2023) (Dkt. 58).

45. See *id.*; Indict., id. (June 2, 2021) (Dkt. 1); Pet. to Enter Plea of Guilty

& Plea Agmt., *id.* (Apr. 17, 2023) (Dkt. 49); see also U.S. Attorney's Office, Southern District of Indiana. (2023, July 31). *Man Sentenced to Federal Prison After Using Instagram to Illegally Sell Guns, Including to a Minor* [Press release]. Retrieved December 2023, from <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdin/pr/man-sentenced-federal-prison-after-using-instagram-illegally-sell-guns-including-minor>.

46. See *Crim. Compl., U.S. v. Rivas-Chairez et al.*, No. 22-cr-288 (N.D. Tex. Aug. 29, 2022) (Dkt. 1); *Fact. Res., id.* (Oct. 5, 2022) (Dkt. 37); *Tr. of Sent'g, id.* (July 25, 2023) (Dkt. 99); *Crim. Compl., U.S. v. Lara et al.*, No. 23-mj-613 (N.D. Tex. Aug. 22, 2023) (Dkt. 1).

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51. In this study, strong regulation and oversight of gun dealers is defined as states with laws that require: state or local licensing of retail gun sellers; mandatory record-keeping; law enforcement access to records for inspection and regular inspections of gun dealers; and mandated reporting of firearms theft or loss. Webster, D. W., Vernick, J. S., & Bulzacchelli, M. T. (2009). Effects of state-level firearm seller accountability policies on Firearm Trafficking. *Journal of Urban Health*, 86(4), 525–537. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-009-9351-x>

52. Mayors Against Illegal Guns. (2010). (rep.). *Trace the Guns: The Link Between Gun Laws and Interstate Gun Trafficking*.

53. Of note, Virginia passed a host of gun safety laws in 2020 and 2021 aimed at combating trafficking. These laws include universal background checks, a limit of one handgun purchase per month, and extending the amount of time a dealer must wait for a background check result before they can sell a gun without hearing back. See: Astor, M. (2022, November 23). Virginia, longtime gun-rights bastion, recently tightened its firearms laws. *The New York Times*. Retrieved January 23, 2024, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/23/us/virginia-gun-laws-restrictions.html>.; Virginia General Assembly. *Chapter 31, 2021 Special Session I Acts of Assembly*. (2021). <https://lis.virginia.gov/cgi-bin/legp604.exe?212+ful+CHAP0031>.

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Volume Two. Retrieved January 11, 2024, from <https://www.atf.gov/firearms/national-firearms-commerce-and-trafficking-assessment-nfcta-crime-guns-volume-two>.

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57. N.J. Admin. Code § 13:54-3.11, §§ 13:54-6.2–13:54-6.5.

58. N.J. Stat. Ann. § 2C:58-2b; N.J. Admin. Code § 13:54-6.2e.

59. N.J. Stat. Ann. § 2C:58-2a(7).

60. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. (2023). *NFCTA: Crime Guns - Volume Two*. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. Retrieved January 11, 2024, from <https://www.atf.gov/firearms/national-firearms-commerce-and-trafficking-assessment-nfcta-crime-guns-volume-two>.

61. Georgia and South Carolina repealed their dealer licensing laws in 2014 and 2012, respectively. See Ga. H.B. 60 (2014), <https://www.legis.ga.gov/api/legislation/document/20132014/144825>.; 2012 S.C. Act No. 285, § 2.

62. ATF data on crime guns sourced from state and recovered in crimes out of state, 2021 and 2022; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. (2022). *Number of Firearms Sourced and Recovered in the United States and Territories, 2021*. ATF.gov. Retrieved December 3, 2023 at <https://www.atf.gov/resource-center/firearms-trace-data-2021>.; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. (2023). *Number of Firearms Sourced and Recovered in the United States and Territories, 2022*. ATF.gov. Retrieved December 3, 2023 at <https://www.atf.gov/resource-center/firearms-trace-data-2022>.

63. Further, although Georgia was not a top 5 source state for guns recovered in California, California was a top recovery state for Georgia-sourced guns — over 1,800 guns sourced from Georgia dealers were recovered in California; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. (2023). *NFCTA: Crime Guns - Volume Two, Georgia Supplemental Report*. Retrieved January 3, 2024, from <https://www.atf.gov/firearms/docs/report/georgia-state-report/download>.

64. Numbers of active Type 01 and Type 02 dealers (only ones eligible to receive DL2s) as of December 2021 and, since December 2022 data was unavailable, January 2023. See: Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. (2023). *Federal Firearms Listings*. ATF.gov. <https://www.atf.gov/firearms/listing-federal-firearms-licensees>.

65. ATF data on crime guns sourced from state and recovered in crimes out of state, 2021 and 2022 Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. (2022). *Number of Firearms Sourced and Recovered in the United States and Territories, 2021*. ATF.gov. Retrieved December 3, 2023 at <https://www.atf.gov/resource-center/firearms-trace-data-2021>.; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. (2023). *Number of Firearms Sourced and Recovered in the United States and Territories, 2022*. ATF.gov. Retrieved December 3, 2023 at <https://www.atf.gov/resource-center/firearms-trace-data-2022>.

66. See, e.g., N.Y. Off. of Att'y Gen., *Target on Trafficking: New York Crime Gun Analysis* 28 (2016), <https://targettrafficking.ag.ny.gov/trafficking-report.pdf>; Cassie, R. (2020, November). The Iron Pipeline: The High-Capacity Handguns Fueling Baltimore's Epidemic Of Violence Increasingly Enter The City Through An Underground Network Of Out-Of-State Traffickers. Can Anything Be Done To Turn Off The Spigot? *Baltimore Magazine*. Retrieved January 12, 2024, from <https://www.baltimoremagazine.com/section/community/iron-pipeline-gun-violence-out-of-state-traffickers/>

67. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. (2023). *NFCTA: Crime Guns - Volume Two*. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. Retrieved January 11, 2024, from <https://www.atf.gov/firearms/national-firearms-commerce-and-trafficking-assessment-nfcta-crime-guns-volume-two>.
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69. How many they supplied in other years is unknown, other than the 25 minimum a year they must have supplied to get a DL2. See: Americans for Gun Safety Foundation. (2004). (rep.). *Selling Crime: High Crime Gun Stores Fuel Criminals*.
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72. The "19th" rank does not include manufacturers. Arrowhead was the 19th largest dealer when compared to all traditional direct-to-consumer dealers, such as retail (Type 01) and pawnbroker (Type 03) dealers. See: Americans for Gun Safety Foundation. (2004). (rep.). *Selling Crime: High Crime Gun Stores Fuel Criminals*.
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78. See Indict., *U.S. v. Robertson, III, et al.*, No. 20-cr-229 (N.D. Ga. June 24, 2020) (Dkt. 1).
79. See Indict., *U.S. v. Norman et al.*, No. 22-cr-98 (E.D. Pa. Mar. 17, 2022) (Dkt. 1).
80. See Aff. in Supp. of Compl., *U.S. v. Smith*, No. 20-mj-114 (N.D. Ga. Feb. 11, 2020) (Dkt. 1).
81. U.S. Attorney's Office, Northern District of Georgia. (2022, September 30). *Convicted felon sentenced to federal prison for trafficking firearms* [Press release]. Retrieved May 2023, from <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndga/pr/convicted-felon-sentenced-federal-prison-trafficking-firearms>.
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83. See Crim. Indict., *U.S. v. Sargeant et al.*, No. 20-cr-495 (N.D. Ga. Dec. 15, 2020) (Dkt. 15); U.S. Attorney's Office, Northern District of Georgia. (2022, June 6). *Third defendant Sentenced for Trafficking Guns to Barbados* [Press release]. Retrieved May 2023, from <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndga/pr/third-defendant-sentenced-trafficking-guns-barbados>.
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