

Issue: Gun Violence Prevention

## Gun Violence Prevention in Virginia

### Summary

Gun violence prevention has long been a political hot-button issue in Virginia politics. The Commonwealth has been the site of horrific high-profile shootings including the Virginia Tech massacre of 2007—still the worst school shooting in U.S. history<sup>1</sup>, the on-air murder of reporter Alison Parker and cameraman Adam Ward in 2015<sup>2</sup>, and the 2016 murder of Prince William County police officer Ashley Guindon, responding to a domestic-violence call on her first day of duty.<sup>3</sup> Virginia’s gun laws are among the weakest in the country, with the state ranking in the top 10 percent for guns purchased in state which subsequently were used to commit crimes in other states.<sup>4</sup> Yet a majority Virginians favor stronger gun laws, with 91 percent of Democrats and 88 percent of Republicans supporting universal background checks on all gun sales.<sup>5</sup> Resolving this deadly disconnect between Virginia’s citizens and its lawmakers is long-overdue.

### Absence of Meaningful Regulation

Statistics on innumerable levels indicate that gun violence correlates strongly with a state’s gun regulations<sup>6</sup>. States with strong gun regulation have less gun violence and fewer gun-related deaths and suicides. Virginia has far weaker gun regulation than many other states. It **does not**:<sup>78</sup>

- **Require a background check** prior to the transfer of a gun between unlicensed individuals;
- **Regulate the number of handguns that can be purchased in a single month** (repealed a one-gun limitation in 2011)
- **Require gun owners to report lost or stolen guns**;
- **Require gun dealers, purchasers, or owners to obtain a state license**;
- **Regulate the transfer or possession of 50 caliber rifles** or large capacity ammunition magazines;
- **Impose a waiting period** prior to purchasing a gun; or
- **Regulate unsafe handguns** (“junk guns” or “Saturday night specials”).

Every 10 hours<sup>9</sup>, a person is killed with a gun in Virginia in cases that involve suicide, domestic violence, accidental shootings, or interpersonal disputes.<sup>10</sup> The gun death rates in Richmond and Roanoke are more than 50 percent higher than the statewide average and the rate in Alexandria is 71 percent higher. Communities of color bear a particularly heavy burden of this violence: While African Americans make up nearly 20 percent of the population, they account for approximately 66 percent of gun homicide victims in Virginia.<sup>11</sup>

But gun violence is much more than a political issue; it is a public-health crisis. In addition to these devastating deaths due to gun violence, a substantial number of Virginians survive gunshot wounds every year and face years of physical, mental, and emotional recovery from their injuries. According to the Virginia Department of Health, from 2005 to 2014, 5,532 people were non-fatally shot and treated in Virginia hospitals, at a total cost of more than \$336 million.<sup>12</sup>

In 2016, Attorney General Mark Herring (D) decided to stop Virginia’s practice of recognizing concealed carry handgun permits with 25 states that had weaker regulations. (Later, this decision was overturned by the compromise deal McAuliffe made with the Republicans. See legislation section

below.) Areas with the most Democratic voters — Northern Virginia and Hampton Roads — supported the decision to limit concealed carry handgun permits as did voters likely to vote for Democrats, including women. On the question of making private gun sales and sales at gun shows subject to background checks, 88 percent of voters are supportive. “These data suggest that Democrats who campaign on gun control in Virginia will be dependent upon key elements of their electorate showing up to vote: women, minorities, independents, and voters under 45,” said Quentin Kidd, a CNU political scientist and pollster. “These voters explain why Democrats are more eager to talk about gun control.”<sup>13</sup>

During Governor Terry McAuliffe’s tenure, 16 percent of the 120 bills he vetoed were related to firearms. Among these were ones that would have lowered the minimum age of eligibility for a concealed-carry permit, weakened the law regarding safe storage of guns by foster parents and eliminated the ability for state agencies to prevent employees from storing guns in their cars.

## Adverse Effect on Other States

Virginia had a statute on its books for more than 19 years requiring that a person could only buy one gun per month. In 2012, when Republicans controlled the state legislatures and the governorship, they repealed that law with far-reaching consequences for other states. State Delegate Scott Lingamfelter (R) was the sponsor of the bill (He was voted out in 2017).

Illegal gun traffickers boast that Virginia is a great place for business. A trafficker was caught on a wiretap saying: “There’s no limit to how many guns I can go buy from the store. I can go get 20 guns from the store tomorrow... I can do that Monday through Friday...They might start looking at me, but in Virginia, our laws are so little, I can give guns away.”<sup>14</sup>

New York is particularly affected. There has been an investigation of a gun-trafficking ring that operates up the Interstate 95 corridor from Virginia to New York. On March 8, 2017, the Brooklyn District Attorney’s Office announced a 627-count indictment charging 24 people, some with violent criminal records and alleged ties to the Bloods street gang. Authorities recovered 217 guns, including assault weapons and a Thompson submachine gun. Most of those arrested were from Virginia.<sup>15</sup>

## The Virginia Center for Public Safety’s Priorities:<sup>16</sup>

### 1. Keep Guns from Ineligible Buyers:

Current Virginia law requires Federally Licensed Firearm dealers (FFLs) to complete background checks on prospective gun buyers, but, unlicensed sellers may sell any number and type of guns yet are not required to perform a background check on the buyers. Background checks on buyers should be required for all commercial gun sales and permanent transfers outside the immediate family of the seller, including: sales at gun shows, pawn shops and sales through newspapers or online ads.

### 2. Prohibit Possession of Guns by Convicted Domestic Abusers:

Persons who have been convicted of domestic violence or stalking should not be permitted to own or possess firearms, even when guilt is deferred (Va. Code 18.2–57.3). Virginia law should conform to federal law in order to allow Virginia authorities to keep guns from those convicted of any form of domestic violence.

### **3. Create a Gun Violence Restraining Order**

Create a restraining order with a judicial pathway similar to domestic violence protective orders. It would allow family members to request police petition the courts to temporarily remove firearms from the possession of a person who is experiencing a crisis which could lead to suicide or violence.

### **4. Keep guns out of schools:**

In 2004 the Virginia General Assembly allowed local school divisions to interpret the Virginia code regarding guns on school property. Virginia code should be conformed to federal law prohibiting guns on school property. In the interest of public safety, colleges and universities should also be allowed to prohibit guns on their campuses.

### **5. Strengthen the Concealed Handgun Permit process:**

Virginia should adopt a uniform standard of background check using the Virginia State Police Firearms Transaction Program. In addition, applicants should be required to complete both an in-person classroom session, to learn the laws governing the carrying and use of a concealed handgun, as well as a professionally supervised “live fire” training and skills test conducted at a gun range.

### **6. Preserve the drinking ban on concealed handgun permit holders and extend it to open carriers:**

Alcohol and firearms make a dangerous mix. In the interest of public safety, concealed handgun permit holders should not be permitted to consume alcohol in Alcoholic Beverage Control (ABC)-licensed premises where they are now legally allowed to carry handguns. Virginia law should include this same prohibition on alcohol consumption for citizens who “open carry” firearms, both publicly and in ABC licensed premises.

### **7. Strengthen Child Access Prevention (CAP) laws:**

Rewrite Virginia CAP law to ensure that adult gun owners are prosecuted whenever a minor (<18 years old) uses a firearm that was not stored in a safe manner designed to limit access by minors. Some exemptions could be made for situations where a minor defeated the storage methods by unlocking a gun safe or by removing a properly secured trigger lock.

## **Bills Introduced for Gun Violence Prevention**

On the topic of gun legislation, the stark differences between Democrats and Republicans in the Virginia General Assembly are easily seen in the types of bills they sponsored. The Republican response to gun violence is more guns in more places.<sup>17</sup> Republican-sponsored legislation—none of which became law—included bills which would have:

- Automatically issued a concealed handgun permit to a nonresident whose application for concealed carry wasn't processed or disqualified within 90 days (HB 2253 in 2019)
- Repealed the prohibition on carrying a weapon to a church service, a ban that has been on the books since 1950<sup>18</sup> (SB 1024 in 2019 and SB 372 in 2018)
- Allowed concealed carry for firefighters and emergency medical services personnel (SB 1012 in 2019 and SB 715 in 2018).

Democrats, on the other hand, have sought to reduce gun violence through common-sense regulation. Their efforts usually die in Republican-controlled committees. Prominent among these efforts were attempts to ban bump stock devices (SB 1008 and SB 1163, both in 2019). Other unsuccessful Democratic-sponsored legislation aimed at curbing gun violence would have<sup>19</sup>:

- Required the reporting of a lost or stolen firearm within 24 hours (HB 1644 in 2019)
- Prohibited the import, sale, or barter of transfer of firearms magazines that can hold more than 10 rounds of ammunition (SB 1748 in 2019)
- Prohibited the purchase of more than one handgun in a 30-day period (SB 1034 and HB 2604, both in 2019)
- Created a legal process by which a Virginia lawyer or law officer could apply to have a person who poses a substantial risk of injury to himself or others to be prohibited from purchasing or possessing a firearm ("red-flag bill" HB 1763 in 2019).

Republicans killed each one of these common-sense bills.

*It is critical to know how elected representatives voted, and support those who will make Virginians safer.*

Year	Bill	Synopsis	Sponsor	Vote or Status
2019	HB 2253 Concealed gun permits	Would have resulted in the automatic issuance of a concealed handgun permit to a nonresident if their application to carry a concealed handgun wasn't processed or disqualified within 90 days. In his veto, the Governor highlighted his concern for public safety—the bill would have enabled ineligible nonresidents to obtain concealed carry permits.  <a href="https://bluevirginia.us/2019/03/governor-northam-vetoes-bill-to-issue-de-facto-concealed-handgun-permits">https://bluevirginia.us/2019/03/governor-northam-vetoes-bill-to-issue-de-facto-concealed-handgun-permits</a> <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/hb2253/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/hb2253/</a>	Pogge (R)	Vetoed by Gov. Northam (D)  Passed in both chambers along party lines.  House vote: 50Y, 48N  Senate vote: 21 Y, 19 N
2019	SB 1008  (Same as 2018 bills SB 1 and HB 41)  Guns Bump stock ban	Would have prohibited the manufacture, sale, transfer or possession of devices which increase the rate of fire of firearms. A bump stock was used in the 2017 Las Vegas concert massacre, the deadliest mass shooting in US history.  <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/18/us/politics/trump-bump-stocks-ban.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/18/us/politics/trump-bump-stocks-ban.html</a> <a href="https://www.cnn.com/2013/09/16/us/20-deadliest-mass-shootings-in-u-s-history-fast-facts/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2013/09/16/us/20-deadliest-mass-shootings-in-u-s-history-fast-facts/index.html</a> <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1008/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1008/</a> <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2018/sb1/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2018/sb1/</a> <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2018/hb41/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2018/hb41/</a>	Ebbin (D) Levine (D)	2019: Died in committee  2018: Both bills died in committee

2019	SB 1024  (Same as 2018 bill SB 372)  Guns Guns in churches	Would have repealed the prohibition on carrying a gun or other dangerous weapon to a place of worship while a religious service is taking place. The law this bill sought to overturn has been on the books since 1950. <a href="https://vacode.org/18.2-283.txt">https://vacode.org/18.2-283.txt</a> <a href="https://www.delmarvanow.com/story/news/local/virginia/2019/02/27/virginia-house-blocks-bill-allow-guns-church/2988650002/">https://www.delmarvanow.com/story/news/local/virginia/2019/02/27/virginia-house-blocks-bill-allow-guns-church/2988650002/</a> <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1024/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1024/</a> <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2018/sb372/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2018/sb372/</a>	Black (R) LaRock (R) Chapin (R) Chase (R)	Died in committee  2019 (SB 1024): Senate: Passed along party lines 21Y, 19N House: Died in committee.
2019	HB 1763	Extreme Risk Protection Order prohibiting dangerous people from accessing guns  Created a legal process by which a Virginia lawyer or law officer could apply to have a person who poses a substantial risk of injury to himself or others to be prohibited from purchasing or possessing a firearm ("red-flag bill") <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/hb1763/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/hb1763/</a>	Sullivan (D) Hurst (D)	Died in committee
2019	SB 1034 SB 1446 HB 2604	Restore limit of one handgun per month repealed in 2012  Would have reinstated Virginia's previous ban on individuals purchasing more than one gun per month. Gun traffickers have been taking advantage of the Commonwealth's lax guns laws since the previous ban was repealed in 2012; that ban had been in place for nearly twenty years.  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/sensing-an-opening-virginia-governor-revives-push-for-gun-control/2019/01/04/b1636280-103f-11e9-8938-5898adc28fa2_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/sensing-an-opening-virginia-governor-revives-push-for-gun-control/2019/01/04/b1636280-103f-11e9-8938-5898adc28fa2_story.html</a> <a href="https://bluevirginia.us/2019/02/richmond-republicans-answer-to-gun-violence-more-guns-in-more-places">https://bluevirginia.us/2019/02/richmond-republicans-answer-to-gun-violence-more-guns-in-more-places</a> <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1446/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1446/</a> <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1034/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1034/</a> <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/hb2604/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/hb2604/</a>	Ward (D) Locke (D)	Died in committee

2019	SB 1012  (Same as 2018 bill SB 715)	Would have permitted firefighters and emergency medical services personnel to carry a concealed handgun. (Approval for such concealed carry by an individual's fire chief or emergency medical services chief would have been required.) <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1012/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1012/</a> <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2018/sb715/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2018/sb715/</a>	Chase (R)	Senate: Passed along party lines 21Y, 19N  House: Died in committee
2019	SB 1096	Increase penalty for insecurely storing weapons, particularly as it endanger minors <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1096/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2019/sb1096/</a>	McClellan (D) McPike (D)	Voted down in committee
<b>Bills Introduced in Prior Years</b>				
2018	SB 372	Allow concealed weapons in churches	Chafin (R)	Died in committee
2018	HB 498	Eliminates recent expansion of recognition of concealed carry permits from other states  Eliminates the recent expansion of the recognition of concealed handgun permits issued by other states and reinstates the prior law that provides that Virginia will recognize concealed handgun permits issued by other states that (i) provide a 24-hour-a-day means of verification of the validity of the permits issued in that state and (ii) have requirements and qualifications that are adequate to prevent possession of a permit by persons who would be denied a permit in Virginia. <a href="https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2018/hb498/">https://www.richmondsunlight.com/bill/2018/hb498/</a>	Simon (R) Simon (D) Carr (D) Guzman (D) Hope (D) Kory (D) Price (D) Watts (D)	Bill failed, died in committee
2018	SB 5 SB 385	Require background checks for all gun sales, including private sales at gun shows or online	Ebbin (D) Edwards (D) Lucas (D) Wexton (D) Surovell (D)	Bills killed
2017	HB 1852 / SB 1299	Allow those with protective orders to carry a concealed weapon without a permit	Gilbert (R) Vogel (R)	Vetoed by McAuliffe (D)
2017	HB 1853 / SB 1300	Provide funds for firearms safety and training for victims of domestic violence and sexual abuse	Gilbert (R) Vogel (R)	Vetoed by McAuliffe (D)
2017	SB 1023	Prohibit sharing of concealed carry permit information with states that do not allow concealed carry	Stuart (R)	Vetoed by McAuliffe (D)
2017	SB 1315	Allow foster parents to carry firearms	Carrico (R)	Vetoed by McAuliffe (D)
2017	SB 1362	Allow military members to carry concealed weapons without a permit	Black (R)	Vetoed by McAuliffe (D)
2017	HB 1392	Allow specific school security officers to carry a firearm on school property.	Lingamfelt er (R)	Enacted

2016	HB 1234	Allow retired police officers to carry weapons on school campuses	Lingamfelt er (R)	Vetoed by McAuliffe (D) Survived veto override attempt <i>by 1 vote</i>
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## NRA Influence on Virginia’s Republican State Delegates

A Pew Research Center poll released on June 22, 2017, showed that about 9 out of 10 Americans favor preventing the mentally ill from buying guns. A majority favor requiring background checks for private gun sales and at gun shows; broken down by 91 percent of Democrats, 79 percent of Republicans nationwide.<sup>20</sup> And as stated at the outset, within Virginia a majority of Virginians favor stronger gun laws, with 91 percent of Democrats and 88 percent Republicans supporting universal background checks on all gun sales.<sup>21</sup>

The Republican-dominated Virginia state legislature has killed legislation that would implement popular regulations on who can buy guns and how guns are purchased, ignoring the will of the people. Headquartered in Virginia—not too coincidentally—the NRA is a major funder of political campaigns in statewide U.S. House and Senate races, as well as local VA House and Senate campaigns.

## NRA Contributions to Candidates

According to the Virginia Public Access Project (VPAP)<sup>22</sup>, the NRA has invested \$52,546 in the House Republican Campaign Committee and \$16,850 in the VA Senate Republican Caucus. The following list is the State Senators and Delegates who have accepted the most direct money from the NRA going back five years (not including subsidiaries and PACs):<sup>23</sup>

- Senator Bryce Reeves (R – 17th District): \$5,000
- Delegate Michael Weibert (R – 18th District): \$3,550
- Senator John Cosgrove (R – 14th District): \$3,417
- Delegate Tag Greason (R – 32nd District): \$2,750
- Senator Jill Vogel (R – 27th District): \$2,500
- Senator Bill Stanley (R – 20th District): \$2,250
- Delegate Timothy Hugo (R -40th District): \$2,000
- Delegate Kirk Cox (R- 66th District): \$1,500
- Delegate Dave LaRock (R – 33rd District): \$1,250
- Delegate Thomas Wright (R – 61st District): \$1,250
- Delegate David Yancey (R – 94th District): \$1,250
- Senator Mark Obenshain (R – 26th District): \$1,000
- Delegate Mike Watson (R -93rd District): \$1,000

## Ideas Regarding Gun Violence Reduction

The idea that gun violence is a necessary evil in order to protect other rights granted by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment is misdirected. The idea of arming a militia is one thing, the idea of arming a person with a history of mental illness or someone purchasing a cache of weapons to transport across state lines is quite another. If Virginia is serious about protecting their citizens *as well as* the rights of gun owners, then the time for creative solutions and a working agreement on how to move forward is upon us. Virginia has been the lead in personal rights and responsibilities since the time of Thomas

Jefferson—it would behoove the state to step up and lead the nation in workable approaches to prevent gun violence and consider the following:

### **1. Require Universal Background Checks; Keep Guns from Mentally Ill and Dangerous People.**

- 91% of Virginia voters support background checks on all gun sales.
- The 32 murders at Virginia Tech were preventable, since the shooter had a history of mental illness and would not have been able to buy a gun in states with stronger background checks.
- The *Washington Post* documented twelve crimes committed in Washington D.C. in twelve weeks with a gun purchased in Virginia in an article titled “Virginia is still the go-to state for criminals shopping for illegal guns”.<sup>24</sup>

Current Virginia law requires licensed weapons dealers to complete background checks on prospective gun buyers. However, unlicensed sellers may sell any number and type of guns and are not required to perform a background check on the buyers of their guns. More than 20 percent of gun sales occur in private transactions, with no background check and no waiting period.<sup>25</sup>

Background checks on buyers should be required for all commercial gun sales and permanent transfers of ownership outside the immediate family of the seller, including: sales at gun shows, pawn shops and sales through newspapers or online ads.

### **2. Create a Gun Violence Restraining Order — a ‘Red Flag’ Law**

Reduce gun violence by keeping Virginians from killing themselves and their families. Empower family members to request an extreme risk protection order. Akin to a restraining order for domestic violence victims, the protection order gives the police the power to temporarily remove someone’s guns if the person makes threats, acts violently, abuses drugs, or is cruel to animals. The order lets police temporarily remove firearms from a person experiencing a crisis which could lead to suicide or violence. This type of protection order might have kept Seung-Hui Cho from his guns and could have prevented the mass shooting at Virginia Tech in 2007.

- 70% of gun deaths in Virginia are suicides. Gun availability increases the risk of suicide.<sup>26</sup>
- Waiting periods for the purchase of guns can reduce gun-related suicides by 40%.<sup>27</sup> Virginia does not have a mandatory waiting period for buying a gun.
- In 2016, 39 minors were killed in gun violence in Virginia; between 2012 to 2016, 865 people under age 25 were killed with a gun in Virginia.<sup>28</sup>
- Access to improperly stored guns increases the chances that fights become deadly.

### **3. Hold Gun Owners Accountable for Damage Caused by Their Weapons**

*Car owners are responsible for damage caused by their vehicles; gun owners should be responsible for deaths caused by their weapons.*

- The Republican legislature killed SB1084, which would have made gun owners responsible for storing guns safely.<sup>29</sup>
- Virginia tracks car registrations and has age and skill requirements for drivers. But it is among the states with the weakest oversight of gun sales, receiving a grade of “D” from the Giffords Law Center. Virginia Republicans have opposed all gun safety legislation including the Brady Bill.<sup>30</sup>



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- <sup>1</sup> <https://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/deadliest-school-shootings-u-s-history-article-1.3821513>
- <sup>2</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2015/08/26/us/alison-parker-adam-ward-wdbj-profile/index.html>
- <sup>3</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/officers-injured-in-shooting-incident-in-prince-william-county/2016/02/27/851c92b0-ddb5-11e5-925f-1d10062cc82d\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.fd222e0458e2](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/officers-injured-in-shooting-incident-in-prince-william-county/2016/02/27/851c92b0-ddb5-11e5-925f-1d10062cc82d_story.html?utm_term=.fd222e0458e2)
- <sup>4</sup> <https://lawcenter.giffords.org/gun-laws/state-law/virginia/>
- <sup>5</sup> <https://poll.qu.edu/virginia/release-detail?ReleaseID=2468>
- <sup>6</sup> <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/10/2/16399418/us-gun-violence-statistics-maps-charts>
- <sup>7</sup> <https://lawcenter.giffords.org/scorecard/>
- <sup>8</sup> <https://lawcenter.giffords.org/gun-laws/state-law/virginia/>
- <sup>9</sup> <https://s3.amazonaws.com/interactives.americanprogress.org/maps/raphael/AmericaUnderFire/pdfs/VA-GunViolence-factsheet.pdf>
- <sup>10</sup> <https://s3.amazonaws.com/interactives.americanprogress.org/maps/raphael/AmericaUnderFire/pdfs/VA-GunViolence-factsheet.pdf>
- <sup>11</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/virginia-needs-a-governor-who-can-keep-standing-up-to-the-nra/2017/09/29/a7cleafc-9e3b-11e7-8eal-ed975285475e\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.a513246352d6](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/virginia-needs-a-governor-who-can-keep-standing-up-to-the-nra/2017/09/29/a7cleafc-9e3b-11e7-8eal-ed975285475e_story.html?utm_term=.a513246352d6)
- <sup>12</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/virginia-needs-a-governor-who-can-keep-standing-up-to-the-nra/2017/09/29/a7cleafc-9e3b-11e7-8eal-ed975285475e\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.a513246352d6](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/virginia-needs-a-governor-who-can-keep-standing-up-to-the-nra/2017/09/29/a7cleafc-9e3b-11e7-8eal-ed975285475e_story.html?utm_term=.a513246352d6)
- <sup>13</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/partisan-divide-clear-on-gun-control-and-medicaid-poll-shows/2016/02/10/afde27aa-d060-11e5-abc9-ea152f0b9561\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.18c46148521b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/partisan-divide-clear-on-gun-control-and-medicaid-poll-shows/2016/02/10/afde27aa-d060-11e5-abc9-ea152f0b9561_story.html?utm_term=.18c46148521b)
- <sup>14</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/virginia-earns-bragging-rights--as-the-best-state-for-illegal-gun-trafficking/2017/03/10/eeb210da-0508-11e7-b1e9-a05d3c21f7cf\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.b11bc79f213a](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/virginia-earns-bragging-rights--as-the-best-state-for-illegal-gun-trafficking/2017/03/10/eeb210da-0508-11e7-b1e9-a05d3c21f7cf_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.b11bc79f213a)
- <sup>15</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/virginia-earns-bragging-rights--as-the-best-state-for-illegal-gun-trafficking/2017/03/10/eeb210da-0508-11e7-b1e9-a05d3c21f7cf\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.189a2c16a4fb](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/virginia-earns-bragging-rights--as-the-best-state-for-illegal-gun-trafficking/2017/03/10/eeb210da-0508-11e7-b1e9-a05d3c21f7cf_story.html?utm_term=.189a2c16a4fb)
- <sup>16</sup> <https://www.vacps.org/news/posts/121-our-public-policy-priorities-for-2016>
- <sup>17</sup> <https://bluevirginia.us/2019/02/richmond-republicans-answer-to-gun-violence-more-guns-in-more-places>
- <sup>18</sup> <https://vacode.org/18.2-283.txt>
- <sup>19</sup> <https://bluevirginia.us/2019/02/how-terrible-was-the-2019-virginia-general-assembly-session-with-republicans-like-kirk-cox-and-tommy-norment-in-charge-take-a-guess>
- <sup>20</sup> <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/27/facts-about-guns-in-united-states/>
- <sup>21</sup> <https://poll.qu.edu/virginia/release-detail?ReleaseID=2468>
- <sup>22</sup> [https://www.vpap.org/donors/137269-national-rifle-association/?start\\_year=2012&end\\_year=2017&recip\\_type=all\\_state\\_cands](https://www.vpap.org/donors/137269-national-rifle-association/?start_year=2012&end_year=2017&recip_type=all_state_cands)
- <sup>23</sup> <https://rvamag.com/politics/virginia-politics/the-politicians-who-take-money-from-the-nra-in-virginia.html>
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- <sup>26</sup> <https://www.rand.org/research/gun-policy/analysis/supplementary/firearm-availability-suicide.html>
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- <sup>28</sup> <https://lawcenter.giffords.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Giffords-Law-Center-State-of-Gun-Violence-in-VIRGINIA.pdf>
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- <sup>30</sup> <https://www.npr.org/2018/02/19/566731477/chart-how-have-your-members-of-congress-voted-on-gun-bills>