BEYOND BULLET WOUNDS:
GUNS IN THE HANDS OF DOMESTIC ABUSERS
As the new year approached, couples around the world were preparing to celebrate. But Sara Schmidt had nothing to celebrate. Her 15 year marriage was rapidly dissolving; her husband Robert was becoming controlling, attaching a GPS tracking device to Sara’s car. When she confronted him about it, Robert tried to take his own life, but Sara intervened. On New Year’s Eve, after dropping their three young children off at their in-laws’ home, Robert and Sara returned home to get ready for a friend’s party. But rather than going to a party, Robert decided he wanted to “talk.” By the end of the “talk,” Robert tied her to the bed, threatened her with a gun he had bought just a day before, and violently assaulted her. Two days later, Sara went to the police. Robert was arrested and charged with felony kidnapping and sexual assault. The next day, he was released on $10,000 bond under certain conditions, including that he would be prohibited from having guns and could not contact his wife.

But that didn’t stop him. Four days later, Sara went to drop their children at her in-laws’ home for a planned visit. Sara’s estranged husband confronted her in the driveway with a handgun he bought online for $550 in cash. He shot and killed her within earshot of their 3, 8 and 11 year old children, who were just inside their grandparents’ home. He then led the police on a brief chase before using the gun to take his own life.

Sara’s story is not unusual in America: about 1,300 people die every year in murder-suicides in the United States, and 65 percent of murder-suicide incidents involve an intimate partner. The vast majority of these shootings are perpetrated by a man with a gun. In a country where 1 out of every 3 women and 1 out of every 4 men are victims of physical violence at the hands of an intimate partner in their lifetime, the issue of domestic violence cuts across racial, gender, economic, sexuality, age, and religious divides. In this report, we explore how the presence of a gun makes domestic violence even worse.

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Do you or someone you know need help or a safe place? There are confidential, easy to access resources available. Contact the National Domestic Violence Hotline at 1-800-799-SAFE or go to thehotline.org to chat without having to say a word. The National Sexual Assault Hotline at 1-800-656-HOPE is available to victims and survivors, and can refer you to a local crisis center.
The LGBTQ+ community reports high levels of intimate partner violence
Percentage of those who have been the victim of rape, physical violence, or stalking by a partner:

- **44%** of lesbian women
- **61%** of bisexual women
- **35%** of heterosexual women
- **26%** of gay men
- **37%** of bisexual men
- **29%** of heterosexual men

Up to 50% of transgender people have experienced intimate partner or dating violence.

- **35%** African American women experience intimate partner violence at a rate 35% higher than white women.
- **3x** American Indians are 3x more likely to experience sexual violence than any other ethnicity.
- **1/2** Over half of American Indian women report being the victim of sexual violence.
- **55%** of American Indian & Alaska Native women have been the victim of intimate partner violence in their lifetimes.
This year, over 10 million people will become the victims of physical abuse at the hands of an intimate partner. In 2016, nearly 1,000 women were murdered by a husband or boyfriend. Non-female identifying individuals are also the victims of domestic violence homicide, but these numbers are frequently not reported in the same way, or under-reported due to bias. Despite this, over a 30-year period, an estimated 71 percent of male murder victims were killed by an intimate partner.

Though both men and women are murdered by their intimate partners, how they are being murdered by partners differs. The most recent data shows that intimate partner homicides involving female victims are committed with guns, while male victims are most often killed with weapons other than guns. From 1980-2008, two-thirds of victims murdered by a spouse or ex-spouse were killed by guns. For women, that number was even higher. About 70 percent of women murdered by their spouse or ex-spouse during that time frame were killed by guns. Women remain uniquely vulnerable to gun violence perpetrated by men in their lives — in 2016, one out of every three women murdered was killed by an intimate partner with a gun.

Kate Ranta

My name is Kate Ranta, and in November of 2012, in the midst of a two-year-long contentious divorce and custody battle, my abuser showed up at my door. I knew I was in danger, and told the 911 operator on the other end of my cell phone that I needed help. My father and I tried our best to barricade my door, but suddenly three shots exploded through it. One of them struck me in the hand, which exploded in front of my face. As my ex-husband burst into the apartment firing, a bullet struck my father’s side, and another punctured my chest. All the while, my four-year-old son was begging his father to not kill me. I heard him say “Don’t do it, daddy. Don’t shoot mommy.” At that moment, I believed my life might end, as I lay bleeding profusely from my gunshot wounds. All three of us survived, but my father and I have lifelong physical complications from our wounds, and all three of us have been diagnosed with PTSD. My son, William, will live with this reality for his entire life. My abuser received two 60-year sentences for trying to murder us, but women across the country are in danger every day because of the lax gun laws in this country for domestic violence survivors.

A year before he showed up at my door that fateful day, I took out a temporary restraining order against my husband, because I was afraid. While the police seized his six firearms, they warned me that he could go out and buy another one the very next day, despite the restraining order. To this day, many states don’t prevent domestic abusers under temporary restraining orders from purchasing or possessing firearms because of gaps in the law and gaps in the way those under restraining orders are reported, and the Internet and gun shows makes it too easy for abusers to get a gun without a background check. I’m a domestic violence and gun violence prevention activist because no woman, no child, no family, should know the horror mine did. The fault lies squarely on the shoulders of abusive men with access to firearms. I won’t stop until they are disarmed.
Women suffer not just when a gun is used to injure or kill them, but also when firearms are used to intimidate, silence, threaten, or harass their partners. Women recall instances where their partner never pulled the trigger, but engaged in what’s known as “coercive control” by holding a gun during arguments, keeping it within arm’s reach, reminding the victim of the gun’s existence or power, and even forcing the victim to load and hold the gun themselves. Over 4.5 million women in this country have been threatened by firearms in these and other ways—ways that frequently don’t “leave marks” and may not be legally considered domestic violence under certain state laws. But the consequences of these actions, and the terror they spread, are very real. Peg Dierkers, executive director for the Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence says “when you’re in this kind of relationship where you’ve been intimidated or bullied, and made to believe that you’re not a whole or worthy person, it’s hard to step forward.”

16

Every 16 hours a woman is shot & killed by a former or current partner

54%

of mass shootings are related to domestic or family violence
Nearly 400 million guns are in civilian hands in the United States, and over four in ten Americans report living in homes with guns. Research shows that when guns are present in the home, women suffer. Women who were killed by a spouse, intimate partner or a close relative were 7 times more likely to have lived in homes with guns.

The mere presence of a gun is the key factor which can turn abusive partners into killers. Over the past 10 years, over 3,000 women have been shot and killed by a husband or intimate partner in the course of an argument. Research highlights easy access to firearms makes it more likely the firearm will be used: one study showed that when there is a gun in a home with a history of domestic violence, there is a 500% higher chance that a woman will be murdered. These tragedies are preventable, but weak gun laws enabling abusers to keep their guns continue to threaten lives of abuse victims.

Like Sara’s children, who were orphaned by their parent’s tragic and preventable murder-suicide in January, domestic violence in the home frequently affects more than just the perpetrator and victim. Children are often bystanders to abuse, and experience domestic violence at alarmingly high rates. 1 out of every 15 children in the United States is exposed to intimate partner violence yearly — and 90 percent of those are direct eyewitnesses to the violence. While intimate partner violence like that experienced by Sara affects countless individuals each year, domestic violence is not limited to romantic relationships. Abuse, stalking, and assault between family members is similarly troubling and problematic.

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When I was 25, my aunt was shot and killed by another member of my family. Even though her death was 15 years ago, the loss is still burned into my memory. Unbeknownst to me and the majority of my family, my aunt Shelley had been the victim of an escalating pattern of threats and harassment, and she'd reported it all to the police. Shelley had received threatening letters, and her shooter spent a year stalking her and leaving dead cats on her doorstep while filing hundreds of frivolous lawsuits against her. One of those lawsuits required my aunt and her attorney to appear in court in a neighboring county. On that morning, scared for her life, Shelley asked a Security Guard to accompany her to the restroom and stand guard. Her abuser stalked my aunt and her attorney to the 17th floor, where the courtroom was, shot my aunt’s attorney in the throat and then ran towards the restroom where Shelley was. When the security guard ran for help, the shooter burst into the restroom and shot Shelley four times, leaving the gun behind. We learned that the gun that killed my aunt had been bought for $60 at a Minnesota gun show, with no paperwork, and no background check because her killer believed she wouldn’t be able to pass a background check due to the numerous restraining orders against her and her long history of threatening behavior and assault.

Universal background checks save lives, and it may have saved my aunt’s. Family violence and domestic violence are inexplicably tied, and they share many of the same tragic patterns and escalation of troubling behaviors that lead to tragic consequences. I was completely devastated in the aftermath of the my aunt’s death, but am using my voice to stand up for other families, survivors, and victims of gun violence by founding an organization called Survivors Lead. I know that none of these actions will bring my aunt back, but her loss has galvanized me to fight for real, meaningful gun reform so that others may never have to experience the same pain and heartbreak mine did.
Legislation That Saves Lives

Many domestic violence victims and survivors deal with the terrifying reality that their abusers still have access to guns. The consequences of gaps in America’s gun laws hit home for many women living in the United States: American women are 16 times more likely to be killed with a gun than their peers in other high-income countries. Lax gun laws, including access to firearms without background checks in the majority of states, lack of a federal law to prohibit stalkers and dating partners convicted of certain domestic violence crimes from buying guns, and state-level inconsistencies that enable violent domestic abusers to keep their guns, put abuse victims at risk every single day.

The Brady Background Check system was created in 1994 to keep guns out of the hands of dangerous people. Under that federal law, people convicted of domestic violence crimes or who are subject to restraining orders for certain types of domestic violence fail background checks when they attempt to buy guns at licensed gun stores. The Brady background check system has blocked 3 million attempted gun purchases by people barred from having guns under federal law; the FBI alone has blocked 143,000 purchases based on convictions for domestic abuse and an additional 59,000 for potential purchasers who were the subject of a restraining order. (Many states administer their own background checks, so in reality, the numbers are much higher.)

But there are gaps in our background check system. First, federal law does not require a background check except when the seller is a licensed gun dealer. That means that private sellers, whether online, at gun shows, or elsewhere, need not consult the federal background check system. Expanding these background checks to every sale would save lives. This is not limited to victims of abuse, but will certainly prevent domestic violence cases from becoming homicides. Using background checks to prevent dangerous people from buying guns results in a 25 percent drop in that person being arrested for a firearm offense or other violent crime. Expanded background checks might have saved Sara’s life, and so many women like her, whose abusers have been able to easily obtain guns by exploiting gaps in the system. For example, those who would fail background checks buy guns on websites like Armslist.com, from private sellers who don’t conduct background checks. Today, 20 states and Washington, D.C. have expanded their background checks beyond federal law to cover at least some private sales, but action at the federal level is needed to address this issue comprehensively and save lives.
While the original federal gun law that outlined categories of individuals who cannot legally purchase or own guns banned felons (including those convicted of domestic violence felonies) and people under protective orders, it wasn’t until a law known as the “Lautenberg Amendment” was passed in 1996 that abusers who committed misdemeanor crimes of domestic violence also became banned from buying and owning guns. Congress recognized the unique danger posed by all domestic abusers, not just felons, and closed the gap that enabled abusers to plead down from felonies to misdemeanors to maintain their gun rights, at a detriment to society. But for this
Kimberly Brusk had been in an abusive relationship for a decade. She’d stayed with her husband while he was receiving treatment for bipolar disorder, and like any devoted wife, hoped he would improve. Instead, as time went on, things got worse: his abuse escalated and his behavior became more dangerous. When their daughter was just a toddler, he started drinking excessively and following Kimberly when she left the house. She made the brave decision that so many women around this country must make every day, and told him to leave, that things were over. As his behavior worsened, she began temporarily going to a women’s shelter.

One evening when she returned home, he began pounding on the door. He was drunk and angry, and assaulted her in the presence of their daughter. He was arrested that night for domestic violence assault, and Kimberly immediately took out a protective order against him. It took just 24 hours before her abuser was out of jail on bond. Just a few days after that, Kimberly returned to a dark home. She knew she had left the lights on. He was waiting for her in the doorway, pointing a shotgun directly at her. When she fled, she heard the shotgun explode behind her. After a 3-hour long pursuit, he was finally arrested by the police and charged with four felonies. He served only 18 months in prison because Kimberly wasn’t hit by the bullet. Things could have turned out differently: his shotgun blast left a 12 inch hole in her door. Today, Kimberly is a domestic violence activist, and she uses her voice to speak out against the dangerous intersection of domestic violence and guns. She co-founded Women Against the Violence Epidemic (WAVE) and continues to speak up and speak out against the laws that put domestic violence survivors at risk every day, like the dangerous boyfriend loophole and the private sale gap in background checks.
Furthermore, laws preventing stalkers from buying and keeping guns are critical to preventing the escalation of behaviors that frequently turn domestic violence incidents fatal. Seventy-six percent of women murdered by their partners, and 85 percent that ultimately survive a homicide attempt were stalked first. But under current federal law, those convicted of misdemeanor stalking aren’t prohibited from owning guns — it is yet another place where state law can intervene to keep these individuals from buying and possessing guns. While most states can now convict an individual for misdemeanor stalking, not every state bars misdemeanor stalkers from purchasing or owning guns, or surrendering the guns they already have. From 2007 to 2016, an analysis by the Center for American Progress found at least 16,000 individuals were convicted of misdemeanor stalking, and many of these individuals live in states that have currently not closed the gap that still allows them to purchase guns. Today, 45 percent of the American public lives in states without a law that closes this gap and are at risk of those individuals’ behavior escalating beyond stalking to assault or homicide. In order to protect the lives of all victims and survivors of stalking, it is critical that the federal government pass legislation prohibiting all misdemeanor stalkers from being able to purchase and own guns.

States with Laws Requiring Those Convicted of Domestic Violence Misdemeanor or Subject to a Domestic Violence Protective Order to Surrender Firearms
And even when perpetrators of domestic violence are convicted or when protective orders have been issued, many states do not have a process to ensure that guns that are already owned are surrendered or seized by law enforcement. While domestic abusers are made aware of the fact that they are legally barred from owning guns, numerous challenges stand in the way to ensure that those individuals are surrendering the guns they already have. The bottom line: while domestic abuser’s records are being input into the system to prevent a future gun purchase, federal law doesn’t create a system for making sure domestic abusers are actually surrendering their guns, so it’s up to the states to enact surrender or seizure laws. Without these, law enforcement has no authority to track down those guns and ensure they aren’t in the possession of the abuser. Surrender or seizure laws for either misdemeanors or protective orders have only been implemented in 18 states, and even in those states, capacity and enforcement is frequently a barrier to the resource-intensive process of removing every gun.

While guns remain in the hands of violent abusers or those that the state has determined are so dangerous that they must be kept from contacting their past intimate partner, abuse survivors are at risk. Surrender laws can, and do, protect survivors from future violence: one recent study found that states that prohibited gun ownership by a person subject to a domestic violence related restraining order and required those people to surrender their firearms had a 14% lower rate of gun-related intimate partner homicide than states without those laws. The authors of the report said that the findings “demonstrate the value of identifying high-risk situations based on known episodes of past violence and removing firearms from such situations to prevent future violence.” These laws, however, are based on effective and consistent implementation: where law enforcement is limited in capacity or desire, they won’t have the same impact on preventing violence.

**14%**

**lower rate of gun-related intimate partner homicide in states that prohibited gun ownership by a person subject to a domestic violence related restraining order and required those people to surrender their firearms.**
How Domestic Abusers Keep Their Guns

Commit Domestic Violence Felony

Convicted under federal domestic violence statute

Records not input into NICS background check system

Commit Domestic Violence Misdemeanor

Convicted under state domestic violence or stalking statute

Records not input into NICS background check system

Individual falls under the “boyfriend loophole” or the gap in federal law that doesn’t prevent current or former dating partners from buying or owning guns

AND/OR

Not a resident of a state with a law requiring seizure or surrender of gun after conviction

Not a resident of a state where domestic violence or stalking misdemeanor charge exists

Not a resident of a state with law requiring seizure or surrender of guns after conviction
In 1994, Congress passed the “Violence Against Women Act,” or VAWA. That bill created programs and funding to protect women in danger of, or who were victims of, gender-based violence.\textsuperscript{41} It also created new categories of gender-based crimes that hadn’t been recognized up until that time and levied harsher penalties for perpetrators.\textsuperscript{42} It requires periodic reauthorization and has been reauthorized three times since its enactment.\textsuperscript{43} Since its implementation, intimate partner violence against women decreased by 72 percent.\textsuperscript{44}

While Congress is expected to approve continuing to fund VAWA in its current form, a bipartisan reauthorization that strengthens its current programs is necessary. Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee has introduced the “Violence Against Women Act Reauthorization of 2018,” and her bill addresses both the boyfriend and stalker loopholes in current law.\textsuperscript{45} Her bill also includes a critical change to federal law that would expand the categories of individuals under protective orders who cannot buy guns, and implements a required notification to law enforcement when a domestic abuser is able to purchase a gun so that it can be seized. All of these components would ensure that dangerous domestic abusers have fewer opportunities to buy guns, saving more lives.

**Conclusion**

Every hour, 1,141 people become victims of domestic violence. About 3 people are shot and killed every single day by an intimate partner with a gun. Millions more are victimized, threatened, intimidated, or terrified into silence by the presence of one. They will survive with emotional (and sometimes physical) scars of the time that a person they loved hurt them. The stories of Sara, Kate, Rachael, and Kimberly are the voices of real people who have been affected by the intersection of domestic violence and guns in this country. Sara and Shelley didn’t survive their attacks. We owe a duty to them and to the survivors who lived. It is our job to call on Congress and state legislators to pass meaningful laws to prevent more men and women from becoming victims of domestic violence every year.
Endnotes

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
10 Ibid, p. 23
14 Ibid., 18-19.
15 Ibid., 20.
16 “When Men Murder Women: An Analysis of 2016 Homicide Data,” p. 5. The number of women shot and killed by their husband or intimate acquaintance in 2016 was 552 out of a total 1,809 victims.
20 This number is current as of October 11, 2018. This number is kept as a running tally on the homepage of the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, at http://www.ncadv.org.

27 Data retrieved from Violence Policy Center reports “When Men Murder Women” reports published yearly. All reports available at http://vpc.org/revealing-the-impacts-of-gun-violence/female-homicide-victimization-by-males/. From 2006 to 2016, a total of 3,119 women were the victims of a shooting by a husband or intimate partner during the course of an argument.


38 The states that currently have surrender or seizure laws on the books are Hawaii, Massachusetts, Washington, Connecticut, New York, Wisconsin, Illinois, California, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Tennessee, Maryland, Iowa, Minnesota, Colorado, Virginia, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. Pennsylvania HB 2060 has been passed by both the Pennsylvania House and Senate as of writing of this report, and is currently awaiting signature by Governor Wolf. Pennsylvania’s law would be the 19th law on the books.


43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.
