

Finding the Common Ground in Gun Safety

PART ONE: RESEARCH FINDINGS EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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01

Introduction

Gun violence is a serious problem in the United States. In 2021, there were approximately 47,000 gun-related deaths in the U.S., of which more than 21,000 were firearm homicides. Yet amid this clear and persistent problem, our institutions continue to grapple with how to address gun violence.

The Supreme Court in the 2008 decision *Heller v. District of Columbia* established the constitutional right to keep a handgun in the home for self-defense. More than a decade later, this past June, the Court recognized the right to carry a handgun outside the home for self-defense, opening up new challenges to restrictions on who can carry firearms and where.

In the same week, Congress passed the most significant gun safety legislation in nearly three decades, with the Bipartisan Safer Communities Act expanding background checks, providing funding for red flag laws, and strengthening prohibitions on domestic abusers.

Against this push and pull, the perception of an intractable divide on gun policy – especially between gun owners and non-gun owners – persists. Yet as our previous research has demonstrated, there is a high level of support among gun owners for a number of gun violence prevention policies.

The myth of an intractable divide in our country is merely that: a myth. The goal of this new research – the first-of-its-kind to assess gun owners' views on in-depth policy proposals – is to bring gun owners and non-gun owners together by identifying actual common ground that can serve as the basis for policy solutions that both sides could support.

Existing research tends to be too vague. Although the term “common ground” has been widely used, no one has specifically defined “common ground” in the gun safety arena. And while numerous surveys have measured support for high-level policy ideas, they do not take into account underlying principles – nor do they reflect the concerns or nuance that needs to be part of specific policy proposals.

Our research seeks to address this urgent need and identify shared principles, which represent an opportunity for real compromise on gun policy.

The Study

This report summarizes the results of a research project funded by 97Percent and conducted by Dr. Michael Siegel and his research team at the Tufts University School of Medicine. Our research consisted of three components:

01

A nationally representative sample of 1,078 gun owners that, unlike other research, sought to understand their views on detailed provisions of these laws. The research also aimed to identify the principles that underlie gun owners' support of, or opposition to, specific gun policies. A critical part of 97Percent's mission is bringing gun owners to the table; even at the research level, gun owner input is rarely sought – yet it is critical for obtaining accurate, meaningful results. In order to solicit this important input, we consulted with many gun owners and with the leadership of gun rights' organizations in designing our survey.

02

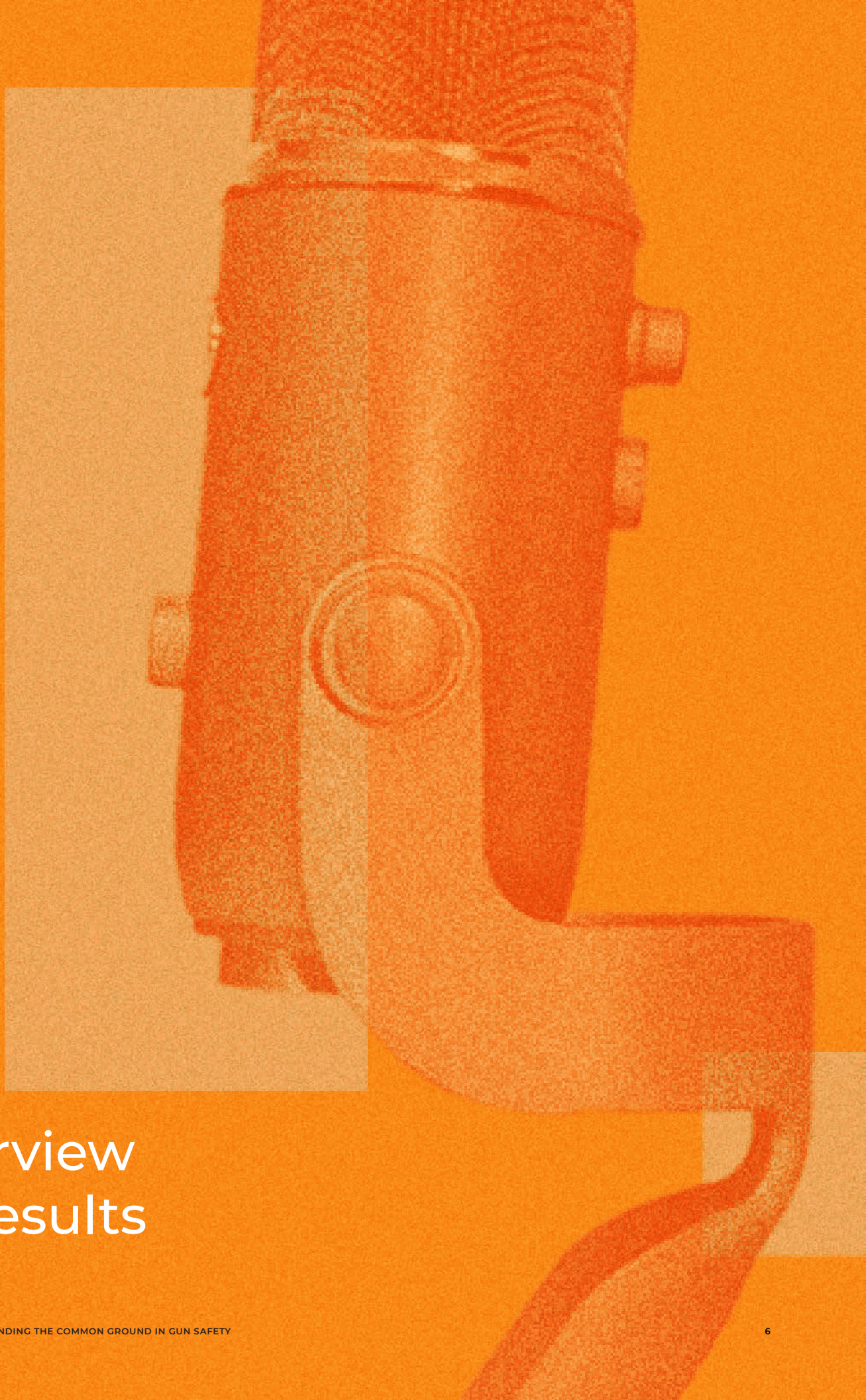
The research team at Tufts conducted a focused literature review seeking to identify the laws which empirical research has demonstrated are the most effective in reducing firearm homicide or suicide rates on a population level.

03

Ninety-six (96) focus group and interview sessions were conducted with gun owners and non-gun owners, as well as gun rights and gun safety organizations to explore themes identified in the survey and the focused firearm research review.

To learn more about this study's methodology, see Appendix.





02

Overview of Results

Topline Conclusions

01

Gun owners want to be a part of the solution, but the details are critically important.

Contrary to public perception, the overwhelming majority of gun owners are very concerned about the high level of gun violence in this country (66%) and want to help reduce gun injuries and deaths (70%).

However, there is a vast difference between gun owners' general support for gun safety policies and their support for specific policies. Approximately, 60% of gun owners say their support of major gun policies depends on the detailed components of the law. Our research demonstrates how gun owners' support for major gun laws could be increased to over 70% by addressing their concerns and including specific provisions in these laws.

02

Focus on those who are at high risk for violence.

There is broad support among gun owners, including Republican gun owners, for laws aiming to keep people at high risk of violence from gaining access to guns. Nearly 8 in 10 of Republican gun owners, for instance, support prohibiting gun possession by people convicted of domestic violence.

From this principle flows support among most gun owners for a number of policies that aim to put this principle into practice, by maximizing the sensitivity of identifying people who are at high risk for violence, while minimizing interference with the Constitutional rights of gun owners to use guns for self-defense or any other lawful purpose.

03

Four policies — including lowering the threshold to prohibit gun ownership to violent misdemeanors — can make a significant difference.

According to our research, laws with the greatest impact in reducing firearm violence are also those generally supported by gun owners. These policies include:

1. **violent misdemeanor laws**
2. **required permits for the purchase of a gun**
3. **background checks**
4. **red flag laws**

Established law generally focuses on a felony threshold. However, lowering the threshold to anyone who has been convicted of a violent crime – including a violent misdemeanor – is the single most effective way to prevent firearm homicide and may reduce firearm homicide by as much as 19%.

*These policies, which need to work in combination, have the potential to reduce firearm homicide rates by as much as **28%** and reduce suicide rates by **6.7%**, which would have equated to more than **7,500** fewer gun-related deaths in 2021.*

Common Ground

Three main areas of common ground exist between the majority of gun owners and non-gun owners:

01

Both groups are concerned about the high levels of gun violence, including mass public shootings, homicides, suicides, and everyday urban gun violence, and **they want to personally do something about it.**

02

Both groups believe there is no inherent conflict between the constitutional protection of gun rights and new laws designed to keep guns out of the hands of people who are at high risk for violence.

03

Both groups believe people who are at high risk for violence, particularly those who have previously committed a violent crime, should not be able to access guns.



Additional Key Findings

- Gun owners greatly underestimate the level of support for gun laws among their fellow gun owners, and therefore, are much less likely to support those laws themselves.
- The laws which have the least impact on overall firearm violence tend to be the ones which are most strongly opposed by gun owners, including “assault weapon” bans. Only a third of gun owners (34.1%) support an assault weapon ban.

In order to be effective, firearm laws must be implemented at both a state and federal level.

From an execution standpoint, firearm permitting laws, background checks, and red flag laws are most effective when implemented and enforced at the state level.

The federal government still has a key role to play by:

1. enacting a violent misdemeanor law to create a uniform, national requirement for gun ownership that excludes people who, by virtue of having committed a crime of violence or threatened violence, are at high risk of future violence;
2. enacting a universal background check requirement to set a minimum, universal standard for all states;
3. incentivizing states to enact firearm permit laws and red flag laws.





03

Survey Results

1. Support for Gun Laws

This section of the results summarizes our findings regarding gun owners' support for various gun laws. Uniquely, it examines the impact of specific provisions in these laws on their level of support.



Gun owners, even Republican gun owners, support laws to keep people at high risk for violence from accessing guns.

Law	Support Among Gun Owners	Support Among Republican Gun Owners
Prohibiting gun possession by people convicted of a domestic violence crime	78.0%	78.2%
Requiring background checks for a concealed carry permit	77.2%	70.5%
Prohibiting gun possession by people subject to a domestic violence restraining order	76.9%	74.7%
Requiring a safety course for a concealed carry permit	74.3%	69.9%
Universal background checks	72.9%	63.3%
Red flag laws	69.2%	60.5%
Requiring a permit to carry concealed weapons	63.8%	54.5%
Requiring a safety course for gun purchase	61.6%	57.4%
Requiring a permit to purchase or possess a handgun	53.9%	40.3%
Requiring a permit to purchase or possess any gun	47.5%	34.0%



Gun owners, particularly Republican gun owners, do not support laws banning certain types of guns or ammunition.

Law	Support Among Gun Owners	Support Among Republican Gun Owners
Requiring that all guns be stored unloaded and locked when not in use	43.6%	31.7%
Assault weapons ban	34.1%	16.2%
Giving law enforcement officials discretion in deciding whether to approve concealed carry permits	32.2%	31.5%
Ban on high capacity ammunition magazines	28.8%	15.5%



There is a vast difference between gun owners' general support for gun safety policies and their support for specific laws.

Law	Support Among Gun Owners When Asked a General Question	Unconditional Support Among Gun Owners
Requiring background checks for a concealed carry permit	77.2%	25.8%
Universal background checks	72.9%	24.1%
Red flag laws	69.2%	22.1%
Requiring a permit to purchase or possess any gun	47.5%	21.2%
Requiring that all guns be stored locked when not in use	43.6%	22.4%

2. Detailed Policy Provisions

For the five major gun policies examined, the table below displays the percentage of gun owners who currently support each law compared to the percentage of gun owners who report they would support the law if it contained all of the specific provisions outlined in our survey questions.



Gun owner support for major gun laws could be increased by addressing concerns about specific provisions of these laws.

Law	Percent Who Currently Support the Law	Percent Who Would Potentially Support the Law If It Included Certain Specific Provisions	Percent Increase If All Provisions Are Included
Requiring background checks for a concealed carry permit	77.2%	82.4%	5.2%
Universal background checks	72.9%	78.4%	5.5%
Red flag laws	69.2%	81.0%	11.8%
Requiring a permit to purchase or possess any gun	47.5%	75.5%	28%
Requiring that all guns be stored locked when not in use	43.6%	72.7%	29.1%

For these five policies, we asked gun owners whether there were any detailed provisions of such a law without which they would not support the law. The results are highlighted below. By examining these tables, one can determine how critical each provision is in order to maintain the support of a majority of gun owners for a particular policy.



2.1 - Universal Background Checks

Provision	Percentage of "Provision-Dependent" Gun Owners Who Require This Provision To Be Included in Order to Support the Law
Requires a timely response from NICS check system, such as within 72 hours	37.5%
Could sell or transfer guns to family members without going through an FFL	35.9%
Exemption to allow the sale and transfer of guns to a family member without a background check	29.8%
Must not result in creation of a firearm registry	29.1%
Private sellers given privacy-protected access to NICS database	23.3%

Q *The provisions of a universal background check law to which gun owner support is most sensitive are both logistical and convenience concerns: (1) obtaining a timely response after a NICS background check; and (2) being able to sell or transfer guns to family members without having to go through a federally licensed dealer (FFL). These concerns could potentially be overcome by either: (1) exempting the sale and transfer of guns to close family members; or (2) creating a mechanism by which private sellers could access a privacy-protected NICS database in order to conduct the background check without having to go through an FFL.*



2.2 - Red Flag Laws

Provision	Percentage of "Provision-Dependent" Gun Owners Who Require This Provision To Be Included in Order to Support the Law
Fine for anyone who dishonestly uses the law	58.5%
Expeditious return of firearms once the order is lifted	56.8%
Protocol for expeditious and inexpensive restoration of Second Amendment rights if accusation is unfounded or when the person is no longer a threat	52.8%
Requires timely due process hearing before a judge at which subject could present evidence	50.4%
Allows transfer of confiscated firearms to designated friend or family member for safekeeping	28.9%
Request to remove firearm could only be made by law enforcement officer	24.2%

Q *The provision of a red flag law to which gun owner support is most sensitive is the inclusion of a provision that invokes a fine for anyone who dishonestly uses the law to "get back at" a gun owner. The second provision to which gun owner support is quite sensitive is a requirement that firearms be returned expeditiously to the gun owner once the extreme risk protection order is lifted.*



2.3 - Permits to Purchase/Possess a Gun

Provision	Percentage of "Provision-Dependent" Gun Owners Who Require This Provision To Be Included in Order to Support the Law
Requirement for live firearm training	38.1%
Permit must be available at a low cost	37.0%
Exemption from background check for gun owners who have a firearm permit for any gun purchase	33.2%
Exemption from background check for gun owners who have a firearm permit when purchasing or borrowing from a family member	27.9%
Could not be used to create firearm registry	27.3%
Includes perks associated with the permit, such as waiving of the normal waiting period	22.1%
Permit process could be completed online	19.4%

Q *The provisions of a permit requirement law to which gun owner support is most sensitive are ensuring that a permit is available at low cost and creating an exemption that would allow family members to sell or loan a firearm to a family member without having to complete a background check if the purchaser/borrower possesses a valid firearm permit.*



2.4 - Permits for Concealed Carry

Provision	Percentage of “Provision-Dependent” Gun Owners Who Require This Provision To Be Included in Order to Support the Law
Requirement for live firearm training	50.0%
Must be “shall issue”	39.5%
Available at low cost	35.1%
Could not be used to create a firearm registry	31.4%
Includes perks, such as waiving of normal waiting period	26.4%
Application could be completed online	15.2%

Q *The three provisions of a permitting law for concealed carry to which gun owner support is most sensitive are a requirement for live firearm training, availability of the permit at a low cost, and not allowing discretion in the decision about whether or not to approve the permit (i.e., the law must be a ‘shall issue’ law rather than ‘may issue’).*



2.5 - Gun Storage Laws

Provision	Percentage of "Provision-Dependent" Gun Owners Who Require This Provision To Be Included in Order to Support the Law
Includes multiple options to comply with the law, beyond simply storing guns unloaded and locked	38.4%
Exemption for gun owners if there are no minors in the household	31.0%
One option for secure storage is fingerprint recognition or another type of biometric lock	28.6%

Q *These results indicate that gun owners are not generally supportive of gun storage laws because these laws are not flexible enough to consider the individual household situation of a gun owner (such as the presence or absence of minors) and the variety of options to safely store firearms while still being able to access them quickly if needed (such as fingerprint recognition or some other type of biometric locking device). But when provisions addressing these concerns are included, gun owner support of such a bill would increase from 43.6% to 72.7%.*

3. Principles Underlying Support for Gun Laws

We examined the level of gun owners' support for a wide range of potential principles that could underlie their support for or opposition to specific firearm violence prevention policies. Identifying the principles that resonate most intensely with gun owners offers the possibility of finding the areas of greatest common ground between gun owners and non-gun owners.



The most deeply held principle among gun owners is that people who are at the highest risk for violence should not be able to purchase or possess a firearm.

Principle	Percent Support Among Gun Owners
People convicted of a violent crime should not be able to purchase or possess a gun	80.7%
One of the primary goals of gun laws should be to keep guns out of the hands of people who are at high risk of violence, while allowing law-abiding citizens to obtain guns	80.5%
One of the primary goals of gun laws should be to develop criteria that keep guns out of the hands of people who are at high risk of violence, while not preventing access to guns by law-abiding citizens.	78.6%



While gun owners agree that owning a gun for self-defense is a fundamental Constitutional right, the large majority believe this right is not absolute and can be taken away under certain circumstances.

Principle	Percent Support Among Gun Owners
Owning a gun for self-defense is a fundamental Constitutional right	82.9%
Like free speech, the right to own a gun is Constitutionally protected, but there are exceptions to this right	77.0%
The right to own a gun is absolute and cannot be altered in any way	36.5%

Q Consistent with the Supreme Court's decision in District of Columbia v. Heller, the majority of gun owners believe this right can be altered under certain circumstances and that there are exceptions to this right.



A large majority of gun owners are concerned about the increase in gun-related homicides and mass shootings, and they want to find a way to reduce gun violence.

Principle	Percent Support Among Gun Owners
I am concerned about the frequency of school shootings	74.6%
I am concerned about the frequency of mass shootings	71.2%
I want to help find a way to reduce gun deaths and injuries	70.1%
I am concerned about the increase in gun-related homicides and gun crimes in cities	65.5%

Q In contrast to the way that gun owners are often portrayed, the overwhelming majority of gun owners are very concerned about the high level of gun violence in this country and want to find a way that they can help to reduce gun injuries and deaths.

4. Gun Owners' Perceptions vs. Reality

This section reports the results of questions that were designed to determine whether gun owners have correct perceptions regarding the policy opinions of other gun owners.



Gun owners greatly underestimate the level of support for gun laws among their fellow gun owners.

Law	Average Perceived Level of Support for This Law Among Other Gun Owners	Actual Level of Support For This Law Among Gun Owners
Prohibiting gun possession by persons convicted of a crime of domestic violence	65%	78.0%
Prohibiting gun possession by persons subject to a domestic violence restraining order	61%	76.9%
Red flag laws	58%	69.2%
Requiring a permit to carry a concealed handgun	54%	63.8%
Universal background checks	49%	72.9%
Requiring a permit to purchase or possess a handgun	44%	53.9%
Requiring a permit to purchase or possess a gun	43%	47.5%

Q *There is a 15 percentage point gap between gun owners' perception of support among their peers for gun policies and actual support. For each of the policies, gun owners perceive that the level of support of other gun owners is much less than it actually is.*



Gun owners who greatly underestimate the level of support for gun laws among their fellow gun owners are much less likely to support those laws.

Law	Average Perceived Level of Support for This Law Among Other Gun Owners	
	Support Law	Do Not Support Law
Prohibiting gun possession by persons convicted of a crime of domestic violence	69%	53%
Prohibiting gun possession by persons subject to a domestic violence restraining order	64%	50%
Red flag laws	65%	44%
Requiring a permit to carry a concealed handgun	63%	39%
Universal background checks	56%	35%
Requiring a permit to purchase or possess a handgun	57%	30%
Requiring a permit to purchase or possess a gun	57%	31%

5. Gun Owner Characteristics

This section reports the results of questions designed to assess basic gun owner characteristics, such as support for the NRA, membership in the NRA or other gun rights organizations, reasons for gun ownership, and the type and number of firearms owned.



The large majority of gun owners own firearms for self defense.

Primary Reason for Gun Ownership	Percentage of Gun Owners
Self-defense	64.6%
Recreation	26.1%
Expression of Constitutional Rights	7.4%
Other	1.9%



The proportion of gun owners who own a military-style semi-automatic firearm is not insubstantial.

18.6% Percentage of gun owners who own "assault weapons"

The finding that approximately 19% of gun owners possess a military-style, semi-automatic firearm is important because a ban on assault weapons could potentially affect a sizable number of gun owners.

Less than half of all gun owners support the NRA.

PERCENTAGE SUPPORT OF GUN OWNERS FOR THE NRA

46.6%

Completely, a lot, or a fair amount

53.4%

Not at all or a little bit

Few gun owners are members of NRA or gun rights orgs.

MEMBERSHIPS IN THE NRA OR IN ANY GUN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION

9.7%

National Rifle Association (NRA)

11.7%

Any gun rights organization



04

Review of Effectiveness of Gun Laws

Based on our review of the existing empirical evidence on the effectiveness of gun laws, we conclude that there are four laws which appear to be the most effective in reducing rates of firearm violence.

1. Violent misdemeanor laws

Consistent with the widely shared principle that people at high risk for violence should not be able to access firearms, we found the most effective gun policy to be one which prohibits the purchase and possession of firearms by anyone who is at high risk for violence. Under current federal law and under the law in most states, people who are convicted of a violent crime (other than domestic violence) are not prohibited from gun purchase and possession unless that crime is adjudicated as a felony. This is a critical flaw because a history of violent crime – even at the misdemeanor level – is the single greatest risk factor for future violence.

To be most effective, a violent misdemeanor law should explicitly list each of the offenses included in its definition and must make clear that included in the definition are not only acts of violence, but also the following:

1. Acts of threatened violence
2. Acts involving a substantial risk of the use of violence (including the use of physical force)
3. Attempts to commit violence, even if unsuccessful
4. Plans to commit violence
5. Threats to commit violence
6. Acts that are part of the commission of another crime (that may be non-violent) but which involve a substantial risk that violence may be used in the course of committing that offense
7. Acts that result in a protective order, even if temporary, provided that firearms would be returned after a timely due process hearing if the protective order is not extended



Research suggests that violent misdemeanor laws are the single most effective law to prevent firearm homicide, and could reduce homicide rates by 19% (detailed citations available in full report).

The Supreme Court’s recent ruling in *New York State Rifle & Pistol Association v. Bruen* makes the need for violent misdemeanor laws more critical. Based on the Court’s ruling, it is likely that most, if not all, “may issue” laws for concealed carry permits will be struck down. These laws give law enforcement discretion to approve a permit, which the Court ruled is inconsistent with the Second Amendment.

The reason why officials argue they need this discretion is that there are many crimes of violence or threatened violence that are not included as federal or state prohibitors for gun possession. Since violent misdemeanor laws establish sensitive criteria for gun ownership that include all violent offenses, they remove the need for a “may issue” law.



The following states, which have subjective “May Issue” criteria, are at risk of being overturned.

State	Requirements for Concealed Carry Permit
California	“Good moral character” and “good cause”
Connecticut	A “suitable person”
Delaware	“Good moral character,” demonstrated desire for “personal protection,” or “protection of the person’s property,” and “a good reputation for peace and good order in the community”
Hawaii	“An exceptional case,” with “reason to fear injury to the applicant’s person or property” and “a suitable person”
Maryland	“Good and substantial reason to wear, carry, or transport a handgun, such as a finding that the permit is necessary as a reasonable precaution against apprehended danger”
Massachusetts	A “suitable” person
New Jersey	Demonstrated “justifiable need to carry a handgun” and “a person of good moral character and behavior”
Rhode Island	Demonstrated “good reason to fear an injury to his or her person or property” and “a suitable person”



2-3. Firearm permit laws and universal background check laws

In order for the violent misdemeanor law to be effective, there must be a mechanism to check potential gun owners to determine whether or not they have a history of an adjudicated crime of violence or threatened violence. **Our review of the research revealed that second only to violent misdemeanor laws, a combination of firearm permit laws with state and local background checks are the most effective laws to meaningfully reduce rates of firearm homicide. Our research suggests that such laws can reduce homicide rates by 10%-16% (detailed citations available in full report).**

Moreover, state gun permit laws are the only identified policy that is effective in reducing mass public shootings. Such a system requires a state-issued firearm permit in order to purchase or possess a gun; and in order to obtain a permit, a background check is conducted at the state and local level, focusing on any history of violent crime. There is a strong evidence that state-level gun permitting systems are effective in reducing both firearm homicide and firearm suicide rates.

The research demonstrates that state and local background checks are more effective than federal NICS checks because states are more likely than the federal government to hold criminal records that would identify a prohibited person. While a federal background check is still necessary because people move from state to state, there is no substitute for a state permitting system to achieve a high level of sensitivity and specificity in identifying people who are eligible for firearm ownership based on the absence of a history of a violent crime. To be most effective, a background check for a gun permit must involve a search of local criminal records as well (i.e., local court and law enforcement records).

4. Red flag laws

Red flag laws are a natural extension from violent misdemeanor laws because they cover cases where a person may not yet have committed a crime but where there is strong and credible evidence that an individual currently represents a threat to themselves or others. These are situations in which the individual poses a very high risk of violence that has been noted by family members or law enforcement officials. Because the threat of violence is so imminent, these are individuals who probably represent a risk of violence even greater than people who have a criminal history of violence. Thus, red flag laws follow naturally from the shared principle that people at high risk of violence should not have access to a firearm. In the case of red flag laws, access to firearms is curtailed only for the length of time during which the person remains a danger. There is strong empirical evidence that red flag laws reduce firearm suicide rates by more than ~6%, (detailed citations available in full report).



Based on the above analysis, we estimate, conservatively, that in states without any of the policy package components, enacting this package into law would result in a 28% reduction in homicides (18% from the violent misdemeanor law and 10% from the permitting law) and a 6.4% reduction in firearm related suicides (from the red flag law). This is a conservative estimate because it assumes that permit laws will have no effect on suicide rates despite some evidence that permit laws may reduce firearm suicide rates. It also assumes that red flag laws will have no effect on homicide rates, but there is almost no research which has examined that question.



Estimate of Effect of Overall Policy Package on Homicide and Suicide Rates

Law	Estimated decrease in overall homicide rates	Estimated decrease in overall suicide rates
Violent misdemeanor law	18%	--
State permitting law	10%	--
Red flag law		4%
Overall Impact of Policy Package	28%	4%





05

Insights from Interviews & Focus Groups

06

Moving Forward: Part Two

From the interviews and focus groups – as with the survey results – the following themes emerged:

- The most prevalent area of common ground between gun owners and non-gun owners that emerged was wide support for a policy that prevents violent criminals from accessing guns.
- Many respondents were more in favor of policies that were low to no cost, such as free permits, background checks, and government-subsidized gun storage.
- Many respondents said there should be better enforcement of gun safety laws that already exist. This came up most often with regards to red flag laws and gun storage laws.

In Part Two of this report, to be released in November 2022, we will establish a set of recommended policies to address gun violence.

The report will draw upon the findings in this research report – including the survey findings, the review of outside research, and focus group interviews – to craft a set of policies that build on the common ground identified between gun owners and non-gun owners and that are proven most effective in preventing gun violence, homicides, and suicides.





07

Appendix

1. Gun Owner Survey

To ascertain the attitudes and opinions of gun owners, we conducted a national internet-based and phone-based survey of 1,078 adult gun owners.

Survey Administration

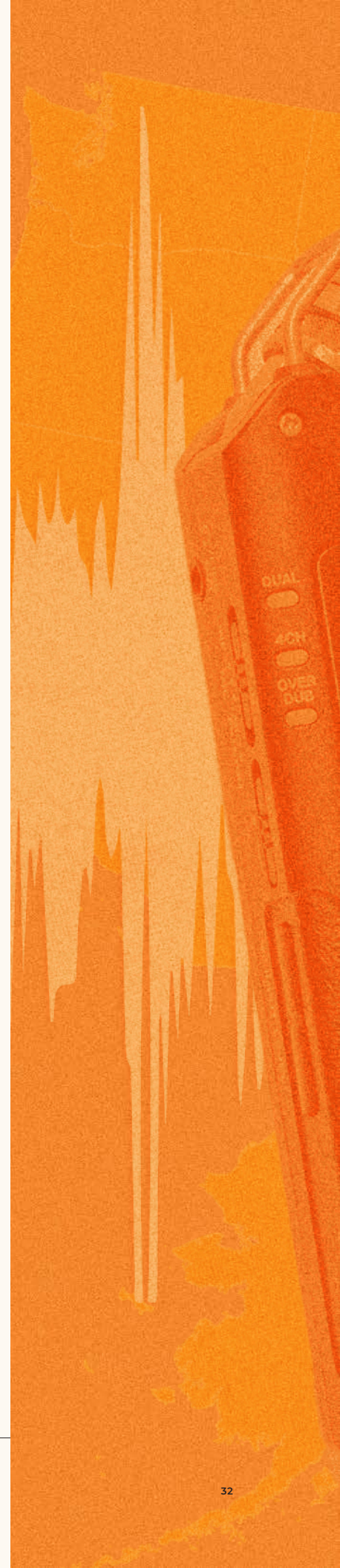
The survey was conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago. NORC at the University of Chicago conducts research and analysis that decision-makers trust. As a nonpartisan research organization and a pioneer in measuring and understanding the world, NORC has studied almost every aspect of the human experience and every major news event for more than eight decades. Today, NORC partners with government, corporate, and nonprofit clients around the world to provide the objectivity and expertise necessary to inform the critical decisions facing society. www.norc.org.

The survey respondents were adult, gun-owning members of the NORC at the University of Chicago AmeriSpeak panel, a pre-recruited internet panel of approximately 50,000 adults throughout the United States who have agreed to take periodic internet surveys. AmeriSpeak is the first U.S. multi-client household panel to combine the speed and cost-effectiveness of panel surveys with enhanced representativeness of the U.S. population, an industry-leading response rate, and an innovative and thorough Project Methods and Transparency Report. Since its founding by NORC at the University of Chicago in 2015, AmeriSpeak has produced more than 1000 surveys, been cited by dozens of media outlets, and become the primary survey partner of the nation's preeminent news service, The Associated Press. AmeriSpeak is the most scientifically rigorous multi-client panel available in the U.S. market. Amerspeak.norc.org.

Sampling Procedure and Response Rate

A total of 11,101 adult members of the AmeriSpeak panel were invited by e-mail to complete a screening to determine if they were eligible to take the survey. Respondents who reported that they owned a gun were deemed eligible and were invited to take the survey online through the password-protected AmeriSpeak Mobile App, the password-protected AmeriSpeak Web portal, or by following a link in the e-mail invitation sent to them.

To administer the phone survey, NORC dialed sampled panelists who prefer to take surveys on the phone from May 11 to May 18, 2022. Although most panelists who have stated a preference to take the survey on the phone



do take them in that mode, they also have the option of taking the survey online via the web portal or the AmeriSpeak App or can ask the interviewer to e-mail them an invite instead. Panelists were offered 5,000 AmeriPoints, worth the cash equivalent of \$5.00, for completing this survey.

Of the 11,101 invited panelists, 2,656 completed the screener questions to determine their eligibility for the survey. Of these, 1,137 were determined to be eligible for the survey. Of these eligible panelists, a total of 1,078 completed the survey. The screener completion rate was therefore 23.9% and the interview completion rate was 94.8%. This resulted in an overall survey completion rate (response rate) of 22.7%.

Weighting Procedure

The data were statistically weighted by NORC to account for the following factors:

- The initial probability of panel member selection into the panel
- Panel recruitment nonresponse
- Post-stratification of the recruited panel to match population benchmarks
- Selection probabilities for the study sample
- Survey nonresponse

NORC provided the researchers with study-specific final weights that were applied in all analyses in order to generate estimates that apply to the national population of gun owners.

Data Analysis

All statistical analyses were carried out using STATA version 17 (Statacorp, College Station, TX).

Consultation with Gun Rights Organizations in Developing Survey

In designing this survey, we consulted with many gun owners and with the leadership of gun rights' organizations in order to leverage their expertise, solicit feedback, and to help identify the specific provisions of gun legislation that most concern gun owners. We thank the leaders of the following organizations for providing valuable input and careful review of the draft survey instrument: Gun Owners Action League, Doctors for Responsible Gun Ownership, Open Source Defense, Texas Gun Owners for Safety, Giffords Gun Owners for Safety, the Liberal Gun Club, Second Amendment Organization (2AO), and the National African American Gun Association.

II. Focused Review of the Effectiveness of Gun Laws

We conducted a focused literature review seeking to identify the laws which empirical research has demonstrated most robustly are the most effective in reducing firearm homicide or suicide rates on a population level. Many of the studies we reviewed were the result of our own previous research, in which we comprehensively evaluated the effectiveness of a wide range of firearm laws on population rates of homicide and suicide. We also reviewed the entire body of literature on the effectiveness of state and federal gun laws. Previous articles and reports have provided detailed reviews of these studies. Our goal was to conduct a focused review and to synthesize the findings of the research to identify those laws which most robustly have been demonstrated to have the greatest impact in reducing gun violence. We also analyzed these research findings in light of our own findings regarding the level of gun owner support for a variety of gun violence prevention policies.

III. Interviews & Focus Groups

We interviewed a total of 96 participants in a one-on-one format or in a focus group. Focus groups and interviews were performed by reaching out to a variety of organizations in the gun violence prevention advocacy and gun rights spaces. Gun owners and non-gun owners were included in this phase. Focus groups and interviews were conducted over Zoom and took 45 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes. Focus groups had two to six participants, and a number of one-on-one interviews were performed as well. Participants received a \$10 Amazon gift card to thank them for their time. The majority of participants accepted the card, but a few did not due to possible conflict of interest, or they simply did not feel it was necessary.

Participants affiliated with the following organizations were included: Everytown for Gun Safety, Newtown Action Alliance, National African American Gun Owners Association, Maine's Gun Safety Coalition, Maine Public Health Association, Liberal Gun Club, Johns Hopkins Center for Gun Violence Solution, Giffords Gun Owners for Safety, and Doctors for Responsible Gun Ownership. We strived to engage with a diverse group of participants, and to that end, also posted on relevant Subreddits ("r/blackgunowners", "r/guncontrol", "r/firearms", "r/gunpolitics") and Craigslist.

To read the full report, [click here](#).

About 97Percent

97Percent is a bipartisan group of gun owners and non-gun owners united in our mission to reduce gun deaths in America, while respecting the Second Amendment. We believe the way to do that is by changing the conversation around gun safety to include gun owners, conducting innovative research, and leveraging technology to make our communities safer.

Our name was inspired by a 2018 Quinnipiac University poll, which found that 97% of Americans support universal background checks: a critical gun safety policy that has yet to be made into federal law. While individual polls vary, support levels hover around 90% – a figure that represents unprecedented agreement on a topic viewed as intractable. We are committed to making progress on solutions that non-gun owners and gun owners want to make our country safer.