Female Firepower: Exploring the Politics of Gun Ownership and Gender

By

Alexandra Terese Middlewood

M.A. University of Arkansas, 2016

B.S. Central Michigan University, 2014

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Political Science and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

Chair: Mark R. Joslyn

_____

Donald P. Haider-Markel

_____

John James Kennedy

_____

Kevin Mullinix

_____

Margaret S. Kelley

Date Defended: 13 May 2019

The dissertation committee for Alexandra Terese Middlewood certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Female Firepower: Exploring the Politics of Gun Ownership and Gender

_____

Chair: Mark R. Joslyn

Date Approved: 13 May 2019

Abstract

Pro-gun organizations have made great strides in mobilizing women and have been successful in inculcating women into gun culture. This raises questions about the intersection of gun ownership, an emerging political identity, and gender. Thus, this dissertation explores the cross pressures women face from their gun ownership status and the political consequences of such cleavages using an intersectional approach. First, I examine the effect of gun ownership on women's political participation and engagement. I find gun owning women to be more engaged and participatory than non-owning women, and find them to be particularly motivated by gun issues. Second, I study the effect of gun ownership on women's feelings of safety in public spaces where firearms are present. Women often feel empowered by owning a gun, and I find gun owning women to be much less averse to firearms than non-owning women. Furthermore, in some cases, women owners were even less averse than their male counterparts. Lastly, I examine the effect of gun ownership on women's attitudes about use of force policies, namely the death penalty and the use military force. Here, gun owning women are more supportive of such policies than non-owners, and gun ownership is found to mitigate the expected gender gap in attitudes on these issues. I conclude by addressing the importance of these findings for the literature and for politics, the limitations of these studies, and avenues for future research.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Susanne Middlewood, who has forever been my biggest cheerleader. She taught me that it's okay to stumble as long as you always get back up and keep going – and I've done a lot of stumbling along the way. Every ounce of 'grit' I have has come from her. Without that perseverance and her conviction that her children should have a better education than she did, this dissertation would not have been possible.

My partner, Frank Gomez, deserves special acknowledgement for keeping me grounded through this whole process. Frank has been exceptionally supportive as I've completed this journey. He has celebrated my successes and lifting me up from my failures. He also deserves recognition for single-handedly keeping our household afloat and our dog happy – even if we did accidentally let the plants die – as I jumped into this dissertation head first. I am eternally grateful for the love he's given me along the way.

I would also like to acknowledge Rachel Finnell. I'm not sure how I got so lucky to have been matched with her as officemates and TA partners our first year in the PhD program, but I can't imagine going through this gauntlet without her. She's been my person to laugh with, my shoulder to cry on, and was always ready with a pep talk when I needed it.

There are not words to express how thankful I am for my committee, and especially for my chair, Dr. Mark Joslyn, who let me wander but always made sure I would find my way back on the right track. His unwavering support and dedication to my success is more than I can ever repay. Extra thanks for the life advice he's thrown in along the way.

To my friends and family, I appreciate your support and understanding as I 'disappeared' into graduate school for months at a time.

And last but certainly not least, thank you to anyone and everyone who has ever encouraged me along the way – I have stood on the shoulders of giants.

Table of Contents

Introduction

"God made man and woman, but Samuel Colt made them equal."[1]

Recently, 2020 Democratic presidential hopeful Senator Kamala Harris received considerable backlash over owning a gun. Several critiques have been lobbed at her for owning a firearm. Can Senator Harris be a gun owner and still appeal to the liberal democratic primary voter? After all, keeping a handgun for personal safety, as Harris claimed, is a "bedrock conservative view" (Funt 2019). Yet, Senator Harris has quite a lot in common with her fellow gun-owning women. Gun ownership for most women is not strictly a political issue, it is especially personal. Most women own firearms for self-protection, just as Senator Harris does. Among women, gun ownership has not declined over the past several decades as it has for men, even as women have become more liberal. This trend suggests women who own firearms have a unique relationship with guns that is different than their male counterparts.

Senator Harris, like other gun owning women, face cross pressures from gender and gun ownership. These pressures have resulted in political behavior unique to women gun owners. This group of women is distinctive from other women as well as gun owning men. This dissertation explores the relationship, focusing on the politics of gun ownership and gender. The main question addressed is: what political effect does gun ownership have on women? The dissertation is divided into three distinct parts. First, does gun ownership effect the political engagement of women? Second, does gun ownership effect women's attitudes about the safety of guns in public spaces? Along with this, how does this effect the expected gender gap in attitudes about gun issues? Third,

[1] Popular saying. Source unknown.

does gun ownership effect women's attitudes about policies not related to firearms, such as attitudes on the death penalty and the use of military force? Furthermore, does gun ownership influence the expected gender gap in attitudes about capital punishment and military intervention? All of these questions will be addressed in the subsequent chapters.

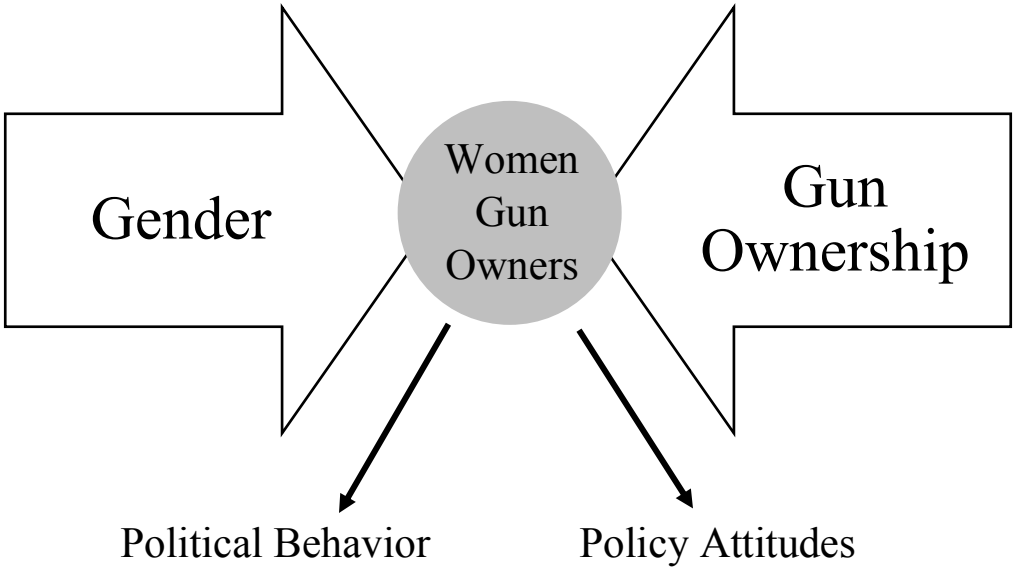
Gender Gap

Gender and politics is a growing subfield of political science. However, a questionable aspect of this research area is how much of the focus remains on the gender differences between men and women – i.e. the gender gap. This term is commonly used to refer to differences in voting preferences and to levels of political participation. Gender differences are most noticeable in attitudes and preferences that lead to active participation in elections (Kittilson 2016). As such, the gender gap literature spans topics such as political engagement, partisanship, and policy attitudes. While many gender gaps seem modest in size, gender differences nevertheless result in sizeable variances in political inputs. For example, in political engagement, Burns, Schlozman, and Verba (2001, 2) find differences accumulate to "2,000,000 fewer phone calls or letters to public officials than men… 7,000,000 fewer campaign contributions from women than from men… 9,000,000 fewer women than men affiliated with a political organization."

Much of the gender literature focuses on the differences between men and women, but only focusing on gender differences is problematic. Women are not a monolithic. Women encompass multiple identities and the differences among groups of women are often larger than the differences between men and women, as I find in the chapters to come. As the intersectionality literature highlighted, non-gender based group attachments create divides within women. These divisions are often substantial and set certain groups of women apart from other women. These cross cutting cleavages have substantial effects on political behavior and policy attitudes.

This dissertation takes an intersectional approach to studying women by focusing on women gun owners. Recent studies show gun ownership, like gender, to be a distinct and powerful political identity. However, it is important not to advantage only one aspect of identity at the exclusion of another – as in the vast majority of the gender gap literature. Rather, gun owning women represent multiple categories. Therefore, treating women as homogenous is problematic. Exploring group attachments within women provides for a more accurate study of women's political behavior. It may in fact be politically advantageous to certain interests to highlight differences between groups of women. For example, groups that typically do not receive support from a majority of women may want to highlight women's uniqueness as gun owners. As I discuss in the next section, when it comes to gun ownership, pro-gun groups have rather effectively exploited the differences among women. Thus, because of an identity based in both gender and gun ownership, women gun owners do not participate in American politics in the same way as women generally. I refer to this divergence in behavior as the "gun gap". Gun ownership sets gun owning women apart from other women by manifesting unique political preferences and attitudes. Past studies suggest women, single women in particular, are swayed by arguments that guns are tools of female empowerment, which has the potential for significant social, political, and policy effects. This relationship is portrayed in Figure 1. As I explore in the chapters to come, gun ownership mitigates the disparity between men and women, and politically gun owning women behave much like gun owning men.

Figure 1: Cross Pressures of Gender and Gun Ownership



Gun Gap

The "gun gap", a term not previously found in the literature, refers to the political differences between gun owners and non-owners. Gun ownership divides this group of citizens from the rest of the population and provides them with unique preferences and attitudes, resulting in a gun gap. Disparities due to gun ownership have been found in political preferences, political engagement and participation, and policy attitudes. Compared to non-owners, a greater share of gun owners participate (Haider-Markel, Joslyn, and Vegter 2018), support Republican candidates (Joslyn et al. 2017), and support military intervention (Middlewood et al. 2018). Furthermore, gun owners tend to have lower support for gun control policies (Celinska 2007; Joslyn and Haider-Markel 2013; Lott 2013; Parker et al. 2017; Vegter et al. 2019). Divisions between gun owners and non-owners reflect emerging political identities, particularly among gun owners.

The political division between gun owners and non-owners is likely caused by gun owners' submersion in gun culture. Culture is defined as "symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms, and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories, and rituals of daily life" (Swidler 1986, 273). Over the past several decades, Americans have become more polarized on guns and gun-related issues, but pro-gun and gun control supporters alike perceive guns as symbols of power. Recent studies suggest gun ownership involves important psychological, political, and social attachments distinct from those of non-owners (Joslyn et al. 2017; Lacombe 2019). To non-owners, gun ownership seems like a simple purchase and possession, but ownership is symbolic of a much larger set of values that have the capacity to shape political attitudes and perceptions (Braman, Kahan, and Grimmelmann 2005; Kahan and Braman 2003). According to Kohn (2004), these attachments impose meaning and significance on guns and weave together a gun culture. Owning a firearm has long stood as a symbol of individualism, self-sufficiency, and independence (Melzer 2009; Wright 1995). Gun ownership, and ultimately gun culture, is as old as the United States itself, and deeply entrenched in American values (Yamane 2017). Even when owners cite different reasons for ownership – recreational versus defensive ownership – similarities emerge in the attachment to American individualism (Celinska 2007). Furthermore, over the past fifty years gun culture shifted from recreational shooting to armed self-defense making attachment to gun culture much more intimate (Yamane 2017). In a recent piece in *The Atlantic*, writer and Iraq War veteran David French wrote "Confidence is contagious. People want to be empowered. That's how gun culture is built. Not by the NRA and not by Congress, but by gun owners, one free citizen at a time" (French 2018). Gun owners often feel emotionally and morally empowered by their firearms and owning a gun has become essential to being a good and patriotic American (Carlson 2015a, 2015b).

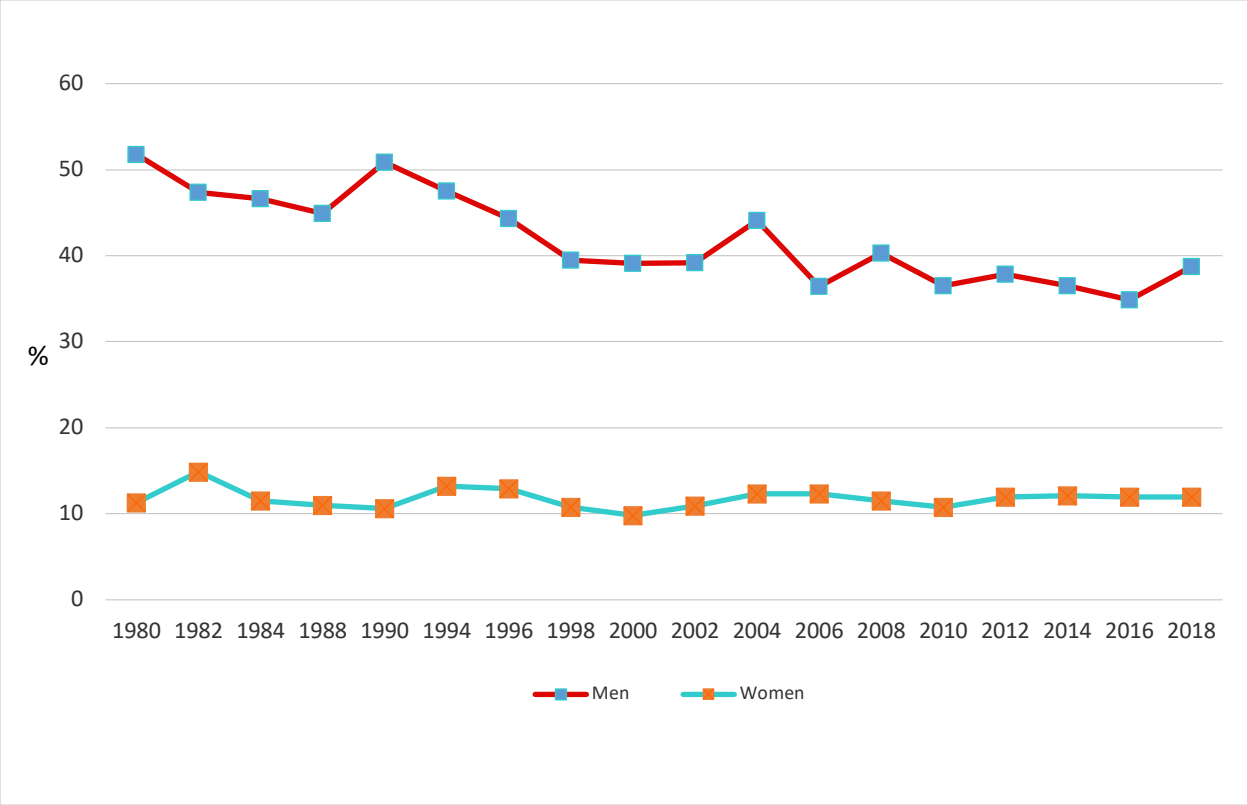
While French (2018) maintains that gun culture is not built by the National Rifle Association (NRA), the organization has undeniable influence on American gun culture since its founding in 1871. The NRA advances gun culture by openly pushing the idea that gun ownership reflects a set of clearly defined identities and values. Furthermore, the NRA asserts that guns are not only physically empowering, but are also emotionally and morally empowering. In fact, the NRA has been so successful in their approach they have cultivated a politicized gun owner social identity which the organization uses to mobilize mass political action on its behalf (Lacombe 2019). Gun culture is further reinforced by the marketing of firearms and the prevalence of guns in the entertainment industry. While a vast majority of gun owners experience gun culture, I argue that women gun owners have a unique experience due to conscious efforts by the NRA and gun manufacturers to market firearms to women.

The Mobilization of Women Gun Owners

Previous literature recognizes the potential for gender differences in gun attachment. While the exact number of gun owners in the US is unknown – recent estimates range from 270 to 350 million (Ingraham 2015; Karp 2011; Krouse 2012) – we do know women are far less likely to be gun owners than men. However, studies discover no change in gun ownership among women in recent decades (Donges and Karp 2014; Goss 2017), even as overall gun ownership has declined (Smith and Son 2015)[2]. Figure 2 displays gun ownership by gender over time using General Social Survey time series data. According to the website for the National Rifle Association, 3.35 million women own guns in the United States. In a Pew Research Center poll of self-reporting gun owners in 2017, twenty-two percent of women own at least one firearm (Parker et al. 2017). Furthermore,

[2] Some studies have found increased ownership among women, though the General Social Survey shows little change from 1980 to 2018 in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Percent of Men vs. Women Who Own Firearms, 1980-2018[3]



Blair and Hyatt (1995) identified two subgroups of women gun owners: firearm 'experts' who primarily have recreational interests in guns and who reported interest in guns in an effort to share a hobby in common with their husbands, and those who own guns for personal protection and out of fear of personal victimization. Most women fall into the latter category, and policy and research on the role of firearms in women's lives usually stress women as victims of violence. In fact, women's gun ownership is highly responsive to crime rates (Bordua and Lizotte 1979; Lizotte, Bordua, and White 1981) and women who own guns tend to believe they are at high risk for victimization (DeJong 1997; Depew and Swensen 2018). As evidence emerged supporting gun ownership as a social identity, new questions arise regarding the role guns play in the lives of

[3] Data for 1986 and 1992 not available.

American women. I argue that women experience different attachments to gun culture, principally due to their self-defensive reasons for ownership, which has been reinforced by the targeting of women by pro-gun groups.

During the 1980s, amid a decline in firearm sales, gun organizations discovered women as a potential consumer base (Blair and Hyatt 1995; Browder 2006). As the gun industry began to embrace female customers, the NRA actively began promoting women's gun ownership. In their attempt to woo women, the NRA and various gun manufacturers began placing advertisements in traditionally female magazines – such as *People*, *Family Circle*, *Ladies Home Journal*, and *Redbook*. Often the ads promoted the need to carry handguns to ensure safety, endorsing the perception of women as good mothers or responsible single women. These campaigns appealed to women's desire for empowerment as well as their fear-induced need for self-protection. An early NRA program, Refuse to be a Victim, was launched in the 1990s and focused on empowering women to overcome concerns of victimhood by purchasing firearms. Much of the early years of *Women & Guns* magazine was also dedicated to this goal. Since then, the NRA developed the NRA Women's Network, which the organization's website describes as "…a go-to, growing resource for news, education, events, and more. And we're telling more stories of empowered women like you. Come explore, connect, and unite – with the women of the NRA." Furthermore, the NRA developed "Women on Target" instructional shooting clinics specifically for gun owning women. Non-NRA shooting ranges have followed suit by promoting "ladies night" events. Furthermore, organizations have since been developed specifically for women gun owners, such as The Well Armed Woman, which promotes empowerment as one of its core values and also provides instructor certification courses designed specifically for women.

Mobilizing women, a previously untapped group of firearms consumers, is beneficial to the pocketbooks of gun manufacturers and the image of the NRA. Or, as Browder (2006, 213) described it, "the 'new' armed women must take on the most difficult task of all: saving the gun industry from declining sales and helping protect the NRA against its anti-government, pro-militia image". However, it also serves to politically benefit these organizations. It is politically advantageous for pro-gun groups to engage women and since the 1980s they have largely pulled ahead of pro-regulation groups in addressing women's lack of engagement on gun issues. Emphasizing gun ownership as an important aspect of women's lives, as the NRA has done rather successfully, is politically advantageous. By doing so, the NRA highlighted the differences between gun owners and non-owners and mobilized women in such a way that it makes them unique. Women gun owners are politically distinct from other women – i.e. the gun gap. Furthermore, this mobilization diminished differences with male owners – i.e. the gender gap – which certainly has political consequences. The effects of this success are explored in the chapters of this dissertation.

Chapter One

The first chapter explores the gun gap among women on measures of political engagement and participation. Women gun owners are distinctive socially and politically, making them substantively and symbolically important to political mobilization, especially for gun rights advocates. In this chapter, I find that gun ownership influences women's political engagement and participation. First, I find that women gun owners are more participatory on measures of engagement directly linked to gun policy. Women gun owners are more likely to contact a public official, contribute money, express opinions on social media, and sign petitions on issues related to firearms. Second, using a survey experiment, I examine women gun owners' willingness to

engage in political discussion on gun rights. I find a distinct gun gap between women owners and non-owners – who support gun rights and perceive the majority of Americans as supporting gun rights – on willingness to engage in discussion with someone who has the opposite view. Women gun owners are more likely to engage in this type of political discussion than non-owners, even when they hold the same gun rights position. Finally, I examine two general dimensions of political participation – cognitive engagement and behavior engagement – and find women gun owners are more likely to pay attention to political news, care about electoral outcomes, register to vote, vote for congressional representatives, and vote for president than women non-owners.

Chapter Two

The second chapter explores the gendered perceptions of public safety and firearms. Past studies show a gender gap in opinions on public safety issues regarding guns, with women being substantially more gun averse. This chapter explores the gun gap in women's opinions on these issues and the effect this difference has on the expected gender gap. Prior research on public safety and women's gun ownership in particular have focused on vulnerability and victimization as reasons for why women choose to own firearms. Chapter Two extends this research by focusing on the gun gap in women's feelings of safety, specifically on firearms in public spaces. I employ two unique nationally representative surveys with an oversampling of gun owners and I find that women gun owners are substantially more likely to feel safer when guns are present in public spaces than non-owning women. Additionally, women gun owners hold attitudes that are distinctly more positive about scenarios in which looser gun restrictions are implemented – allowing more people to carry firearms generally and allowing more people to conceal carry. The effects of gun ownership are so influential on women's attitudes about gun safety that the expected gender gap

disappears, and in some cases reverses, with gun owning men being more gun averse than women gun owners.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three focuses on non-gun related policy attitudes. This chapter explores the effect of gun ownership on women's policy attitudes about capital punishment and the use of military force. Both of these policy areas have distinct expectations for gender and gun ownership, independently. Studies have found women are less supportive of these policies, largely due to socialization. Furthermore, many gun owners chose to own firearms as they believe the state is failing in its duty to protect citizens, not only individually but as a collective. Thus, gun owners are more supportive of policies that use force to protect all citizens – the death penalty and military action. Using two national surveys, I find that gun ownership has strong effects on women's support for both of these policies. Gun ownership creates large attitudinal divides among women, divisions which are noticeably smaller for men. The effect of gun ownership ultimately mitigates the gender gap in support for capital punishment and military intervention.

I conclude with a discussion of the implications of this research for both the field of political science and non-academics. For political science, this dissertation highlights the value in taking an intersectional approach to studying women. There are also several political implications these findings. Namely, women gun owners as a highly participatory group with distinct policy attitudes have the ability to potentially shape policy debates. Additionally, limitations regarding response and self-selection bias are also addressed. Finally, I present several fruitful avenues for future research.

Chapter 1

Women's Gun Ownership and Political Participation

Although gun ownership among men has been declining in recent decades, the same trend is not true among women. Since 1980, the percentage of women owning guns (about 11%) is stable, though still much lower than that of men ((about 32%) (see Goss 2017; Parker et al. 2017; Yablon 2016)). The apparent resistance of women to the decline in ownership may be a result of several factors; most noteworthy the National Rifle Association and gun makers tailored marketing campaigns toward women, emphasizing protection, and featured programs designed to inculcate women into gun culture (Breslin 2013; Enriquez 2006; Goss 2017; NRA Women 2018; Schultz 2017). Although Goss (2010, 2017) contends that these efforts have not had the intended effect of increasing female gun ownership or participation in gun culture, it does appear that the efforts of the NRA and others may have prevented a decline in female gun ownership.

Trends in gun ownership are important because firearm possession is associated with specific political preferences. For example, Gimpel (1998) showed a strong vote preference for Republican gubernatorial candidates among gun owners. More recently, Joslyn et al. (2017) found gun ownership to be a stable and powerful predictor of voting for Republican presidential candidates across numerous election cycles from 1972 to 2012, and that this pattern increased over time. Additionally, gun owners, compared to non-gun owners, are also more likely to support concealed carry laws, oppose bans on guns, strongly champion the 2nd amendment, less likely to blame guns for mass shootings, and less trustful of government (Joslyn and Haider-Markel 2013, 2017; Lott 2013; Parker et al. 2017).

In this chapter, I hypothesize that gun ownership influences women's political engagement and participation. Nearly a third of gun owners are members of the NRA, while still others join

gun related organizations and social networks. Membership and extended associations thus make gun owners available and visible to political organizations (Kohn 2004). In addition, voluntarily associating with others that share a common identity and interest in guns assists mobilization efforts. Political engagement is encouraged and reinforced within such networks as members are susceptible to social expectations (Rosenstone and Hansen 2003). Finally, gun owners often perceive a personal stake in electoral outcomes (Wolpert and Gimpel 1998). Candidates espouse distinct gun rights positions and therefore the potential behavior of gun owners is important for electoral outcomes. The possibility of future, more restrictive, regulations on gun owners may be sufficient motivation for political engagement (Spitzer 2015).

Gun ownership may increase political engagement and participation among men (Parker et al. 2017), but gun ownership is less common, and indeed less expected, of women (Carlson 2015; Goss 2017). Women gun owners are thus distinctive socially and politically and this makes them substantively and symbolically important to political mobilization, especially for gun rights advocates.

Furthermore, female gun owners, relative to women that do not own guns, may be particularly susceptible to mobilization and possess significant personal motivation to engage. Men, in general, participate politically more so than women (Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997). This means that overall female political participation has greater room to grow. As such, to the extent that a firearm increases political participation, the added effect should be considerably larger for women than men. By comparing female gun owners to non-gun owners, I anticipate greater political engagement and participation across various forms.

I begin with a brief review of existing literature on gender, political participation, and gun ownership. I then present a theoretical argument suggesting that gun ownership empowers women

to participate politically, especially on issues involving guns. Finally, employing data from three national surveys of American adults I test my hypothesis that gun-owning women are more likely to engage in political activity than women who do not own guns. The results of this analysis suggest that there is a significant divide between gun and non-gun owning women on several distinct measures of political engagement and participation.

Women and Political Engagement

The intersection between gender politics and political behavior is a flourishing field. Although differences between the political behavior of men and women initially occupied much scholarly attention (Durant 1949; Gosnell 1930; Merriam and Gosnell 1924; Tingsten 1937; Verba, Nie, and Kim 1978), the gender gap in voter turnout largely disappeared and now tends to favor women (Christy 1987; Conway, Steuernagel, and Ahern 1997; Kittilson 2016; Norris 2001).

Yet women remain less engaged in other forms of political participation (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001). Norris (2007) referred to the behavioral gender gap as the "activism gap." Studies show men report greater interest in politics and are more likely to engage in political discussions (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001; Jennings and Niemi 1981; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997; Verba, Nie, and Kim 1987). Burns, Schlozman, and Verba (2001) found women reported lower rates of contacting public officials, contributing financially to campaigns, and belonging to political organizations. Mendez and Osborn (2010) additionally suggest both men and women perceive women to be less politically knowledgeable than men, without consideration for actual levels of knowledge. In the United States, the gender gap in political knowledge about presidential elections is consistently about eleven percentage points (Kittilson 2016).

Alternatively, Hancock (2007) and Kittilson (2016) consider differences among women. Women are not a monolithic group, and gender intersects other identities in complex ways.

Therefore there is likely substantial variance among women, and among men, which is often ignored. Indeed, the intersectional interaction of gender with other social identities is a growing area of research that has enhanced understandings of women's motivation to engage politics. For example, Carpini and Keeter (1996); Burns, Schlozman, and Verba (2001); and Hansen (1997) discovered that women's level of political knowledge and interest in politics increased when the subject matter was relevant to women's position in the political system. Shared interests and identities among women represented important elements of political motivation and mobilization.

I pursue this line of inquiry and ask whether a gap exists in political participation across different groups of women. Specifically, I focus on the potentially crosscutting identities of gender and gun ownership and examine differences in participation of gun owning and non-gun owning women. I contend although women are less likely to own guns and are more likely to support gun control gun ownership draws women into the political process, especially when the issue is guns.

Women, Ownership, and Gun Culture

Recent studies show gun ownership represents an important political variable that rivals other group attachments (Joslyn et al. 2017; Braman and Kahan 2003; Braman, Kahan and Grimmelmann 2005; Kohn 2004). In a recent article, Joslyn et al. (2017) demonstrated the predictive capacity of gun ownership. Across several decades of elections, gun ownership reliably outperformed age, education, place of residence, and gender as predictors of presidential vote choice.

Gun ownership is connected to a learned, socialized process that involves important psychological, political and social attachments (Shapira and Simon 2018). Furthermore, gun ownership has symbolic meaning which fits into broader political, economic, and cultural context (Carlson 2015; Stroud 2016). Ownership comes with its own "culture of armed citizenship"

(Carlson 2015; Yamane 2017). Kahan and Barman (2003) find that gun owners perceive guns in vastly different terms than non-gun owners. These differences translate into distinct vote preferences; compared to non-gun owners, gun owners are strong supporters of Republican presidential candidates (Joslyn et al. 2017).

Gun ownership is also gendered (Goss 2010, 2017; Smith and Smith 1995; Spitzer 2015). In general, women are more supportive of gun control (Horowitz 2017; Kahan and Braman 2003) and less likely to own guns. However, while gun ownership eroded over the past four decades, Goss (2017) observed that women seem resistant to whatever forces were causing male gun ownership to decline. This observation yields important questions regarding female gun ownership (Yablon 2016). Past literature shows social and political context makes gender more or less relevant (Burns 2007) and politics activates an identity making it salient (Conover 1984). Gun ownership as an influential political identity emerged over the past four decades and resulted in increased political participation among gun owners (Haider-Markel, Joslyn, and Vegter 2018). This suggests that political changes activated gun ownership as a salient political identity, tapping into the strong culture that permeates the group. Similarly, women are not monolithic (Hancock 2007; Kittilson 2016) and gaps among some socially distinct groups of women can be much larger than gaps between men and women (Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte 2008). I expect gun ownership to potentially achieve similar divisions among women as race, religion, and economic status. That is, I theorize that guns come with a social identity that will distinguish the attitudes and behavior of owners from non-owners, especially among women.

Additionally, the evidence suggests women own guns primarily for safety and protection (Horowitz 2017), and gun ownership allows women to overcome feelings of vulnerability and victimization (Carlson 2013; Goss 2017; Horowitz 2017; Pantazis 2000). I suspect this effects

women in ways that have not previously been studied. Guns may allow women to overcome common feelings of physical and social vulnerability (Wesely and Gaarder 2004). Along with the cultural ties and attendant associations gun ownership provides, firearms may enhance personal confidence and empower women to engage more in politics and political discussions. If so, this increased engagement should be apparent relative to non-gun owning women, and may even reducing the gender gap with men in political engagement (i.e. Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001; Jennings and Niemi 1981; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997; Verba, Nie, and Kim 1987). I specifically expect female gun owners to engage in political discussions, contribute to campaigns, contact public officials, and register to vote at higher rates than female non-gun owners.

H1: Compared to women that do not own guns, women who own guns will exhibit higher levels of political participation/engagement.

Data and Methods

I test my hypothesis across three data sets. First, I utilized survey data from a May 1-5, 2013 Pew Research Center nationally representative probability sample of 1504 American adults. This survey is particularly well suited for my purposes. Pew asked respondents several questions about their political activities regarding gun issues. The second data set represents a unique nationally representative sample of American adults included a survey fielded during the summer of 2017. This survey included an embedded experiment that allows me to examine in detail the impact of gun ownership on the propensity of women to engage in political discussion. Finally, I employed data from the 2016 American National Election Studies (ANES) survey, which includes a convenient battery of political participation questions as well as a measure of gun ownership.

Study 1. 2013 Pew Center Data

Four questions from the Pew Center offer excellent tests of my hypothesis. Respondents were asked, "Have you ever (a, b, c, d in random order) or not? Yes or No. "a. Contacted a public official to express your opinion on gun policy, b. contributed money to an organization that takes a position on gun policy, c. expressed your opinion on gun policy using Facebook, Twitter, or another social network, d. signed a petition about gun policy." Yes responses were coded as 1, no = 0. For my analysis I included independent variables are well-known determinants of political participation (Rosenstone and Hansen 2003). Several resource-based measures were included, notably education level, income, and age along with key demographic variables of race and gender. To this, I added a measure for partisan strength. Like others (Weisberg 1999), I folded the standard party identification response at its midpoint, reordering the measure from 0 – pure Independents to 3 – strong Democrats and Republicans. Finally, gun ownership is measured by the question, "Do you, or does anyone in your household, own a gun, rifle or pistol; yes, respondent (20.7%); yes, someone else (12.9%); yes, both (8.2%); no, nobody in household owns a gun (51.8%); DK (6.4%). I joined the first and third responses to identify respondents as gun owners (31%) and the second and forth category show the respondent is not a gun owner (69%).

Table 1.1 presents logistic estimates across the four measures of political participation. I first present full models then partition data by gender. Several results are noteworthy. First, in the full models, gun ownership increased the likelihood of participating across all four measures. This is consistent with my expectations and recent research that shows gun owners as more likely than non-gun owners to be engaged and participate in various forms of political behavior regarding gun issues (Haider-Markel, Joslyn, and Vegter 2018; Parker et al. 2017). More importantly, among women the gap between gun and non-gun owners persisted. Female gun owners, compared to

Table 1.1: Political Participation About Gun Issues

	Contact Official (All)	Contact Official (Women)	Contact Official (Men)	Contribute Money (All)	Contribute Money (Women)	Contribute Money (Men)	Social Media (All)	Social Media (Women)	Social Media (Men)	Sign Petition (All)	Sign Petition (Women)	Sign Petition (Men)
Gun Owner	0.945^{***}	0.789^{**}	1.036^{***}	1.305^{***}	1.417^{***}	1.185^{***}	0.533^{**}	0.395°	0.357	0.796^{***}	1.423^{***}	0.291
	(0.000)	(0.011)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.005)	(0.086)	(0.136)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.220)
Gender	−0.248			−0.002			0.181			0.055		
	(0.190)			(0.990)			(0.308)			(0.760)		
Chi 2	76.76	25.01	45.28	114.13	46.33	61.32	78.27	51.91	36.25	49.53	46.87	20.91
Num. obs.	1156	572	584	1150	568	582	1152	569	583	1145	567	578

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\circ}p < 0.1$

Notes: Logistic estimates. P-values in parentheses. Data are from the Pew Research Center's May 2013 Political Survey. Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

female non-gun owners, were more likely to contact officials to express opinions about gun policy ($b = .789$, $p < .01$), contribute money to organizations involved in gun issues ($b = 1.417$, $p < .00$), express opinions about gun issues on social media ($b = .395$, $p < .10$), and sign gun policy petitions ($b = 1.423$, $p < .00$). Among men, the gap between gun and non-gun owners emerged for two of the four measures, contacting officials ($b = 1.036$, $p < .00$) and contributing money ($b = 1.185$, $p < .00$).

Thus for matters related to gun policy, women gun owners reported greater activity and appear more willing than non-gun owning women to participate politically and engage others. Although the relationship is muted on the social media engagement question (only statistically significant in a one-tailed test), the results are robust after controlling for other notable determinants and reliable across four different measures of gun policy participation. The evidence in Table 1.1 provides support for my hypothesis.

Study 2. 2017 Survey Sample International Survey

My analysis above shows association, but not causation. I am unable to account for all of the causal pathways that might influence the relationship between gun ownership and political engagement, but I did utilize an experiment that can account for causal influence in a specific decision to engage politically. I used an embedded experiment from a nationally representative survey of 2,089 American adults administered by Survey Sample International (SSI) from June 28 – July 1 2017. The experiment used a modified version of the classic "train test," first applied by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann in her book *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion -- Our Social Skin* (1984). The train test examines the impact of the prevailing opinion climate on willingness to engage in political conversation. Respondents were asked to consider a hypothetical social situation where they are located next to a fellow passenger during a five hour train ride. The only

information known about the passenger is she possesses a political point of view diametrically opposed to the respondent. Would the respondent be willing to talk with this person to get to know her point of view better?

Noelle-Neumann hypothesized people possessing majority opinions would be more willing to stand up for their views and readily engage in a conversation with others of opposing views. Across several versions of the experiment, Noelle-Neumann discovered those holding majority views were significantly more likely to talk about political issues with a fellow train passenger. If gun ownership genuinely enhances the likelihood of women engaging in politics, women gun owners should be more willing than non-gun owning women to discuss politics with an unknown traveler holding an opposite political view. This gun gap should be especially evident when women gun owners perceive their opinions are in line with the majority. Noelle-Neumann's train test was modified in two ways. First, selected gun ownership as the issue of discussion. Second, the scenario was changed to travelling on a plane.

Respondents were first asked: "What do you think is more important – to protect the rights of Americans to own guns (58%) OR control gun ownership (42%)." Since 2009, the public is largely split on this question, showing either a slight majority or virtual tie among gun rights and gun control supporters (Pew Research Center 2017). It was therefore important to ascertain respondents' *perceptions* of public support for their own gun opinion. It was then asked, "Now, regardless of your own opinion, what do you think: Do most Americans believe it more important to protect the right of Americans to own guns (62%) OR do most Americans believe it more important to control gun ownership" (38%). Clearly most respondents in the sample perceived most Americans as protectors of the right to own guns.

Finally, if respondents answered the first question in support of protecting gun rights, the following question appeared: "Suppose you are faced with a five hour plane trip, and there is a person sitting next to you who thinks there should be greater control of gun ownership in the United States. Would you talk to the person to get to know their point of view better or wouldn't be worth your while." Results showed that gun rights supporters who believed their opinion was supported by most Americans (61%) were as willing to talk to fellow plane travelers as gun rights supporters that perceived their opinion as the minority (57%) ($\chi^2 = 2.1$, $p < .143$). From this vantage point, the perceived climate of opinion did not influence willingness to engage others about an opposing view on guns. However, the distribution changes markedly when examining gender and gun possession.

Table 1.2 displays the distribution by gender, gun ownership and perceived majority opinion. Women gun owners that perceived most Americans supporting their gun rights position appear quite willing to talk to gun control supporters (64%). Compare this figure to the slightly less than fifty percent of non-gun owning women that also perceived majority support (49%). This significant gun gap emerged only for women that perceived majority status of their own gun rights position. Among women that perceived minority status for their gun rights opinion, gun owners did not differ from non-gun owners ($\chi^2 = .62$, $p < .42$).

To the extent that women willing to speak exert a greater impact on others, and perhaps influence the climate of opinion, gun possession appears to motivate greater engagement. Table 1.2 shows that men do not respond similarly. Gun ownership and perception of public opinion – majority or minority perceived status – does not influence willingness to speak to gun control supporters. Overall, the experiment provides conditional evidence that female gun owners are more willing to engage politically at the decision point of behavior action.

Table 1.2: Gun Rights Supporters by Gender and Perceived Public Support, Willingness to Engage People of Opposite Opinion.

	Women				**Men**			
	Majority		**Minority**		**Majority**		**Minority**	
	Gun Owner	*Non-Gun Owner*	*Gun Owner*	*Non-Gun Owner*	*Gun Owner*	*Non-Gun Owner*	*Gun Owner*	*Non-Gun Owner*
Talk to person	64%	49%	64%	59%	56%	56%	56%	68%
Chi-square test	$X^2 = 6.61$	p<.01*	$X^2 = .62$	p < .42	X^2=.019	p<.89	X^2=2.71	p <.10
N	171	142	96	75	307	133	113	69

*significant chi-square value.

Study 3. American National Election Studies Survey 2016

I examined two general dimensions of political participation in the 2016 ANES survey. The first is cognitive engagement, which is an important measure of political involvement and interest (Zukin 2006). I employed two conventional measures of cognitive engagement; first, attention to national politics, and the second, concern about who may win the election. Specifically, respondents were asked, "How much attention do you pay to news about national politics on TV, radio, printed newspaper, or the Internet? 1 - a great deal, 2 - a lot, 3 – a moderate amount, 4 – a little, 5 – none at all." And, "How much do you care who wins the presidential election this fall? 1 - a great deal, 2 - a lot, 3 - a moderate amount, 4 - a little, 5 - not at all.". I recoded responses to form separate dependent variables that begin with the least amount of attention and care – 0, and extend to the highest categories – 4. The second participation dimension

is behavioral. Citizens engage in political activities that attempt to influence an outcome (Brady 1999). I used three broad measures; whether citizens registered to vote, voted for a presidential candidate, and voted for a congressional candidate.

As I did for the first study, I included typical determinants of political participation, notably education, income, age, race, gender, and party extremity as independent variables in the multivariate model. Given ANES extensive battery of questions, I also added an efficacy index comprised of two conventional efficacy questions.[4] Finally, gun ownership is measured by the question, "How many guns do you or anyone else living here own?" Approximately 32% reported owning at least one gun. This percentage is comparable to levels observed in several national opinion polls (Ingraham 2016; Parker et al. 2017; Smith and Son 2015).

Table 1.3 reports ordered logistic model estimates for the cognitive political engagement measures. Positive coefficients indicate a greater likelihood of attending to political news and caring about the election outcome. Full models are displayed as well as estimated relationship for women and men separately. As anticipated, age, education and party intensity are strong predictors of cognitive engagement. The estimated signs indicate each variable increases the likelihood of greater cognitive engagement. Most importantly, female gun owners were more likely to attend to

[4] V162215 - "Public officials don't care much what people like me think." (Do you [agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly / disagree strongly, disagree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, agree somewhat, or agree strongly] with this statement?). V162216 - "People like me don't have any say about what the government does." (Do you [agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly / disagree strongly, disagree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, agree somewhat, or agree strongly] with this statement?)

news about politics than were non-gun owning women (b = .335, p < .008), and more likely to care about the outcome of the election than non-gun owning women (b = .239, p < .05). By contrast, male gun owners did not differ in their cognitive engagement from non-gun owning men. In short, gun possession does make a difference for cognitive engagement tendencies among women, but not men.

Table 1.3: Cognitive Political Participation

	Attend News (All)	Attend News (Women)	Attend News (Men)	Care Outcome (All)	Care Outcome (Women)	Care Outcome (Men)
Gun Owner	0.109	0.335**	−0.101	0.121	0.239*	0.007
	(0.203)	(0.008)	(0.416)	(0.208)	(0.069)	(0.961)
Gender	−0.425***			0.003		
	(0.000)			(0.97)		
Cut 1	−1.364***	−0.986**	−1.257***	−0.531*	−0.260	−0.796**
	(0.000)	(0.006)	(0.00)	(0.033)	(0.485)	(0.016)
Cut 2	1.382***	1.925***	1.327***	0.482*	0.912**	0.064
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.048)	(0.012)	(0.836)
Cut 3	3.100***	3.780***	2.920***	1.776***	2.103***	1.469***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.00)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Cut 4	4.503***	5.178***	4.338***	2.881***	3.254***	2.530***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Chi 2	614.44	336.17	272.31	576.64	357.39	226.59
Num. obs.	3700	1632	1446	3750	1670	1458

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\circ}p < 0.1$

Notes: Ordered logistic estimates. P-values in parentheses. Data are from the 2016 ANES survey. Coefficients are estimated using ANES weights. Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

Table 1.4: Behavioral Political Participation

	Register (All)	Register (Women)	Register (Men)	Voted President (All)	Voted President (Women)	Voted President (Men)	Voted Congress (All)	Voted Congress (Women)	Voted Congress (Men)	Voted 2012 (All)	Voted 2012 (Women)	Voted 2012 (Men)
Gun Owner	0.386*	0.611**	0.204	0.026	0.121	−0.063	0.249	0.406°	0.039	0.347***	0.346*	0.344**
	(0.023)	(0.006)	(0.390)	(0.874)	(0.548)	(0.779)	(0.141)	(0.078)	(0.870)	(0.001)	(0.023)	(0.015)
Gender	0.223			0.078			−0.177			0.280**		
	(0.144)			(0.608)			(0.203)			(0.003)		
Chi 2	506.93	285.07	226.56	255.90	153.76	108.04	90.54	52.76	36.43	796.57	408.36	384.57
Num. obs.	3441	1501	1318	3466	1531	1313	2952	1251	1079	3120	1662	1458

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, °$p < 0.1$

Notes: Logistic estimates. P-values in parentheses. Data are from the 2016 ANES survey. Coefficients are estimated using ANES weights. Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

Table 1.4 provides logistic estimates for behavioral participation. Once again, full model estimates are presented then data is stratified by gender. The typical participation variables of age, education, income, and party strength exert strong and consistent effects across the models. Beyond these effects, however, gun owners compared to non-gun owners were more likely to register to vote (b = .386, p <.02), vote for congressional representatives (b = .249, p <.10), and report having voted in the 2012 presidential election (b=.347, p<.000). More important for my purposes, women gun owners were more likely to register (b = .611, p < .01), to vote in congressional elections (b = .406, p < .07), and to report having voted in 2012 (b = .346, p<.00) than women who did not own guns. Though the coefficient is positively signed as expected, estimates did not rise to standard statistical significance among female gun owners and voting for president (b = .121, n.s). Differences among male gun owners and non-gun owners did not appear for any measures of behavioral participation. As before, a significant gun gap appeared among women only, and enhanced participation among women gun owners.

Discussion and Conclusion

Scholars are increasingly in pursuit of identifying differences among groups or categories of women, and it is clear that various identities and group memberships motivate women politically (Hancock 2016). This research examines a distinct crosscutting identity among women—gun ownership—to understand if gun ownership plays a significant role in the political participation of women. I theorize that given observed lower levels of political engagement and participation by women, gun ownership could facilitate higher levels of engagement and participation by allowing women to feel more confident and empowered in the public sphere. I also suggest that female gun owners will exhibit higher engagement and participation when the political issue involves guns.

This analysis of data from three nationally representative surveys of American adults, one of which includes an experimental manipulation, provides support for my central hypothesis. In sum, female gun owners are significantly more likely to be engage and participate in politics relative to female non-gun owners. Below I summarize my findings and relevant conclusions.

First, the analysis of data from the 2016 ANES survey suggests that gun-owning women are more likely to engage in various types of political engagement than women who do not own guns. I discovered that female gun owners are more likely to attend news about politics and more likely to care about the outcome of the election than non-gun owning women. A similar gap does not consistently emerge among men.

The gun gap also appeared for behavioral measures of political engagement. Women gun owners are more likely to register to vote, vote in congressional elections, and report having voted in 2012 than women who do not own guns. Again, a similar gap does not consistently emerge among men, suggesting that gun ownership is particularly powerful in motivating the political engagement and participation of women, a reality previously unobserved in the literature.

Likewise, the analysis of data from a 2013 survey conducted for the Pew research Center indicates that gun-owning women are more likely to engage in politics when the issue is guns, relative to non-gun owning women. Female gun owners are more likely to contact officials to express opinions about gun policy, contribute money to organizations involved in gun issues, express opinions about gun issues on social media, and sign gun policy petitions, relative to female non-gun owners. I observe a gap between male gun and non-gun owners in only two of the four forms of political engagement. I conclude that female gun-owners are distinctly motivated by the gun issue.

Finally, the results of the analysis of data from an experiment embedded in a 2017 national survey suggest that female gun owners that perceive their gun rights position as supported by a majority of citizens, are more willing to talk to gun control supporters, relative to female non-gun owners. The simulated social situation, involving a potentially awkward interaction during airplane travel, suggests that female gun owners are emboldened to state a political position on a divisive issue with another passenger even though neither person can easily walk away from the situation. This finding is rather novel considering that research suggests that engaging in public discussion of political issues can have profound effects on the perceived opinion climate (Carpini et al. 2004). My analysis suggests that since female gun owners that support gun rights are more likely to express a preference, their actions are the ones most likely to impact who more generally is willing to express their views publicly (Noelle-Neumann 1984).

Finally, this research contributes to two specific theoretical areas of interest. First, my results underscore the value of studying intersectionality, or potential differences among groups of women. Although gender gaps are often explored, much less attention is paid to distinctions within a gender. Women typically support gun control; gun owners typically support gun rights (Parker et al. 2017). Thus women gun owners represent an intriguing group that combines divergent political tendencies. It is also a group that gun rights groups and businesses value, highlight, and emphasize in the marketing campaigns and political mobilization (Goss 2017; Browder 2006). Gun interests advertise protection, safety, strength, equality, and empowerment. It is perhaps these characteristics that in part produce the gaps in participation tendencies between gun and non-gun owning women. In addition, gun ownership represents a political identity (Joslyn et al. 2017; Lacombe 2019). Such attachment draws the attention of competing political interests and thus members of groups tend to participate a higher levels than non-members. In this way gun

possession, and trends in gun ownership, are important politically and require further research to map likely associations between guns and political behavior.

Additionally, because gun owners' exhibit greater participation on gun issues than non-gun owners, and female gun owners are most likely to participate relative to female non-gun owners, policy debates may be disproportionally shaped by female gun owners, relative to other policy debates. Indeed, female gun owners can be mobilized, are likely to participate, and appear motivated by gun issues. Unfortunately for gun control advocates, female non-gun owners do not appear to be so easily mobilized nor predisposed to engage politically, whether on gun related issues or not. Conceivably, these participation gaps could prove crucial in close elections and policy debates.

Chapter 2

Women's Gun Ownership and Perceptions of Safety

The rates of gun ownership among women are holding steady, even as ownership among men declines. Yet, very little research explores the effect gun ownership has on women. In this chapter I examine the impact of women's gun ownership on feelings of safety about firearms in public spaces. Gun ownership sets women owners apart from other women, creating cleavages in a group that has traditionally been more gun adverse. There is in fact substantial variance among women which is often ignored in the gender gap literature. Women are not a monolithic group, and gender intersects other identities, like gun ownership, in complex ways. This chapter focuses on the gun gap between women gun owners and non-owners, and explores the effect gun ownership has on the expected gender gap on gun issues.

In this chapter, I ask: does gun ownership effect women gun owners' perceptions of public safety and guns? I hypothesize that gun ownership empowers women, causing them to possess substantially different opinions on public safety issues involving guns than non-owning women. Women gun owners are likely to possess attitudes similar to men about public safety involving guns and this reduces the expected gender gap. I begin with a brief review of existing literature on the gender gap in gun issues and women's gun ownership. I then present a theoretical argument suggesting that gun ownership empowers women on public safety issues involving guns. Then, I test my hypotheses using data from two national surveys of American adults – with an oversampling of gun owners. The results of the analysis suggest gun owning women are significantly less fearful of guns in public spaces than non-owners, the effect of gun ownership is larger for women than men, and gun ownership mitigates the expected gender gap. Finally, I discuss the implications of my findings for politics and public policy.

The Gender Gap in Gun Issues

Over the past several decades, public opinion polls consistently show women to be gun adverse. For example, women routinely favor gun control at significantly higher rates (Celinska 2007; Erskine 1972; Filindra and Kaplan 2016; Goss 2006; Goss and Skocpol 2006; Haider-Markel and Joslyn 2001; Howell and Day 2000; Shapiro and Mahajan 1986; Smith 1980, 1984; Wolpert and Gimpel 1998). Being female is an independently powerful predictor of supporting gun regulation, even after controlling for other variables – e.g. race, region, gun in home – that are also associated with gun policy beliefs (Goss 2017). Furthermore, women are nearly twice as likely as men to prioritize gun control over gun rights (Goss 2017). Gender is in fact one of the strongest predictors of gun views. Women tend to be more supportive of all types of gun control – stricter gun sale laws (Shapiro and Mahajan 1986), requiring a police permit to purchase a gun (Brennan, Lizotte, and McDowall 1993; Smith 1980), banning assault style weapons and high-capacity ammunition clips (Pew Research Center 2016), and a complete handgun ban (Kleck, Gertz, and Bratton 2009). This occurs at the citizen and elite levels, and even when controlling for partisanship, female state legislators are more supportive of gun control than male legislators (Thomas, Miller, and Murphy 2008). However, women are purchasing firearms in greater numbers than ever before. The steadfastness of women gun owners in an era of gun owner decline has major implications for the gender gap in gun politics.

Women's Gun Ownership & Empowerment

Since the early 1980s there is a five percent increase in the number of women who personally own a gun. And, a corresponding decrease in ownership among men (Goss 2017). The apparent resistance of women to the decline in ownership may be a result of several factors; most noteworthy the National Rifle Association (NRA) and gun manufacturers tailored marketing

campaigns toward women, emphasizing protection, and featured programs designed to make gun ownership more appealing to women (Breslin 2013; Enriquez 2006; Goss 2017; Schultz 2017). The efforts made by the NRA and other pro-gun groups may not have dramatically increased female gun ownership, but they have notably prevented the decline observed among men (Goss 2006, 2017).

Existing literature suggests gun ownership encourages women to overcome feelings of physical and social vulnerability (Carlson 2013; Goss 2017; Horowitz 2017; Pantazis 2000). Furthermore, evidence suggests women own guns primarily for safety and protection (Horowitz 2017). Studies of legal firearms also show women's gun ownership is more responsive to crime rates than men's ownership (Bordua and Lizotte 1979; Lizotte, Bordua, and White 1981). In addition, women who believe they are at a high risk for criminal victimization are more likely to own a gun than women who do not share the same perception (DeJong 1997; Depew and Swensen 2018). In other words, feelings of vulnerability and victimization incentivizes women's gun ownership. Here, important links can be drawn to vulnerability politics theory.

Vulnerability Politics

Vulnerability politics is used by scholars as a construct through which to understand people's feelings of insecurity (Killias 1990). Gender scholars argue that the association between femininity and vulnerability naturalizes women as victims and structures women's fear of vulnerability to hyper-aggressive, predatory strangers (Franklin and Franklin 2009; Madriz 1997).

Vulnerability is traditionally associated with femininity, marginalization, and subordination (Hollander 2001). Female bodies are believed to be inherently vulnerable and not as dangerous to others because of their smaller average size and perceived lack of strength. As such,

women tend to report higher levels of fear when it comes to violence than men (Gordon and Riger 1989; Madriz 1997; Warr 1984). However, reported patterns of victimization do not correspond to these patterns of fear (Pain 1997). According to the National Crime Survey, men experience much higher risk of violence than women do, both overall and for every type of violence, with the exclusion of sexual assault. Despite the reality of violence against men, vulnerability is not a part of constructions of masculinity (Hollander 2001).

Research conducted by Hollander (2001) shows that while most women view themselves – as a group – as vulnerable and unable to defend themselves against men, women do not perceive themselves – individually – to be passive, and many participants indicated that they would respond vigorously if attacked. However, the study also found that girls and women are perceived as weak, regardless of their actual strength and abilities. Valentine (1997) reported similar findings from interviews with children. Children of both genders viewed girls, but not boys, as vulnerable to danger. Hollander's (2001) study found that women are perceived as dangerous, and thus not vulnerable, only in extraordinary circumstances – when they are armed.

This perception is emphasized by the messaging pro-gun organizations have used to target women. Gun advertisers use fear of crime, among other things, to sell their products (Higgins 2013; Matthews 2015; Stampler 2012). The NRA actively promotes guns to women as the gender "equalizer" in defense against criminal threats (Carlson 2013). Gun carriers often believe that guns level the differences between men and women and allow women to defend themselves against crime. When asked about their reasons for carrying a gun, interviewees in Carlson's (2013) study responded by calling attention to their ever-present risk of victimization. Both male and female gun owners and carriers emphasized the risk of physical vulnerability when they were not armed. From a psychological perspective, gun ownership is motivated by subjective factors such as

perceived risk of victimization (Stroebe, Leander, and Kruglanski 2017). Often, victims of crimes feel total "embodied helplessness" and gun ownership helps alleviate this feeling (Pantazis 2000). Self-defense through gun usage is seen as an "equalizer" which can help overcome feelings of helplessness and vulnerability among women (McCaughey 1997; Stange and Oyster 2000). Once again, this perception has been emphasized by the NRA and gun manufacturers. Gun-industry spokespeople began using language alluding to women's empowerment immediately after launching their initial marketing push in the 1980s. The NRA then released their "Refuse to be a Victim" campaign in the early 1990s which specifically targeted women by stressing the ability of gun ownership to overcome women's fear of victimization and feelings of vulnerability. Additionally, Browder (2006) finds many stories in the early years of *Women & Guns* magazine were about fighting back against male violence. Even Naomi Wolf, the liberal feminist author, approvingly noted the rise of *Women & Guns* magazine in her book *Fire With Fire* (1993). Wolf (1993, 217) states "In the voices of women's letters to the magazine, one can hear the pioneer voices of the women who know that no one will take care of them but themselves." Furthermore, Laura Ingraham, a conservative talk show host, has said "Smith & Wesson and the National Rifle Association are doing more to 'take back the night' than the National Organization of Women and EMILYs List" (Browder 2006)[5]. Additionally, several news articles from across the country suggest guns represent an "equalizer" allowing women to fight off larger and stronger male attackers (Barr 2009; Gosch 1992; Johnson 1989; Leary 1992; Wu 1991).

Goss (2017) suggests that women, and single women in particular, can be swayed by pro-gun arguments – that guns are tools of female empowerment and protection. Women's recent

[5] Take Back the Night is an international movement and non-profit organization with the mission of ending sexual and domestic violence.

embrace of firearms can be attributed to demographic changes. More women are living alone due to delayed marriage, and more women are heading households. Sheley, et al (1994) reports that the profile of women who own guns is changing. They find that women handgun owners are more urban, middle class, and professional than in prior years. Pro-gun interests often argue that "bad guys with guns" pose a pervasive threat and that mothers have a duty to take up arms to protect themselves and their families (Goss 2017). Gun rights groups also focus on persuading women to abandon their commitment to stronger gun control laws and instead embrace firearms (Browder 2006; Goss 2017).

Broadly, then, guns function as symbols of courage and self-reliance (Hofstadter 1970; Kohn 2004). Furthermore, guns are emblematic of independence, power, and justice (Gottlieb 2016; Halbrook 2013; Kahan 1999). Gun rights supporters believe that gun ownership boosts public safety and enables citizens to protect themselves against potential violence (Lampo 2000; Lott 2013). Among gun owners, ownership is seen as a means to provide protection for the self and for loved ones (Carlson 2013, 2015; Esposito and Finley 2014). Smith, Laken, and Son (2014) found more than one-third of households report possession of at least one firearm, with self-defense and hunting purposes being the most reported reasons for ownership. Gun owners seem to be more empowered in general because of feelings of security that come from owning a gun. This seems to be even more salient among gun owning women who have been targeted using anti-victimization messaging. About a quarter of women who own guns cite protection as the sole reason for ownership, compared to eight percent of men (Horowitz 2017). Women who believe they are at a high risk for victimization are also more likely to own a gun (DeJong 1997). As such, I suggest that gun ownership allows women to overcome fears of victimization and vulnerability. In sum, firearms are symbols of self-reliance and empowerment for gun owning women. Guns not

only addresses physical security, but also should effect gun owning women perceptions of gun safety. Gun ownership and gender should theoretically pull women in opposite directions –women in general are pro-gun control but women that are gun owners are likely pro-gun rights. The substantial evidence from the literature on gun ownership suggests women gun owners should possess attitudes toward safety and guns much the same as other gun owners. Thus they will be substantially different on perceptions of safety than women generally. This leads to my three hypotheses:

H_1: Gun owning women feel less fearful than non-owning women.

H_2: The effects of gun ownership on women perceptions of safety is substantially larger compared to men

H_3: On perceptions of safety, there is no gender gap among gun owners.

Data and Methods

Study 1: 2017 Survey Sample International

I first test my hypotheses using a nationally representative survey of 2,089 American adults administered by Survey Sample International (SSI) from June 28 to July 1, 2017. This survey is well suited for the purpose of this analysis since it includes an oversampling of nearly 900 gun owners. Two dependent variables related to safety and guns are included in this study. First, respondents were asked: "How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements: If people are allowed to carry guns, I would be afraid to be in certain areas?" If respondents indicated that they agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, they were coded as 1, and 0 otherwise. Forty-five percent of respondents indicated that they somewhat or strongly agreed, while fifty-five percent did not.

The analysis includes two main independent variables, gender and gun ownership. Gender was coded dichotomously; female respondents coded as 1, and male as 0. Gun ownership is also coded as a dichotomous variable. Respondents were asked "Do you or does someone else keep a gun or rifle in your home?" To capture gun owners specifically, those who answered "Yes" were coded as 1, and those who answered "Yes, but it doesn't belong to me" were removed from the sample. Those who indicated neither they nor anyone in their home own a firearm were coded as 0. By only accounting for people who own a gun themselves, it allows for a more accurate measurement of the effects of gun ownership than if gun owning households in general were used.

Table 2.1 displays descriptive statistics for the first dependent variable across gender and gun ownership. Forty-eight percent of women indicated they somewhat or strongly agreed that people carrying guns makes them afraid to be in certain areas, compared to forty-one percent of men. However, among gun owners the gender gap reverses. Thirty-two percent of men agreed they would be afraid, but only twenty-eight percent of women agree, suggesting women gun owners are less afraid when people are allowed to carry guns. Furthermore, there is a notable gun gap among both genders, but even more so for women. There is a twenty point difference between male gun owners and non-owners, but that pales in comparison to the gun gap among women. There is a remarkable thirty-three point difference between women gun owners and non-owners. In other words, over two-thirds of non-owning women feel afraid, but only about one-fourth of gun-owning women. This gun gap suggests gun ownership has a more powerful effect on women than men.

Table 2.1: Descriptive Statistics for Feeling Afraid

"If people are allowed to carry guns, I would be afraid to be in certain areas."

Somewhat or Strongly Agree	%	Gun Owner	Non-Owner	Differences
Men	41	32	52	+20
Women	48	28	61	+33

The second dependent variable concerned a similar question about safety and guns: "How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements: When I see people carrying guns, I feel threatened and not safe?" Responses were coded as 1 if respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, and 0 otherwise. The sample is evenly split on this question. 49.51 percent of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement, while 50.49 percent did not. Descriptive statistics for feeling threatened and not safe when people carry guns are displayed in Table 2.2. The gun gaps presented in this table are noteworthy. Among women, there is a striking thirty-nine point difference between gun owners and non-owners. Among men, this gap decreases to only twenty-one points. In other words, nearly two-thirds of non-owning women feel threatened and not safe when guns are present, but gun owning women are markedly lower. Less than one-fifth of gun owning women feel threatened and not safe. This shows a distinct difference among women. Indeed, gun ownership has a notable impact on women sense of safety. The gender gap in the whole population is also presented, with thirty-six percent of men agreeing and forty-two percent of women. Among non-owners, the gender gap appears in the same direction, with women feeling more threatened (9 percent more than men). However, just as with the first dependent variable, among gun owners the gender gap reverses. Remarkably, men gun owners now indicate feeling more threatened than women by a nine point margin. A mere eighteen percent of women gun owners agree with the statement, whereas twenty-seven percent of men owners. Once again,

this suggests that gun ownership has a larger effect on women than men. However, to establish this relationship a multivariate analysis with a battery of controls is needed.

Table 2.2: Descriptive Support for Feeling Threatened and Not Safe

"When I see people carrying guns, I feel threatened and not safe."

Somewhat or Strongly Agree	%	Gun Owner	Non-Owner	Differences
Men	36	27	48	+21
Women	42	18	57	+39

Multivariate Analyses

In addition to the two main independent variables, a myriad of control variables were also included in this analysis. Ideology is measured on a seven point scale, 1 = extremely liberal to 7 = extremely conservative. Ideology is a self-placement of ideology on the scale by the survey respondent. Next, to measure income, respondents were asked "Last year, that is 2016, what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes?" This self-reported income variable was categorically coded from less than $10,000 up to $150,000 or more. Other control variables, education level and age were used as they has been shown to be a predictor of gun ownership (Kahan and Braman 2003; Kleck 1996; Smith and Smith 1995; Spitzer 2015). Age is the self-reported age given by respondents. Education level was coded as 1 = high school diploma or less, 2 = some college, 3 = bachelor's degree, 4 = graduate degree. Lastly, it is also important to include race as a control since non-whites have consistently been more supportive of gun control measures (Kahan and Braman 2003; Kleck 1996; Wolpert and Gimpel 1998). The race control variable was coded as 1 if the respondent indicated they are white/Caucasian, and 0 otherwise.

Table 2.3 presents logistic estimates for the feeling afraid gun gap. The multivariate analysis supports the descriptive statistics from Table 2.1. Model 1 displays the determinants of feeling afraid across all respondents, gun owners and non-gun owners alike. Both women ($b = 0.205$, $p < 0.05$) and gun ownership ($b = -0.991$, $p < 0.001$) are significant. However, the coefficient for women is positive, indicating that women tend to be more afraid when they know people around them are carrying guns. On the other hand, the coefficient for gun ownership is negative, indicating that gun owners feel less afraid. Based on past studies, the significance and direction of both estimates are expected based. Model 2 limits the sample to only women. Examining women gun owners, it is apparent that gun ownership has a notable effect on women. Among women, gun ownership ($b = -1.298$, $p < 0.001$) is statistically significant with a negative coefficient indicating women gun owners feel less afraid when they encounter guns in public than women non-owners. This result is somewhat expected, it is reasonable to expect gun owners to be more comfortable around firearms than non-owners. What is remarkable, however, is how much larger the effect of gun ownership is on women compared to men. Model 3 is limited to only men. Unsurprisingly, gun ownership ($b = -0.730$, $p < 0.001$) is also negative and statistically significant for men. Though, the coefficient is notably smaller for men. As these models are estimated using logistic regression, the coefficient is not an accurate representation of the rate of change because a linear relationship cannot be assumed. Rather, marginal effects should be used to calculate the magnitude of the effect of gun ownership. Marginal effects are changes in the probability of the dependent variable across the range of the independent variable. In this case, the marginal effects are changes in the probability of feeling afraid when moving from non-ownership to gun ownership. The marginal effects of gun ownership on the likelihood of feeling afraid for women is -0.31. On the other hand, the marginal effect of gun ownership for men is -0.17. The effect gun ownership has on women is

striking, and nearly twice as large as it is for men. This supports the descriptive statistics, where a larger gun gap is apparent for women. First, gun owning women feel less afraid of guns in public spaces than women non-owners. Second, the effect of gun ownership is larger for women than for men.

Table 2.3: Gun Gap in Feeling Afraid

Gun Gap in Feeling Afraid

	Model 1 (All)	Model 2 (Women)	Model 3 (Men)
Women	0.205*		
	(0.102)		
Gun Ownership	-0.991***	-1.298***	-0.730***
	(0.105)	(0.157)	(0.142)
N	1914	935	979
AIC	2330.2	1123.7	1210.2
BIC	2374.7	1157.6	1244.4
chi2	321.01	186.27	130.99

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's June 28-July 1, 2017 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "If people are allowed to carry guns, I would be afraid to be in certain areas." Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

Next, to test my third hypothesis, I explore the effect of gun ownership on the gender gap. As gun ownership has a much stronger effect on women, it should impact the gender gap and I expect it to mitigate the difference between men and women. For that reason, I explore the gender

gap among gun owners. Logistic estimates for the gender gap in feeling afraid are presented in Table 2.4. Model 1 displays the determinants of feeling afraid among gun owning individuals. Remarkably, gender is not a significant predictor of feeling afraid in Model 1. The lack of significance for gender in Model 1 indicates that there is no difference between men and women gun owners on feeling afraid when people carry guns in public. Noteworthy, the gender gap re-appears in Model 2. Model 2 displays feeling afraid among individuals who do not own guns. Gender here is significant ($b = 0.444$, $p < 0.001$) and the coefficient is positive, indicating that among non-gun owners, women are more likely to feel afraid. Thus, the expected gender gap holds among non-owners, further suggesting gun ownership has a significant impact on gun owning women.

These results are novel because the literature suggests that women are more fearful of guns, and this assumption should hold across all women. But women gun owners are not more afraid of firearms than gun owning men. Among gun owning individuals, the gender gap disappears and there is no statistical difference between men and women who own guns. Gun ownership mitigates the expected gender gap, demonstrating that gun ownership has substantial influence on women. In other words, gun ownership effects women in a way that suggests they hold attitudes about firearms that resemble the attitudes of gun owning men, and are considerably different than women generally.

Table 2.4: Gender Gap in Feeling Afraid

Gender Gap in Feeling Afraid

	Model 1 (Gun Owners)	Model 2 (Non-Owners)
Women	-0.172	0.444***
	(0.163)	(0.132)
N	853	1061
AIC	972.0	1356.2
BIC	1005.2	1391.0
chi2	89.33	107.63

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's June 28-July 1, 2017 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "If people are allowed to carry guns, I would be afraid to be in certain areas." Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

Table 2.5 presents logistic estimates for feeling threatened and not safe. The multivariate analysis supports the relationship found in the descriptive statistics from Table 2.2. Model 1 displays all respondents. Women are surprisingly not significant in Model 1. A gender gap is expected based on past studies, but the lack of a gender difference could potentially be due to significance in opposite directions among women gun owners and non-owners. This will be explored further in the subsequent section. However, gun ownership is significant (b = -1.206, p < 0.001) with a negative coefficient, indicating gun owners feel less threatened when they see someone in public carrying a gun. Just as with the first dependent variable, this relationship is expected. Model 2 is limited to women. Gun ownership (b = -1.738, p < 0.001) is negative and

significant, signifying gun ownership has a large effect on women when it comes to feeling threatened and not safe around firearms. There is a significant gun gap among women where gun owners indicate feeling significantly less threatened than non-owners. Similar results are seen for male owners (b = -0.809, p < 0.001). Once again, the marginal effects are needed to determine the actual effect gun ownership has on each gender. For women, gun ownership has a marginal effect of -0.373. This influence is more than twice as large as the marginal effect for men, -0.182. This difference is noteworthy. On the question of feeling threatened and not safe when firearms are present, gun ownership has a clear and substantial impact. Not only is there a large gun gap among women, gun ownership has a stronger effect on women than it does men.

Table 2.5: Gun Gap in Feeling Threatened and Not Safe

Gun Gap in Feeling Threatened and Not Safe

	Model 1 (All)	Model 2 (Women)	Model 3 (Men)
Women	0.0765		
	(0.106)		
Gun Ownership	-1.206***	-1.738***	-0.809***
	(0.111)	(0.178)	(0.146)
N	1914	935	979
AIC	2184.2	1018.4	1158.4
BIC	2228.6	1052.3	1192.6
chi2	400.97	270.43	143.48

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's June 28-July 1, 2017 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "When I see people carrying guns, I feel threatened and not safe." Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

Now that it has been established that gun ownership significantly impacts women, it is once again helpful to determine what effect this has on the gender gap. Table 2.6 displays the gender gap in feeling threatened and not safe by guns in public. Model 1 presents gun owners. Here gender ($b = -0.566$, $p < 0.01$) is significant. The coefficient for women is negative, indicating women gun owners feel less threated when they see someone carrying a gun in public than male owners. I expected gun ownership to mitigate the gender gap, but remarkably there is still a gender gap just in the opposite direction. Not only do women feel less threatened, Model 2 suggests that there is a significant statistical difference between male and female gun owners. In this case, when women encounter firearms, women gun owners feel less threatened than even men owners. Furthermore, this result is strengthened when looking at Model 3. Non-gun owning women are also significant ($b = 0.425$, $p < 0.01$), but the coefficient is positive. Thus in the presence of guns, non-gun owning women compared to men feel more threatened and not safe. This also explains why Model 1 from Table 2.5 did not show a gender gap among the population as a whole. As suspected, the significance of gender among gun owners and non-owners in opposite directions cancelled out any significance that could be found among women generally. Unlike the first dependent variable, which suggests the lack of a gender gap between men and women gun owners, the models in Table 2.6 show that there is a gender gap, but it is the opposite of what is to be expected via the literature. Here women gun owners feel even less threatened by guns than their male counterparts.

Surprisingly, my third hypothesis is not supported by these results as I hypothesized there would be no gender gap among gun owners. However, the actual relationship is even more novel than the lack of a gender gap. Gun ownership has a substantial effect on women, causing an unexpected gender gap where men owners feel more threatened by others carrying firearms than women. This also sets women gun owners even further apart than other women as the expected

gender gap is present among non-owners. Thus, gun ownership status is pulling women in opposite directions. Among gun owning men and women, the impact is large enough to set women apart from men.

Table 2.6: Gender Gap in Feeling Threatened and Not Safe

Gender Gap in Feeling Threatened and Not Safe

	Model 1 (Gun Owners)	Model 2 (Non-Owners)
Women	-0.566**	0.425**
	(0.185)	(0.134)
N	853	1061
AIC	836.6	1333.9
BIC	869.8	1368.7
chi2	101.76	147.89

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's June 28-July 1, 2017 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "When I see people carrying guns, I feel threatened and not safe." Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

Study 2: 2018 Survey Sample International

To build on the findings from the previous study, I utilized a more recent nationally representative survey of 2,780 American adults. This survey was conducted by SSI between July 27 and August 2, 2018. Containing an oversampling of nearly 1,500 gun owners, this survey is also well suited for this analysis. Two questions relating to safety and firearms are utilized as

dependent variables. First, respondents were asked: "How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: More people carrying guns in public makes me feel less safe." This question allows for a proxy measure of attitudes on policies that would allow more Americans to carry firearms in public spaces. Mirroring the 2017 SSI study, this analysis also includes two main independent variables – gender and gun ownership. Just as before, gender is a dichotomous variable. Women are coded as 1 and men as 0. Gun ownership is also dichotomous. Respondents were asked "Do you or does someone else keep a gun or rifle in your home?" Once again, I wanted to use the most accurate measure of gun ownership possible and have only included personal gun ownership in the variable. As such, those who answered "Yes" were coded as 1, and those who answered "No" were coded as 0. Those who responded with "Yes, but it doesn't belong to me" were removed from the sample.

The descriptive statistics for the first dependent variable are shown in Table 2.7. Sixty-three percent of men agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, while only fifty-eight percent of women. These descriptive statistics suggest women are slightly less fearful when more people carry guns in public, there is about a five point gender gap. However, when examining gun owners and non-gun owners, as seen in Table 2.7, there is a noteworthy gun gap among women. There is virtually no difference between men gun owners (sixty-three percent) and non-owners (sixty-five percent). Remarkably, when exploring women, there is a thirty-one point difference between gun owners and non-owners. Seventy-four percent of non-owning women feel less safe when more people carry guns, compared to forty-three percent of owners. In other words, less than half of gun owning women feel less safe while nearly three quarters of non-owners feel unsafe. This is a stark difference. Women gun owners are notably less likely to agree that gun carrying people make them feel less safe. Gun ownership here makes no real difference for men, but has an undeniable effect

on women. These descriptive statistics suggest there is a monumental difference between gun owning and non-owning women, as well as the lack of a gun gap for men.

Table 2.7: Descriptive Statistics for Feeling Less Safe When More People Carry Guns

"More people carrying guns in public makes me feel less safe."

Somewhat or Strongly Agree	%	Gun Owners	Non-Owners	Differences
Men	63	63	65	+2
Women	58	43	74	+31

The second dependent variable alludes to concealed carry. Respondents were asked how much do they agree or disagree with the following statement: "Allowing people to carry concealed guns makes everyone safer." Including this question as a dependent variable allows for an analysis of attitudes on concealed carry specifically. If respondents indicated they agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, they were coded as 0, and 1 if they somewhat or strongly disagreed. As this question asks respondents if they feel safer, flipping the responses was necessary since all of the previous dependent variables ask respondents about feeling fearful. Coding those who disagree as 1 allows for a measurement of feeling less safe when people concealed carry which fits with the directional relationship of the previous dependent variables.

The descriptive statistics for the second dependent variable are shown in Table 2.8. As expected based on past literature, there is a gender gap. There is a thirteen point difference between men and women on feeling fearful when there is concealed carry. Also, unsurprisingly, there is a massive gun gap between gun owners and non-gun owners of both genders, although it is slightly larger among women. About a quarter of gun owning women, twenty-six percent, feel fearful but

among women non-owners, there is a spike to sixty-nine percent, resulting in a forty-three point gun gap. The gun gap is only thirty-seven points among men. Only about a quarter of gun owners disagree that concealed carry makes everyone safer, while nearly sixty-four percent of non-gun owners believe the same. Clearly, there is a distinct difference between gun owners and non-gun owners on concealed carry, and the larger gun gap among women suggests, once again, that gun ownership has a larger effect on women. These results will be tested in a multivariate analysis.

Table 2.8: Descriptive Statistics for Concealed Carry

"Allowing people to carry concealed guns makes everyone safer."

Somewhat or Strongly Disagree	%	Gun Owners	Non-Owners	Differences
Men	35	21	58	+37
Women	48	26	69	+43

Utilizing these dependent variables allow for a measure of fearfulness on the presence of guns in public spaces. These variables are also related to two popular areas of public policy. The first, feelings of safety when more people carry guns in public, is related, albeit indirectly, to policies which allow greater access to firearms. The second, feelings of safety when people concealed carry, is of course related to concealed carry policy. While these cannot be used as a direct measure of support for or against such policies, the results do allow for measurement of how safe or fearful respondents feel when these policies are implemented.

For consistency, this study contains the same controls as the first. Ideology is once again measured on a seven point scale from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. To measure income, respondents were asked to reveal their total family income from 2017. These are categorically coded from less than $10,000 to $150,000 or more. For age, respondents self-reported

their age. Education level was once again coded on a four point scale – high school diploma or less, some college, bachelor's degree, and graduate degree. Finally, race is a dichotomous variable where 1 indicates White and 0 otherwise.

Multivariate Analysis

For the first dependent variable, logistic estimates are shown in Table 2.9. The table shows the gun gap in feeling less safe when more people carry guns in public. As shown in Model 1, both gender ($b = -.386$, $p < 0.01$) and gun ownership ($b = -.7$, $p < 0.001$) are significant and the coefficients are negative. This gender gap indicates that women, compared to men, feel safer when more people are allowed to carry firearms. This result is rather unexpected based on past studies. However, as this survey contains an oversampling of gun owners, it is likely women gun owners are pulling the coefficient for women towards negative. Examining the marginal effect largely supports this explanation. The marginal effect of gender in Model 1 is 0.089, indicating very little overall effect. Noteworthy, the effect of gender among gun owners is nearly three times larger, with a marginal effect of 0.222. Therefore, it seems probable that the reversal of the gender gap shown in Model 1 is caused by the oversampling of gun owners, considering gun owners feel safer when more people are allowed to carry firearms in public. Model 2 limits the sample to women to examine the effects of gun ownership. Gun ownership ($b = -1.146$, $p < 0.001$) is significant among women and has a large negative coefficient. The marginal effect of gun ownership on women is -0.268. Furthermore, gun ownership is not a significant predictor among men, as displayed in Model 3. First, gun owning women are substantially less fearful of more people carrying guns in public than non-owning women. The effect of gun ownership is also much larger for women than men. In fact, there is no statistical difference between gun owning and non-owning men, while there is an impressive gun gap among women. Gun ownership has a strong impact on women and

sets gun owning women far apart from non-owning women when it comes to feelings of safety and carrying firearms in public.

Table 2.9: Gun Gap in Feeling Less Safe When More People Carry Guns in Public

Gun Gap in Feeling Less Safe When More People Carry Guns in Public

	Model 1 All	Model 2 Women	Model 3 Men
Women	-0.386**		
	(0.128)		
Gun Ownership	-0.700***	-1.146***	-0.270
	(0.131)	(0.191)	(0.185)
N	1332	630	702
AIC	1560.6	703.6	813.6
BIC	1602.1	734.7	845.4
chi2	231.06	167.82	112.26

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's July 27-August 2, 2018 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "More people carrying guns in public makes me feel less safe." Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

As the previous table explored the gun gap on feeling less safe when more people carry guns, it is necessary to explore what this gun gap means for the expected gender gap. Table 2.10 examines the gender gap. Model 1 limits the sample to gun owners. In Model 1, women are significant ($p < 0.001$) and negative ($b = -0.910$) indicating there is indeed a gender gap among gun owners but it is once again in the opposite direction of what is expected. Past literature suggests women are more gun averse and feel less safe around guns in public spaces, however, I find contradictory results. My findings suggest gun owning men feel less safe when more people carry guns in public than women gun owners. Strikingly, gun ownership does not mitigate the gender

gap as I expected, but has a significant effect on women. Gun ownership effects women to such a degree that it makes them even less gun averse than gun owning men. In this case, women feel significantly less opposed to more people carrying firearms. Gun ownership has such an effect that it reverses the gender gap, with women feeling more positively than men about guns. The result is even more noteworthy when considering Model 2. Among non-owners there is no gender gap, which is unexpected. Here, gender is not a significant predictor of feeling less safe and there is no statistical difference between men and women non-owners. Clearly, the effect of gun ownership is much larger for women as women owners are statistically different than male owners. On the question of feeling less safe when more people carry guns in public, men are more fearful. There is no gender gap among non-owners.

Table 2.10: Gender Gap in Feeling Less Safe When More People Carry Guns in Public

Gender Gap in Feeling Less Safe When More People Carry Guns in Public

	Model 1 Gun Owners	Model 2 Non-Owners
Women	-0.910***	0.344
	(0.172)	(0.199)
N	751	581
AIC	884.0	647.8
BIC	916.3	678.4
chi2	163.64	77.19

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's July 27-August 2, 2018 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "More people carrying guns in public makes me feel less safe." Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

Furthermore, logistic estimates for the second dependent variable are displayed in Table 2.11. This table shows the gun gap in feeling unsafe when more people carry concealed guns. As presented in Model 1, gender ($b = 0.385$, $p < 0.01$) is significant and positive, indicating women feel more unsafe when people concealed carry. This is the expected result based on past studies. Gun ownership is also a significant predictor ($b = -1.621$, $p < 0.001$), but is negative. As expected, gun owners do not feel unsafe around people who concealed carry. Model 2 limits the sample to only women and suggests a fairly large gun gap. Gun ownership ($b = -1.692$, $p < 0.001$) is significant and negative among women. As such, there is a distinct difference between women owners and non-owners. The results from Model 2 indicate this is the case even regarding concealed carry, a policy area that traditionally has notably less support among women. The impact of gun ownership appears fairly large based on the coefficient, and the marginal effects support this. The marginal effect of gun ownership on women is 0.395 Furthermore, Model 3 shows the gun gap between men. Gun ownership ($b = -1.517$, $p < 0.001$) is also significant and negative among men. The marginal effect of gun ownership here is 0.339. Gun ownership has a larger effect for women than for men, though in this case, the marginal effect is only slightly larger for women, suggesting the gun gap to be fairly similar regardless of gender.

Table 2.11: Gun Gap in Feeling Unsafe When More People Carry Concealed Guns

Gun Gap in Feeling Unsafe When More People Carry Concealed Guns

	Model 1 All	Model 2 Women	Model 3 Men
Women	0.385**		
	(0.134)		
Gun Ownership	-1.621***	-1.692***	-1.517***
	(0.133)	(0.198)	(0.181)
N	1265	574	691
AIC	1407.1	639.8	770.4
BIC	1448.2	670.3	802.2
chi2	313.27	166.52	139.80

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's July 27-August 2, 2018 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "Allowing people to carry concealed guns makes everyone safer." Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

Results from the previous table suggest gun owners to be distinctly more favorable towards concealed carry, but ownership only has a slightly larger effect for women. As such, further exploration into the gender gap among gun owners is warranted. Table 2.12 displays the gender gap in feeling unsafe when people concealed carry. Model 1 presents logistic estimates for gun owners. There is no gender gap in Model 1 suggesting there is no statistical difference between men and women gun owners about feeling unsafe when more people carry concealed firearms. Gun ownership mitigates the gender gap. Furthermore, Model 3 examines non-owners. Here gender ($b = 0.406$, $p > 0.05$) is significant and positive, indicating the expected gender gap exists among non-owners. Non-gun owning women feel more unsafe when people conceal carry. The gender gap among non-owners supports the expected divide between men and women found in

the literature. This result makes the findings from Model 1 even more noteworthy. Gun ownership diminishes the gender gap, equalizing men and women on feelings of safety and concealed carry. There is no gender gap in feelings of safety about concealed carry among gun owners, despite the gap existing in the general population and among non-owners.

Table 2.12: Gender Gap in Feeling Unsafe When More People Carry Concealed Guns

Gender Gap in Feeling Unsafe When More People Carry Concealed Guns

	Model 1 Gun Owners	Model 2 Non-Owners
Women	0.316	0.406*
	(0.195)	(0.189)
N	717	548
AIC	725.8	682.2
BIC	757.9	712.4
chi2	59.27	55.29

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's July 27-August 2, 2018 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "Allowing people to carry concealed guns makes everyone safer." Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

The findings presented for all four dependent variables are novel. On both feeling afraid to be around firearms and feeling threatened by firearms a gun gap is found among women. Gun owning women feel less fearful of guns than non-owning women and the effect of gun ownership is substantially larger for women than men. Gun ownership effects women to such a large degree that it also impacts the gender gap. For the first dependent variable, it mitigated the gap altogether.

For the second dependent variable, ownership pushed the gender gap in the opposite direction, with women owners feeling less threatened. Furthermore, women gun owners are found to be distinctly different from non-owners on feelings of safety when certain firearms policies are implemented. Large gun gaps are found among women, suggesting gun owning women are less fearful of guns in public spaces. Moreover, the effect of gun ownership is larger for women than men. Thus, gun ownership causes a larger divide among women than it does for men on these issues. There is a larger difference among gun owning women and non-owning women than there is for the same groups of men. As a result of the substantial impact of gun ownership, the expected gender gap on these policies is nonexistent. Strikingly, the first dependent variable, feeling less safe when more people carry guns, the effect of gun ownership is so considerable it reverses the gender gap. Women gun owners are found to be even less fearful than men owners. In other words, gun ownership effects women differently. These findings show women owners hold attitudes about firearms that more closely resemble those of gun owning men, and are considerably different than women generally. Support is found for the first two hypotheses, there is a significant gun gap among women and the effect of gun ownership is stronger for women than men. For the third hypothesis, support is mixed. In two cases, there was no gender gap among gun owners. In the other two cases, gun ownership had such an effect that it revered the gender gap, and women gun owners felt more positively towards firearms than even male gun owners. The substantial effects of gun ownership on women have major implications for gun policy.

Conclusion

Scholars are increasingly in pursuit of identifying differences among groups or categories of women, and it is clear that various identities and group memberships motivate women politically

(Hancock 2016). This research examines a distinct crosscutting identity among women to understand if gun ownership plays a significant role in women's opinions on gun safety issues. There are many types of women and thus we should not assume women to be homogenous. I theorize that gun ownership facilitates lower levels of fear and vulnerability, allowing women to feel more confident around firearms.

Analyzing the 2017 and 2018 SSI surveys provides support the three hypotheses established in this chapter. The results suggest women gun owners differ greatly from women who do not own firearms. Among non-gun owners, women are more afraid and threatened by guns in public spaces than men. However, gun ownership equalizes men and women's fear of firearms, or perhaps made women even less fearful than men. Furthermore, I find that gun ownership effects feelings of safety among women when certain gun policies are implemented. Women gun owners do not feel less safe when more people carry guns in public, including when people concealed carry. Women owners feel substantially different than other women about firearms, and there is virtually no difference with male owners. Thus, women gun owners do not fit the expectation presented in past literature about women's attitudes on gun control and concealed carry. Rather, gun ownership status divides women to a larger degree than it divides men. Women gun owners are considerably more similar to men owners than women non-owners are to men non-owners. Even among non-owners there are stark gender differences in attitudes about gun issues, with men being less averse than women. But, among gun owners, gender differences are nearly nonexistent. Indeed, where there are gender differences, the expected gender gap reverses, showing women to be more disposed towards gun issues than men.

Results highlight the value of taking an intersectional approach to studying women. Although gender gaps are often explored, much less attention is paid to distinctions within a

gender. Women typically support gun control; gun owners typically support gun rights (Parker et al. 2017). Thus women gun owners represent an intriguing group that combines divergent political tendencies and policy preferences. It is also a group that gun rights organizations and businesses value, highlight, and emphasize in marketing campaigns and political mobilization (Goss 2017). Gun interests advertise protection, safety, strength, equality, and empowerment. It is perhaps these characteristics that in part produced the reverse gender gap among male and female gun owners. It is likely on certain issues these gun rights campaigns have been so effective they created gender differences among gun owners, where women feel even less adverse to firearms than men.

Additionally, because gun owners' exhibit greater participation on gun issues than non-gun owners (Parker et al. 2017), and – as Chapter 1 found – female gun owners are more likely to participate, policy debates may be disproportionally shaped by female gun owners, particularly policy debates regarding guns and public safety. Indeed, female gun owners can be mobilized, are likely to participate, and appear motivated by gun issues. Unfortunately for gun control advocates, female non-gun owners do not appear to be so easily mobilized nor predisposed to engage politically, whether on gun related issues or not. Conceivably, these attitudinal and participation gaps could prove crucial in policy debates regarding gun control and concealed carry rights with long term influence.

Chapter 3

Women's Gun Ownership and Policy Attitudes

As previous chapters highlighted, women gun owners are a unique group that face cross-cutting pressures from gender and gun-owner identity. As such, this chapter employs an intersectional approach to public opinion attitudes on the state use of force – capital punishment and military intervention. As the previous chapter finds, gun ownership has certain effects on policy attitudes that are distinct to women. However, Chapter 2 explores this in the specific context of gun-related policy attitudes. Based on the findings of the previous chapter, I expect gun ownership to alter the attitudes of women in big ways, and on issues not directly related to firearms. Some studies suggest that women's penchant for being gun averse may reflect differences in the socialization process. For example, traditional female upbringing includes, in general, values such as pacifism, sympathy, and passivity. As such, Smith (1980) suggests, in addition to a distaste for firearms, this may also lead to a greater opposition to war and capital punishment. However, as Chapter 2 found gun owning women to be pointedly supportive of pro-gun issues, this chapter will extend beyond gun-related policies to investigate attitudes about use of force policies.

Carlson's (2015) work explains gun ownership as a self-defense mechanism for many owners. Gun owners often view law enforcement – a proxy for the state – as having a mandate to "serve and protect". When the state is seen as failing in this role, gun owners often decide to purchase firearms and take on the part of "citizen protectors". This is furthered by gun owners' long legacy of mistrust of the state, and gun ownership is tied to waning confidence in the government (Jiobu and Curry 2001). State legitimacy is undermined by a demand for safety and security it is incapable of satisfying (Carlson 2015). As a result, gun owners try to fulfill the serve and protect mandate for themselves. In the act of carrying a firearm it can be assumed that gun

owners are primed to use force if need be. As such, this mandate can also be used to justify the state use of force generally – for example, against criminals and foreign enemies. Furthermore, gun ownership has been found to be politically consequential and is associated with specific political preferences. Past literature suggests gun owners are more supportive of capital punishment (Britto and Noga-Styron 2015; Joslyn forthcoming) and military intervention (Middlewood et al. 2018). However, as these policies traditionally yield gender gaps, it begs the question, how does gun ownership effect women's attitudes on policies that promote the use of force?

I begin with a brief literature review on existing studies of gender and the death penalty. I then theorize the effects gun ownership has on the gender gap on support for capital punishment and formulate three hypotheses. First, gun owning women will have substantially different attitudes towards the death penalty than non-owning women. The effect of gun ownership will be larger for women than men, mitigating the gender gap among gun owners. Next, I present literature on gender and support for military force. Once again, I theorize gun ownership has strong attitudinal effects for women on support for this policy. I have three similar hypotheses for the use of military intervention. I expect gun ownership to divide women's support for this issue, with gun owners displaying more support for military force. Furthermore, I expect the effect of gun ownership to be considerably stronger for women than men resulting in virtually no gender differences in support for this policy.

Capital Punishment

In early work on public opinion towards the death penalty, the social characteristics of people who supported capital punishment tended to be male, white, older, more wealthy, less educated, religious, and Republican (Vidmar and Ellsworth 1973). Vidmar and Ellsworth's (1973)

research also found that people who supported the death penalty were less likely to approve of gun control laws, which suggests a subsidiary relationship to gun ownership. By 1985, however, people who supported the death penalty no longer tended to be religious or less-educated, but still fit into other demographic categories such as male, white, older, more wealthy, and Republican (Gallup Report 1985). Gender is one of the most consistent predictors of death penalty support, even after controls are introduced for a variety of sociodemographic factors. From 1985 to 1995, twenty-one of twenty-three studies reported a significant relationship, with women holding lower levels of death penalty support than men (Stack 2000). Other than race, the effect of gender has been greater than that observed for any other sociodemographic characteristic (Bohm 1991). Furthermore, the gender gap in capital punishment attitudes has almost always increased and decreased over time in the same direction, revealing nearly identical trends regardless of gender (Bohm 1991).

However, research found that women who supported capital punishment were characterized by a similar profile as men who supported it (Stack 2000) – women proponents of the death penalty tended to be white, married, conservative, wealthier, and believe the courts are too soft on criminals (Bohm 1999). Thus, it is likely that certain characteristics, such as gun ownership, may mediate the gender gap on death penalty attitudes. Furthermore, persons supportive of the death penalty often rate crime as a salient problem. Public support for the death penalty is linked to "fear of crime, perceptions of increasing crime rates, a belief in the efficacy of punishment as a means of deterrence, and a willingness to employ punishment as a response to criminality" (Thomas and Foster 1975, 641). Stack (2000) suggests gun owners are generally assumed to be high in crime salience, and Carlson (2015) finds this to be true in her extensive interviews of gun owners in metro Detroit. Generally, salience of crime is lower for women than men. However, studies of legal firearms show women's gun ownership to be more responsive to

crime rates than men's ownership (Bordua and Lizotte 1979; Lizotte, Bordua, and White 1981). Additionally, women who believe they are high risk for criminal victimization are more likely to own a gun (DeJong 1997; Depew and Swensen 2018). As such, women gun owners meet two dimensions of crime salience that women as a whole tend to be excluded from; gun ownership and fear of crime. Therefore, I expect gun owning women to have substantially different attitudes than non-owning women, due to their gun ownership status. Additionally, I expect the effect of gun ownership to be stronger for women and as a result there will not be a gender gap on capital punishment attitudes among gun owners. As such, I hypothesize the following:

H_1: *Gun owning women will support capital punishment more than non-owning women.*

H_2: *The effects of gun ownership on women's support for capital punishment is substantially larger compared to men.*

H_3: *Among gun owners, there will be no gender gap in support for capital punishment.*

Use of Military Force

There are striking and persistent gender differences in opinions on the use of force. In fact, some scholars found gender differences in foreign policy attitudes before gender gaps emerged in partisanship and voting (Brandes 1996). This suggests differences on national security issues were not a result of the political mobilization of women in the 1970s. Gender differences increased during the war in Vietnam (Opinion Roundup 1982), but were also found to disseminate to other international problems other than war (Lynn 1975). The average gender difference in preference toward foreign policies dealing with the use of force and violence have been moderately large

(Baxter and Lansing 1983; Frankovic 1982; Jensen 1987; Shapiro and Mahajan 1986). This is consistent with research that documents substantial gender gaps on attitudes toward domestic force and violence (Smith 1984). The gap exists regardless of partisanship of the president (Eichenberg 2016) and is not mitigated by large "rally around the flag" effects such as the September 11th terrorist attacks on the United States. Women in the US, on average, felt more threatened than men by terrorism after 9/11 but they were still less likely than men to endorse full retaliatory measures (Huddy et al. 2005).

For attitudes about military force, many scholars suggest socialization as an explanation for the gender gap in attitudes about military force. Fite, Genest, and Wilcox (1990) suggest socialization is the most important factor and that women are socialized to the importance of interlocking social relationships while men are socialized to individualism and competition. However, gun owners experience a different type of cultural socialization, including gun owning women, which comprise a much smaller proportion of the gun owning population. Gun culture portrays firearms as a symbol of strong individualism, self-sufficiency, and independence (Wright 1995). Guns also have symbolic meaning, and are often depicted as tools through which people project violence in the world (Messner 2019). Generally, this is thought to most effect men, but, despite gendered socialization, guns are also known to be symbols of women's capacity for violence (Browder 2006). Gun ownership intersects with this larger gun culture and has substantial effects on political preferences (Joslyn et al. 2017). Thus, women gun owners face cross-cutting pressures from both gender and gun culture socialization and should be expected to have policy attitudes that differ considerably from non-gun owning women. Gun ownership has strong attitudinal effects, particularly for women. I expect these effects are not limited to gun issues, but will also impact support for military force. Thus, I hypothesize:

H_4: Gun owning women will support the use of military force more than non-owning women.

H_5: The effects of gun ownership on women's support for the use of military force is substantially larger compared to men.

H_6: Among gun owners, there will be no gender gap in support for the use of military force.

Methods

I begin my analysis by examining support for the death penalty among women gun owners. I employ data from the 2016 General Social Survey (GSS). The 2016 wave of the GSS contains a nationally representative sample of 2,867 American adults. Second, I utilize the American National Election Studies (ANES) 2016 Time Series study to evaluate support for military force. The ANES combines responses collected through face-to-face interviews (n = 1,181) and surveys conducted on the internet (n = 3,090) for a total sample of 4,271.

Study 1. Capital Punishment, 2016 General Social Survey

I test my first set of hypotheses about capital punishment using the GSS. The dependent variable is opinion on the death penalty. Respondents were asked: "Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?" This variable is coded dichotomously, where 1 represents support for capital punishment and 0 otherwise. About sixty percent of respondents indicated support for the death penalty, with almost forty percent not supporting. The descriptive percentages are shown below in Table 3.1. Also shown in Table 3.1 are the percentages of support among gun owners and non-owners. For gun ownership, there were two possible measurement options. Past studies measure gun ownership using questions similar to the following: "Do you

happen to have in your home any guns or revolvers?" This method categorizes all individuals who live in a home with a gun as a gun owner and has been found to be a reliable measure. Most people who live in a gun home have similar political behaviors and attitudes even if the gun does not personally belong to them. In short, this is generally considered an acceptable proxy variable for gun ownership. However, there is also a more precise measure of gun ownership which asks respondents about their personal gun ownership. The 2016 wave of the GSS asks both questions. If respondents answered yes to the previous question about home ownership, they were then asked a follow up question, "Do any of these guns personally belong to you?" In order to more accurately measure the effects of gun ownership among women, I have chosen to use the second, more precise, measure of gun ownership.

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics for the Death Penalty

"Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?"

Favor	%	Gun Owners	Non-Owners	Differences
Whole Population	60	78	53	-25
Men	65	78	58	-20
Women	56	78	49	-29

Seventy-eight percent of gun owners favor the death penalty. Gun owners favor the death penalty at a striking eighteen points higher than the average population, and twenty-five points more than non-owners. The percentages are even more compelling when assessing gender differences. Among both genders there is a notable gun gap, however it is considerably larger for women. A noteworthy seventy-eight percent of women gun owners support the death penalty, resulting in a twenty-nine point difference from women non-owners. This gun gap is only twenty

points among men, suggesting gun ownership has a larger effect on women. Furthermore, as expected, there is a none-point gender gap in the entire population. A nine point gap exists for non-owners as well. When examining gun owners, however, there is no gender difference on support for the death penalty. Remarkably, men and women gun owners indicate support for the death penalty in equal percentages, seventy-eight percent. These descriptive statistics are noteworthy as there is no gender gap among gun owners.

For the multivariate analysis, I have included a battery of control variables typical in public opinion research – race, income, age, education level, religiosity, and ideology. To measure race, respondents were asked to self-identify their racial category. White respondents were coded as 1, and 0 if non-white. For income, respondents were asked their total family income from all sources before taxes. Values for this variable range from less than $1,000 USD to $170,000 USD or over, with twenty-six total categories. Age is measured by self-reported age in years. Values run continuously from "18 years old", the youngest possible response, to "89 or older", as the oldest possible response. Education level is measured categorically on a scale from 1 to 4. High school or less is coded as 1, some college is coded as 2, having a bachelor's degree is coded as 3, and having a graduate degree is the highest category, coded as 4. To measure ideology, survey respondents were asked to self-place on a seven point ideology scale arranged from (1) extremely liberal to (7) extremely conservative. As expected, this scale yields a normal distribution. For religiosity, I utilized self-reported church attendance. Response categories range from (0) never to (8) more than once per week.

Multivariate Analysis

Table 3.2 presents logistic estimates for the gun gap in support for the death penalty. The purpose of Table 3.2 is to show the effect gun ownership has on gun owning women and men

compared to non-owning women and men. I first present full model then partition the data by gender. Model 1 shows the entire sample while Model 2 shows women and Model 3 men. First, in Model 1, gun ownership increases the likelihood of supporting the death penalty ($b = 0.770$, $p < 0.001$), while women are less likely to support it ($b = -0.314$, $p < 0.05$). These findings are consistent with expectations based on past research. Model 2 displays estimates for women and gun ownership is positive and significant ($b = 0.970$, $p < 0.001$). Here, gun ownership divides women on support for the death penalty. Gun owning women are statistically more likely to support capital punishment than non-owning women. However, gun ownership is also positive and significant among men ($b = 0.664$, $p < 0.01$), suggesting support for the death penalty is also divisive among men. The coefficient for gun ownership among women is larger than it is among men, suggesting gun ownership may have more of an effect on women. To truly test the magnitude of the effect of gun ownership, however, marginal effects are needed. As these estimates are found using logistic regression, a linear relationship cannot be assumed. By finding the marginal effects, I can more accurately portray changes in the probability of support for capital punishment when moving from non-ownership to gun ownership. Among women, gun ownership has a marginal effect of 0.224. This effect is nearly twice as large as the effect gun ownership has on men, which is 0.137. This difference displays when women move from non-ownership to gun ownership, their support for the death penalty changes more than when men make the same move. Based on these findings, gun ownership markedly effects women more than men.

Table 3.2: Gun Gap in Support for the Death Penalty

	Model 1 All	Model 2 Women	Model 3 Men
Gun Ownership	0.770***	0.970***	0.664**
	(0.162)	(0.275)	(0.203)
Women	-0.314*		
	(0.127)		
N	1283	653	630
AIC	1558.8	823.9	737.6
BIC	1605.2	859.8	773.1
chi2	187.64	94.75	79.03

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Notes: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from the 2016 General Social Survey. Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

Due to the striking effects gun ownership has on support for capital punishment, further investigation into the gender gap is warranted. Namely, the lack of a gender difference in the descriptive statistics, stark differences between women gun owners and non-owners, and the large effect gun ownership has on women poses questions for the expected gender gap in capital punishment support. Since gun ownership has a stronger effect on women than men, this may diminish the expected gender gap among gun owners. Table 3.3 presents logistic estimates for the gender gap in support for capital punishment. Model 1 is limited to gun owners. Here, there is no gender gap among gun owners. In other words, there is no statistical difference between men and women gun owners on support for the death penalty, despite a gap among the general population.

Gun owners, regardless of gender, are virtually the same in their opinion of the death penalty. Examining Model 2 shows the expected gender gap. Among non-owners, women (b = -0.367, p < 0.01) are significantly less likely to support the use of capital punishment. Due to the strong impact gun ownership has on women, it mitigates a gender gap among gun owners. Indeed, women have more room to grow in support for this policy, and these results suggest gun ownership causes them to do so, equalizing their support with gun owning men.

Table 3.3: Gender Gap in Support for the Death Penalty

	Model 1 Gun Owners	Model 2 Non-Owners
Women	-0.0996	-0.367**
	(0.310)	(0.141)
N	330	953
AIC	337.4	1228.8
BIC	367.8	1267.7
chi2	29.85	103.05

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Notes: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from the 2016 General Social Survey. Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

The results of this study propose gun ownership not only has strong effects on support for capital punishment, but those effects are stronger among women. Support is found for all three hypotheses. First, there is a considerable gun gap among women, where gun owning women are

significantly more supportive of the death penalty. Second, the effect of gun ownership is larger for women than for men. Third, this difference diminishes the expected gender gap on support for capital punishment. In other words, gun ownership pulls women with firearms apart from other women, creating divides in a population that has traditionally been more opposed to the use of the death penalty. As gun ownership influences women, it moves their attitudes closer to men's and decreases gender differences, making men and women equally likely to exhibit support for capital punishment.

Study 2. Military Force, 2016 American National Election Studies Survey

In the second study, support for military force serves as the dependent variable. There are two question options to choose from regarding the use of military force in the 2016 ANES survey. Respondents were asked a general question, "How willing should the United States be to use military force to solve international problems?" Unsurprisingly, this question does not yield a gender gap, even without including control variables. Hypothetical questions do not generally show a gender gap, but when utilizing specific questions of using military force, then gender differences become large (Conover and Sapiro 1993). As such, I utilize a more specific question as the dependent variable. Respondents were asked "Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor or oppose the US sending group troops to fight Islamic militants, such as ISIS, in Iraq and Syria?" If respondents indicated they favored sending troops to the Middle East to fight ISIS they were coded as 1, and 0 otherwise. About thirty-seven percent of the sample answered affirmatively. The descriptive percentages are shown in Table 3.4. For gun ownership, the ANES does not ask a direct question about gun ownership, but respondents are asked "How many guns do you or anyone else living here own?" If the respondent indicated one or more firearms, they were coded as 1, and 0 if they indicated zero firearms were owned. There is no question in ANES for personal gun

ownership, so this study uses home ownership as an acceptable proxy. Table 3.4 shows the percentages of support among gun owners and non-owners. Forty-five percent of gun owners favored sending troops to fight ISIS, while only thirty-three percent of non-owners do the same. These percentages are even more noteworthy when considering the gender differences in this gun gap. There is a mere nine point gun gap between men, but this gap jumps to fourteen points among women. Forty-four percent of women gun owners support the use of military force, while only thirty percent of women non-owners support sending troops. Here, the gun gap among women is even slightly larger than the twelve point gap in the entire population. This gun gap seems to have notable effects on the gender gap as well. The overall gender gap is seven percentage points, and is the same among non-owners. However, when examining gun owners, the gender gap shrinks significantly, to a mere two percentage point difference. Forty-one percent of all men indicate support for sending troops, and thirty-four percent of women. But for gun owners, these numbers are much higher, especially for women. Forty-six percent of gun owning men support the use of military force, and forty-four percent of gun owning women. The gender gap is almost nonexistent, further suggesting gun ownership has strong effects on women. These descriptive statistics propose women owners are distinctly different than non-owners, the effect of gun ownership seems to be stronger for women, and there is almost no gender gap among gun owners. Multivariate analysis is needed to determine if these relationships hold after accounting for other factors.

Table 3.4: Descriptive Statistics for Military Force

"Do you favor the United States sending ground troops to fight Islamic militants, such as ISIS, in Iraq and Syria?"

Favor	%	Gun Owners	Non-Owners	Differences
Whole Population	37	45	33	-12
Men	41	46	37	-9
Women	34	44	30	-14

For the multivariate analysis I have once again included all controls typical of public opinion research and included evangelicalism and veteran status. These additional controls are due to the religious and militaristic nature of the dependent variable. The ANES does not ask respondents to self-identify their age, rather a birth year question is asked and the ANES then sorts respondents into age groups. The first age category is eighteen to twenty year olds, the second is twenty-one to twenty four year olds. Then, starting at twenty-five years old, each category encompasses five years and continues in that matter all the way to seventy-four years old. The final category is seventy-five years and older. Past studies attribute the gender gap on the use of force to women's access to higher education and paid labor markets, but Eichenberg (2016) finds no evidence of this as there is no upward trend in the gender difference on the use of force as more women access higher education and higher salaried jobs. I will nevertheless control for income and education level. Income is measured by self-reported income level which has been categorized into groups starting with under $5,000 and maxing out at $250,000 or more. For education level, respondents are asked to indicate the highest level of education they have completed. I then coded these into four categories. High school or less is coded as 1, some college is coded as 2, having a bachelor's degree is coded as 3, and having a graduate degree is the highest category, coded as 4. Race is once again a dichotomous variable, with white respondents coded as 1, and 0 otherwise.

To measure ideology, respondents were asked to self-place on a seven point liberal-conservative ideology scale. From (1) extremely liberal to (7) extremely conservative. The ANES then asks a follow up question for respondents who indicated "moderate", "don't know" or "haven't thought much about it" asking, "If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or conservative?" Moderate was also displayed as an option for web respondents. Those who indicated "don't know" again were dropped from the sample, but those who indicated "liberal" were included in the "slightly liberal" category from the original seven point scale, and "conservative" were included in the "slightly conservative" category. Those who once again answered "moderate" remained in the middle category. By including responses from this follow up question into my ideology variable I am able to more accurately measure ideology among the respondents as it is widely accepted that most moderates consistently vote for one party. To measure evangelicalism, I utilize the following question: "Would you call yourself a born-again Christian, that is, have you personally had a conversion experience related to Jesus Christ?" Respondents were coded as 1 if they indicated yes, and 0 if no. For veteran status, respondents were asked to self-report their status. If respondents indicated they are currently or have previously served on active duty, they were coded as 1, and 0 if they have never served on active duty.

Multivariate Analysis

Table 3.5 presents logistic estimates of support for military intervention. I first present the full model then subgroup the data by gun ownership. Model 1 shows the entire sample, while Model 2 shows gun owners and Model 3 non-owners. As expected, in Model 1, gun ownership increases the likelihood of support for military intervention ($b = 0.184$, $p < 0.05$) and women are less likely to support the use of force ($b = -0.196$, $p < 0.05$). Model 2 presents evidence that there is a significant gun gap among women. Gun ownership ($b = 0.285$, $p < 0.05$) is positive and

significant, suggesting gun ownership is a significant predictor of support for military force among women. In other words, on support for the use of military force, women gun owners are distinctly different than non-owners. There is no such difference among men. Model 3 displays estimates for men, and gun ownership is not significant. As such, among men there is no gun gap. Male gun owners and non-owners are statistically the same on support for the use of military force. The lack of gun gap among men strengthens the findings from Model 2. Gun ownership makes a difference among women, but not among men. This makes the differences among women even more impactful. Here, gun ownership sets gun owning women apart from women generally on support for military force, but men stay the same. Thus, even as women owners become more supportive, there is no difference among men. Gun ownership only effects women's policy attitudes when it comes to military intervention. This suggests implications for the gender gap.

Table 3.5: Gun Gap in Support for Military Force

	Model 1 All	Model 2 Women	Model 3 Men
Gun Ownership	0.184*	0.285*	0.0870
	(0.0862)	(0.124)	(0.120)
Women	-0.196*		
	(0.0840)		
N	3033	1623	1410
AIC	3706.3	1902.4	1802.9
BIC	3766.4	1950.9	1850.2
chi2	289.98	178.96	112.96

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic Estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from the 2016 American National Election Study Survey. Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

Even when looking at support for the death penalty, gun ownership did increase favorability among women and effected women nearly twice as much. Here, gun ownership mitigates the expected gender gap by only moving favorability among women. Table 3.6 displays the gender gap in support for the use of military force. The gender gap disappears among gun owners, as shown in Model 2. There is no difference between men and women gun owners on support for military force, which is unsurprising considering the findings of Table 3.5. As gun ownership pushed women towards being more supportive, there was no such movement among men. The gender gap re-appears in Model 3 among non-owners. Women non-owners are less likely to support the use of military force ($b = -0.307$, $p < 0.01$). There is therefore no statistical difference between men and women gun owners on support for military force, despite a gap among the general population. Women, compared to men, were less likely to support intervention. As were non-gun owning women, compared to non-owning men. But among gun owners, gender differences are not present. Once again, gun ownership has mitigated the gender gap.

Table 3.6: Gender Gap in Support for Military Force

	Model 1 Gun Owners	Model 2 Non-Owners
Women	0.0135	-0.307**
	(0.143)	(0.105)
N	1013	2020
AIC	1293.2	2419.2
BIC	1337.5	2469.7
chi2	115.06	145.65

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic Estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from the 2016 American National Election Study Survey. Controls suppressed from table. Full models shown in Appendix.

This study finds gun ownership has strong effects on women's support for the use of military force – considerably stronger than the effect ownership has on men. These findings support all three hypotheses. Just as with the death penalty, there is a substantial difference between women gun owners and non-owners on support for military intervention. The effect of gun ownership is also larger for women than for men. Here, the considerable effect gun ownership has on women results in the lack of a gender gap among gun owners, despite the gap in the entire population. In other words, gun ownership divides women, making gun owning women substantially more supportive of military force than non-owning women. Gun ownership moves women's attitudes away from those of women non-owners, and closer to gun owning men. Gun ownership does not have the same sizeable effect on men. As such, there is no gender gap among gun owners.

Conclusion

The findings in this chapter support previous discoveries that gun ownership has certain effects on policy attitudes that are distinct to women. However, by examining policy attitudes on the death penalty and use of military force, this chapter has expanded on previous conclusions and demonstrates the effects of gun ownership are not limited to attitudes on gun-specific policies. Rather, gun ownership creates large divides among women. Furthermore, these divisions are not nearly as strong among men and ultimately mitigate the gender differences between men and women gun owners and the gender gap disappears.

Women gun owners face cross cutting pressures from their gender identity as well as their gun ownership status. Individually, these cleavages are associated with distinct expectations about

certain policy attitudes. This chapter tests expected gender differences in two policy arenas, capital punishment and military force. Gun ownership, it seems, has substantial effects on women. Not only does it divide women's attitudes on gun issues, the findings in this chapter show it has considerable effect on other policy attitudes. Furthermore, gun ownership mitigates the gender gap on both of these policies. Women gun owners are not distinct from men gun owners on support for the death penalty, and the effect of gun ownership was twice as large for women. Among gun owners, there is also no gender gap in support for the use of military force against ISIS. Indeed, among women, gun ownership was shown to have an effect on support, but there was no effect for men. The findings in this chapter suggest that gun ownership has powerful effects on the policy attitudes of gun owning women. Further, this effect is not limited to gun related policies.

Differences in public opinion matter. Although some policy issues may be electorally more important than others, any changes that occur in the aggregate may ultimately influence the political agenda and the direction of public policy. Furthermore, gender and other differences may be important because some groups may be more politically powerful than others, or their preferences may be the driving force behind trends in mass opinion. Gun owners are more politically active and participate in large numbers. As Chapter 1 shows, this participation effect is greater among women gun owners. As such, differences among women take on additional significance because of these rising levels of political participation, particularly among women gun owners. These opinions are likely to affect women's voting behavior and other forms of political participation, which gun owners are more likely to engage in than non-owners. Given the magnitude of gun ownership on these issues involving the state use of force, such differences have the potential to be a significant factor in political decisions to employ military force and use capital punishment.

Conclusion

This study found that the cross-cutting cleavages created by gender and gun ownership effect the political behavior of gun owning women in unique ways. Chapter one finds stark differences between women gun owners and non-owners on various measures of political participation. Women gun owners are substantially more engaged and participate to a larger degree, both on gun issues and generally. In the second chapter, women gun owners are found to be significantly less gun averse than non-owners. Gun ownership has such a large effect on women that there are virtually no differences with gun owning men, despite a gender gap in the general population. The final chapter explores policy attitudes about non-gun issues. On topics regarding the use of force, women gun owners are substantially less opposed than non-owning women. Once again, gun ownership has a large effect on women and equalizes their attitudes with gun owning men on the death penalty and use of military force. In all three chapters, women gun owners are found to be unique from women non-owners with substantial political and policy effects. Namely, gun ownership can explain certain behaviors and policy attitudes among women.

Much of the gender gap literature focuses on women as a cohesive group, when in actuality there are large divisions among women based on other group attachments. By only focusing on the gender gap, the field of political science neglects complexities that have substantial consequences for attitudes and behavior. Scholars have begun to study racial and partisan influences, but much work remains on other identities that cross pressure women. By focusing on gun ownership, an emerging political identity, this dissertation further highlights the value of using an intersectional approach to study women. Differences among women, as I have found, can be much larger than differences between men and women. Here, women gun owners are influenced

by their gun ownership status and connection to gun culture which sets them apart from non-owning women in substantial ways.

Indeed women gun owners represent a unique group that combines contradicting political tendencies. Gun ownership and gender serve as counter pressures on gun owning women. Gun ownership sets women owners apart from other women and the result is distinctive political behavior. Furthermore, the gun gap is not only found in one area of political behavior and opinion, but multiple. Gun ownership affects women's political participation, feelings of safety in public spaces, and policy attitudes. Finding these divides in multiple areas exemplifies the strength of gun ownership to explain political behavior and attitudes. Gun ownership can be empowering. These findings suggest gun ownership not only empowers individuals politically but impacts a variety of related attitudes.

Additionally, political science rarely studies gun ownership, and even more rarely is gun ownership studied using public opinion data. It is even more novel to study women gun owners using this approach. Most studies of firearms in political science take a policy-based approach (e.g. Goss 2006) or utilize interviews of gun owners (e.g. Carlson 2015). This dissertation is noteworthy because it takes a quantitative public opinion approach to studying women gun owners. Qualitative interview data is undeniably important when studying women gun owners. Yet this dissertation used more precise methods that permits needed generalizations across and within important political groupings. Examining relationship in this way enhances the validity of findings and strengthens the claims that gun ownership matters.

The novelty of these findings also have major implications for politics. Women generally participate less on all measures of political participation except voting. However, this is not true of women gun owners. Women who own firearms are substantially more likely to engage in

politics. This is particularly true of participation on gun issues, where women traditionally are less involved. High levels of participation on any issue are politically important but can have larger effects on highly salient issues such as gun policy. Gun owners generally are highly participatory, and despite trends where women are substantially more gun averse, women gun owners appear highly motivated by gun issues. They are also substantially less fearful of firearms and view policies that allow guns in public spaces more positively, in some cases even more so than male gun owners. Furthermore, women gun owners are also supportive of policies that allow the state to use force, such as capital punishment and military intervention.

Combining these distinctive policy attitudes with the high levels of participation exhibited by women gun owners undoubtedly has the potential to change policy outcomes. Being more engaged and participatory allows for the voices of women gun owners to disproportionately affect debates about these policies. Furthermore, these are highly divisive issues. Gun policy, capital punishment, and the use of military force are topics that inspire contention among the public. However, gun owners are fairly unified on these issues, regardless of gender. This builds a cohesive front to present to elected officials. In this way, gun owners, women included, present a formidable voting bloc that can influence the direction of public policy.

Limitations

As with all research, there are limitations. First, response bias. While I found stark differences in the behavior and attitudes of women based on gun ownership status, some women non-owners may in fact own firearms. Ludwig, Cook, and Smith (1998) found women underreport gun ownership. Using telephone surveys, the authors compare the status of home gun ownership reported by husbands and wives and find women significantly under-report home ownership. The authors find women underreport by approximately twelve percent – which is a noteworthy 43.3

million firearms. This gap is often attributed to social desirability bias. Women, the authors theorize, may be more sensitive to social desirability bias because they are more likely than men to be anti-gun. Therefore, it is possible that women have also underreported gun ownership – both personal ownership and household ownership – in the surveys I have utilized here. To the extent that this occurred in the survey I utilized, my results may change. In most cases, however, the results should be stronger. Some gun owning women would have been recorded as non-owners, moderating differences between gun and non-gun owning women across the behaviors and attitudes examined.

Furthermore, the potential for self-selection bias is also a limitation of this study. Self-selection bias exists when individuals select themselves into a group and potentially create bias by doing so. In this case, women who are already inclined towards certain attitudes – being less fearful of firearms or supporting use of force policies – may also be the group most likely to purchase a gun. In essence, this is a classic "chicken or egg" argument. I have found similar attitudes about firearms, capital punishment, and military intervention among women and men gun owners, despite gender gaps in the population as a whole. It is possible women who already hold these attitudes, and men as well, are more inclined to own firearms based on these predispositions. If this were the case, behaviors and attitudes I have attributed to gun ownership may be the result of something else entirely.

Future Research

Several questions have arisen throughout the course of writing this dissertation that would make excellent supplemental studies. First and foremost, partisan effects. Gun ownership is associated with voting for Republican candidates meanwhile women tend to vote Democratic. As such, women gun owners are once again cross pressured by the expectations associated with these

two identities and studying the partisan differences among women gun owners would prove interesting. Based on the findings in this dissertation, gun owning women are significantly influenced by their gun ownership status, but partisanship is often the most influential political variable. In the future, I would like to conduct a study of women gun owners focusing on partisanship. In the introduction, I discuss the backlash Senator Kamala Harris faced from Democrats because she owns a firearm. For many women gun owners, ownership is not necessarily political, it is due to a psychological need for self-protection. Therefore, it would be useful to compare Democrat and Republican women gun owners on various policy preferences, particularly as they relate to firearms. Additionally, it would be valuable to expand on the findings of Joslyn et al. (2017) and study the partisan voting preferences of women gun owners.

Furthermore, as there is a gun gap on policy issues such as capital punishment and military intervention, gun ownership may also have a substantial effect on other policy attitudes among women. For example, interesting claims have been made linking pro-life abortion stances and support for the death penalty[6]. As gun ownership is a strong predictor of support for the death penalty among women, it may also potentially yield an effect on attitudes about abortion policy. Especially when pro-life supporters of capital punishment tend to make an argument claiming the death penalty saves the lives of potential victims by discouraging capital offenses. As gun owners often purchase firearms to protect themselves and others, the same "saves lives" logic can be applied support for pro-life abortion policies. Further examination of these connections is warranted.

[6] George W. Bush made this connection in his book, *A Charge to Keep*.

Additionally, gun culture is also socialized through childhood contact with guns. Research consistently shows that individuals are more likely to own and use guns if they grew up in a household with guns. Even among non-owners, having a social network that includes gun owners makes one more likely to consider future ownership (Kelley, Ellison, and Middlewood 2018). This raises questions about the social networks of women gun owners. What is the nature of women's gun owning network? Furthermore, how do such networks compare to men gun owners? Are they larger, smaller, or virtually the same? As men tend to experience more firearms-based childhood socialization, it is likely the case that men's networks are larger. However, this may be counteracted by the organizational efforts pro-gun groups have made to integrate women into gun culture – such as ladies' night events at gun ranges. Further exploration of these networks would likely prove fruitful as social networks are known to have strong effects on political behavior.

Lastly, the findings of Chapter 1 show gun ownership has strong participation effects for women. As women become more participatory, what does this mean for the leadership of the National Rifle Association? Theoretically, we should expect to see more women in leadership at the NRA as women gun owners gain clout with elected officials – both in the organization and the US government. Leadership has long been dominated by men, but recently more women have been placed in leading roles. In the middle of the organization's campaign to mobilize women, the NRA elected its first female president in the mid-1990s. Also noteworthy, on April 29, 2019, the NRA elected its current president, Carolyn D. Meadows, after the internal power struggle between its former president, Oliver North, and the long-time executive vice president and CEO Wayne LaPierre. As women gain further leadership positions, it may attract more women to the organization, and thus further strengthen the NRA's clout with women gun owners. Additional research is warranted to study women's influence on the internal makeup of the organization.

I began this dissertation with the quote "God made man and woman, but Samuel Colt made them equal". Remarkably, this popular pro-gun saying is supported with substantial evidence. Gun ownership may divide women, but it makes men and women similar in their political behavior and policy attitudes. Women who own firearms have a unique relationship with guns and often cite different reasons for ownership, but ownership itself is an equalizer. Not only in physical strength, as the saying implies, but also in political strength. Gun ownership increases women's participation and also mitigates the gender differences in attitudes about firearms, public safety, and the use of force. The group cohesiveness produced by gun ownership, regardless of gender, is politically influential as politicians are more likely to be persuaded by a united front.

Table 1.1: Political Participation About Gun Issues

	Contact Official (All)	Contact Official (Women)	Contact Official (Men)	Contribute Money (All)	Contribute Money (Women)	Contribute Money (Men)	Social Media (All)	Social Media (Women)	Social Media (Men)	Sign Petition (All)	Sign Petition (Women)	Sign Petition (Men)
Gun Owner	0.945***	0.789**	1.036***	1.305***	1.417***	1.185***	0.533**	0.395°	0.357	0.796***	1.423***	0.291
	(0.000)	(0.011)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.005)	(0.086)	(0.136)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.220)
Gender	−0.248			−0.002			0.181			0.055		
	(0.190)			(0.990)			(0.308)			(0.760)		
Race	−0.777*	−1.255°	−0.528	−1.427**	−1.344°	−1.521*	−0.629*	−0.014	−0.532	−0.423	−0.678	−0.273
	(0.063)	(0.097)	(0.303)	(0.008)	(0.080)	(0.043)	(0.054)	(0.962)	(0.258)	(0.196)	(0.171)	(0.541)
Education	0.088°	0.086	0.085	0.036	0.113	−0.018	0.143**	0.165*	0.114°	0.049	0.165*	−0.063
	(0.084)	(0.301)	(0.194)	(0.476)	(0.165)	(0.780)	(0.004)	(0.028)	(0.087)	(0.315)	(0.033)	(0.325)
Democrat	−0.295	−0.301	−0.281	−0.502	−0.072	−0.057	−0.037	0.327	−0.370	0.250	0.330	0.176
	(0.173)	(0.343)	(0.351)	(0.827)	(0.832)	(0.858)	(0.857)	(0.274)	(0.208)	(0.223)	(0.262)	(0.548)
Republican	−0.181	−0.300	−0.130	0.264	0.177	0.345	0.098	0.465	−0.203	−0.025	−0.166	0.110
	(0.426)	(0.455)	(0.643)	(0.225)	(0.635)	(0.202)	(0.668)	(0.203)	(0.489)	(0.913)	(0.681)	(0.701)
Ideology	0.256**	0.266°	0.239°	0.004	−0.043	0.038	0.179*	0.127	0.225	0.220**	0.353**	0.144
	(0.008)	(0.099)	(0.057)	(0.965)	(0.783)	(0.759)	(0.062)	(0.368)	(0.094)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.225)
Income	0.050	0.080	0.025	0.079°	0.091	0.070	0.001	−0.003	0.012	0.080*	0.034	0.118
	(0.224)	(0.221)	(0.631)	(0.058)	(0.172)	(0.191)	(0.979)	(0.951)	(0.822)	(0.042)	(0.575)	(0.028)
Age	0.017***	0.010	0.022***	0.014**	0.017*	0.014*	−0.036***	−0.043***	−0.029***	0.004	−0.007	0.013
	(0.001)	(0.219)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.039)	(0.035)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.416)	(0.345)	(0.037)
Partisan Strength	0.073	0.067	0.070	0.211	0.151	0.268	−0.107	0.105	−0.307°	0.295*	0.181	0.378
	(0.586)	(0.757)	(0.687)	(0.120)	(0.481)	(0.132)	(0.404)	(0.579)	(0.087)	(0.020)	(0.365)	(0.029)
Constant	−4.248***	−4.159***	−4.391***	−3.779***	−4.219***	−3.506***	−1.364**	−1.236*	−1.279*	−3.796***	−4.026***	−3.544***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.048)	(0.031)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Chi 2	76.76	25.01	45.28	114.13	46.33	61.32	78.27	51.91	36.25	49.53	46.87	20.91
Num. obs.	1156	572	584	1150	568	582	1152	569	583	1145	567	578

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\circ}p < 0.1$

Notes: Logistic estimates. P-values in parentheses. Data are from the Pew Research Center's May 2013 Political Survey.

Table 1.3: Cognitive Political Participation

	Attend News (All)	Attend News (Women)	Attend News (Men)	Care Outcome (All)	Care Outcome (Women)	Care Outcome (Men)
Gun Owner	0.109	0.335**	−0.101	0.121	0.239°	0.007
	(0.203)	(0.008)	(0.416)	(0.208)	(0.069)	(0.961)
Race	0.05	0.121	−0.066	0.068	0.066	0.061
	(0.73)	(0.550)	(0.757)	(0.695)	(0.780)	(0.784)
Age	0.033***	0.035***	0.03***	0.0177***	0.019***	0.016***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	0.353***	0.337***	0.376***	0.339***	0.379***	0.302***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Gender	−0.425***			0.003		
	(0.000)			(0.97)		
Income	−0.022	−0.059	0.022	0.069	0.091	0.044
	(0.656)	(0.336)	(0.742)	(0.119)	(0.154)	(0.504)
Partisan Strength	0.334***	0.418***	0.247***	0.629***	0.672***	0.582***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Efficacy	0.036°	0.026	0.049	0.005	0.011**	0.002
	(0.091)	(0.384)	(0.137)	(0.813)	(0.728)	(0.961)
Cut 1	−1.364***	−0.986**	−1.257***	−0.531*	−0.260	−0.796**
	(0.000)	(0.006)	(0.00)	(0.033)	(0.485)	(0.016)
Cut 2	1.382***	1.925***	1.327***	0.482*	0.912**	0.064
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.048)	(0.012)	(0.836)
Cut 3	3.100***	3.780***	2.920***	1.776***	2.103***	1.469***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.00)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Cut 4	4.503***	5.178***	4.338***	2.881***	3.254***	2.530***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Chi 2	614.44	336.17	272.31	576.64	357.39	226.59
Num. obs.	3700	1632	1446	3750	1670	1458

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\circ}p < 0.1$

Notes: Ordered logistic estimates. P-values in parentheses. Data are from the 2016 ANES survey. Coefficients are estimated using ANES weights.

Table 1.4: Behavioral Political Participation

	Register (All)	Register (Women)	Register (Men)	Voted President (All)	Voted President (Women)	Voted President (Men)	Voted Congress (All)	Voted Congress (Women)	Voted Congress (Men)	Voted 2012 (All)	Voted 2012 (Women)	Voted 2012 (Men)
Gun Owner	0.386*	0.611**	0.204	0.026	0.121	−0.063	0.249	0.406°	0.039	0.347***	0.346*	0.344**
	(0.023)	(0.006)	(0.390)	(0.874)	(0.548)	(0.779)	(0.141)	(0.078)	(0.870)	(0.001)	(0.023)	(0.015)
Race	0.787**	1.079**	0.563°	0.178	0.211	0.168	−0.263	−0.052	−0.537°	0.958***	1.268***	0.617**
	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.110)	(0.486)	(0.511)	(0.642)	(0.250)	(0.856)	(0.125)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.010)
Gender	0.223			0.078			−0.177			0.280**		
	(0.144)			(0.608)			(0.203)			(0.003)		
Age	0.035***	0.041***	0.032***	0.027***	0.029***	0.026***	0.021***	0.021***	0.021***	0.049***	0.048***	0.049***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	0.593***	0.659***	0.537***	0.373***	0.463***	0.294**	0.216*	0.190	0.247°	0.640***	0.692***	0.587***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.011)	(0.019)	(0.138)	(0.063)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Income	0.365***	0.294**	0.424***	0.291***	0.312***	0.256*	0.257***	0.261**	0.267*	0.228***	0.188**	0.272***
	(0.000)	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.003)	(0.021)	(0.002)	(0.009)	(0.030)	(0.000)	(0.006)	(0.000)
Partisan Strength	0.61***	0.710***	0.521***	0.437***	0.420***	0.455***	0.192**	0.206*	0.163	0.451***	0.487***	0.412***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.012)	(0.024)	(0.185)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Efficacy	0.017	0.027	0.013	0.019	0.078°	−0.042	0.006	0.023	−0.013	0.034	0.056°	0.015
	(0.638)	(0.567)	(0.808)	(0.590)	(0.100)	(0.434)	(0.876)	(0.667)	(0.817)	(0.150)	(0.096)	(0.646)
Constant	−3.356***	−3.612***	−3.006***	−1.903***	−2.410***	−1.330**	−0.631°	−0.948°	−0.473	−4.468***	−4.395***	−4.306***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.004)	(0.090)	(0.097)	(0.380)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Chi 2	506.93	285.07	226.56	255.90	153.76	108.04	90.54	52.76	36.43	796.57	408.36	384.57
Num. obs.	3441	1501	1318	3466	1531	1313	2952	1251	1079	3120	1662	1458

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\circ}p < 0.1$

Notes: Logistic estimates. P-values in parentheses. Data are from the 2016 ANES survey. Coefficients are estimated using ANES weights

Table 2.3: Gun Gap in Feeling Afraid

	Model 1 (All)	Model 2 (Women)	Model 3 (Men)
Women	0.205*		
	(0.102)		
Gun Ownership	-0.991***	-1.298***	-0.730***
	(0.105)	(0.157)	(0.142)
Ideology	-0.395***	-0.395***	-0.395***
(1=lib, 7=cons)	(0.0329)	(0.0470)	(0.0465)
Income	0.0548*	0.0538	0.0589
	(0.0249)	(0.0355)	(0.0351)
Age	0.00938*	0.00611	0.0123*
	(0.00370)	(0.00533)	(0.00518)
Education Level	0.154**	0.156	0.140
	(0.0576)	(0.0847)	(0.0793)
White	-0.0211	0.0855	-0.126
	(0.126)	(0.181)	(0.177)
Constant	0.697**	1.065**	0.537
	(0.248)	(0.359)	(0.320)
N	1914	935	979
AIC	2330.2	1123.7	1210.2
BIC	2374.7	1157.6	1244.4
chi2	321.01	186.27	130.99

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's June 28-July 1, 2017 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "If people are allowed to carry guns, I would be afraid to be in certain areas."

Table 2.4: Gender Gap in Feeling Afraid

	Model 1 (Gun Owners)	Model 2 (Non-Owners)
Women	-0.172	0.444***
	(0.163)	(0.132)
Gun Ownership		
Ideology (1=lib, 7=cons)	-0.442***	-0.359***
	(0.0509)	(0.0435)
Income	0.0540	0.0575
	(0.0430)	(0.0306)
Age	0.00353	0.0126**
	(0.00592)	(0.00480)
Education Level	0.0291	0.215**
	(0.0942)	(0.0740)
White	0.0946	-0.0928
	(0.219)	(0.156)
Constant	0.520	0.188
	(0.426)	(0.309)
N	853	1061
AIC	972.0	1356.2
BIC	1005.2	1391.0
chi2	89.33	107.63

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's June 28-July 1, 2017 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "If people are allowed to carry guns, I would be afraid to be in certain areas."

Table 2.5: Gun Gap in Feeling Threatened and Not Safe

	Model 1 (All)	Model 2 (Women)	Model 3 (Men)
Women	0.0765		
	(0.106)		
Gun Ownership	-1.206***	-1.738***	-0.809***
	(0.111)	(0.178)	(0.146)
Ideology	-0.448***	-0.489***	-0.417***
(1=lib, 7=cons)	(0.0345)	(0.0511)	(0.0478)
Income	0.0471	0.0653	0.0349
	(0.0258)	(0.0375)	(0.0360)
Age	0.00641	0.00643	0.00599
	(0.00383)	(0.00562)	(0.00530)
Education Level	0.228***	0.212*	0.226**
	(0.0598)	(0.0895)	(0.0816)
White	-0.172	-0.314	-0.0686
	(0.129)	(0.189)	(0.179)
Constant	0.892***	1.338***	0.604
	(0.257)	(0.379)	(0.328)
N	1914	935	979
AIC	2184.2	1018.4	1158.4
BIC	2228.6	1052.3	1192.6
chi2	400.97	270.43	143.48

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's June 28-July 1, 2017 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "When I see people carrying guns, I feel threatened and not safe."

Table 2.6: Gender Gap in Feeling Threatened and Not Safe

	Model 1 (Gun Owners)	Model 2 (Non-Owners)
Women	-0.566**	0.425**
	(0.185)	(0.134)
Gun Ownership		
Ideology (1=lib, 7=cons)	-0.452***	-0.444***
	(0.0547)	(0.0451)
Income	-0.00259	0.0724*
	(0.0473)	(0.0310)
Age	-0.00611	0.0130**
	(0.00645)	(0.00486)
Education Level	0.197	0.223**
	(0.104)	(0.0746)
White	-0.0900	-0.245
	(0.231)	(0.158)
Constant	0.785	0.340
	(0.458)	(0.313)
N	853	1061
AIC	836.6	1333.9
BIC	869.8	1368.7
chi2	101.76	147.89

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's June 28-July 1, 2017 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "When I see people carrying guns, I feel threatened and not safe."

Table 2.9: Gun Gap in Feeling Less Safe When More People Carry Guns in Public

	Model 1 All	Model 2 Women	Model 3 Men
Women	-0.386**		
	(0.128)		
Gun Ownership	-0.700***	-1.146***	-0.270
	(0.131)	(0.191)	(0.185)
Ideology	-0.379***	-0.462***	-0.346***
(1=lib, 7=cons)	(0.0355)	(0.0597)	(0.0465)
Income	0.0944**	0.0309	0.142**
	(0.0319)	(0.0469)	(0.0451)
Age	-0.0136**	0.00841	-0.0278***
	(0.00432)	(0.00713)	(0.00560)
Education Level	0.0642	0.0866	0.0388
	(0.0713)	(0.115)	(0.0953)
White	-0.556***	-1.274***	0.0864
	(0.168)	(0.260)	(0.230)
Constant	2.831***	3.007***	2.262***
	(0.304)	(0.445)	(0.381)
N	1332	630	702
AIC	1560.6	703.6	813.6
BIC	1602.1	734.7	845.4
chi2	231.06	167.82	112.26

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's July 27-August 2, 2018 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "More people carrying guns in public makes me feel less safe."

Table 2.10: Gender Gap in Feeling Less Safe When More People Carry Guns in Public

	Model 1 Gun Owners	Model 2 Non-Owners
Women	-0.910***	0.344
	(0.172)	(0.199)
Gun Ownership		
Ideology (1=lib, 7=cons)	-0.340*** (0.0449)	-0.442*** (0.0613)
Income	0.126**	0.0366
	(0.0438)	(0.0485)
Age	-0.0273***	-0.000341
	(0.00618)	(0.00638)
Education Level	-0.0530	0.294*
	(0.0919)	(0.122)
White	-0.870***	-0.202
	(0.231)	(0.250)
Constant	3.073***	1.601***
	(0.407)	(0.439)
N	751	581
AIC	884.0	647.8
BIC	916.3	678.4
chi2	163.64	77.19

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's July 27-August 2, 2018 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "More people carrying guns in public makes me feel less safe."

Table 2.11: Gun Gap in Feeling Unsafe When More People Carry Concealed Guns

	Model 1 All	Model 2 Women	Model 3 Men
Women	0.385**		
	(0.134)		
Gun Ownership	-1.621***	-1.692***	-1.517***
	(0.133)	(0.198)	(0.181)
Ideology	-0.279***	-0.379***	-0.209***
(1=lib, 7=cons)	(0.0382)	(0.0616)	(0.0491)
Income	-0.0336	0.00509	-0.0766
	(0.0335)	(0.0481)	(0.0471)
Age	0.0325***	0.0312***	0.0328***
	(0.00475)	(0.00769)	(0.00601)
Education Level	0.140	0.213	0.106
	(0.0774)	(0.123)	(0.101)
White	-0.373*	-0.315	-0.362
	(0.160)	(0.240)	(0.218)
Constant	0.157	0.591	0.158
	(0.283)	(0.403)	(0.359)
N	1265	574	691
AIC	1407.1	639.8	770.4
BIC	1448.2	670.3	802.2
chi2	313.27	166.52	139.80

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's July 27-August 2, 2018 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "Allowing people to carry concealed guns makes everyone safer."

Table 2.12: Gender Gap in Feeling Unsafe When More People Carry Concealed Guns

	Model 1 Gun Owners	Model 2 Non-Owners
Women	0.316	0.406*
	(0.195)	(0.189)
Gun Ownership		
Ideology	-0.233***	-0.332***
(1=lib, 7=cons)	(0.0519)	(0.0577)
Income	-0.0284	-0.0433
	(0.0487)	(0.0467)
Age	0.0382***	0.0244***
	(0.00675)	(0.00663)
Education Level	0.0963	0.224
	(0.105)	(0.118)
White	-0.747***	0.0453
	(0.221)	(0.227)
Constant	-1.459***	0.185
	(0.395)	(0.396)
N	717	548
AIC	725.8	682.2
BIC	757.9	712.4
chi2	59.27	55.29

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from Survey Sample International's July 27-August 2, 2018 survey. Respondents were asked how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement; "Allowing people to carry concealed guns makes everyone safer."

Table 3.2: Gun Gap in Support for the Death Penalty

	Model 1 All	Model 2 Women	Model 3 Men
Gun Ownership	0.770***	0.970***	0.664**
	(0.162)	(0.275)	(0.203)
Women	-0.314*		
	(0.127)		
White	0.646***	0.950***	0.274
	(0.142)	(0.192)	(0.218)
Income	-0.00211	-0.00706	0.00107
	(0.0268)	(0.0359)	(0.0411)
Age	-0.00176	-0.00798	0.00555
	(0.00366)	(0.00498)	(0.00547)
Education Level	-0.274***	-0.263***	-0.276**
	(0.0574)	(0.0776)	(0.0863)
Religiosity	-0.0597**	-0.0715*	-0.0466
	(0.0230)	(0.0322)	(0.0335)
Ideology	0.320***	0.292***	0.363***
(1=lib, 7=cons)	(0.0442)	(0.0610)	(0.0649)
Constant	-0.549	-0.596	-0.835
	(0.386)	(0.505)	(0.587)
N	1283	653	630
AIC	1558.8	823.9	737.6
BIC	1605.2	859.8	773.1
chi2	187.64	94.75	79.03

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Notes: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses.
Data from the 2016 General Social Survey

Table 3.3: Gender Gap in Support for the Death Penalty

	Model 1 Gun Owners	Model 2 Non-Owners
Women	-0.0996	-0.367**
	(0.310)	(0.141)
White	1.128**	0.571***
	(0.388)	(0.152)
Income	0.00385	-0.00239
	(0.0928)	(0.0283)
Age	-0.00433	-0.000992
	(0.00860)	(0.00407)
Education Level	-0.432***	-0.242***
	(0.129)	(0.0643)
Religiosity	0.0369	-0.0790**
	(0.0548)	(0.0256)
Ideology	0.262**	0.332***
	(0.0967)	(0.0500)
Constant	0.0371	-0.540
	(1.276)	(0.413)
N	330	953
AIC	337.4	1228.8
BIC	367.8	1267.7
chi2	29.85	103.05

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Notes: Logistic estimates. Standard errors in parentheses.
Data from the 2016 General Social Survey

Table 3.5: Gun Gap in Support for Military Force

	Model 1 All	Model 2 Women	Model 3 Men
Gun Ownership	0.184*	0.285*	0.0870
	(0.0862)	(0.124)	(0.120)
Women	-0.196*		
	(0.0840)		
Age	-0.0106	-0.0144	-0.00455
	(0.0121)	(0.0166)	(0.0180)
Income	0.00967	0.0151	0.00317
	(0.00559)	(0.00781)	(0.00807)
Education Level	0.00485	-0.0680	0.0753
	(0.0433)	(0.0621)	(0.0610)
White	0.431***	0.767***	0.0927
	(0.110)	(0.161)	(0.154)
Ideology	0.393***	0.385***	0.407***
	(0.0315)	(0.0437)	(0.0459)
Evangelical	0.241**	0.359**	0.115
	(0.0877)	(0.122)	(0.127)
Veteran	-0.0731	0.0854	-0.0800
	(0.137)	(0.349)	(0.153)
Contant	-2.697***	-3.102***	-2.491***
	(0.202)	(0.289)	(0.270)
N	3033	1623	1410
AIC	3706.3	1902.4	1802.9
BIC	3766.4	1950.9	1850.2
chi2	289.98	178.96	112.96

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic Estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from the 2016 American National Election Study Survey.

Table 3.6: Gender Gap in Support for Military Force

	Model 1 Gun Owners	Model 2 Non-Owners
Gun Ownership		
Women	0.0135 (0.143)	-0.307** (0.105)
Age	-0.0218 (0.0211)	-0.00209 (0.0148)
Income	0.00421 (0.00971)	0.0116 (0.00689)
Education Level	0.0724 (0.0736)	-0.0372 (0.0538)
White	0.522* (0.237)	0.399** (0.125)
Ideology	0.484*** (0.0563)	0.350*** (0.0382)
Evangelical	0.277 (0.143)	0.214 (0.112)
Veteran	-0.0570 (0.202)	-0.0584 (0.189)
Constant	-3.097*** (0.398)	-2.417*** (0.241)
N	1013	2020
AIC	1293.2	2419.2
BIC	1337.5	2469.7
chi2	115.06	145.65

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Logistic Estimates. Standard errors in parentheses. Data from the 2016 American National Election Study Survey.

References

Barr, Robert R. 2009. “Populists, Outsiders and Anti-Establishment Politics.” *Party Politics* 15(1): 29–48.

Baxter, Sandra, and Marjorie Lansing. 1983. *Women and Politics: The Visible Majority*. University of Michigan Press.

Berinsky, Adam J, Gregory A Huber, and Gabriel S Lenz. 2012. "Evaluating online labor markets for experimental research: Amazon. com's mechanical turk." *Political Analysis* 20 (3):351-68.

Blair, M. Elizabeth, and Eva M. Hyatt. 1995. “The Marketing of Guns to Women: Factors Influencing Gun-Related Attitudes and Gun Ownership by Women.” *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*: 117–127.

Bohm, Robert M. 1991. “American Death Penalty Opinion, 1936-1986: A Critical Examination of the Gallup Polls.” In *A Version of This Chapter Was Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago, Illinois, Nov 1988.*, Anderson Publishing Co.

———. 1999. *Deathquest: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Capital Punishment in the United States*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing Co.

Bordua, David J., and Alan J. Lizotte. 1979. “Patterns of Legal Firearms Ownership: A Cultural and Situational Analysis of Illinois Counties.” *Law & Policy* 1(2): 147–175.

Brady, Henry E. 1999. “Political Participation.” In *Measures of Political Attitudes*. Vol 2. of *Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes*. Chapter 13. Edited by, John P. Robinson., Phillip R. Shaver, and Lawrence S. Wrightsman. San Diego. Academic Press.

Brandes, Lisa Catherine Olga. 1996. “Public Opinion, International Security Policy, and Gender: The United States and Great Britain since 1945.” Dissertation.

Braman, Donald, Dan M. Kahan, and James Grimmelmann. 2005. “Modeling Facts, Culture, and Cognition in the Gun Debate.” *Social Justice Research* 18(3): 283–304.

Brennan, Pauline Gasdow, Alan J. Lizotte, and David McDowall. 1993. “Guns, Southernness, and Gun Control.” *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 9(3): 289–307.

Breslin, Susannah. 2013. “Concealed Carry For The Ladies.” *Forbes*. https://www.forbes.com/sites/susannahbreslin/2013/06/04/concealed-carry/#4f544e9c5bfb (April 29, 2018).

Britto, Sarah, and Krystal E. Noga-Styron. 2015. “The Belief That Guns Deter Crime and Support for Capital Punishment.” *Criminal justice studies* 28(3): 314–335.

Browder, Laura. 2006. *Her Best Shot: Women and Guns in America*. University of North Carolina Press.

Burns, Nancy. 2007. “Gender in the Aggregate, Gender in the Individual, Gender and Political Action.” *Politics & Gender* 3(1): 104–124.

Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Carlson, Jennifer. 2015. *Citizen-Protectors: The Everyday Politics of Guns in an Age of Decline*. Oxford University Press.

———. 2015b. “Mourning Mayberry: Guns, Masculinity, and Socioeconomic Decline.” *Gender & Society* 29(3): 386–409.

Carlson, Jennifer. 2013. “The Equalizer? Crime, Vulnerability, and Gender in Pro-Gun Discourse.” *Feminist Criminology* 9(1): 59–83.

Carpini, Michael X. Delli, and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Carpini, Michael X. Delli, Fay Lomax Cook, and Lawrence R. Jacobs. 2004. "Public deliberation, discursive participation, and citizen engagement: A review of the empirical literature." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7: 315-344.

Catalano, Shannon. 2012. "Intimate Partner Violence, 1993-2010." *Bureau of Justice Studies.*

Celinska, Katarzyna. 2007. "Individualism and Collectivism in America: The Case of Gun Ownership and Attitudes toward Gun Control." *Sociological Perspectives* 50(2): 229–247.

Christy, Carol A. 1987. *Sex Differences in Political Participation: Processes of Change in Fourteen Nations*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Conover, Pamela Johnston. 1984. "The Influence of Group Identifications on Political Perception and Evaluation." *The Journal of Politics* 46(3): 760–785.

Conover, Pamela Johnston, and Virginia Sapiro. 1993. "Gender, Feminist Consciousness, and War." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(4): 1079–1099.

Conway, Mary Margaret, Gertrude A. Steuernagel, and David W. Ahern. 1997. *Women and Political Participation: Cultural Change in the Political Arena*. Washington DC: CQ Press.

DeJong, Christina. 1997. "Differential Indicators of Defensive Weapon Ownership: A Comparison by Gender." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 25(6): 517–526.

Depew, Briggs, and Isaac D. Swensen. 2018. "The Decision to Carry: The Effect of Crime on Concealed-Carry Applications." *Journal of Human Resources*: 1016–8287R2.

Donges, Hannah, and Aaron Karp. 2014. "Research Note: Women and Gun Ownership." http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/fileadmin/docs/H-Research_Notes/SAS-Research-Note-45.pdf.

Eichenberg, Richard C. 2016. "Gender Difference in American Public Opinion on the Use of Military Force, 1982–2013." *International Studies Quarterly* 60(1): 138–48.

Enriquez, Darryl. 2006. "60,000 Expected for Gun Meeting; National Rifle Association Convention Begins Friday." *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* May 18:1.

Erskine, Hazel. 1972. "The Polls: Gun Control." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 36(3): 455–469.

Esposito, Luigi, and Laura L. Finley. 2014. "Beyond Gun Control: Examining Neoliberalism, Pro-Gun Politics and Gun Violence in the United States." *Theory in Action; Fair Lawn* 7(2): 74–103.

Filindra, Alexandra, and Noah J. Kaplan. 2016. "Racial Resentment and Whites' Gun Policy Preferences in Contemporary America." *Political behavior* 38(2): 255–275.

Fite, David, Marc Genest, and Clyde Wilcox. 1990. "Gender Differences in Foreign Policy Attitudes: A Longitudinal Analysis." *American Politics Quarterly* 18(4): 492–513.

Franklin, Cortney A., and Travis W. Franklin. 2009. "Predicting Fear of Crime: Considering Differences Across Gender." *Feminist Criminology* 4(1): 83–106.

Frankovic, Kathleen A. 1982. "Sex and Politics—New Alignments, Old Issues." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 15(3): 439–448.

French, David. 2018. "What Critics Don't Understand About Gun Culture." *The Atlantic*. https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/02/gun-culture/554351/ (April 9, 2018).

Funt, Peter. 2019. “Kamala Harris Owns a Handgun. That’s Disqualifying for a 2020 Democrat in My Book.” *USA Today*. https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2019/04/26/kamala-harris-owns-handgun-unacceptable-2020-democratic-race-column/3567371002/ (April 28, 2019).

Gallup Report. 1985. *The Death Penalty*. Princeton, NJ.

Gimpel, James G. 1998. “Packing Heat at the Polls: Gun Ownership, Interest Group Endorsements, and Voting Behavior in Gubernatorial Elections.” *Social Science Quarterly* 79(3): 634–48.

Gordon, Margaret T., and Stephanie Riger. 1989. *The Female Fear: The Social Cost of Rape*. University of Illinois Press.

Gosch, Dave. 1992. “Women and Guns: NRA Under Fire; Organization Says It’s Meeting Needs; Critics Say It Exploits Fears.” *Gazette*.

Goss, Kristin A. 2017. “The Socialization of Conflict and Its Limits: Gender and Gun Politics in America.” *Social Science Quarterly* 98(2): 455–70.

Goss, Kristin A. 2010. *Disarmed: The Missing Movement for Gun Control in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Goss, Kristin A. 2006. *Disarmed: The Missing Movement for Gun Control in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Goss, Kristin A., and Theda Skocpol. 2006. “Changing Agendas: The Impact of Feminism on American Politics.” In *Gender and Social Capital*, eds. Brenda O’Neill and Elisabeth Gidengil. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Gottlieb, Meryl. 2016. “Hollywood Loves Guns: Here’s the Staggering Number of Recent Movie Posters Featuring Guns.” *Business Insider*. http://www.businessinsider.com/number-of-guns-in-movies-2016-6 (October 31, 2017).

Haider-Markel, Donald P., and Mark R. Joslyn. 2001. “Gun Policy, Opinion, Tragedy, and Blame Attribution: The Conditional Influence of Issue Frames.” *The Journal of Politics* 63(2): 520–543.

Haider-Markel, Donald P., Mark R. Joslyn, and Abigail J. Vegter. 2018. “Motivated Voices: Gun Ownership and the Propensity for Political Participation.” In Boston, MA.

Halbrook, Stephen P. 2013. *That Every Man Be Armed: The Evolution of a Constitutional Right. Revised and Updated Edition.* UNM Press.

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2016. *Intersectionality: An intellectual history*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. “Intersectionality as a Normative and Empirical Paradigm.” *Politics & Gender* 3(2): 248–54.

Hansen, Susan B. 1997. “Talking About Politics: Gender and Contextual Effects on Political Proselytizing.” *The Journal of Politics* 59(1): 73–103.

Higgins, Lily. 2013. “The Allure of American Gun Advertising through the Ages.” *The Blue Review*. https://thebluereview.org/gun-advertising/ (October 31, 2017).

Hofstadter, Richard. 1970. “America as a Gun Culture.” *American Heritage* 21(6): 4–11.

Hollander, Jocelyn A. 2001. “Vulnerability and Dangerousness: The Construction of Gender through Conversation about Violence.” *Gender & society* 15(1): 83–109.

Horowitz, Juliana Menasce. 2017. “How Male and Female Gun Owners in the U.S. Compare.” *Pew Research Center*. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/06/29/how-male-and-female-gun-owners-in-the-u-s-compare/ (October 26, 2017).

Howell, Susan E., and Christine L. Day. 2000. “Complexities of the Gender Gap.” *Journal of Politics* 62(3): 858–74.

Huddy, Leonie, Erin Cassese, and Mary-Kate Lizotte. 2008. “Gender, Public Opinion, and Political Reasoning.” In *Political Women and American Democracy*, eds. Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez. Cambridge University Press, 31–49.

Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav. 2005. “Threat, Anxiety, and Support of Antiterrorism Policies.” *American journal of political science* 49(3): 593–608.

Ingraham, Christopher. 2015. “There Are Now More Guns than People in the United States.” *The Washington Post*.

Jennings, M. Kent, and Richard G. Niemi. 1981. *Generations and Politics: A Panel Study of Young Americans and Their Parents*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jensen, Mark P. 1987. “Gender, Sex Roles, and Attitudes toward War and Nuclear Weapons.” *Sex Roles* 17(5–6): 253–267.

Jiobu, Robert M., and Timothy J. Curry. 2001. “Lack of Confidence in the Federal Government and the Ownership of Firearms.” *Social Science Quarterly* 82(1): 77–88.

Johnson, Peter. 1989. “Women Are Buying Guns; Biggest Reason Is Fear of Crime; ‘I Feel More Secure Having a Gun Around.’” *USA Today*.

Joslyn, Mark R., and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2017. "Gun Ownership and Self-Serving Attributions for Mass Shooting Tragedies." *Social Science Quarterly* 98(2): 429-442.

Joslyn, Mark R., and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2013. "The Politics of Causes: Mass Shootings and the Cases of the Virginia Tech and Tucson Tragedies" *Social Science Quarterly* 94(2):410-23.

Joslyn, Mark R., Donald P. Haider-Markel, Michael Baggs, and Andrew Bilbo. 2017. "Emerging Political Identities? Gun Ownership and Voting in Presidential Elections." *Social Science Quarterly* 98(2): 382–96.

Kahan, Dan M. 1999. "The Secret Ambition of Deterrence." *Harvard Law Review* 113(2): 413–500.

Kahan, Dan M., and Donald Braman. 2003. "More Statistics, Less Persuasion: A Cultural Theory of Gun-Risk Perceptions." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 151(4): 1291–1327.

Karp, Aaron. 2011. "Research Note: Estimating Civilian Owned Firearms." http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/fileadmin/docs/H-Research_Notes/SAS-Research-Note-9.pdf.

Kelley, Margaret S., Christopher G. Ellison, and Alexandra T. Middlewood. 2018. "Correlates of Gun Ownership in the U.S.: Exploring the 'Maybes.'"

Killias, Martin. 1990. "Vulnerability: Towards a Better Understanding of a Key Variable in the Genesis of Fear of Crime." *Violence and Victims; New York* 5(2): 97–108.

Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2016. "Gender and Political Behavior." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kleck, Gary. 1996. "Crime, Culture Conflict and the Sources of Support for Gun Control: A Multilevel Application of the General Social Surveys." *American Behavioral Scientist* 39(4): 387–404.

Kleck, Gary, Marc Gertz, and Jason Bratton. 2009. "Why Do People Support Gun Control?: Alternative Explanations of Support for Handgun Bans." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 37(5): 496–504.

Kohn, Abigail A. 2004. *Shooters: Myths and Realities of America's Gun Cultures*. Oxford University Press.

Krouse, W.J. 2012. "Gun Control Legislation." *Congressional Research Service.*

Lacombe, Matthew J. 2019. "The Political Weaponization of Gun Owners: The NRA's Cultivation, Dissemination, and Use of a Group Social Identity." Journal of Politics forthcoming.

Lampo, David. 2000. "Gun Control: Myths and Realities." *CATO Institute*.

Leary, Kevin. 1992. "Fighting Fear with Firearms - Many U.S. Women Buying Guns." *San Francisco Cronicle*.

Lizotte, Alan J., David J. Bordua, and Carolyn S. White. 1981. "Firearms Ownership for Sport and Protection: Two Not so Divergent Models." *American Sociological Review* 46(4): 499–503.

Lott, John R. 2013. *More Guns, Less Crime: Understanding Crime and Gun Control Laws*. 3rd ed. University of Chicago Press.

Ludwig, J, P J Cook, and T W Smith. 1998. "The Gender Gap in Reporting Household Gun Ownership." *American Journal of Public Health* 88(11): 1715–18.

Lynn, Naomi. 1975. "Women in American Politics: An Overview." *Women: A feminist perspective* 402: 422.

Madriz, Esther. 1997. "Images of Criminals and Victims: A Study on Women's Fear and Social Control." *Gender & Society* 11(3): 342–56.

Matthews, David. 2015. "How Gun Advertising in America Has Changed since the 1950s." *Splinter News*. https://splinternews.com/how-gun-advertising-in-america-has-changed-since-the-19-1793851674 (October 31, 2017).

McCaughey, Martha. 1997. *Real Knockouts: The Physical Feminism of Women's Self-Defense*. New York University Press.

Melzer, Scott. 2009. *Gun Crusaders: The NRA's Culture War*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Mendez, Jeanette Morehouse, and Tracy Osborn. 2010. "Gender and the Perception of Knowledge in Political Discussion." *Political Research Quarterly* 63(2): 269–79.

Messner, Michael A. 2019. "Guns, Intimacy, and the Limits of Militarized Masculinity." In *Gun Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Politics, Policy, and Practice*, eds. Jennifer Carlson, Kristin A. Goss, and Harel Shapira. New York, NY: Routledge, 224–40.

Middlewood, Alexandra T., Mark R. Joslyn, and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2018. "Intersectionality in Action: Gun Ownership and Women's Political Participation." Southern Political Science Association Annual Conference. In New Orleans, LA.

Middlewood, Alexandra T. et al. 2018. "Speak Loudly and Carry a Big Stick: Gun Ownership, Motivated Reasoning, and Support for Use of Military Force." In Chicago, IL.

Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth. 1984. *The Spiral of Silence*. 1st ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Norris, Pippa. 2007. "New Feminist Challenges to the Study of Political Engagement." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, eds. Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 724–43.

Norris, Pippa. 2001. *Women's Power at the Ballot Box. For International IDEA Voter Turnout from 1945-2000: A global Report of Political Participation*. Harvard University.

NRA Women. 2018. 05 Apr. Accessed: http://www.nrawomen.tv/home/list/home-feature https://explore.nra.org/interests/womens-interests/

Opinion Roundup. 1982. "Opinion Roundup: Women and Men: Is a Realignment Under Way?" *Public Opinion Magazine* (April/May): 21, 27–32.

Pain, R. 1997. "Whither Women's Fear? Perceptions of Sexual Violence in Public and Private Space." *International Review of Victimology* 4(4): 297–312.

Pantazis, Christina. 2000. "'Fear of Crime', Vulnerability and Poverty." *The British Journal of Criminology* 40(3): 414–36.

Parker, Kim, Juliana Horowitz, Ruth Igielnik, Baxter Oliphant, and Anna Brown. 2017. *America's Complex Relationship with Guns*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. 03 April 2018. Accessed: http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2017/06/22/americas-complex-relationship-with-guns/

Pew Research Center. 2016. "Opinions on Gun Policy and the 2016 Campaign." *Pew Research Center for the People and the Press*. http://www.people-press.org/2016/08/26/opinions-on-gun-policy-and-the-2016-campaign/ (April 18, 2018).

Schultz, E.J. 2017. "Female Firepower: Women Take A New Role In Gun Sales." *AdAge.* http://adage.com/article/cmo-strategy/female-firepower-women-a-role-gun-sales/310556/

Shapira, Harel, and Samantha J. Simon. 2018. "Learning to Need a Gun." *Qualitative Sociology* 41(1): 1–20.

Shapiro, Robert Y., and Harpreet Mahajan. 1986. “Gender Differences in Policy Preferences: A Summary of Trends from the 1960s to the 1980s.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 50(1): 42–61.

Sheley, J. F., C. J. Brody, J. D. Wright, and M. A. Williams. 1994. “Women and Handguns: Evidence From National Surveys, 1973-1991.” *Social Science Research* 23(3): 219–35.

Smith, Tom W. 1980. “The 75% Solution: An Analysis of the Structure of Attitudes on Gun Control, 1959-1977.” *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-)* 71(3): 300–316.

———. 1984. “The Polls: Gender and Attitudes toward Violence.” *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 48(1): 384–396.

Smith, Tom W., and Robert J. Smith. 1995. “Changes in Firearms Ownership among Women, 1980-1994.” *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 86(1): 133–49.

Smith, Tom W., and Jaesok Son. 2015. “General Social Survey Final Report: Trends in Gun Ownership in the United States, 1972-2014.” http://www.norc.org/PDFs/GSS%20Reports/GSS_Trends%20in%20Gun%20Ownership_US_1972-2014.pdf.

Smith, Tom W., Faith Laken, and Jaesok Son. 2014. “Gun Ownership in the United States: Measurement Issues and Trends.”

Spitzer, Robert J. 2015. 6th ed. *Politics of Gun Control*. New York: Routledge.

Stack, Steven. 2000. “Support for the Death Penalty: A Gender-Specific Model.” *Sex Roles* 43(3–4): 163–179.

Stampler, Laura. 2012. “Here’s How Guns Are Advertised In America.” *Business Insider*. http://www.businessinsider.com/heres-how-guns-are-advertised-in-america-2012-12 (October 31, 2017).

Stange, Mary Zeiss, and Carol K. Oyster. 2000. *Gun Women: Firearms and Feminism in Contemporary America*. NYU Press.

Stroebe, Wolfgang, N. Pontus Leander, and Arie W. Kruglanski. 2017. “Is It a Dangerous World out There? The Motivational Bases of American Gun Ownership.” *Personality and social psychology bulletin* 43(8): 1071–1085.

Stroud, Angela. 2016. *Good Guys with Guns: The Appeal and Consequences of Concealed Carry*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Swidler, Ann. 1986. “Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies.” *American sociological review*: 273–286.

Thomas, Charles W., and Samuel C. Foster. 1975. “A Sociological Perspective on Public Support for Capital Punishment.” *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 45(4): 641.

Thomas, Stucky D., Geralyn M. Miller, and Linda M. Murphy. 2008. “Gender, Guns, and Legislating: An Analysis of State Legislative Policy Preferences.” *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 29(4): 477–495.

Valentine, Gill. 1997. “” Oh Yes I Can.”‘Oh No You Can’t’: Children and Parents’ Understandings of Kids’ Competence to Negotiate Public Space Safely.” *Antipode* 29(1): 65–89.

Vegter, Abigail J., Alexandra T. Middlewood, Donald P. Haider-Markel, and Mark R. Joslyn. 2019. “Beliefs about Preventing Mass Shootings: The Role of Motivated Self-Interest.” In *Public Opinion About Race and Violence*, Chicago, IL.

Verba, Sidney, Nancy Burns, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1997. “Knowing and Caring about Politics: Gender and Political Engagement.” *The Journal of Politics* 59(4): 1051–72.

Verba, Sidney, Norman H. Nie, and Jae-on Kim. 1987. *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Comparison*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Vidmar, Neil, and Phoebe Ellsworth. 1973. “Public Opinion and the Death Penalty.” *Stan. L. Rev.* 26: 1245.

Warr, Mark. 1984. “Fear of Victimization: Why Are Women and the Elderly More Afraid?” *Social Science Quarterly* 65(3): 681.

Wesely, Jennifer K., and Emily Gaarder. 2004. "The gendered “nature” of the urban outdoors: Women negotiating fear of violence." *Gender & Society* 18(5): 645-663.

Wolpert, Robin M., and James G. Gimpel. 1998. “Self-Interest, Symbolic Politics, and Public Attitudes toward Gun Control.” *Political Behavior* 20(3): 241–262.

Wright, James D. 1995. “Ten Essential Observations on Guns in America.” *Society* 32(3): 63–68.

Wu, Jeff. 1991. “More U.S. Women Buying and Using Firearms.” *Tulsa World*.

Yablon, Alex. 2016. “The Myth of the Rise in Female Gun Ownership. The rate at which woman are buying firearms has remained mostly unchanged for decades.” *The Trace,* 23 Mar 2016. Accessed: https://www.thetrace.org/2016/03/female-gun-ownership-debunked/

Yablon, Alex. 2016. “There Is No Female Gun Ownership Boom, Data Shows.” *The Trace*. https://www.thetrace.org/2016/03/female-gun-ownership-debunked/ (April 29, 2018).

Yamane, David. 2017. “The Sociology of U.S. Gun Culture.” *Sociology Compass* 11(7): 1-10.

Zukin, Cliff. 2006. “A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life, and the Changing American Citizen. New York: Oxford University Press.