0091-4169/80/7103-0300$02.00/0
THE JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW & CRIMINOLOGY
Vol. 71, No. 3
Printed in U.S.A.

CRIMINOLOGY

THE 75% SOLUTION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF ATTITUDES ON GUN CONTROL, 1959-1977*

TOM W. SMITH**

One of the few constants in American public opinion over the last two decades has been that three-fourths of the population supports gun control. Sixteen surveys were conducted from 1959 to 1977 which asked the question, "Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?" The public response has split consistently about three-to-one in favor of gun control (see table 1).[1] The low point of opposition occurred in December, 1963, during the traumatic aftermath of President Kennedy's assassination, and the high point appeared in August, 1966. In the remaining fourteen surveys the opposition to gun control moved within a narrow band of from 22 to 28%.

In some respects this consistency over time is remarkable. The assassinations of high officials, major riots, and explosive upsurge in violent crime, all occurring since 1959 when the first survey was conducted, have not had any net impact on the opposition to gun control. It follows that these and other events either have exerted no influence on gun control attitudes or have produced a standoff by exerting influence in opposing directions.

The stable level of gun control opposition is also notable in light of the changing importance of the gun control issue itself. After a flurry of activity on the issue of firearms regulation in the mid-to-late 1930s, gun control ceased being a topic of public interest until 1957 when the Commissioner of Internal Revenue proposed certain changes in the administration of the Federal Firearms Act of 1938. During this time, discussions concerning the protection of domestic manufacturers from imports and inquiries into the availability of firearms to juveniles (the Dodd Investigations) rendered gun control a minor topic of concern. Not until the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 did gun control become a major issue. A count of magazine articles dealing with gun control from 1935 to 1977 indicates that coverage was nonexistent from 1941-43 through 1953-55. The proposed tightening of the administration of the Federal Firearms Act of 1938 created a small swell of attention cresting at five articles in 1957-59. The rate then fell to an average of one article per year from 1959-61 through 1962-63, before surging to twelve articles per year over the next four years (1963-64 to 1966-67). Interest climbed sharply over the next two years and peaked at forty-seven articles in 1968-69: the time of the passage of the Gun Control Act of 1968. Subsequent coverage remained stable at about ten articles per year until 1975-77 when legislative activity on handgun control pushed coverage to about thirty articles per year.[2]

* This research was part of work done by the "Social Change Project," NSF Grant no. SOC 73-09231 A01. An earlier version of this paper was presented to the American Statistical Association, August, 1978, San Diego.

** Associate Study Director, National Opinion Research Center.

[1] Application of a constant model to this series reveals more variation than could be expected by sampling error. (See Statistical Analysis in table 1). Likewise, a linear model fails to fit the data very well although the linear model does improve significantly upon the constant model. In sum, the series tests out as showing non-linear change with a small and weak, but significant, linear component indicating an increase in opposition of .0025 per annum. Almost all of the non-linear trend and the linear component results from one point, however. With the elimination of the 1963 survey from the series, the remaining 15 points fit a constant model ($x^2 = 20.5$, d.f. = 14, prop. = .114) with a pooled estimate of the proportion opposing gun control of .25%.

[2] A count of articles under the heading "Firearms—Laws and Regulations" was made for each issue of the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* from 1937 to 1977. Until 1965 the volumes covered two years. The per volume count was as follows:

1935-37—0	1963-65—21
1937-39—1	1965-66—13
1939-41—3	1966-67—14
1941-43—0	1967-68—20
1943-45—0	1968-69—47

TABLE 1

GUN PERMIT MARGINALS[a]

Survey	AIP0616	AIP0681	AIP0704	AIP0717	AIP0733	AIP0749	AIP0838	GSS72
Date	7/59	12/63	1/65	9/65	8/66	8/67	10/71	3/72
PERCENT OPPOSED								
No	22.1	18.2	24.6	26.1	30.5	25.2	25.3	27.6
	(1,473)	(1,551)	(1,628)	(3,393)[b]	(1,464)	(1,569)	(1,446)	(1,562)
Survey	AIP0852	GSS73	GSS74	SRC[c]	GSS75	SRC[c]	GSS76	GSS77
Date	5/72	3/73	3/74	3/75	3/75	2/76	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED								
No	25.4	25.2	23.8	28.3	24.4	24.7	27.4	27.0
	(1,478)	(1,470)	(1,459)	(445)	(1,450)	(615)	(1,472)	(1,499)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS[d]

Hypothesis	Model	x^{2e}	df	p	Decision
1) No change	p=pooled	47.0	15	<.001	
2) Linear change	p=a + bx	37.7	14	<.001	
Linear improvement		9.4	1	<.003	Significant

FINAL MODEL

Linear component = .08 + .0025(x)

[a] Don't knows and missing values excluded from analysis.

[b] Weighted number of cases exaggerates the number. N=1500 used in calculations.

[c] Telephone interviews. The rest are personal interviews.

[d] For details of the tests used here, see Taylor, *infra* note 4.

[e] To adjust for multi-stage sampling, standard deviations multiplied by 1.414. This is a conservative adjustment for clustering.

GSS = General Social Survey, National Opinion Research Center.
AIPO = American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup).
SRC = Survey Research Center, University of Michigan.

In order to explore this pattern of stability and gain insight into the factors that help to form opinions on gun control, this article conducts analyses of 1) the socio-demographic associates of gun control, 2) the relationship between attitudes toward crime and punishment and gun control, and 3) the interrelationship between various gun control attitudes.

Data were available in the Social Change files at the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) for cross-tabular analysis of twelve of the sixteen surveys used in table 1 (AIPO 616, 681, 704, 733, 749, 838, GSS 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77). The variables available for analysis over time included sex, age, race, community type, region, religion, education, income, party identification, and gun ownership.

To examine the relationships between time, the background variables, and gun control, d-systems were employed.[3] The variables are cross-tabulated and differences in percentages between categories are calculated. Table 2, for example, shows the percent opposing gun control on each available survey broken down by sex of respondent. The d-system inspects the difference between men and women and tests for its statistical significance. It also tests whether the sex difference is constant over all data points, or whether the sex difference interacts with time.

Three models are used to explain the differences. If the observed differences are not statistically significant, then the model hypothesizing that there are no differences between the categories (d=0) is accepted. If the observed differences are statistically significant, then the pooled difference is cal-

1945-47—0	1969-70—11
1947-49—0	1970-71— 7
1949-51—0	1971-72—10
1951-53—0	1972-73—14
1953-55—0	1973-74— 9
1955-57—2	1974-75—10
1957-59—5	1975-76—30
1959-61—3	1976-77—28
1961-63—1	

For a good account of the history of gun control legislation, see Zimring, *Firearms and the Federal Law: The Gun Control Act of 1968*, 4 J. LEGAL STUD. 133, 135-48 (1975); American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy, Gun Control, Legislative Analysis No. 9, 94th Cong., Washington, D.C. 3-6 (1976).

[3] Davis, *Analyzing Contingency Tables with Linear Flow Graphs: D-Systems*, in SOCIOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY 111-45 (D. Heise ed. 1975).

TABLE 2

SEX DIFFERENCES

Survey	AIP0616	AIP0681	AIP0704	AIP0733	AIP0749	AIP0838
Date	7/59	12/63	1/65	8/66	8/67	10/71
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Male	30.2	25.6	35.3	40.1	34.6	34.1
	(713)	(753)	(793)	(714)	(775)	(709)
Female	14.6	11.3	14.5	21.5	16.1	16.8
	(760)	(798)	(835)	(750)	(794)	(794)
Survey	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74	GSS75	GSS76	GSS77
Date	3/72	3/73	3/74	3/75	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Male	37.4	32.0	33.4	32.7	35.7	35.6
	(789)	(684)	(686)	(654)	(661)	(682)
Female	16.8	17.6	19.3	15.3	20.7	19.8
	(737)	(773)	(786)	(773)	(811)	(817)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS[a]

Categorical Difference (Base = Male)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Female	1) No difference	d=0	711.6	12	<.001	
	2) Constant differences	d=c	13.7	11	.252	accept

FINAL MODEL

Female: d = −16.8

[a] For details of the procedure employed here see Davis, *infra* note 3.

culated. If the observed differences do not vary significantly from the pooled estimate, then the model that the differences are constant (d=c) is accepted. If the differences do vary significantly from the pooled estimate, then differences exist between the groups, but their magnitude varies with time. This outcome is described as nonconstant. For example, table 2 shows that the differences between men and women are statistically significant (x^2 = 711.6 and probability is less than .001). The variation of the observed differences in each survey is not significantly different from the pooled or average difference (x^2 = 13.7 and probability equals .252). As a result, the constant hypothesis (d=c) is accepted in this case.[4]

[4] For details of the statistical tests applied here, see Taylor, *Procedures for Evaluating Trends in Qualitative Measures*, in STUDIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE SINCE 1948 171–94 (J. Davis ed. 1976). In brief, the first hypothesis tested is that the sample proportions are from a constant universe value, which is estimated to be the pooled average of the proportions. The criterion for the goodness-of-fit is the chi-square statistic that divides the squared deviation of the observed value from the predicted value by the variance of the observed value. This is referred to as the "test for homogeneity." The next hypothesis tested is that the sample proportions are from a linear universe trend. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test is used to compare the actual proportions with their linear estimates. This is referred to as the "test for linearity."

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Table 2 examines the relationship between sex and attitudes toward gun control. The data show that women consistently have been less opposed to the requiring of a police permit for gun possession than men. The pooled difference over twelve surveys from 1959 to 1975 indicates that women are 16.8 percentage points less opposed than men. The stronger desire of women to control firearms reflects differences in the socialization process of boys and girls. Traditional female upbringing includes, in general, such values as pacificism, sympathy, and passivity and leads to a greater opposition to war, capital punishment,[5] and, in particular, a disinterest in firearms.

An analysis of the cohort differences reveals no relation between age and gun control over the period. This result indicates that the stable level of opposition observed may extend back into time because birth cohorts do not vary on this issue.[6]

The relationship between race and gun control varies considerably over time. Table 3 reveals a significant association at five points in time and no

[5] J. MUELLER, WAR, PRESIDENTS, AND PUBLIC OPINION 146–47 (1973); Smith, *A Trend Analysis of Attitudes Toward Capital Punishment, 1936–1974*, in STUDIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE SINCE 1948 266 (J. Davis ed. 1976).

[6] Tabular data are available from author.

TABLE 3

RACE DIFFERENCES

Survey	AIP0616	AIP0681	AIP0704	AIP0733	AIP0749	AIP0838
Date	7/59	12/63	1/65	8/66	8/67	10/71
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Whites	22.0	19.6	25.9	31.1	25.6	26.6
	(1321)	(1368)	(1481)	(1355)	(1435)	(1323)
Blacks	23.0	8.4	12.7	24.7	23.0	10.6
	(148)	(179)	(142)	(97)	(126)	(104)
Survey	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74	GSS75	GSS76	GSS77
Date	3/72	3/73	3/74	3/75	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Whites	27.6	25.4	24.0	25.5	27.4	28.4
	(1310)	(1281)	(1285)	(1289)	(1340)	(1312)
Blacks	27.4	23.9	22.8	15.3	24.4	18.0
	(248)	(176)	(167)	(157)	(123)	(172)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Categorical Difference (Base-Whites)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Blacks	1) No difference	d=0	91.4	12	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	34.3	11	<.001*	Accept
	3) Linear change in difference	d=a+bx	34.5	10	<.001*	

FINAL MODEL

Blacks: Non-constant d = −7.2

* Not statistically significant at .05 when adjusted for multistage sampling. See table 1, note e *supra*, for explanation.

significant correlation at the remaining seven times. Overall there is no discernible trend. On all but the first survey, however, the direction is toward less opposition among blacks, with a pooled difference of −7.2 percentage points. It therefore appears that blacks tend to be less opposed than whites to gun control.

The next factors analyzed were ecological features. Table 4 demonstrates a strong relationship between community type and the regulation of firearms. As one moves from the countryside, through the small towns, and on to the metropolitan centers, opposition to gun control steadily falls. In rural America opposition has averaged about one-third. In towns the opposition is 7.4 percentage points lower than in the rural areas, in medium metropolitan areas 12.6 percentage points lower, and in large centers 18.3 percentage points lower. This association was examined more closely through the use of a refined measurement of community type. The community classification distinguishes suburban from central city and exurbia from rural. Table 5 indicates that there may be some differences between the cities and the suburbs on this issue. In large metropolitan areas opposition grows as one moves from the center to the inner and outer periphery. In medium-sized areas exurbia clearly differentiates itself from the central city, but the inner suburbs show the most opposition. This pattern does not result from the suburban character of exurbia but rather from the fact that much of this area is rural rather than suburban in character. In brief, community types differentiate on this issue with the main split being rural/metropolitan and with smaller suburban/core differences.

The next ecological variable, region, also has a strong relationship to gun control. Table 6 indicates that the Northeast is 16.8 percentage points less opposed than the South and West and 12.9 percentage points less opposed than the Midwest. The division is therefore not the classic South/non-South division but rather a division along a Northeast/non-Northeast axis.

Given the strong association between gun control attitudes and both community type and region, it was decided to control for this interaction. Both the community and regional relationships exhibit independence, demonstrating that the gun control issue is a function not only of one's community, but also of the community's regional location. Opposition is higher in rural communities within rural regions (see table 7).

Two stratification variables, education and in-

TABLE 4

COMMUNITY TYPE DIFFERENCES[a]

Survey	AIP0616	AIP0681	AIP0704	AIP0733	AIP0745	AIP0838
Date	7/59	12/63	1/65	8/66	8/67	10/71
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Less than 2500	33.0	25.2	37.6	44.4	34.9	40.0
	(530)	(445)	(468)	(423)	(478)	(415)
Towns	22.1	22.4	29.7	37.7	22.6	25.9
	(262)	(250)	(269)	(212)	(239)	(205)
Medium Cities	13.6	16.5	19.7	25.2	23.9	27.5
	(177)	(230)	(254)	(220)	(218)	(244)
Large Cities	13.7	12.3	14.9	20.2	19.4	13.7
	(504)	(626)	(637)	(609)	(634)	(582)
Survey	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74	GSS75	GSS76	GSS77
Date	3/72	3/73	3/74	3/75	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Less than 2500	35.9	31.7	30.9	33.0	35.4	33.4
	(454)	(457)	(457)	(497)	(536)	(533)
Towns	34.0	24.4	23.5	24.4	28.2	34.0
	(194)	(217)	(217)	(172)	(177)	(194)
Medium Cities	21.9	24.5	22.8	23.1	23.7	21.5
	(247)	(216)	(219)	(216)	(253)	(289)
Large Cities	22.2	20.7	18.6	17.3	20.6	20.5
	(667)	(580)	(566)	(565)	(506)	(483)

Categorical Difference (Base = LT 2500)		Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Towns	1)	No difference	d=0	61.6	12	<.001	
	2)	Constant difference	d=c	14.1	11	.225	Accept
Medium Cities	1)	No difference	d=0	175.9	12	<.001	
	2)	Constant difference	d=c	16.1	11	.136	Accept
Large Cities	1)	No difference	d=0	497.5	12	<.001	
	2)	Constant difference	d=c	37.8	11	<.001*	
	3)	Linear change in difference	d=a+bx	30.7	10	.001*	
		Linear reduction		7.0	1	.008*	Not significant

FINAL MODEL

Towns: d=−7.4

Medium Cities: d=−12.6

Large Cities: d=−18.3 (nonconstant)

[a] On AIPO LT2500 includes rural areas and places under 2500 outside the urbanized area of standard metropolitan statistical areas. Towns are over 2500 and under 50,000 and outside of urbanized areas. Medium cities are central cities from 50,000 to 249,999 plus suburbs within the urbanized area. Large cities are 250,000 and over plus suburbs. On GSS incorporated suburbs are coded with their central cities and unincorporated suburbs are coded into the LT2500 code. This gives rough, but imperfect comparison between the coding schemes.

* Not statistically significant at .05 when adjusted for multistage sampling.

come, were tested, but both showed no relationship to attitudes on gun control.[7] This situation, which has not changed over time, indicates that when a person considers the need for the regulation of firearms, the social standing of the individual does not influence the decision.

[7] Tabular data are available from author.

Several affiliational characteristics were considered, the first one being religion. Protestants and those without a religious affiliation have been 12.5 percentage points more opposed to gun control than Catholics and 23.7 percentage points more opposed than Jews. (See table 8).

In one sense these results are surprising since the regulation of firearms has never been a doctrinal

TABLE 5

COMMUNITY DIFFERENCES

Survey	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74	GSS75	GSS76	GSS77
Date	3/72	3/73	3/74	3/75	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Large central city	21.4	20.3	20.8	15.2	18.6	18.3
	(415)	(325)	(318)	(309)	(253)	(263)
Large city suburb	23.4	21.2	15.7	19.9	22.5	23.2
	(252)	(255)	(248)	(256)	(253)	(220)
Large city exurbia	19.3	17.7	20.0	23.5	31.1	28.6
	(88)	(96)	(95)	(68)	(135)	(140)
Medium central city	24.1	23.4	24.6	23.1	26.1	20.6
	(187)	(137)	(138)	(143)	(180)	(155)
Medium city suburb	15.0	26.6	19.8	23.3	17.8	22.4
	(60)	(79)	(81)	(73)	(73)	(134)
Medium city exurbia	48.7	24.2	26.0	31.0	26.8	40.0
	(76)	(128)	(123)	(126)	(97)	(85)
Small city	35.8	28.2	19.0	25.8	20.5	34.0
	(95)	(103)	(105)	(93)	(78)	(97)
Town	32.3	21.1	27.7	22.8	34.3	34.0
	(34)	(114)	(112)	(79)	(99)	(97)
Village	28.0	33.3	35.2	29.2	35.6	28.6
	(50)	(54)	(54)	(48)	(59)	(70)
Open country	39.6	44.1	38.4	37.3	41.2	35.3
	(240)	(179)	(185)	(255)	(245)	(238)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Categorical Difference (Base = open country)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Large central city	1) No difference	d=0	158.8	6	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	2.7	5	.755	accept
Large city suburb	1) No difference	d=0	118.2	6	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	4.6	5	.533	accept
Large city exurbia	1) No difference	d=0	61.5	6	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	9.6	5	.086	accept
Medium central city	1) No difference	d=0	66.5	6	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	1.3	5	.936	accept
Medium city suburb	1) No difference	d=0	69.6	6	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	4.0	5	.551	accept
Medium city exurbia	1) No difference	d=0	30.4	6	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	18.3	5	.003*	accept
Small city	1) No difference	d=0	40.1	6	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	10.4	5	.065	accept
Town	1) No difference	d=0	32.3	6	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	9.4	5	.094	accept
Village	1) No difference	d=0	8.0	6	.234	accept

FINAL MODEL

Large central city	d = −20.2
Large city suburb	d = −18.2
Large city exurbia	d = −15.6
Medium central city	d = −15.5
Medium city suburb	d = −18.3
Medium city exurbia	d = −08.0
Small city	d = −12.4
Town	d = −10.9
Village	d = 0

* Not statistically significant at .05 when adjusted for multistage sampling.

TABLE 6

REGION DIFFERENCES[a]

Survey	AIP0616	AIP0681	AIP0704	AIP0733	AIP0749	AIP0838
Date	7/59	12/63	1/65	8/66	8/67	10/71
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Northeast	12.7	8.7	10.8	17.4	15.7	15.9
	(387)	(392)	(407)	(373)	(413)	(345)
South	29.8	21.8	33.7	37.0	28.2	31.7
	(409)	(427)	(502)	(419)	(468)	(429)
Midwest	21.3	19.1	25.1	29.4	26.1	26.4
	(451)	(472)	(471)	(432)	(441)	(428)
West	26.1	25.4	28.2	41.7	33.7	25.4
	(226)	(260)	(248)	(240)	(246)	(244)
Survey	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74	GSS75	GSS76	GSS77
Date	3/72	3/73	3/74	3/75	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Northeast	15.7	10.4	12.2	12.7	13.4	13.9
	(382)	(336)	(327)	(316)	(335)	(296)
South	34.2	31.5	28.6	31.2	35.7	28.9
	(477)	(466)	(469)	(481)	(470)	(495)
Midwest	27.7	27.7	22.0	22.8	27.3	31.3
	(426)	(422)	(419)	(421)	(417)	(447)
West	32.5	29.3	33.2	29.3	30.8	31.0
	(277)	(246)	(244)	(232)	(250)	(261)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Categorical Differences (Base = Northeast)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
South	1) No difference	d=0	453.7	12	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	14.0	11	.231	Accept
Midwest	1) No difference	d=0	293.6	12	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	27.7	11	.004*	Accept
West	1) No difference	d=0	314.3	12	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	11.4	11	.409	Accept

FINAL MODEL

South: d=16.8
Midwest: d=12.9
West: d=17.1

[a] The regions used here correspond to the following census regions: Northeast = New England + Middle Atlantic, South = South Atlantic + East South Central + West South Central, Midwest = East North Central + West North Central, West = Mountain + Pacific.

* Not statistically significant at .05 when adjusted for multistage sampling.

TABLE 7

COMMUNITY LOCATION DIFFERENCES

	Zero-order	With Control
Midwest	−12.9	−10.0
South	−16.8	−15.3
West	−17.1	−16.2
Towns	− 7.4	− 7.7
Medium Cities	−12.6	−11.3
Large Cities	−18.3	−14.2

issue of faith between religions. But religious affiliation in America indicates not only differences in religious beliefs, but also cultural and historical differences. In particular, religion is closely tied with ethnicity, which indicates the time and place a person's ancestors entered American history and, less precisely, the ancestral family's region and place of residence over the last several generations. For example, the Jewish population in the United States has tended to concentrate in Northeastern metropolitan areas ever since its migration to America.

Table 9 demonstrates the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward gun control. National origins were grouped according to when, where, and how these nationalities entered American society. The old stock represents the pre-nineteenth century host culture, mainly British. The

TABLE 8

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES[a]

Survey	AIP0616	AIP0681	AIP0704	AIP0733	AIP0749	AIP0838
Date	7/59	12/63	1/65	8/66	8/67	10/71
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Protestants	25.7	20.8	28.5	35.6	28.7	29.8
	(983)	(1092)	(1136)	(983)	(1076)	(913)
Catholics	14.7	12.7	16.4	18.5	17.2	15.8
	(382)	(346)	(373)	(356)	(384)	(361)
Jews	5.8	2.1	6.2	10.3	7.0	6.1
	(52)	(47)	(64)	(58)	(43)	(49)
None	30.4	27.8	18.5	34.4	40.6	29.5
	(23)	(36)	(27)	(32)	(32)	(61)
Survey	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74	GSS75	GSS76	GSS77
Date	3/72	3/73	3/74	3/75	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Protestants	31.7	31.1	28.2	27.8	31.6	31.0
	(996)	(920)	(932)	(947)	(930)	(981)
Catholics	20.0	15.6	14.4	15.3	18.3	19.7
	(400)	(379)	(375)	(354)	(388)	(370)
Jews	3.7	2.4	2.3	4.3	11.1	8.8
	(54)	(42)	(44)	(23)	(27)	(34)
None	29.6	18.1	29.3	28.6	29.1	26.1
	(81)	(94)	(99)	(112)	(110)	(92)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Categorical Differences (Base = Protestants)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Catholics	1) No difference	d=0	339.5	12	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	10.6	11	.340	Accept
Jews	1) No difference	d=0	583.1	12	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	12.3	11	.340	Accept
None	1) No difference	d=0	15.6	12	.209	Accept

FINAL MODEL

Catholics:	d=−12.5
Jews:	d=−23.7
None:	d=0

[a] Persons of other religions excluded from analysis.

middle stock consists of groups that either arrived by the mid-nineteenth century and/or settled in rural areas. The new group is generally late nineteenth or early twentieth century arrivals. The white, mixed group consists of people with multiple national backgrounds unable to specify one dominant origin. Finally, blacks are separated because, although they were early and rural immigrants, they were not part of the host culture and were restricted in their use of firearms. The table shows that the old stock white and mixed groups are most opposed to gun control, followed by the middle stock (−4.4%), blacks (−9.4%) and the new stock (−16.2%).

One behavioral characteristic, gun ownership, was tested, and it showed a strong relationship to attitudes on gun control. As might be expected, gun owners are more hostile than non-owners to the idea of requiring police permits for guns. This difference in opposition between owners and non-owners has been consistent over time and averages 22.4 percentage points. The strength of the relationship between ownership and attitudes toward gun control reflects the similarly strong association between owning guns and community type characteristics. Thus, individuals who own guns tend to be male, white, Protestant, old stock, rural, and non-Northeastern.

TABLE 9

ETHNIC DIFFERENCES[a]

Survey	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74	GSS75	GSS76	GSS77
Date	3/72	3/73	3/74	3/75	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Old Stock	32.9	31.4	29.0	30.5	32.8	29.9
	(477)	(477)	(490)	(515)	(533)	(511)
Middle Stock	27.7	25.2	23.9	24.6	25.7	33.6
	(423)	(397)	(401)	(431)	(378)	(411)
New Stock	17.1	12.9	13.7	15.3	18.0	12.8
	(240)	(264)	(248)	(215)	(278)	(242)
White, Mixed	27.7	28.9	23.8	26.0	32.1	31.2
	(166)	(152)	(151)	(131)	(156)	(157)
Black	27.4	23.4	22.8	15.3	24.4	18.0
	(248)	(175)	(167)	(157)	(123)	(172)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Categorical Differences (Base = Old Stock)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Middle	No difference	d=0	21.2	6	.002*	
	Constant difference	d=c	8.4	5	.136	Accept
	Constant improvement		12.8	1	<.001	
New	No difference	d=0	168.7	6	<.001	
	Constant difference	d=c	1.2	5	.948	Accept
White, Mixed	No difference	d=0	4.8	6	.570	Accept
Black	No difference	d=0	43.0	6	<.001	
	Constant difference	d=c	5.3	5	.382	Accept

FINAL MODEL

Middle = −4.4 White, Mixed = 0

New = −16.2 Black = −9.4

[a] Based on a separate analysis of ethnic origins and generations of residence in the United States, the following division of national origins was made according to the time, place, and circumstances of immigration. Old stock are English, Scottish, Scotch-Irish, Canadian, French, "American," Amerindian, and people unable to give a country of origin. Middle stock are Scandanavian, German, Dutch, Swiss, Austrian, and Irish. New Stock are all other non-blacks who gave a national origin, mainly Southern and Eastern Europeans, Hispanics, and Orientals. White, Mixed are those unable to choose a primary national origin from several named origins.

* Not statistically significant when adjusted for multistage sampling.

ATTITUDES TOWARD CRIME AND PUNISHMENT AS RELATED TO GUN CONTROL

Violent crime has increased dramatically over the last two decades. Despite the concomitant increase in both punitiveness and concern for personal safety,[8] the level of opposition to gun control has remained constant. To examine this apparent anomaly, attitudes toward gun control were compared to a measure of personal concern about crime ("Is there any area right around here—that is, within a mile—where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?") and to two measures of punitiveness ("Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?" and "In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?") Table 10 reveals a constant relationship between absence of fear and opposition to gun control (d=13.0). There is, however, little relationship between opposition to gun control and either support for capital punishment (d=−4.3) or tough courts (d=0). Gun control is not viewed as a response to crime as are tough courts and capital punishment. Consequently, despite the increase in punitiveness accompanying the growth in fear, gun control has shown no increase in support because it is not perceived as a punitive solution.

Some tentative evidence indicates that the in-

[8] A. STINCHOMBE, R. ADAMS, C. HEIMER, K. SCHEPPELE, T. SMITH & D. TAYLOR, CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN PUBLIC OPINION: 1948–1974 (forthcoming).

TABLE 10

GUN OWNERSHIP DIFFERENCES

Survey	AIP0612	AIP0704	AIP0733	GSS73	GSS74	GSS76	GSS77
Date	7/59	1/6	8/65	3/73	3/74	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED							
No Gun	13.4	12.0	18.9	14.1	13.9	15.7	15.8
	(752)	(836)	(763)	(754)	(772)	(764)	(733)
Owns Gun	31.2	38.0	43.2	36.3	34.5	39.8	37.5
	(721)	(792)	(701)	(692)	(675)	(686)	(757)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Categorical Difference (Base = No Gun)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decison
Owns Gun	1) No difference	d=0	731.5	7	<.001	
	2) Constant difference	d=c	9.8	6	.131	Accept

FINAL MODEL

Owns Gun: d=22.4

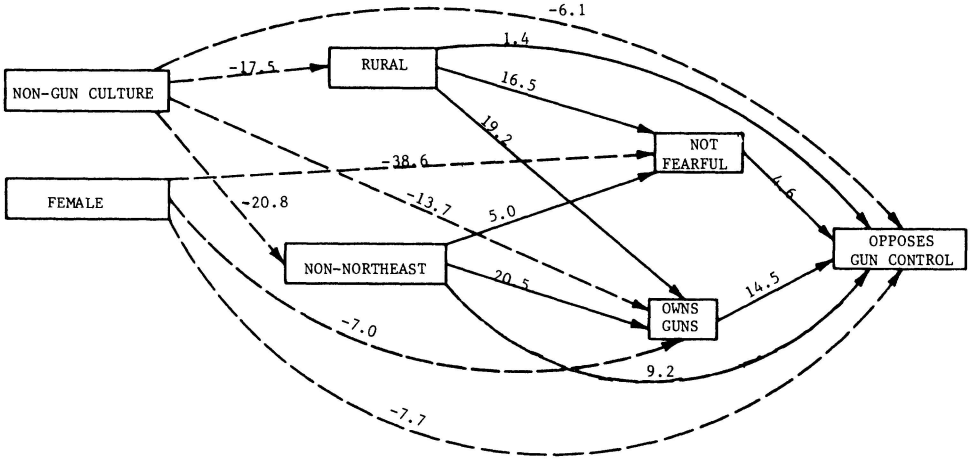

FIGURE 1. GUN CONTROL MODEL

crease in crime has created another force countering the attitudes connected with fear. Aggregate level data on guns in the domestic civilian market indicate a rise in the number of guns over the last two decades, although surveys fail to confirm this trend.[9] Assuming the accuracy of the aggregate figures, this expansion of gun ownership would tend to increase opposition to gun controls (given the strong relationship between gun ownership and opposition). This increase in gun production (with an accompanying increase in the market share for handguns) could be viewed as a punitive response to crime like capital punishment and strict courts, but unlike capital punishment and tough courts, this punitive response is strongly related to gun control attitudes and would tend to lower support for gun control.

The preceding analyses of the socio-demographic and crime/punishment structure of attitudes toward gun control suggest that such attitudes are influenced by 1) gender (since it is a sex-specific culture) and exposure to a gun culture, 2) current residence, and 3) gun ownership and fear of crime. Traditionally, residents of rural and frontier areas have been heavy users of guns for recreational and protective purposes. The ownership and use of guns was a typical part of the socialization and behavioral pattern of males. Residence in rural localities and regions provides continuing exposure to this traditional gun culture, which currently centers

[9] *Id.*

TABLE 11

FEAR AND PUNITIVENESS BY GUN CONTROL

Survey	AIP0749	GSS73	GSS74	GSS76	GSS77
Date	8/67	3/73	3/74	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED					
Fearful	16.8	18.6	16.2	21.7	17.8
	(470)	(596)	(649)	(645)	(670)
Not Fearful	28.9	30.2	30.1	32.0	34.8
	(1063)	(858)	(800)	(821)	(822)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Categorical Difference (Base = Fearful)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Not Fearful	No difference	d=0	176.5	5	<.001	
	Constant difference	d=c	5.4	4	.246	Accept

Survey	AIP0704	GSS74	GSS75	GSS76	GSS77
Date	2/65	3/74	3/75	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED					
For Capital	26.1	25.6	26.0	28.6	28.9
Punishment	(750)	(926)	(870)	(965)	(1011)
Against Capital	23.6	21.0	21.9	24.4	22.5
Punishment	(713)	(463)	(484)	(439)	(391)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Categorical Difference (Base = For)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
Against	No difference	d=0	17.1	5	.005*	
	Constant difference	d=c	1.3	4	.865	Accept
	Constant reduction		15.8	1	<.001	

Survey	GSS72	GSS73	GSS74	GSS75	GSS76	GSS77
Date	3/72	3/73	3/74	3/75	3/76	3/77
PERCENT OPPOSED						
Courts too harsh	26.9	28.4	36.6	24.1	24.4	36.5
	(104)	(67)	(41)	(58)	(45)	(52)
Courts about right	26.2	28.4	22.9	25.9	19.9	26.2
	(252)	(190)	(70)	(139)	(146)	(122)
Courts not harsh enough	28.5	21.5	25.8	24.5	28.6	27.3
	(1041)	(1272)	(569)	(1151)	(1193)	(1245)

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Categorical Difference (Base = Too harsh)	Hypothesis	Model	x^2	df	p	Decision
About right	No difference	d=0	4.6	6	.604	Accept
Not harsh enough	No difference	d=0	5.8	6	.549	Accept

FINAL MODELS

Not fearful: d=13.0

Against capital punishment: d=−4.3

Courts: All differences are zero

* Not significant at the .05 level when adjusted for multistage sampling.

TABLE 12

OTHER GUN CONTROL MARGINALS

Survey Date	AIP0117[a] 3/38	AIP0182[b] 1/40	AIP0616 7/59	AIP0704 1/65	AIP0733 8/66	AIP0749 8/67	AIPu[c] 10/74	AIP0937[d] 10/75	Harris[e] 4/68	Harris[f] 5/71	Harris[g] 10/75	Harris[h] 12/75	GSS76 3/76	SRC[i] 2/75	SRC[j] 2/76
A. Register Handguns Opposed	.16 (n.d.)														
B. Register Guns Opposed		.20 (n.d.)											.305 (1,472)		
C. Restrict Handguns Opposed			.374 (1,451)	.471 (1,582)									.587 (1,447)		
D. Ammunition Permit Opposed			.426 (1,454)	.438 (1,602)											
E. Gun Control of Youths Continue as at present			.123	.141	.161	.146									
Forbid use			.349 (1,506)	.289 (1,642)	.268 (1,465)	.317 (1,600)									
F. Keep Loaded Gun Legal			.432 (1,430)	.533 (1,564)											
G. Registration of All Firearms Opposed							.28 (n.d.)								
H. Massachusetts Carrying Permit Opposed								.20 (E1511)							
I. Sale of Handguns Less strict								.03							
More strict								.72 (1,496)							
J. Sale of Long Guns Less strict								.02							
More strict								.52 (E1449)							
K. Federal Registration All Gun Purchases Opposed									.24 (n.d.)		.25 (E1473)				
L. Control and Registration of Hand Guns Opposed										.32 (E2886)					
M. Federal Registration of Hand Guns Opposed											.20 (E1458)	.20 (E1416)			
N. Rifle Permit Opposed											.31 (E1458)				
O. No Handguns In High Crime Areas Opposed												.53 (E1372)			
P. No Hand Guns Opposed												.61 (E1387)			
Q. Surrender All Guns Opposed													.834 (1,467)		
R. Permit vs. Right to Own Opposed														.327 (431)	.311 (585)

[a] Erskine, "The Polls—Gun Control," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXXVI (Fall 1976), 455–469.

[b] *The Gallup Poll*, May 1, 1938.

[c] *The Gallup Opinion Index*, Report No. 113 (Nov. 1974).

[d] *The Gallup Poll* October 30, 1975 and *The Gallup Opinion Index*, Report No. 129 (April 1976), 22–28.

[e] *See* note a *supra*.

[f] *The Harris Survey*, June 3, 1971.

[g] *The Harris Survey*, Oct. 27, 1975.

[h] *The Harris Survey*, Dec. 29, 1975.

[i] Schuman, Howard Presser, & Stanley, *Attitude Measurement and the Gun Control Paradox*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XLI (Winter, 1977–78) 427–438.

E = Estimated number of cases.

n.d. = no data.

[j] *Id.*

around hunting, and therefore gun ownership is prevalent among groups partaking in this culture and living in areas where it still flourishes. Fear is likewise related to localities and regions of residence, since crime is highest in urban centers, and to gender.

Figure 1 (p. 309) graphs the relationships between these variables and gun control.[10] The model

[10] This extension of d-systems is known as categorical linear flow graph analysis. It is a non-parametric version of path analysis and transmittances can be calculated in the same fashion. Davis, *supra* note 3, at 111–45.

TABLE 13

CATEGORIZATION OF GUN CONTROL ATTITUDES[a]
PERCENT OPPOSED[b]

TYPE OF CONTROL	TYPE OF WEAPON			
	Handgun	Longgun	Both	Other
Purchase		.31(N)	.25(K)	.43(D)
Permit			.26(Table 1)	
			.32(R)	
Registration of new/old	.20(M)		.28(G)	
	.32(L)		.31(B)	
Banning	.53(O)			
	.59(C)			
	.61(P)		.83(Q)	
Other	.28(I)	.48(J)	.20(H)	
			.48(F)	

[a] Within categories items with lower opposition are listed first. The letters in parentheses refer to table 11.

[b] See table 11 for exact meaning of proportions. When more than one data point existed their mean was used if their marginals were stable. If not, the most recent point was used. Points prior to 1959 were excluded from analysis.

shows that each variable affects gun control directly. Members of the non-gun culture (everyone except the old stock) are less opposed to gun control than members of the gun culture independent of area of residence, fear, ownership and sex (−6.1%). This group is also less opposed because its members own fewer guns (−13.7*14.5 = −2.0) and reside in non-rural localities and Northeast states (−17.5*1.4 = −0.2 and −20.8*9.2 = −1.9). Furthermore, members of the non-gun culture are less opposed to gun control because they live in areas engendering more fear and having fewer guns (−17.5*16.5*4.6 = −0.1, −20.8*5.0*4.6 = −.05 and −17.5*19.2*14.5 = 0.5, −20.8*20.5*14.5 = 0.6). Women are less opposed than men because of their sex net of other variables (−7.7%), because of their greater fear (38.6*4.6 = −1.8), and because of their owning fewer guns (−13.7*14.5 = −2.0). The model also exhibits the expected positive relationships between opposition to gun control and residence in rural communities and non-Northeast regions. Place of residence exerts an influence on gun control attitudes, both directly, and through associated levels of fear and gun ownership, which in their turn relate independently to the level of gun control opposition.

This analysis shows that each variable affects gun control attitudes directly.[11] Although level of gun-culture exposure and area of residence both affect attitudes toward gun control through the corresponding level of weapons ownership, these cultural and environmental influences also independently affect gun control attitudes. Thus, people in groups having high ownership levels and socially sanctioning the use of guns are influenced by this culture and are more opposed to gun control even if they do not personally own guns.

[11] In one case, however, the direct relationship almost disappears. Rural residence has only a small (1.4%) direct relationship left and its indirect impact via gun ownership is twice as strong (2.8%).

INTERRELATION OF GUN CONTROL ATTITUDES

In addition to being a function of the sociodemographic factors discussed above, opposition to gun control also varies according to the severity of the control proposed and the type of weapon specified. Table 11 presents the responses to eighteen questions on gun control, most of which are analyzable along two dimensions: first, the types of weapon—handgun, longgun, or both, and second, the type of restriction proposed—new purchase permits, registration of new and old guns, banning of gun, and miscellaneous controls (see table 13). While opposition to purchase permits and registrations of all types of guns ranged from 25–30%, 83% of the sample opposed confiscation of all guns. Similarly, whereas only 20% oppose registration of handguns, 32% oppose "registration and strict control," 53% oppose banning handguns in high crime areas, and 61% oppose a nationwide ban. Opposition is also greater when the control scheme specifies longguns or all guns as opposed to handguns. While 48% of the sampling believe that longgun laws are either appropriate or too strict, only 28%

hold the same beliefs with respect to handgun laws. Likewise, whereas 83% oppose confiscation of all guns and 30% oppose an all-guns registration requirement, only 60% oppose banning handguns and 20% oppose requiring their registration. Admittedly, these observations are tenuous because they are based partially on comparisons between surveys conducted at different times worded and variantly across types of weapons.

It was possible, however, to examine how attitudes toward four types of gun control scaled together on a 1976 NORC survey. Table 12 shows a Guttman scaling of attitudes toward a police permit, registration of guns (see table 12-B), a handgun ban (see table 11-C), and confiscation of all guns (see table 12-Q). The four items scale moderately well, but there are some obvious exceptions. The largest is between people opposing police permits but favoring gun registration (6.7%). This group is almost as large as those supporting permits and opposing registration (7.9%), and if this item is scored as the easiest gun control item the four items scale almost as well (see table 14). Police permit and registration thus have about the same degree of difficulty (79.6% either approve or disapprove of both items). If the scale is reduced to three items with either police permits or gun registration as the easiest gun control item, their scalability goes up appreciably (.149 and .142 respectively). Each of the other three large off-scale groups favors banning pistols and opposes confiscation as well as either the police permit, registration or both. This clustering indicates that gun control is not strictly unidimensional, but that reference to handguns rather than all guns makes a difference. In sum, the scaling of these four items supports the notion that attitudes toward gun control vary according to the severity of the restriction and type of weapon specified.

Next, time trends were inspected for the gun control items in table 12. Five time trends (excluding the pre-1959 points and series of one year or less) are shown in Figure 2. Attitudes toward an ammunition permit, registration of purchases, and gun control for youths show a constant trend similar to the trend in attitude toward the standard police permit. Two series, however, show linear increases in opposition. One, dealing with the legality of keeping loaded weapons, reflects attitudes toward what is clearly a side issue. Furthermore,

TABLE 14

GUTTMAN SCALING OF FOUR GUN CONTROL ITEMS

Police Permit	Gun Registration	Handgun Ban	Gun Confiscation	N
YES	YES	YES	YES	209
YES	YES	YES	NO	255
YES	YES	NO	NO	366
YES	NO	NO	NO	110
NO	NO	NO	NO	246
				1,186 on scale = 85.1%
NO	YES	YES	YES	9
NO	NO	YES	YES	2
YES	NO	YES	YES	6
YES	YES	NO	YES	9
NO	NO	NO	YES	1
NO	YES	NO	NO	93
YES	NO	YES	NO	43
NO	YES	YES	NO	22
NO	NO	YES	NO	21
				208 off-scale = 14.9%

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .925
Coefficient of Scalability = .742

	Scaling of Gun Registration Police Permit Handgun Ban Gun Confiscation	Police Permit Handgun Ban Gun Confiscation	Gun Registration Handgun Ban Gun Confiscation
Coefficient of Reproducibility	.919	.969	.960
Coefficient of Scalability	.722	.891	.864

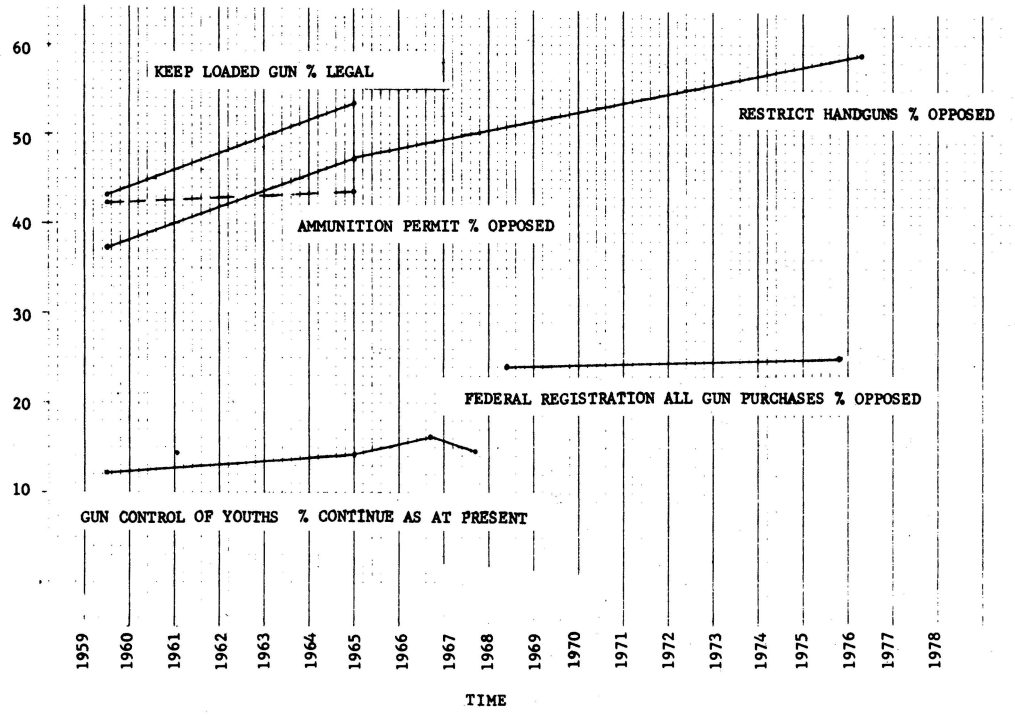

FIGURE 2. GUN CONTROL TRENDS

because attitudes on this issue were recorded only in 1959 and 1965, it is impossible to tell how they changed over the longer period under investigation here. The other series, reflecting a trend in attitudes toward banning handguns, deals with a central gun control issue. Because this series represents data collected at three points spanning the years from 1959 to 1976, it meets minimal criteria as a parallel series to the police permit question.

The obvious problem is how to reconcile the growth in opposition to banning pistols of 1.21% per annum (the slope of the best linear approximation of the trend) with the constant level of opposition to a police permit. An examination of the association between these two series across time revealed a strong and constant relationship (d=.354). The growing opposition to a handgun ban came equally from both those for and those against police permits. It seems that attitudes toward a handgun ban, unlike those toward the police permit, were influenced by the crime and punishment trends. As the violent crime rate increased, people apparently became convinced that forbidding the private use of pistols was an inappropriate response. This interpretation is supported by data on the increasing share of gunowners having a pistol and on the increasing proportion of firearms production devoted to handguns.[12] Also, a comparison of attitudes on capital punishment and banning pistols showed that in 1965 individuals in favor of capital punishment were also in favor of banning handguns (2.1%), but that by 1976 supporters of capital punishment opposed banning handguns (−8.4%).[13] It thus appears that opposition to a pistol ban has become a punitive response, and, like other punitive responses, it has increased over the last decade.

CONCLUSION

Besides describing the basic factors which help to form attitudes on gun control, the analysis above suggests why the level of support for police permits has remained stable over time. First, since gun control attitudes are unrelated to cohort and education, the succession of cohorts and the resulting changing educational distribution have been inconsequential. Conversely, those variables which do relate to gun control attitudes have done so constantly and have had little or no marginal shifts over the last two decades. As a result they have not

[12] A. STINCHOMBE *et al.*, *supra* note 8.

[13] Interaction significant at .007 but not significant when adjusted for clustering.

promoted changes in gun control attitudes. Second, the analysis indicates that gun control attitudes stem in large part from a cultural heritage that is not likely to be drastically altered by contemporary events. Third, the potentially strong impact on gun control attitudes resulting from the major changes in the crime and punishment area has not materialized because gun control is not viewed as a punitive response to crime and because the tendency to support control caused by increased fear may be countered by increased production of guns in general and more pistols in particular. The exception that may help to prove the rule is the growth in opposition to a pistol ban, a trend associated with growing punitiveness. In brief, it appears that attitudes toward police permits will not change so long as they remain unaffected by attitudes such as those toward crime and punishment. If, however, attitudes toward gun control do become associated with developments in crime and punishment or with some emerging trend (possibly a growing concern about government regulation), then it is unlikely that these attitudes will remain stable. Until evidence of such a change is found, however, support for the police permit is expected to remain near the 75% level.

Appendix A: Question Wording

1. GUN PERMIT (TABLE 1)
   Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?
   (Note: The two SRC surveys omit "or she.")
2. REGISTER HANDGUNS (TABLE 12-A)
   Do you think all owners of pistols and revolvers should be required to register with the government?
3. REGISTER GUNS (TABLE 12-B)
   Would you favor or oppose a law requiring all private citizens owning pistols or guns to register with the government? (AIPO 128)
   Would you favor or oppose a law requiring all private citizens owning guns to register with the government? (GSS76)
4. RESTRICT HANDGUNS (TABLE 12-C)
   What about the possession of pistols and revolvers—Do you think there should be a law which forbids the possession of this type of gun except by the police or other authorized persons?
5. AMMUNITION PERMIT (TABLE 12-D)
   Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a police permit for the purchase of gun shells or ammunition?
6. GUN CONTROL OF YOUTHS (TABLE 12-E)
   Which of these three plans would you prefer for the use of guns by persons under the age of 18—forbid their use completely, put strict regulations on their use, or continue as at present with few regulations?
7. KEEP LOADED GUN (TABLE 12-F)
   Do you think it should be legal or illegal for private citizens to have loaded weapons in their homes?
8. REGISTRATION OF ALL FIREARMS (TABLE 12-G)
   Suppose that on election day, November 5, you could vote on key issues as well as candidates. Please tell me how you would vote on each of these 14 propositions.

PROPOSITION 9 GUN REGULATION	
—Registration of all firearms	should be required.
—Registration of all firearms	should not be required.

9. MASSACHUSETTS CARRYING PERMIT (TABLE 12-H)
   In Massachusetts a law requires that a person who carries a gun outside his home must have a license to do so. Would you approve or disapprove such a law in your state?
   (If approve) Under the Massachusetts law, anyone who is convicted of carrying a gun outside his home without having obtained a license is sentenced to a mandatory year in jail. Would you approve or disapprove of this?
10. SALE OF HANDGUNS (TABLE 12-I)
    In general, do you feel that the laws covering the sale of handguns should be made more strict, less strict, or kept as they are now?
11. SALE OF LONGGUNS (TABLE 12-J)
    In general, do you feel that the laws covering the sale of rifles and shotguns should be made more strict, made less strict, or kept as they are now?
12. FEDERAL REGISTRATION OF ALL FIREARMS (TABLE 12-K)
    Do you favor or oppose federal laws which would control the sale of guns, such as making all persons register all gun purchases no matter where they buy them?
13. CONTROL AND REGISTRATION OF HANDGUNS (TABLE 12-L)
    Do you favor or oppose Congress passing a law requiring strict control and registration of all handguns?
14. FEDERAL REGISTRATION OF HANDGUNS (TABLE 12-M)
    Do you favor or oppose a federal law requiring that all handguns people own be registered with federal authorities?

15. RIFLE PERMIT (TABLE 12-N)
Do you feel a permit should be required by law in order for anyone to purchase a rifle, or do you think such a permit is not necessary?
16. NO HANDGUNS IN HIGH CRIME AREAS (TABLE 12-O)
Would you favor or oppose a federal law that banned ownership of all handguns in high crime areas?
17. NO HANDGUNS (TABLE 12-P)
Would you favor or oppose a federal law that banned the ownership of all handguns by private citizens?
18. SURRENDER ALL GUNS (TABLE 12-Q)
Would you favor or oppose a law requiring private citizens to surrender all guns to the government?
19. PERMIT VS. RIGHT TO OWN (TABLE 12-R)
Would you favor a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he could buy a gun, or do you think such a law would interfere too much with the rights of citizens to own guns?