

The National Rifle Association and the White Male Identity

Examining the intersection of identity with regard to race,
gender, and citizenship status within the parameters of the
NRA and its espoused rhetoric

12/21/2012

Columbia University; Professor J.Sorett

Eliana Rae Eitches

On Friday, July 20, 2012, James Holmes entered a movie theater in Aurora, Colorado armed with a 100-round drum magazine, a Smith & Wesson M&P15 assault rifle (the “civilian version of the Military’s M-16) capable of firing 60 bullets per minute, a Remington shotgun, and a .40 caliber handgun.ⁱ On that day, Holmes used those weapons to shoot 71 people, twelve of whom died. Less than six months later, on December 14, 2012, 20-year old Adam Lanza, immediately after shooting and killing his mother in their home, proceeded to Sandy Hook Elementary School where he shot and killed 26 people - 20 children and 6 adults - before killing himself. After the bodies were carried away, the final body count stood at 28, making it the second most deadly school shooting in United States history.ⁱⁱ In response to Aurora, many cried for stricter gun control laws while others determined to arm themselves: Colorado saw a 41% increase in background checks for hopeful gun owners in the direct aftermath of the incident, a response “not unusual” after a mass shooting.ⁱⁱⁱ

Media attention was lavished on these two aforementioned mass murders because their spectacular violence and seemingly-random nature incites the curiosity of the nation; synchronously, the attention these events receive is disproportionate compared to the negligible attention received by the 276 people shot daily in the United States, 84 of whom will die as a result of their injuries.^{iv} Yet, it is these mass violence spectacles that demonstrate why the debate surrounding gun control and gun protection is so fierce: incidences of mass violence either incite fear, causing one to support protection measures via gun ownership or via stricter gun legislation. The driving force behind one side of the “culture war” surrounding arms is the National Rifle Association. In response to Aurora, the NRA executed one of its patented blame-shifting response to change the public discourse from gun-control to people-control: " No gun law in the world can remedy the deficiencies we have seen time and time again in how the authorities

handle—or fail to handle—people with dangerous mental illness.”^v Similarly, in response to Sandy Hook, the NRA decreed that the solution to school shootings was to permit armed guards and allow teachers to carry concealed weapons, adding that, if these measures were in place, “Will you at least admit it's possible that 26 innocent lives might have been spared?”^{vi} This refusal to concede that, possibly, guns may be dangerous, causes William Merkel, in “*Heller* as Hubris, and how *McDonald v. City of Chicago* May Well Change the Constitutional World as We Know It,”^{vii} to opine that the “NRA has launched the most absolutistic, driven, paranoid, and obsessive campaign to warm the constitutional compact since the slave power sounds in terms of false religion, ancestor worship, and idolatry.”

With responses like this to national tragedies, it causes the rational person to ponder how a group with such extremist, illogical views could have any amount of influence in the discourse surrounding gun ownership and regulations in the United States. In this feat rests the deleterious genius of the NRA: it recalls a romanticized notion of the Frontier Era of the United States to base its assertions of a historic, patriotic responsibility for the citizen to bear guns to protect country and family, thereby enshrining guns as the “birthright” of American Citizenship and reinforcing that notion through a selective reading of the Second Amendment. This notion is further reinforced by the origins of the NRA, a group founded in 1871 to promote marksmanship that was quickly utilized by Congress to help train the military, leaving the organization somewhere between “military organization,” conferred with governmental legitimacy, and “civilian group,” replete with the ideological cohesiveness of its members; Osha Gray Davidson, in *Under Fire*, avers that this comingling of identities allowed the NRA to construct its own “mythic image” of the organization as the embodiment of “a pioneer heading west with a

rifle...self-reliant, morally strong, and competent...opposes arbitrary abuse of government power but is openly patriotic."^{viii}

Invoking the imagery of the "traditional warrior," states Douglas Kellner in his book *Guys and Guns Amok*, conditions a turns toward "weapons and violence" as a mechanism "to turn back history, to desperately resist its own obsolescence in an era when white males" are increasingly less dominant in society.^{ix} The NRA specifically appeals to what Reva Seigel, in her essay "Dead or Alive: Originalism as Popular Constitutionalism in *Heller*," refers to as "white racial consciousness."^x White racial consciousness exaltations have allowed the NRA to amass what Scott Medlock, in his essay "NRA = No Rational Argument", defines as a "cult of gun ownership by making guns the lynchpin of their supporters' political and cultural identity," whereas only a sense of alienation from contemporary societal morals existed prior.^{xi} Since the NRA encompasses these persons' primary source of identity, any threat to the security of that identity - like gun-control laws- engenders intense fear in the NRA's membership and is viewed as a threat to freedom, patriotism, and democracy. Elucidated in *Guns, Democracy, and the Insurrectionist Idea* by Horwitz and Anderson, the NRA fosters an "us versus them" dialogue wherein certain people are "true patriots" and their opposition, "Nazis."^{xii}

Whether it's the racial terms with which they frame the "war on crime," their constituency's geographic isolation from the rest of the country, their cheap attempts at pandering to minorities (racial, ethnic, gender), their "Founding Father" or Frontier citizenship claims, or their stigmatization of every entity with an ideology countering theirs, the NRA, at its core, is built on a culture of fear of the other and fear of a permeated social sphere. Constantly removing themselves from blame whence incidences of mass gun violence occur (whether at once or the agglomeration of gun deaths in the United States over the course of a given year), the

NRA has mastered the art of thinly veiled racism, sexism, heteronormativity, classism, and citizenship claims. This paper is the story of the NRA, but it is also a story about the articulation of difference. It is a story about fear-mongering, violence-worship, and reinterpretation of history. It is a story that results directly in abuse of political power and in death. It is a story of how The People of the United States allowed themselves to be *Under Fire, Outgunned*, forced to *Reload* while *Guys and Guns Run Amok* in the *Lethal Passage* that is the NRA's agenda setting in the realm of the *Politics of Gun Control*. Though the NRA claims that they stand for the fundamental and essential right of a citizen - to keep and bear arms - in reality, they stand for the rights of the few, the elite, and the forgotten: the White, Middle Class, Heterosexual Male. This paper aims to examine this white, male, middle-class consciousness of the NRA to better understand its position in the war against gun control and its vehement agenda to curtail public health and social welfare in favor of bowing down at the Arms of the Gun.

Part I: The NRA as an Ode to the Founding Fathers

Guns, Crime, and Freedom, by current National Rifle Association executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre, strategically dedicated the work "To Our Founding Fathers for Giving me The Freedom to Write This Book,"^{xiii} alluding to one of the central myths on which the NRA maintains a semblance of validity: that the Founding Fathers of the United States so strongly believed in an inherently fundamental independent right to "keep and bear arms" that they enshrined it in the Second Amendment of the Constitution. Subsequently, the NRA is an inherently "American" institution, situated on the side of the Founding Fathers – the right side – of, as Charleton Heston, former NRA president described it, a "great civil war, a cultural war that's about to hijack your birthright" of gun ownership.^{xiv} When confronted with the notion that the NRA's reading of the Second Amendment could be correct, negating the veracity of the

NRA's employment of a frontier/first-citizen imagery to characterize its purpose and elevate its membership, LaPierre responded, "Our Founding Fathers clearly understood that, once armed, Americans would defend their freedoms to the last breath."^{xv} In the first two paragraphs of his book, LaPierre wholly devotes himself to authenticating the NRA's frontier roots to establish the legitimacy of the following chapters' assertions based on half-truths and misleading statistics. His logic seems to be that, if the NRA is thoroughly connected to the history of the country, then their radical beliefs will be able to embed themselves in the mass public's conception of the country: "The Bill of Rights is the list of the fundamental, inalienable rights, endowed in man by his Creator, that define what it means to be a free and independent people, the rights which must exist to ensure that government governs only with the consent of the people."^{xvi}

To temper the NRA's radical, uncompromising position on the meaning of the Second Amendment, LaPierre avers that "historical research shows that our Founding Fathers out NRAed the NRA"^{xvii} But, the historical accuracy of LaPierre and the NRA's assertions are tenuous at best: they generalize the ideologies of all Founding Fathers by quoting only those with the strongest support of individual gun rights, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, and George Mason, the losers in the fight to make the Second Amendment a guarantee of an individual right to arms during the constitutional debates. Nevertheless, the pervading sentiment, at least to the NRA's membership, is that the Bill of Right's firearms protections were, first, essential, then evolved into political symbols utilized by white settlers "to represent a safeguard" against pressing fears (be they of the Native American on the Frontier or of the unruly slave in revolt) and a "passkey to citizenship."^{xviii} The amalgamation and buttressing of this perverse mindset over time, as Christopher Strain elucidates in *Reload*, is the glorification of firearm as "living inheritance – as a permanent ingredient of the nation's style and culture."^{xix}

Brian Anse Patrick remarks, in *The National Rifle Association and the Media*, that this rhetoric is how the NRA “romanticize[s] the past by reviewing it through the lenses of ideology...construct[ing] and reconstruct[ing] according to the needs of the aggrieved sense of identity that lies at its ideological core”^{xx} to unite its base by imbuing them with a mythic and ancient purpose. For example, the NRA distorts history by portraying colonial Americans as prolific gun owners to fortify “the myths promulgated by the NRA of gun ownership being a quintessentially American attribute.”^{xxi} Resultantly, the NRA’s members’ individual identity formations is derived through a “mythology” manufactured through a deliberate miscommunication of history fact; the NRA “constructs its own history...personified by a number of renowned shooting personalities of the past and by a fictive current protagonist”^{xxii} to firmly tie the manifest destiny of the founders to that of the NRA and its members.

With the NRA dominating the discourse on guns in the United States for the last thirty years, it is increasingly difficult to counter the myths that they have instilled in the historical interpretation of persons in the modern era. Ergo, as argued by Kristin Goss in *Disarmed*, the NRA has successfully proffered the perception that “gun ownership is integral to citizenship and patriotism,”^{xxiii} harking back, when necessary, to the Revolutionary War’s dependence on armed citizen militias and, by proxy, to the United States’ origins of freedom from British colonization. Furthermore, as Kevin Lewis O’Neil contends in *Armed Citizens and the Stories they Tell*, this bolsters the imagined NRA as divinely purposed, innately patriotic, and perpetually victimized: “the NRA is itself a David called by God to do battle against its own Goliath,”^{xxiv} whatever that Goliath may be at a given moment. “Under God, indivisible” from the true purpose and ideals of their ever-persevering nation, the NRA continually elevates guns ownership to a moral level, as the moral responsibility of law-abiding citizens, and as the fabric comprising the true United

States. Moreover, these mythic ties are reinforced through the NRA's constant invocation of fundamentally "American" phantasmagorias. For example, the NRA "requires all prospective members to sign an oath of loyalty to the United States" while sprinkling its "by-laws with politically loaded terms like 'law and order,' 'right of self-preservation and defense of family, person and property,' 'the national defense,' and the like."^{xxv} Without a modicum of self-doubt, the NRA deploys their "guns as citizenship" mentality to cast themselves as the "primary guardians of the Second Amendment,"^{xxvi} which Erik Larson, in *Lethal Passage*, contends amounts to a manic possessiveness that distorts "anti-gun" into "anti-Constitution," rendering the NRA unable to conscionably comprise with any of their inherently un-American infringements on their God-given, time-tested rights.

Part II: Men and Moses

Charleton Heston, Address at the Free Congress Foundation's 20th Anniversary Gala, December 7, 1997:

"I am not really here to talk about the Second Amendment or the NRA, but the gun issue clearly brings into focus the war that's going on. Rank-and-file Americans wake up every morning, increasingly bewildered and confused at why their views make them lesser citizens. . . . Heaven help the God-fearing, law-abiding, Caucasian, middle class, Protestant, or — even worse — Evangelical Christian, Midwest, or Southern, or — even worse — rural, apparently straight, or — even worse — admittedly heterosexual, gun-owning or — even worse — NRA-card-carrying, average working stiff, or — even worse — male working stiff, because not only don't you count, you're a downright obstacle to social progress. . . . That's why you don't raise your hand. That's how cultural war works. And you are losing."^{xxvii}

Heston's speech is demonstrative of the "victimization" mentality of the NRA – the David versus Goliath that O'Neill referenced. Not only does this speech, in particular, appeal to "white racial consciousness,"^{xxviii} but it also transmitted the postulation that NRA members, in their white, male, Southern/Midwest, heteronormative, Christian, middle-class, gun-ownership, they are being persecuted by society. It is implicit that this society – the American society – is deleterious to the progress and to the preservation of rights of the white male. As Heston remarked earlier in the speech, "the cultural war" on NRA member identity "is raging across our land...killing our self-confidence in who we are and what we believe, where we come from."^{xxix} Since the United States was made by white, property-owning males for white, property-owning males, it is the divine right of the NRA to fight against this perverse society that alienates the white, patriarchal foundations of the country. If not, all that the Founders strove for by providing freedoms through the Bill of Rights and Constitution will be for naught. This, Seigel posits, is an aspect guiding the militarization mentality of the NRA, "transmut[ing] the NRA's affair with the militias into a different and more politically acceptable form,"^{xxx} thereby cultivating and reinforcing the alienation-as-identity structure. Further alienation from mainstream society pushes the given prototypical NRA member deeper into the NRA member identity construct as an attempt to find solidarity. Concurrently, Heston's assertions deny the NRA its stranglehold on the discourse surrounding the Second Amendment wherein the NRA's domination in the legislative arena is fundamentally "tyranny of the minority."

Heston's speech excerpt illustrates what Davidson posits to be the NRA's two central appeals to base mobilization: the "Armageddon Appeal," the irrational supposition that any type of gun legislation is a potential avenue through which the Government will disarm the entire population, and the "Patriotic Imperative," the continual retelling of the American myth about

guns to join firearms to the “American National Identity.”^{xxxix} Inherent in the “Patriotic Imperative” is that the NRA members not only accept this myth and incorporate it into their identities, but that they see themselves as the “modern incarnation of the citizen –soldier who fought to make the country free.”^{xxxix} For the “Patriotism Imperative” to function, firearms must be thought of as “totems mystically linking owners to their ancestors, and, even more important, to our collective American forefathers”^{xxxix} so virulently that the “culture war” surrounding guns becomes a “holy war” for NRA members. This dogmatic conception of patriotism, as expounded by Kellner, “inculcates an ‘us versus them’ Manichean consciousness, xenophobia, and support of aggressive militarism, no matter what the goals and effects,” and amounts in “violent hypermasculinity” in an attempt to achieve this patriotic, male heroism ideal.^{xxxix} The NRA is patently aware of the dangers provoked by this puissant ideology of gun ownership as a surrogate litmus test for patriotism: it divides a democracy into “true patriots (and thus have special insight as to when force may be appropriately deployed to back their ideals)”^{xxxv} and those that stand against, fueling the same rhetoric of otherization that fueled the American Civil War, Nazism, and the “War on Terror.”

For the NRA, gun-liness is next to godliness; as Merkel remarks, the NRA’s central aim is to “restore the nation to its true foundations” as accomplished through reinstatement of “true gun-focused and godly principles”^{xxxvi} and, with it, moral rectitude. It seems highly appropriate that the NRA’s loudest exhortations of deleterious rhetoric frequently originated with Charlton Heston, an actor that once portrayed Moses; ergo, it is Moses that will lead America back to its manifest destiny, parting the sea of vice and tyranny to arrive at the land promised by the founders. With Heston once proclaiming that only from his “cold, dead hands” could anyone take his guns from him, it is clear that the NRA views the gun owner as occupying a special

status in the United States such that their views should count more than other citizens – that the laws of the United States and the democratic process is only effective when it is the product of NRA-approved values.^{xxxvii} During a 1996 speech to the NRA, Heston pontificated that “law-abiding private U.S. citizens” – those that understand and adopt the NRA-approved value systems – are the subjects that the Framers envisioned when drafting the Second Amendment and “are of that same bloodline. You are sons and daughters of the Boston tea-spillers.” In response to Heston’s appraisal of NRA members as the “Founders’ true heirs,” Seigel could not help but discern that “Heston’s filiopiety was unmistakably racialized.”^{xxxviii}

Ergo, the NRA explicitly manufactures a dichotomization of the U.S. people – “with us” Patriots or “against us” Gun Grabbers^{xxxix} – as a grassroots mobilization tactic both harkening on the “Patriotism” and fear of disarmament that characterizes its membership. Kellner refers to this as “white male identity politics” wherein there is a constant and extreme paranoia of an “evil” threatening “us’ and ‘good’ white American values and people.”^{xl} Herein lies the problem of patriotism: the “warrior ethos...boiling in the caldron of male frustration and paranoia” is perpetually in need of this “evil” that threatens the American way of life, and when the threat is not foreign, the Patriot displaces its violence from foreign enemies to domestic targets.^{xli} Whether this “evil” be real, imagined, domestic, foreign, government institutions, or social groups, it inculcates a “crisis in masculinity” in the individual alienated from society. This “crisis” is most easily solved through an individual’s immersion in “gun and military culture” that “fetishize weapons as important part of male virility and power;” therefore, through fear of the “other”, a patriotic drive to protect “American America”, and a need to reestablish the dominance of their ethnoracial group, gun ownership becomes a fundamental piece of the “exaggerated hypermale identity,” and “protection” its fundamental aim.^{xlii} Guns, for these men,

are the key to freedom and the apparatus to act in the case of a bloody revolution. The NRA may not overly condone violence, but its prominence as an interest group allows it to proliferate inflammatory and provocative material to its membership and to the public, effectively creating a climate of fear, anger and hatred that incites violence. Davidson aptly relays the relationship between individual acts of violence and the NRA's propaganda: "The national guys ran the offense and the local guys pulled the trigger."^{xliii}

Part III: "The Armed Citizen"

The most visceral example of the NRA's propaganda inciting violence and fear of an unnamed "evil" is its column "The Armed Citizen," run in its flagship magazine, *The American Rifleman*, since early 1920. Each edition of *The American Rifleman* contains a new "The Armed Citizen," wherein an NRA member's 100-200 word account of how they used their Second Amendment Right (re: weapon) to defend their life, liberty, or property is featured. O'Neill asserts that, especially since the NRA reinvented itself as a social movement in the 1970s, the column "began to contribute to the production of a terror-filled, deeply masculine (and surprisingly biblical) NRA discourse that led (and continues to lead) to the mobilization of its members to defend the right to keep and bear arms in the face of extraordinary public opposition."^{xliv} Through "The Armed Citizen," the NRA sews together themes of masculinity, terror, and heroism through "encouraging the perception that personal safety necessitates gun ownership;"^{xlv} because the State and its police force cannot be trusted to maintain the safety of all its citizens, the "Armed Citizen" has the responsibility to radiate masculinity by responding to such attempted usurpation of fundamental rights "the way 'real men' react when confronted by a criminal"^{xlvi} by shooting first.

O'Neill describes the NRA's strategy in "The Armed Citizen" as proving "for NRA

members that without the right to keep and bear arms, American citizens remain vulnerable to irrational, nameless, and faceless threats that can (at any moment) penetrate their most familiar of spaces (bedrooms, bathrooms, churches, work areas, etc.) and terrorize their closest of family and friends (grandchildren, mothers, best friends, boyfriends, grandmothers, etc.).^{xlvi} Thus, the “Armed Citizen” has a degree of control in a world where “evil” lurks at every corner; he has the power of self-determination. Without a weapon, the “Armed Citizen” puts himself, his property, and his archetypally defined gender role and protector in peril. Masculinity is a “central, defining identity” that the NRA brandishes throughout its self-identification and presents to its membership through “multiple mediums,”^{xlvi} like “The Armed Citizen.” The NRA’s “currently accepted” strategy to embody masculinity is through proliferation of “dominant” or “core symbols” that seep through the hegemonic images the NRA proliferates throughout its membership, maintaining a positive correlation between the NRA’s masculine ideal and “institutionalized power;” these “dominant” or “core” symbols serve to bolster the association between the NRA and “manly virtues (strength, courage, power, bravery, independence, and success).”^{xlvi} The gun, simply put, is an ego pump; it makes the weak courageous and the strong utterly fearsome.¹

Conversely, the NRA’s indoctrination of “masculinity” in the form of armed violence against aggressors strategically avoids linking the NRA with the savagery of armed violence, whether in self-defense or not. As Larson noted, *The American Rifleman* would act against its own didactic mission were it to portray the expanse of risks coupled with gun ownership.^{li} Moreover, “The Armed Citizen” instills “vigilantism” as a core value as well, negating its own assertion that “Guns Don’t Kill People. People Kill People” since more guns tends to lead to more instances of gun violence^{lii} and increases in gun ownership^{liii}. By valuing “private violence

over public security”^{liv} and inciting fear that causes people to buy guns and, by proxy, to use them, the NRA is perpetuating a cycle of violence. Instead of personifying the democratic ideals held by the Founders of free and open discussion, right to life, and protection of the general welfare as an element of the social contract, the NRA suffocates the democratic process, managing to defeat “sensible gun laws for the past century.”^{lv} The NRA “is a citizen group just like any other citizen group...the point is their numbers don’t justify the reaction that they have gotten from legislatures. Overwhelming majorities of Americans favor more stringent restrictions on handguns, even gun owners. But the NRA beats back all attempts to strengthen gun statutes.”^{lvi} Thus, curbing gun regulation attempts stymies democracy. From a public health concern perspective, controlling the “culture war” on firearm ownership on the fringes fosters “a dialogue of the deaf” especially detrimental when one side, the NRA, is disproportionately the cause of (lack of dialogue and vigilant opposition to gun control, ergo increasing gun violence) “the real burden that gun violence imposes on society;” the NRA discards the democratic concepts of “community” and “mutual concern”^{lvii} in favor of self-interested agenda-pushing. Cumulatively, the NRA is a despotic and tyrannical force in the “culture war” and legislative arena. According to their logic, the Citizen is constitutionally endowed the right to arm themselves against tyrannical forces. Surely, the NRA would not comport with that conclusion.

Part IV: Feminine Gun Control & NRA Pandering

Although essential that the NRA retain its “masculine” identity to legitimize its views, the NRA openly tries to diversify its membership portfolio to expand gun-ownership zealotry to females, a subset of the population is seemingly immune to NRA propaganda (Sarah Palin withstanding). Perhaps this aversion to the NRA stems from violent men, especially violent men with guns, “whose dominant concept of masculinity threatens both men and women alike;”^{lviii} or

maybe men were too emotionally enraptured with the “mystique of the gun” that women, specifically mothers, were left to address the gun issue because of their “drive to protect [their] children.”^{lix} There stands a chance that the overtly masculine identity of the NRA led to some good, old-fashioned sexual harassment^{lx} which, in turn, did not turn women on to the cause. Perchance, the low percentage of females in the NRA (about 12%) may be a consequence of a lack of female public figures within the NRA; therefore, the elevation of two women to the governing board in 1991 may have positively lured women into the organization.^{lxi} Charleton Heston’s sexist remarks following the Columbine Shooting, chastising the “feminists who preach that it’s a divine duty for women to hate men,”^{lxii} may have caused women to think twice about joining. To be fair, Heston’s intentions were well-meaning; after he became the President of the NRA, he tweaked the organization to “visibly cultivate a new, more family-friendly public image. Advertisements promised that the NRA’s new magazine, *American Guardian*, would feature ‘home & self-defense,’ ‘family recreational shooting,’ ‘women’s issues,’ ‘handgun carry options,’ and ‘high-tech home security: locks, lights, alarms & more.’”^{lxiii}

Attempts to attract women through “Armed Citizen” articles featuring women using guns to protect themselves seemed moot:^{lxiv} if women were not in the NRA and thus subscribing to *The American Rifleman*, it is unlikely that they would happen to come across an issue and read “The Armed Citizen.” Moreover, many of “The Armed Citizen” columns featuring women included a thwarted stranger-rape attempt, something less empowering and more channeling “vulnerability and fear of victimhood;”^{lxv} this detestable attempt at alluring women to the gun-ownership mystique is only magnified by the NRA’s callous disregard for the term “rape,” whether they be referring to “the rape of liberty”^{lxvi} or insisting that “you can’t rape a gun.”^{lxvii} Though the actual gender breakdown of the NRA remains a mystery (a 1993 report by the Brady

Institute found the organization to be 97% male and 92% white)^{lxviii}, the NRA's attempts to target women signal that their gender demographics are horrendously skewed. Additionally, in the aftermath of the Columbine School Shootings and the Million Mom March, "the gun control issue was feminized,"^{lxix} a consequence of "momism" that lessened the gap between male and female participation in the "culture war" surrounding guns.

Their advertising campaigns marketed toward women, furthermore, have proven to be woefully offensive – likely a consequence of having so few female minds within the organization. Rape culture drives the content of most of the ads: appealing to a woman's fear of being sexually violated in addition to sustaining bodily harm as a motivation for self-protection through firearm. The NRA launched their "Refuse to be a Victim" campaign in the early nineties; by their title alone, they invoked rape culture by supposing that "becoming a victim is a matter of choice, and that if a woman has not worked hard enough to prepare herself, she is deserving of victim status."^{lxx} This campaign portrayed women in various situations, almost all of which included an assumption that these women were alone and unarmed and, by proxy "vulnerable and incapable."^{lxxi} One attempt, appearing in *The American Rifleman*, targeted single heads of households employed in fields requiring travel, a very specific demographic, to "describe gun ownership as a necessary act of women's liberation"^{lxxii} and inferred that women subjected to working late hours in a foreign place were at a heightened risk for violent attack and, resultantly, should be armed. Another depicted a woman with her daughter, alone, in a deserted underground parking garage.

Akin to the "vulnerability and fear of victimhood" theme in the "Refuse to be a Victim" campaign, the existence of domestic abuse seems to formulate the basis for many of the NRA's pro-gun ownership arguments, causing M. Elizabeth Blair and Eva M. Hyatt, in their essay "The

Marketing of Guns to Women: Factors Influencing Gun-Related Attitudes and Gun Ownership by Women,” to harangue the NRA for being “more concerned with protecting the right to bear arms than it is with protecting women.”^{lxxiii} For example, one of the grounds on which the NRA opposed the Brady Bill, a gun-control bill, was the bill’s “waiting period” provision to require a minimum number of days between applying for a gun and receiving that gun. The NRA demurred this provision because of the women “who, upon being threatened by husbands, ex-husbands, or boyfriends, tried to buy handguns for self-defense but were delayed by waiting periods. As a result, they say, those women were killed by threatening males.”^{lxxiv} Aside from the obvious insinuations of heteronormativity, female vulnerability and ineptitude, the incapability of the state to protect an individual from a suspected or premeditated attack, and supposing that vigilante justice would be the remedy for domestic violence, the NRA is blind to its role in creating violent males and giving them the right to wield arms to injure whomever they choose.

Part V: Citizen versus Criminal; the Battle of Thinly Veiled Racism

The NRA’s group solidarity, built on a tacit white racial consciousness, appeals to the alienated other by providing “disaffected groups with the very sense of justification which they are so desperately seeking” through support of homophobic, misogynic, and racist policies which are usually (but not always) expressed in subtle, coded language in order to make them more palatable to an uncritical public.”^{lxxv} The object of the other – the “evil” which this coded language is used to rally against – changes over time but maintains the same primary distinction. In an attempt to disprove the “otherism” on which the NRA thrives, it launched a print ad campaign called “I’m the NRA,” which featured a wide variety of “wholesome types” of all different races and ages brandishing their weaponry of choice and declaring why they are members of the NRA.^{lxxvi} This appeal to mass society was the NRA’s attempt to prove that its

membership was diverse or, rather, “normal, friendly, and, most important, non-threatening.”^{lxxvii} Tokenism, employed here in its purest form, is another example of the NRA exploiting reality for its own ends – removing the racial coding from gun ownership and removing gun ownership from culpability for violence. Thus, the NRA can reframe the crime issue in a manner that “minimize[s] the costs of gun violence and ampl[ifies] the dread effect,”^{lxxviii} contrasting “I’m the NRA” representation of race with societal representations and solidifying the NRA as a Protector rather than Aggressor.

For the NRA and gun owners, the distinction between “self” and “threat to self” has always been “those that have and employ their Second Amendment Rights” versus “those that do not have those rights, do not employ them legally, or do not use their rights.” Guns, as such, become the commodification of American Citizenship; the exclusion of a group from the right to own a gun is “the right to exclude others from a valued resource” as is citizenship.^{lxxix} This exclusion is necessary if the NRA is to maintain and emphasize its imagined “social division” wherein society is “divided into kinds, the ‘law-abiding citizen’ and the ‘criminal,’ the deserving and the undeserving — and resented government when it identified with the undeserving other.”^{lxxx} Since the NRA’s membership inherited its citizenship from the Constitution’s founders and are thus quintessentially Citizen, the “other” has taken on several different forms from the organization’s inception to the present. First, it was the British, then the Indians, then the Civil War (either side), progressing eventually to communists, socialists, fascists, and now, the “bad guys” or “criminals.”^{lxxxi}

By focusing on the universally loathed generic “criminal,” the NRA’s propaganda paints gun-control as “an elitist effort at people control” that clamors to restrict the “best deterrent to violent criminal attack” by restricting “Americans’ constitutional right to own guns and the right

of self-defense.^{lxxxii} In this statement, the NRA is perfectly balancing Davidson's concepts of "Armageddon Appeal" with "Patriotic Imperative." Logically, the "threat" of violence is omnipresent as the "criminal" is omnipresent; however, "gun ownership among whites correlates with racial prejudice and a desire to punish, rather than defend oneself from, criminals,"^{lxxxiii} causing "those who hate blacks" to likely "feel a deeper hatred for imagined criminals" and, by proxy, own guns.^{lxxxiv} With the NRA being founded in a white racial consciousness, whether its manifestations are explicit or implicit racism, and composed of predominately white males, the "other" assumes a face, skin color, gender, geographic location, and moral code. As LaPierre elucidates, utilizing thinly veiled racism, "Crime is a moral problem. Those who murder, rape and steal are committing evil acts. And the evil seems to be growing...this problem [of minorities being the primary victims of crime] is particularly painful to address because the primary victimizers of minority communities are minorities."^{lxxxv}

LaPierre muses that the epidemic of crime in minority community is a "direct outgrowth of a growing moral breakdown in society" and the responsibility for morality's reconstruction "lies first with the family," calling out to "leading African-Americans" to address crime as a moral quandary within an individual.^{lxxxvi} This logic leads directly to suspicion: if the problem is concentrated within a community, and the same moral breakdown leads to the perpetuation of crime within this community, then the issue of crime is not individual but rather a shared problem. Thus, LaPierre's cry for "individual responsibility" is moot; conversely, his "individual responsibility" masks a deeper racial resentment for the criminals whose actions threaten his guns. Obviously, LaPierre and the NRA have more self-interested motivations for being "tough on crime" than as for the general welfare. The NRS is a perpetual fear machine; it must keep that machine pumping "criminals" into the prison industrial complex, away from "law-abiding

citizens” in order to maintain both social order and public relevancy. With such antiquated (and historically inaccurate) views, a dwindling membership core, and ideologies diametrically opposed to social progress, they are going to have to refocus their aim toward those that they have not proselytized if they wish to survive as an organization. Though most of the NRA believes in Christianity, they must at least know of the Darwin’s principle of “survival of the fittest:” to survive is to adapt. If they cannot moderate their perpetual “otherization,” they will succumb to being the other and experience *actual*, not rhetorical, oppression in society as a “victimized” group. After the one-two punch of Aurora and Sandy-Hook, the NRA ascendance into obscurity has seemingly begun. As those incidents of mass violence displayed, the NRA’s hypermasculinity complex seeps into society, creating a hurricane wherein, under the right conditions, a “citizen” and a “criminal” can be instantaneously synonymous.

Appendix A: Instances of the NRA's Thinly Veiled Racism, in Press

Current NRA Research Coordinator Paul Blackman, echoing Cooper's views, has written that "studies of homicide victims -- especially the increasing number of younger ones -- suggest they are frequently criminals themselves and/or drug addicts or users. It is quite possible that their deaths, in terms of economic consequences to society, are net gains

Current NRA President Charlton Heston, in defending "white pride" in a speech before the Free Congress Foundation, urged the audience to "draw your sword and fight" against a variety of opponents, including "blacks who raise a militant fist with one hand while they seek preference with the other."

Current NRA Board Member Jeff Cooper, in dismissing urban gun victims - the majority of which are young black males - wrote in *Guns & Ammo* that "the consensus is that no more than five to ten people in a hundred who die by gunfire in Los Angeles are any loss to society. These people fight small wars amongst themselves. It would seem a valid social service to keep them well-supplied with ammunition."¹

The depiction of blacks and Hispanics as criminals in an anti-guncontrol advertisement is causing a stir in Congress, where Latino lawmakers accuse the NRA of playing the race

¹ "NRA Leader LaPierre's 'Homogenization' Quote Adds to NRA Racist Commentary Says VPC." U.S. Newswire: 1. May 16 2000. ABI/INFORM Complete; Hoover's Company Profiles; ProQuest Central; ProQuest Education Journals; ProQuest Psychology Journals; ProQuest Research Library; ProQuest Social Science Journals. Web. 4 Dec. 2012
 <<http://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/450987008?accountid=10226>; http://rd8hp6du2b.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&rft_id=info:sid/ProQ%3Anewsstand&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:journal&rft.genre=unknown&rft.jtitle=U.S.+Newswire&rft.atitle=NRA+Leader+LaPierre%27s+%27Homogenization%27+Quote+Adds+to+NRA+Racist+Commentary+Says+VPC&rft.au=&rft.aulast=&rft.aufirst=&rft.date=2000-05-16&rft.volume=&rft.issue=&rft.spage=1&rft.isbn=&rft.btitle=&rft.title=U.S.+Newswire&rft.issn=>

card to advance its cause. They never had to resort to what they did," said Rep. Charlie Gonzalez, D-San Antonio, fuming about the NRA's advertisement

The 30-second spot zooms to mug shots of criminals - three blacks, four whites and five Hispanics. Pictures of blacks and Hispanics, though, remain the focal point.

NRA lobbyist Jim Baker told the Associated Press that critics of the ads are "grasping at straws trying to avoid the real message here - that prosecution on federal gun laws has dropped."

"Rather than trying to back up their false claims with factual data, the NRA has chosen to depict ethnic and racial minorities as criminals let loose on the streets,"²

² "Methodists, Racism and the NRA." Atlanta Inquirer: 4. May 27 2000. Ethnic NewsWatch. Web. 4 Dec. 2012 <<http://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/368296631?accountid=10226>; http://rd8hp6du2b.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&rft_id=info:sid/ProQ%3Aethnicnewswatch&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:journal&rft.genre=unknown&rft.jtitl e=Atlanta+Inquirer&rft.atitle=Methodists%2C+Racism+And+The+NRA&rft.au=&rft.aulast=&rft.aufirst=&rft.date=2000-05-27&rft.volume=39&rft.issue=43&rft.spage=4&rft.isbn=&rft.btitle=&rft.title=Atlanta+Inquirer&rft.issn=>.

- ⁱ http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/explosives-removed-from-james-holmes-apartment-and-destroyed-officials-say/2012/07/22/gJQAL9XN2W_story.html
- ⁱⁱ Connecticut: http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/gunman-kills-mother-then-26-in-grade-school-rampage-in-connecticut/2012/12/15/9017a784-46b6-11e2-8061-253bccfc7532_story.html?hpid=z1
- ⁱⁱⁱ http://www.denverpost.com/news/ci_21142159/gun-sales-up-since-tragedy
- ^{iv} <http://www.theage.com.au/opinion/politics/americas-gun-outrage-276-people-killed-or-wounded-a-day-20091109-i4gj.html>
- ^v <http://www.nraila.org/news-issues/articles/2012/colorado-tragedy-leads-to-proposed-ammo-and-magazine-limits.aspx?s=AURORA&st=&ps=>
- ^{vi} http://home.nra.org/pdf/Transcript_PDF.pdf
- ^{vii} Merkel, William. "Heller as Hubris, and how *McDonald v. City of Chicago* May Well Change the Constitutional World as We Know It." *Santa Clara Law Review*. Vol 50, 2010. Pg 1259.
- ^{viii} Davidson, Osha Gray. *Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control*. University of Iowa Press. Iowa City, Iowa. 1998. Pg 42.
- ^{ix} Kellner, Douglas. *Guys and Guns Amok: Domestic Terrorism and School Shootings from the Oklahoma City Bombing to the Virginia Tech Massacre*. Paradigm Publishers. Boulder, Colorado. 2008. Pg 107
- ^x Siegel, Reva. "Dead or Alive: Originalism as Popular Constitutionalism in *Heller*." *Harvard Law Review*. Vol 122:191. 2008. Pg 233
- ^{xi} Medlock, Scott. "NRA = No Rational Argument? How the National Rifle Association Exploits Public Irrationality." *Texas Journal on Civil Liberties & Civil Rights* Vol 11:1. 2005. Pg 62.
- ^{xii} Anderson, Casey and Horwitz, Joshua. *Guns, Democracy, and the Insurrectionist Idea*. The University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, Michigan. 2009. Pgs 168-169.
- ^{xiii} LaPierre, Wayne. *Guns, Crime, and Freedom*. Regnery Publishing, Inc. Washington, District of Columbia. 1994. Dedication page.
- ^{xiv} Siegel, Reva. "Dead or Alive: Originalism as Popular Constitutionalism in *Heller*." *Harvard Law Review*. Vol 122:191. 2008. Pg 235
- ^{xv} LaPierre, Wayne. *Guns, Crime, and Freedom*. Regnery Publishing, Inc. Washington, District of Columbia. 1994. Pg 6.
- ^{xvi} LaPierre, Wayne. *Guns, Crime, and Freedom*. Regnery Publishing, Inc. Washington, District of Columbia. 1994. Pg 21.
- ^{xvii} LaPierre, Wayne. *Guns, Crime, and Freedom*. Regnery Publishing, Inc. Washington, District of Columbia. 1994. Pg 15
- ^{xviii} Strain, Christopher. *Reload: Rethinking Violence in American Life*. Vanderbilt University Press. Nashville, Tennessee. 2010. Pg 70
- ^{xix} Strain, Christopher. *Reload: Rethinking Violence in American Life*. Vanderbilt University Press. Nashville, Tennessee. 2010. Pg 70
- ^{xx} Patrick, Brian Anse. *The National Rifle Association and the Media: The Motivating Force of Negative Coverage*. Peter Lang Publishing, Inc. New York, New York. 2002. Pg 149
- ^{xxi} Patrick, Brian Anse. *The National Rifle Association and the Media: The Motivating Force of Negative Coverage*. Peter Lang Publishing, Inc. New York, New York. 2002. Pg 148
- ^{xxii} Patrick, Brian Anse. *The National Rifle Association and the Media: The Motivating Force of Negative Coverage*. Peter Lang Publishing, Inc. New York, New York. 2002. Pg 149
- ^{xxiii} Goss, Kristin. *Disarmed: The Missing Movement for Gun Control in America*. Princeton University Press. Princeton, New Jersey. 2006. Pg 115.
- ^{xxiv} O'Neill, Kevin Lewis. "Armed Citizens and the Stories They Tell: The National Rifle Association's Achievement of Terror and Masculinity." *Men and Masculinities*. April 2007. 9: 457-475. Pg 469
- ^{xxv} Medlock, Scott. "NRA = No Rational Argument? How the National Rifle Association Exploits Public Irrationality." *Texas Journal on Civil Liberties & Civil Rights* Vol 11:1. 2005. Pg 53054
- ^{xxvi} Larson, Erik. *Lethal Passage: How the Travels of a Single Handgun Expose the Roots of America's Gun Crisis*. Crown Publishers, Inc. New York, New York. 1994. Pg 137
- ^{xxvii} Charlton Heston, First Vice President, Nat'l Rifle Assoc., Address at the Free Congress Foundation's 20th Anniversary Gala (Dec. 7, 1997) (alteration in original), available at <http://www.vpc.org/nrainfo/speech.html>.
- ^{xxviii} Siegel, Reva. "Dead or Alive: Originalism as Popular Constitutionalism in *Heller*." *Harvard Law Review*. Vol 122:191. 2008. Pg 233
- ^{xxix} Charlton Heston, First Vice President, Nat'l Rifle Assoc., Address at the Free Congress Foundation's 20th Anniversary Gala (Dec. 7, 1997) (alteration in original), available at <http://www.vpc.org/nrainfo/speech.html>.
- ^{xxx} Siegel, Reva. "Dead or Alive: Originalism as Popular Constitutionalism in *Heller*." *Harvard Law Review*. Vol 122:191. 2008. Pg 234
- ^{xxxi} Davidson, Osha Gray. *Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control*. University of Iowa Press. Iowa City, Iowa. 1998. Pg 152
- ^{xxxii} Davidson, Osha Gray. *Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control*. University of Iowa Press. Iowa City, Iowa. 1998. Pg 153
- ^{xxxiii} Davidson, Osha Gray. *Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control*. University of Iowa Press. Iowa City, Iowa. 1998. Pg 44
- ^{xxxiv} Kellner, Douglas. *Guys and Guns Amok: Domestic Terrorism and School Shootings from the Oklahoma City Bombing to the*

- Virginia Tech Massacre*. Paradigm Publishers. Boulder, Colorado. 2008. Pg 25
- ^{xxxv} Anderson, Casey and Horwitz, Joshua. *Guns, Democracy, and the Insurrectionist Idea*. The University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, Michigan. 2009. Pg 169
- ^{xxxvi} Merkel 1260
- ^{xxxvii} Anderson, Casey and Horwitz, Joshua. *Guns, Democracy, and the Insurrectionist Idea*. The University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, Michigan. 2009. Pg 214
- ^{xxxviii} Siegel, Reva. "Dead or Alive: Originalism as Popular Constitutionalism in *Heller*." *Harvard Law Review*. Vol 122:191. 2008. Pg 232
- ^{xxxix} Davidson, Osha Gray. *Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control*. University of Iowa Press. Iowa City, Iowa. 1998. Pg 67
- ^{xl} Kellner, Douglas. *Guys and Guns Amok: Domestic Terrorism and School Shootings from the Oklahoma City Bombing to the Virginia Tech Massacre*. Paradigm Publishers. Boulder, Colorado. 2008. Pg 94
- ^{xli} Kellner, Douglas. *Guys and Guns Amok: Domestic Terrorism and School Shootings from the Oklahoma City Bombing to the Virginia Tech Massacre*. Paradigm Publishers. Boulder, Colorado. 2008. Pg 95
- ^{xlii} Kellner, Douglas. *Guys and Guns Amok: Domestic Terrorism and School Shootings from the Oklahoma City Bombing to the Virginia Tech Massacre*. Paradigm Publishers. Boulder, Colorado. 2008. Pg 97
- ^{xliii} Davidson, Osha Gray. *Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control*. University of Iowa Press. Iowa City, Iowa. 1998. Pg 232
- ^{xliv} O'Neill, Kevin Lewis. "Armed Citizens and the Stories They Tell: The National Rifle Association's Achievement of Terror and Masculinity." *Men and Masculinities*. April 2007. 9: 457-475. Pg 457
- ^{xliv} Medlock, Scott. "NRA = No Rational Argument? How the National Rifle Association Exploits Public Irrationality." *Texas Journal on Civil Liberties & Civil Rights* Vol 11:1. 2005. Pg 42
- ^{xlvi} Anderson, Casey and Horwitz, Joshua. *Guns, Democracy, and the Insurrectionist Idea*. The University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, Michigan. 2009. Pg 211
- ^{xlvii} O'Neill, Kevin Lewis. "Armed Citizens and the Stories They Tell: The National Rifle Association's Achievement of Terror and Masculinity." *Men and Masculinities*. April 2007. 9: 457-475. Pg 461
- ^{xlviii} O'Neill, Kevin Lewis. "Armed Citizens and the Stories They Tell: The National Rifle Association's Achievement of Terror and Masculinity." *Men and Masculinities*. April 2007. 9: 457-475. Pg 463
- ^{xlix} O'Neill, Kevin Lewis. "Armed Citizens and the Stories They Tell: The National Rifle Association's Achievement of Terror and Masculinity." *Men and Masculinities*. April 2007. 9: 457-475. Pg 466
- ^l Larson, Erik. *Lethal Passage: How the Travels of a Single Handgun Expose the Roots of America's Gun Crisis*. Crown Publishers, Inc. New York, New York. 1994. Pg 137
- ^{li} Larson, Erik. *Lethal Passage: How the Travels of a Single Handgun Expose the Roots of America's Gun Crisis*. Crown Publishers, Inc. New York, New York. 1994. Pg 137
- ^{lii} Larson, Erik. *Lethal Passage: How the Travels of a Single Handgun Expose the Roots of America's Gun Crisis*. Crown Publishers, Inc. New York, New York. 1994. Pg 137
- ^{liii} Strain, Christopher. *Reload: Rethinking Violence in American Life*. Vanderbilt University Press. Nashville, Tennessee. 2010. Pg 74
- ^{liv} Merkel, William. "*Heller* as Hubris, and how *McDonald v. City of Chicago* May Well Change the Constitutional World as We Know It." *Santa Clara Law Review*. Vol 50, 2010. Pg 1258
- ^{lv} Weir, William. *A Well Regulated Militia: The Battle Over Gun Control*. Archon Books. North Haven, Connecticut. 1997. Pg 74
- ^{lvi} Abel, Daniel and Brown, Peter Harry. *Outgunned: Up Against the NRA*. The Free Press. New York, New York. 2003. Pg 163.
- ^{lvii} Strain, Christopher. *Reload: Rethinking Violence in American Life*. Vanderbilt University Press. Nashville, Tennessee. 2010. Pg 93/94
- ^{lviii} Kellner, Douglas. *Guys and Guns Amok: Domestic Terrorism and School Shootings from the Oklahoma City Bombing to the Virginia Tech Massacre*. Paradigm Publishers. Boulder, Colorado. 2008. Pg 83
- ^{lix} Abel, Daniel and Brown, Peter Harry. *Outgunned: Up Against the NRA*. The Free Press. New York, New York. 2003. Pg 240
- ^{lx} Davidson, Osha Gray. *Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control*. University of Iowa Press. Iowa City, Iowa. 1998. Pg 238
- ^{lxi} Spitzer, Robert. *The Politics of Gun Control*. Second Edition. Seven Bridges Press, LLC. Chappaqua, New York. 1998. Pg 86
- ^{lxii} Abel, Daniel and Brown, Peter Harry. *Outgunned: Up Against the NRA*. The Free Press. New York, New York. 2003. Pg 112
- ^{lxiii} Siegel, Reva. "Dead or Alive: Originalism as Popular Constitutionalism in *Heller*." *Harvard Law Review*. Vol 122:191. 2008. Pg 231
- ^{lxiv} Larson, Erik. *Lethal Passage: How the Travels of a Single Handgun Expose the Roots of America's Gun Crisis*. Crown Publishers, Inc. New York, New York. 1994. Pg 24
- ^{lxv} Blair, Elizabeth M. and Hyatt, Eva M. "The Marketing of Guns to Women: Factors Influencing Gun-Related Attitudes and Gun Ownership by Women." *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring, 1995). Pg 123
- ^{lxvi} Patrick, Brian Anse. *The National Rifle Association and the Media: The Motivating Force of Negative Coverage*. Peter Lang Publishing, Inc. New York, New York. 2002. Pg 119
- ^{lxvii} Larson, Erik. *Lethal Passage: How the Travels of a Single Handgun Expose the Roots of America's Gun Crisis*. Crown Publishers, Inc. New York, New York. 1994. Pg 36

- ^{lxviii} <http://www.bradycampaign.org/xshare/pdf/facts/1993-weil-Gun-Owners.pdf>
- ^{lxix} Goss, Kristin. *Disarmed: The Missing Movement for Gun Control in America*. Princeton University Press. Princeton, New Jersey. 2006. Pg 132.
- ^{lxx} Blair, Elizabeth M. and Hyatt, Eva M. "The Marketing of Guns to Women: Factors Influencing Gun-Related Attitudes and Gun Ownership by Women." *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring, 1995). Pg 118
- ^{lxxi} Blair, Elizabeth M. and Hyatt, Eva M. "The Marketing of Guns to Women: Factors Influencing Gun-Related Attitudes and Gun Ownership by Women." *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring, 1995). Pg 123
- ^{lxxii} Larson, Erik. *Lethal Passage: How the Travels of a Single Handgun Expose the Roots of America's Gun Crisis*. Crown Publishers, Inc. New York, New York. 1994. Pg 137
- ^{lxxiii} Blair, Elizabeth M. and Hyatt, Eva M. "The Marketing of Guns to Women: Factors Influencing Gun-Related Attitudes and Gun Ownership by Women." *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring, 1995). Pg 117
- ^{lxxiv} Weir, William. *A Well Regulated Militia: The Battle Over Gun Control*. Archon Books. North Haven, Connecticut. 1997. Pg 151
- ^{lxxv} John Reimler (1999): Cultural Hate-Mongers, the National Rifle Association, and Political Blame-Shifters: What Conservatives Don't Want America To Know About Violence In The Public Schools, *Educational Studies: A Journal of the American Educational Studies Association*, 30:3-4, 274-280; at page 275
- ^{lxxvi} Weir, William. *A Well Regulated Militia: The Battle Over Gun Control*. Archon Books. North Haven, Connecticut. 1997. Pg 92
- ^{lxxvii} Davidson, Osha Gray. *Under Fire: The NRA and the Battle for Gun Control*. University of Iowa Press. Iowa City, Iowa. 1998. Pg 47
- ^{lxxviii} Medlock, Scott. "NRA = No Rational Argument? How the National Rifle Association Exploits Public Irrationality." *Texas Journal on Civil Liberties & Civil Rights* Vol 11:1. 2005. Pg 50
- ^{lxxix} Anderson, Casey and Horwitz, Joshua. *Guns, Democracy, and the Insurrectionist Idea*. The University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, Michigan. 2009. Pg 193
- ^{lxxx} Siegel, Reva. "Dead or Alive: Originalism as Popular Constitutionalism in *Heller*." *Harvard Law Review*. Vol 122:191. 2008. Pg 236
- ^{lxxxii} LaPierre, Wayne. *Guns, Crime, and Freedom*. Regnery Publishing, Inc. Washington, District of Columbia. 1994. Pg 71
- ^{lxxxiii} LaPierre, Wayne. *Guns, Crime, and Freedom*. Regnery Publishing, Inc. Washington, District of Columbia. 1994. Pg 28
- ^{lxxxiv} Bogus, Carl T. "Race, Riots, and Guns." *Southern California Law Review*. 66 Vol 1365. 1992-1993. Pg 1387
- ^{lxxxv} Bogus, Carl T. "Race, Riots, and Guns." *Southern California Law Review*. 66 Vol 1365. 1992-1993. Pg 1387
- ^{lxxxvi} LaPierre, Wayne. *Guns, Crime, and Freedom*. Regnery Publishing, Inc. Washington, District of Columbia. 1994. Pg 158-159
- ^{lxxxvi} LaPierre, Wayne. *Guns, Crime, and Freedom*. Regnery Publishing, Inc. Washington, District of Columbia. 1994. Pg 161