



How the Firearms Industry and NRA Market Guns to Communities of Color

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



This is the executive summary of the January 2021 Violence Policy Center study *How the Firearms Industry and NRA Market Guns to Communities of Color*. For the full study with footnotes, as well as the Spanish-language version of the executive summary and study press release, please visit <https://vpc.org/how-the-firearms-industry-and-nra-market-guns-to-communities-of-color/>.

Historically, the primary demographic targeted by the gun industry has been white males. This is now changing as this traditional customer base is shrinking and gunmakers, to paraphrase a tobacco industry term, have failed to recruit a sufficient number of ‘replacement shooters’ to fill their thinning ranks. As a result, household and individual gun ownership over the past few decades in the United States have declined significantly and remain relatively stagnant.

While children and women have been the default targets of the industry in the wake of stagnation of the white male market, there has also been a growing focus on marketing guns, primarily for self-defense, to Latinos, Blacks, and other minority groups in America. And there is no reason to believe that the real-world impact of gun ownership on new Black and Brown gun owners will be any different than their white predecessors — increased risk of death and injury in suicides, homicides, and fatal unintentional injuries. What is different is that these communities are already disproportionately impacted by lethal firearms violence and that heightened gun ownership can only increase death and injury among them.

The brazenness of this marketing shift is striking, recognizing that for decades the gun lobby and firearms industry have played on fear of crime and community disorder in their marketing efforts. And while rarely stated outright, often implicit is that those to be feared most come from communities of color.

Discussion among the firearms industry and gun lobby on the need to focus on Blacks and Latinos is not new. As far back as 1997, a column in the gun industry publication *Shooting Sports Retailer* was bluntly headlined, “Gun industry must become less racist to survive in the 21st century.”

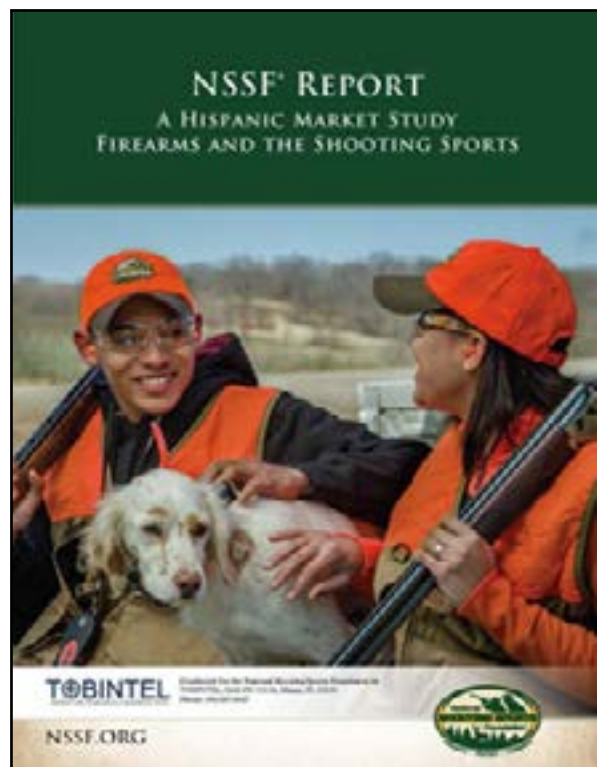
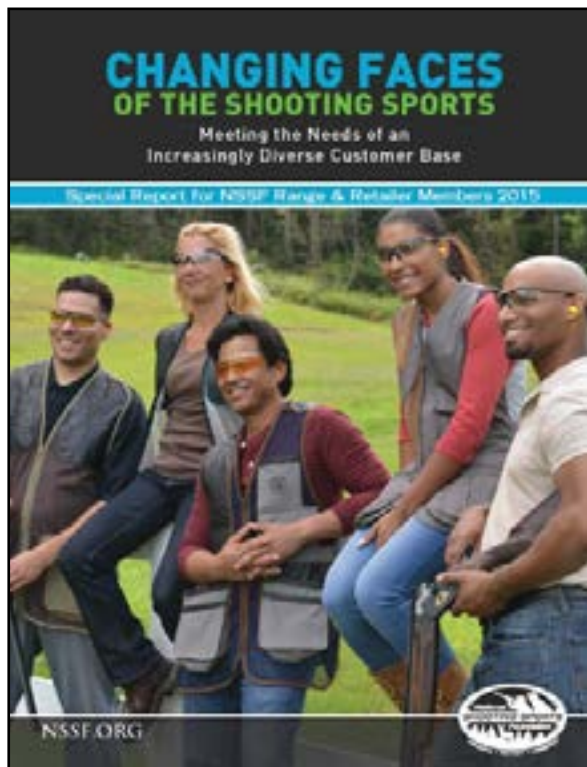


How the Firearms Industry and NRA Market Guns to Communities of Color offers an overview of efforts by the firearms industry and gun lobby to market firearms to Blacks and Latinos in the United States. Leading this effort are the National Shooting Sports Foundation (NSSF), the trade association for the firearms industry, and the National Rifle Association (which acts as a de facto trade association for the firearms industry and has received tens millions of dollars from gunmakers). In a grim irony NSSF is located in Newtown, Connecticut, site of the 2012 Sandy Hook Elementary School mass shooting.

SECTION ONE: THE NATIONAL SHOOTING SPORTS FOUNDATION (NSSF) AND THE FIREARMS INDUSTRY

The role played by the NSSF within the gun industry is not unlike that which was played by The Tobacco Institute for the tobacco industry. NSSF issues a constant stream of publications both to support and defend the firearms industry in its marketing efforts.

The birthplace of the long-term, organized, and coordinated effort by the firearms industry and gun lobby targeting non-white potential gun owners was the 2015 NSSF Industry Summit, which occurred in June of that year in Savannah, Georgia.



Examples of NSSF marketing publications targeting Blacks and Latinos

A press release issued by NSSF after the event explained, "The central theme of the 2015 Industry Summit, diversity, is one that proved the industry is preparing to significantly change the way it does business." In the release, NSSF's chief marketing officer stated, "We've talked loosely about diversity for years, but there's never been a cohesive effort across the industry as a whole to address this subject and innovate change. This year's Industry Summit showed us that we're about to experience a ground-swell shift in that attitude."

Presentations at the event detailed the financial benefits offered by embracing "diversity." One speaker offered overviews of Black and Latino market segments by "demographics," "psychographics," and "technographics." The presentation of another speaker, Top Shot competition champion Chris Cheng, was titled "Diversity: The Next Big Opportunity," with the goals being "new shooters, and new gun owners, and new Second Amendment advocates...." Cheng concluded his presentation with a "call to action" including: "more targeted messaging towards ethnic groups...,"



A slide from Chris Cheng's presentation at the 2015 NSSF Industry Summit

sponsoring or attending diversity events such as the NSSF First Shots Program..., [a]nd then finally highlight people of color in firearm ads, media articles and other marketing collateral." Cheng promised, "Diversity is the next area of success for our industry."

Or as NSSF president and CEO Steve Sanetti summarized, "What a difference this is from just a few years ago when the industry was lamenting that it was becoming stale, male and pale."

Since the 2015 Industry Summit, a focus on "diversity" has remained central to NSSF's research and marketing efforts.

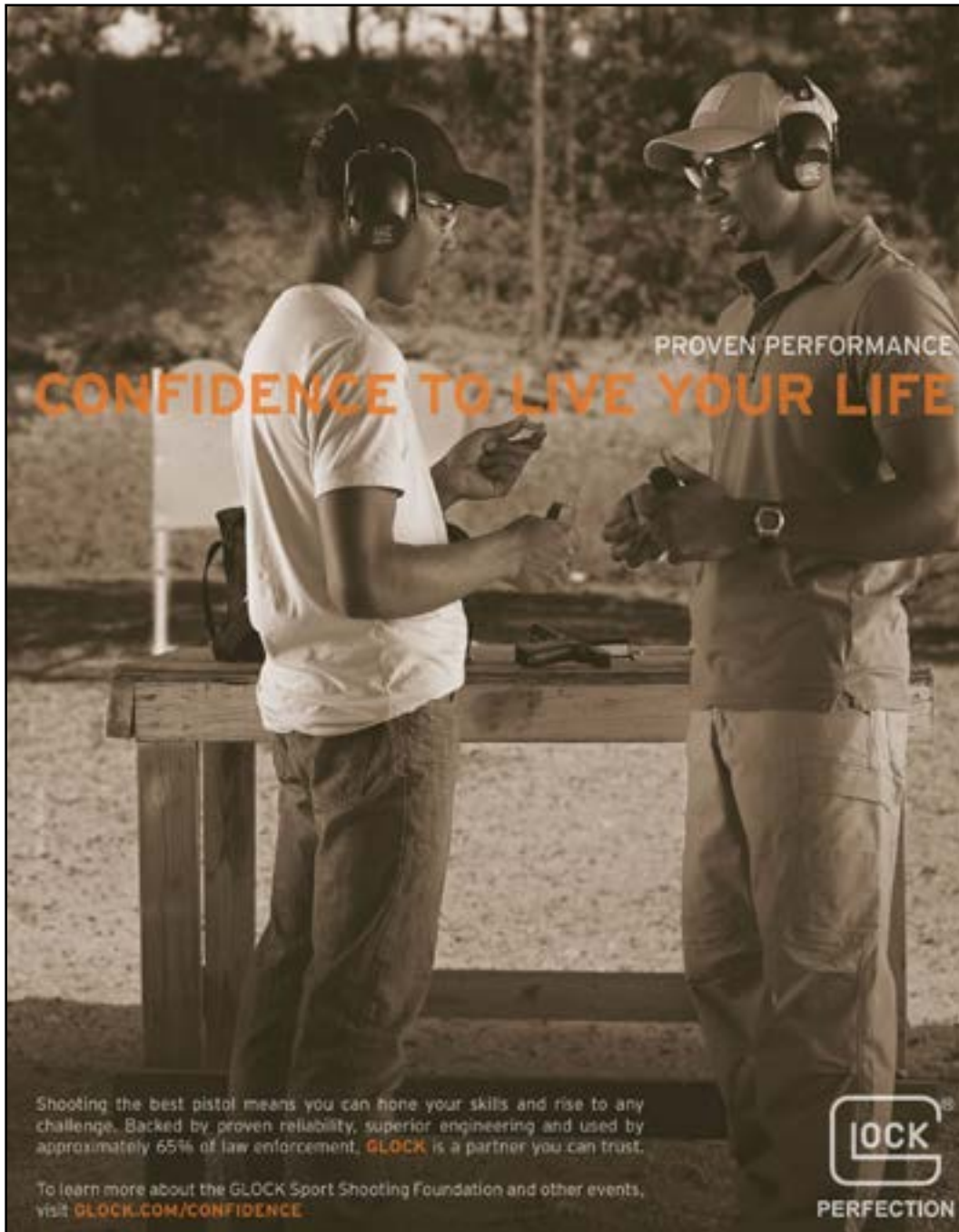
For example, in 2018, Maj Toure, the founder of Black Guns Matter, which describes its primary goal as educating "people in urban communities in all 50 states on their 2nd amendment rights and responsibilities through firearms training and education," was a speaker at the NSSF-sponsored SHOT Show, the annual trade show for the firearms industry. Closed to the general public, the show is held each year in Las Vegas. During his presentation, Toure told his gun industry audience, "My job is to give you all the information to increase revenue as well as make a cultural shift." Toure also promotes an assault rifle by Head Down Arms to benefit his organization and has a marketing partnership with gun manufacturer Bersa.



Maj Toure stands front and center at the 2018 NSSF Industry Summit

Examples of gun industry advertising efforts targeting Blacks and Latinos as potential gun buyers include the following.

A full-page ad appearing in the Spring 2013 issue of *Junior Shooters* magazine shows two Black males, a youth and an adult, at an outdoor range, with the headline “Confidence to Live Your Life.” The ad, in which the youth is holding an ammunition magazine in one hand and a round in the other, states, “Shooting the best pistol means you can hone your skills and rise to any challenge. Backed by proven reliability, superior engineering and used by approximately 65% of law enforcement, GLOCK is a partner you can trust.”

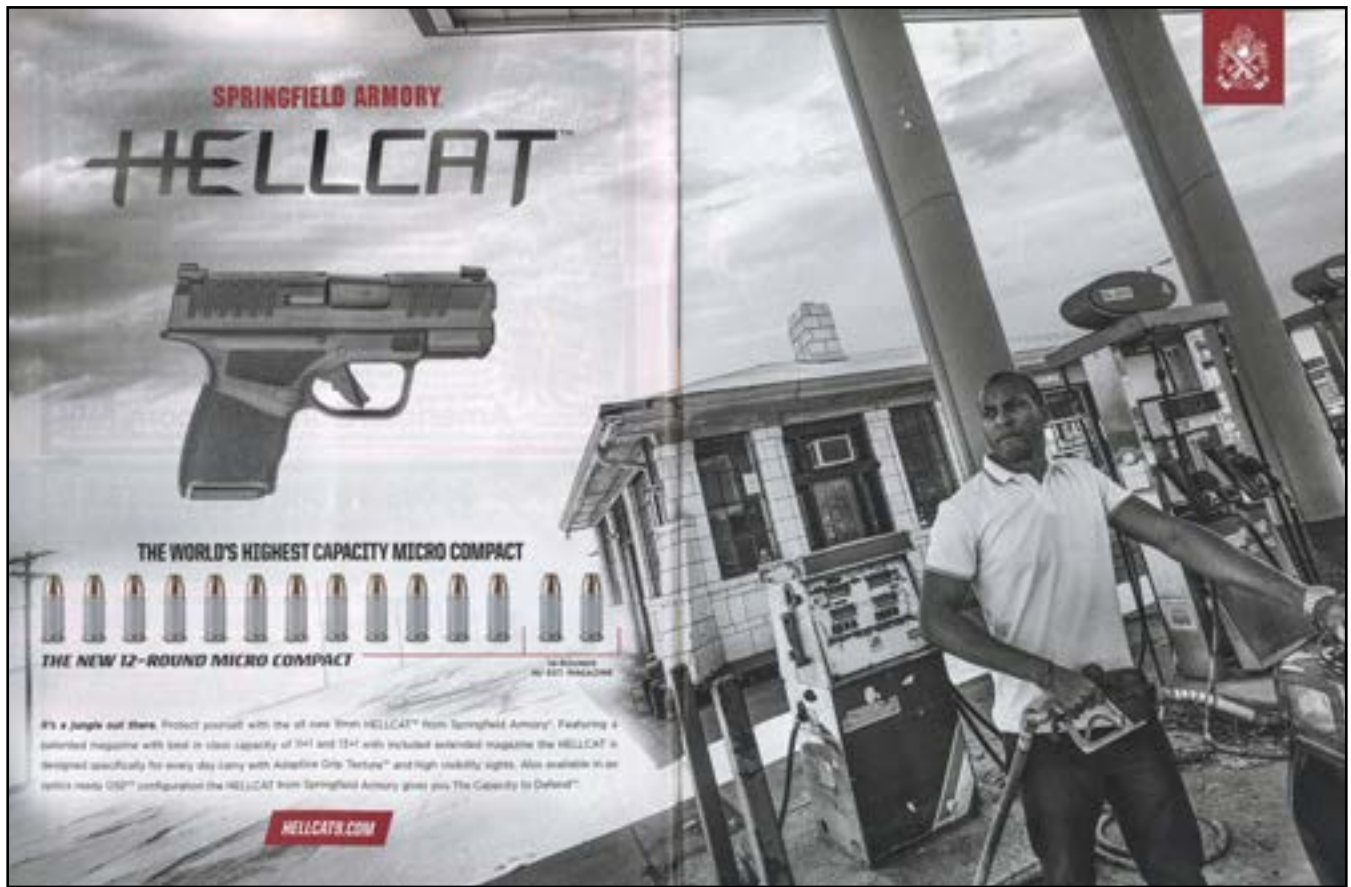


“Confidence to Live Your Life”

The advertisement features a close-up portrait of a young woman with long dark hair, looking directly at the camera with a serious expression. She is wearing a white tank top and a denim jacket. A Kel-Tec KS7 Shotgun is positioned horizontally across the lower part of her chest. Below the image, the slogan "MI CASA NO ES SU CASA" is written in large, bold, black, sans-serif capital letters. Underneath the slogan, there is a block of text describing the shotgun's features: "The new KS7™ Shotgun is bred for light weight, personal defense. Its compact size and carry handle allow for easy and convenient handling. KelTec™ patented downward shell ejection and a 2 3/4" shell capacity of 7+1 make this one ambidextrous, 12-gauge, pump-action micro beast. Innovation. Performance. KelTec. See more at KelTecWeapons.com." To the right of this text is the Kel-Tec logo, which consists of the words "KEL" and "TEC" stacked vertically in a bold, sans-serif font, with three horizontal red stripes to the right. At the bottom right of the advertisement, there is a small copyright notice: "©2020 Kel-Tec Firearms, Inc."

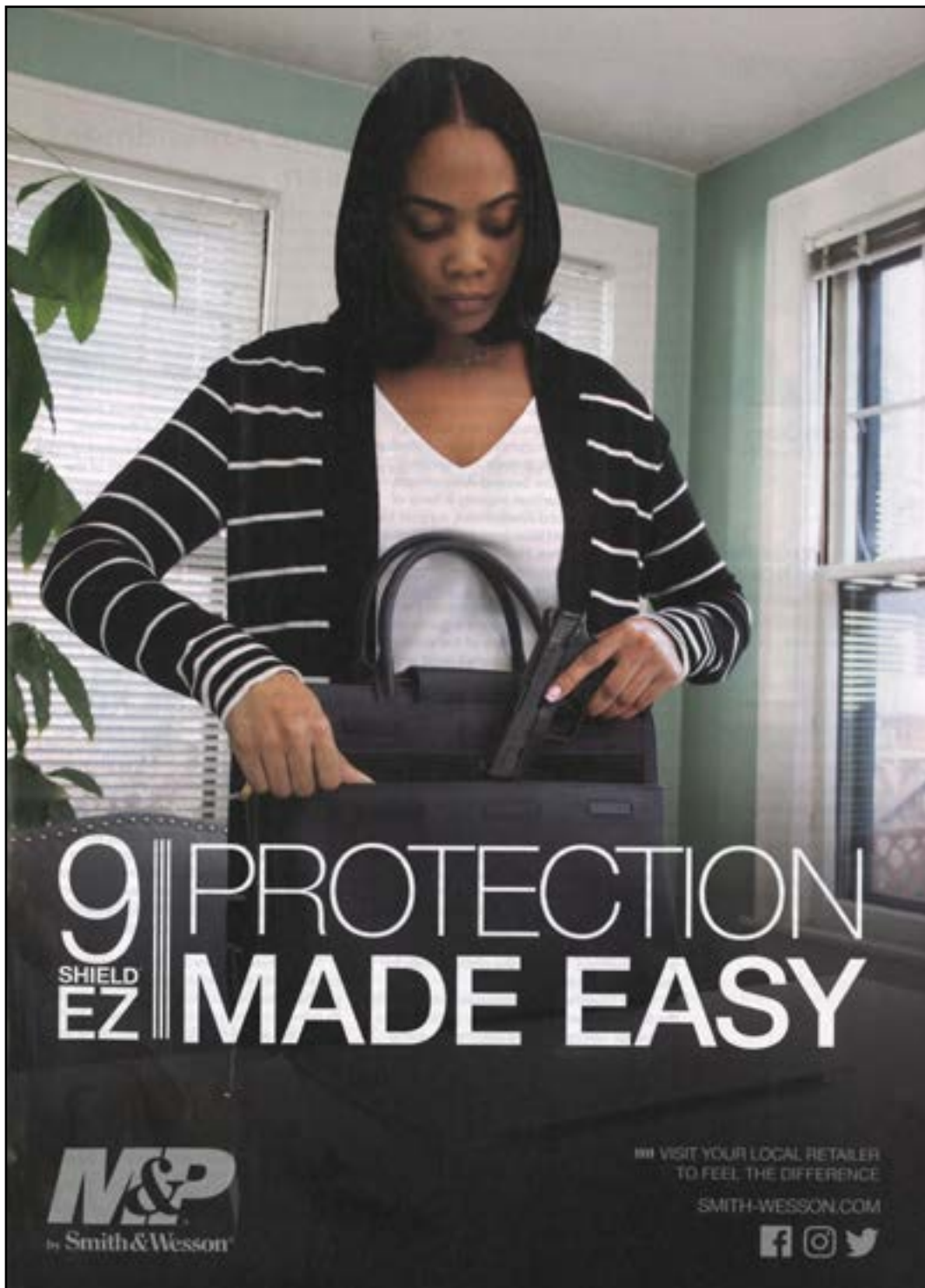
"Mi Casa No Es Su Casa"

An ad appearing in the June/July 2020 edition of the NRA's *America's 1st Freedom* (the organization's activist magazine) for the KEL-TEC KS7 Shotgun warns, "Mi Casa No Es Su Casa."



‘It’s a jungle out there’

An ad appearing in the December 2019 issue of *Guns & Ammo* magazine shows a Black man looking askance as he pumps gas into his car at a filling station. The ad warns, “It’s a jungle out there” and urges the reader to “Protect yourself with the all new 9mm HELLCAT from Springfield Armory.”



"Protection Made Easy"

An ad for the Smith & Wesson M&P (Military & Police) 9 Shield EZ pistol that appeared in both the October 2020 issue of the NRA's *American Rifleman* magazine as well as the November 2020 issue of *Guns & Ammo* shows a Black woman, presumably preparing to leave for work, placing the pistol into her briefcase side pocket. The headline on the ad reads, "Protection Made Easy."

Yet despite the joint efforts of the NSSF and gun manufacturers targeting non-white communities, and the ongoing research that in theory guides such efforts, NSSF's own research reveals that one of the primary hurdles to overcome in engaging Blacks and Latinos in gun ownership is that although NSSF and gunmakers have, for their own purposes, identified communities of color as a great "untapped market" to exploit, Blacks and Latinos frequently don't feel comfortable in the firearms community as a whole, and gun stores in particular. As one respondent told NSSF's researchers, "I would like to see more salespeople stop looking at me as if I stole something."

SECTION TWO: THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION (NRA)

The NSSF and its industry partners are joined in their marketing efforts by the National Rifle Association. While the marketing efforts of the NSSF are designed to ensure the financial success of the gun industry, for the NRA new gun buyers represent the ranks from which future foot soldiers can be drawn to protect its political and financial interests.

In its efforts, the NRA has taken two approaches. The first has been to present Black and Latino spokespeople in its public education and marketing efforts. The second has been to profile and publicize groups "whose memberships," as the NSSF has noted, "are considered non-traditional."

Until its collapse in 2019 as the result of a power struggle between the National Rifle Association, its long-time public relations firm Ackerman McQueen, and principals on both sides, the NRA's online "network," NRATV, was the primary means by which the organization conducted its outreach activities to its hoped-for new markets.

In 2013, Colion Noir, a pro-gun Black YouTube personality joined the NRA as one of the organization's commenters and show hosts on NRATV and other media platforms. In his role, Noir not only was presented as an "authentic" pro-gun Black voice, thus burnishing the NRA's outreach bona fides, but also was deployed to attack politicians, advocates, the news media, organizations, and institutions.

Joining Noir as an NRATV commenter was Gabby Franco, a Latina and the first female shooter to represent Venezuela in the Olympics as well as a contestant on the *History Channel's* show "Top Shot." Franco's gun industry links have included a "marketing alliance and sponsorship" agreement with Remington Outdoors Company and serving as a "brand ambassador" for Walther Arms. She also hosts Tips & Tactics, sponsored by sporting goods store Cabela's on the NRA Women's Network, which is sponsored by gun manufacturer Smith & Wesson. Like Chris Cheng, Franco has been a member of NSSF's Inclusion and Outreach Working Group.

A 2015 online *America's 1st Freedom* article titled "Not Your Father's NRA?" featured a composite photo of Noir and Franco rising out of an idyllic valley against a backdrop of mountains and touted a "seismic shift" in the organization's membership:



The common image of the National Rifle Association portrayed in the media is that of what Colion Noir has humorously dubbed the OFWG — the ‘old, fat white guy.’ But one of the most remarkable trends in American society right now is how interest in guns is expanding and obliterating demographic boundaries. The prominence of women in NRA and the gun-rights movement in general has been widely noted in the last decade — but less attention has been paid to the growing racial diversity within the ranks of gun owners.

What all of this means for the future is a new generation of NRA members that might look quite a bit different from its predecessors, but will have the same goal of protecting our Second Amendment rights. We’ll likely see a far more equal blend of men and women, gathered from all racial backgrounds. The youngest gun owners signing up to stand behind the Second Amendment are quietly enabling a seismic shift in the organization’s demographic makeup.

In July 2016, an NRA blog post announced “NRA Releases Powerful New Ads Featuring Millennial Women,” one of whom was Antonia Okafor, a Black woman described as a “passionate advocate of women’s issues who is the Southwest Regional Director of Students for Concealed Carry on Campus.”

That same year, an NRA blog highlighted the one-year anniversary of the National African American Gun Association (NAAGA) with an interview with its founder, Philip Smith, who started the organization in February 2015 in honor of Black History Month. The NRA has also aided and subsidized NAAGA’s legal activities. NAAGA also has an “Official Partnership” with handgun manufacturer Glock, designating Glock as the “Official Handgun” of the organization in 2018.

With the ascension to the NRA presidency in 2017 of Pete Brownell, the CEO of Brownells, a gun manufacturer and vendor of ammunition and gun accessories, the industry’s diversity goals and the NRA’s agenda were now publicly

one. Brownell's appointment by the NRA's board was historic. For the first time in the organization's history, a member of the gun industry was the titular head of the group. Brownell is also a member of the National Shooting Sports Foundation.

In a July 2017 "President's Column" published in *America's 1st Freedom* headlined "NRA Will Focus On Outreach With a Broad Spectrum of Programs," Brownell expressed the desire to reach out to the Black community, and emphasized the NRA's self-proclaimed role as America's "oldest civil rights organization," stating:

Among our top priorities is an aggressive effort to represent peaceable gun owners from every segment of our society. We will be telling our story. And in doing so, I am certain we will represent a diverse cross section of firearm owners who should be in our family, thus bringing more women and more minorities into to [sic] our community of safety, sport and preservation of freedom.

In the next month's column, titled "Second Amendment Belongs to All Americans, Regardless of Race, Creed or Gender," Brownell stated:

I'm proud of our minority outreach efforts to date, but more work needs to be done. A central focus of my NRA presidency is to help the NRA be more inclusive than it's ever been.

The Constitution does not care about the tone of your skin, whom you love, which political party you've vowed to support or which language you speak — if you're speaking the language of freedom. If you're willing to protect your family no matter the cost, and if you want to have a say when it comes to your rights as a law-abiding, responsible American gun owner, then I want you to join us.

Brownell concluded by emphasizing the duty of the NRA and its members to reach out to these minority communities, citing YouTube videos featuring Colion Noir and noting that the NRA Board's Urban Affairs Committee was now renamed the Outreach Committee.

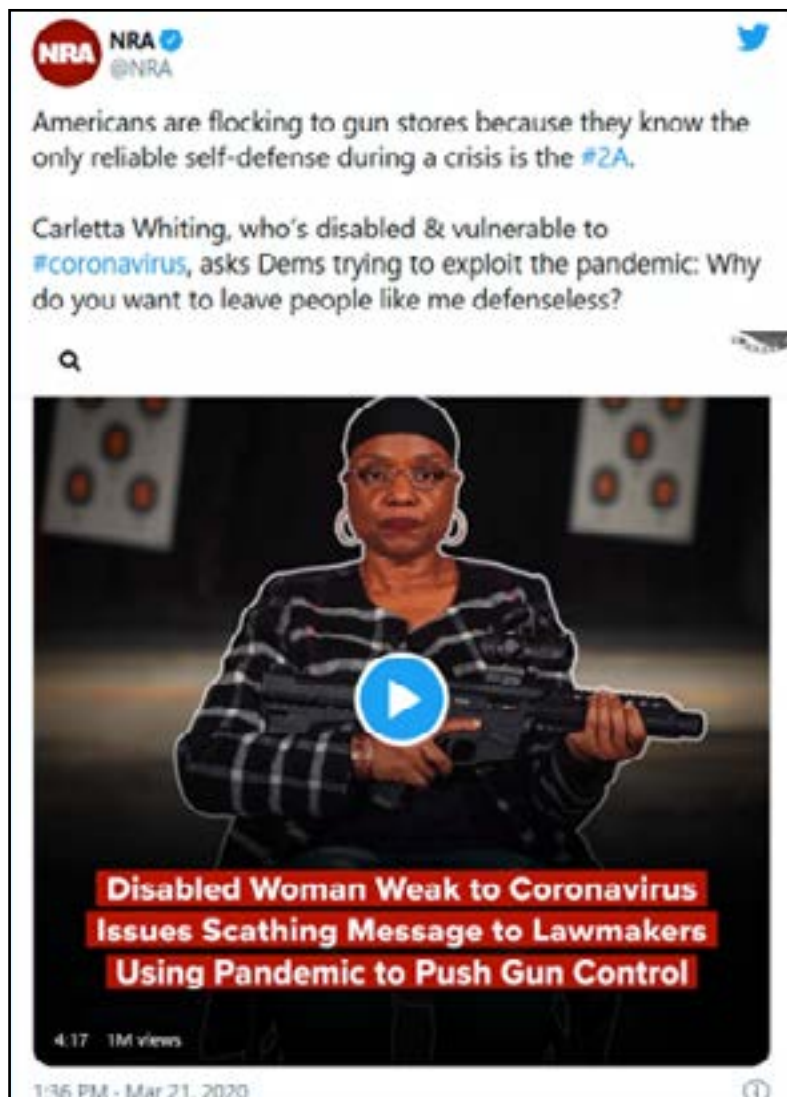
The "viable and healthy" NRA predicted by Brownell that would result from its embrace of diversity was soon derailed by a series of financial controversies, internal power struggles, and revelations of alleged corruption surrounding Executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre and other senior officials that engulfed the organization soon after and continue as of this writing (including an August 2020 lawsuit filed by the New York State Attorney General to dissolve the organization because of its alleged financial malfeasance). In May 2019, the NRA filed suit against its longtime public relations firm, Ackerman McQueen. Among the firm's responsibilities was running the NRA's online "news" outlet NRATV, which was the most public face of the group's efforts targeting minorities and incessantly promoted Noir and other NRA-branded pro-gun "personalities" (it was later revealed that Noir was actually an employee of Ackerman McQueen, not the NRA). In June 2019, the NRA, as part of its battle against Ackerman McQueen, pulled the plug on NRATV, removing the primary platform for its proponents of pro-gun diversity.

SECTION THREE: THE NSSF AND NRA EXPLOIT COVID-19 IN THEIR MARKETING EFFORTS

The NRA and gun industry have a long history of exploiting crises (real and perceived) and civil unrest not only to market weapons, but to justify even the most extreme arguments in support of gun ownership.

In March 2020, as concerns over COVID-19 took hold across the nation, the NRA released a four-minute video featuring Carletta Whiting, a disabled Black woman with a fibromyalgia-related disability who is also a breast cancer and domestic violence survivor. In a tweet publicizing the video, the NRA stated: “Americans are flocking to gun stores because they know the only reliable self-defense during a crisis is the #2A. Carletta Whiting, who’s disabled & vulnerable to #coronavirus, asks Dems trying to exploit the pandemic: Why do you want to leave people like me defenseless?”

In the video, she warns: “Here’s something for you to think about. You might be stockpiling up on food right now to get through this current crisis; but if you aren’t preparing to defend your property when everything goes wrong, you’re really just stockpiling for somebody else.”



By July, in the wake of increases in firearm sales, the National Shooting Sports Foundation was quick to assert that an increase in gun sales was the latest proof of the industry's success in its diversity efforts. In an article that relied on argument by assertion bolstered by carefully triaged word choice published on the organization's website titled "Diversity in Gun Ownership Nothing New to Firearm Industry," NSSF chief Larry Keane proclaimed:

Throw out the stereotypes on American gun ownership. They're just wrong.

Against the backdrop of historically high firearm sales, one major theme is shattering misconceptions that America's gun owners are 'old white men.' A surge in gun buyers across the country in 2020, more than 2.5 million since March alone, has boosted the diversity of the firearm-owning population.

While surprising to some, it's not to those in the firearm industry. Today's gun buyer looks more like the rest of America. They represent all walks of life and those buying firearms today increasingly are women, minorities and more urban than in previous generations.



The photo accompanying the NSSF article "Diversity in Gun Ownership Nothing New to Firearm Industry," features a woman of color with a pink assault rifle on her shirt

Tying the organization's outreach activities to its battle against gun violence prevention efforts, NSSF promised that "increasingly more voices of a diverse American gun owner are responding. The impacts will be significant on the future of Second Amendment rights in America."



Illustration from the NRA article "New Gun Owners and the Election"

These assertions were echoed by the NRA in October 2020, in an article titled "New Gun Owners and the Election" that appeared in the organization's *America's 1st Freedom* magazine. Promising that "no, not of all them look the same" and that it was no longer the case that "gun ownership is merely the preserve of white men," the article argued that:

many of those new gun owners have a practical stake in the preservation of the Second Amendment, and in the prevention of draconian gun-control laws that attempt to criminalize their peaceful behavior and make scapegoats of the peaceful. Perhaps in the coming election, but certainly soon after, these alterations will yield a change in our political debate.

SECTION FOUR: THE REALITY OF BLACK AND LATINO AMERICANS AND GUNS

Not surprisingly, the firearms industry and its financial partners in the National Rifle Association never acknowledge the harm guns inflict on our nation, and on communities of color in particular.

In 2018 alone, nearly 40,000 lives were lost in gun homicides, suicides, and fatal unintentional shootings. And while gun death and injury affect all Americans, its impact does not fall evenly. Blacks and Latinos are more likely to be victims of gun homicide, while gun suicide has a greater impact on white Americans.

- In 2018, the most recent year for which data was available at time of writing from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, guns claimed 9,801 Black lives at a rate of 22.83 deaths per 100,000. That same year, guns claimed 4,018 Latino lives at a rate of 6.71 per 100,000 and 24,789 white lives at a rate of 12.33 per 100,000. The Black gun homicide victimization rate of 18.61 was more than 11 times the white gun homicide victimization rate of 1.66 per 100,000. The Latino gun homicide victimization rate of 3.66 per 100,000 was more than twice the white gun homicide victimization rate. While only 13 percent of the U.S. population, Blacks represented more than half of all gun homicide victims.
- In 2018, the Black male gun homicide victimization rate of 34.22 per 100,000 was five and a half times the Latino male gun homicide victimization rate of 6.22 per 100,000 and more than 14 times the white gun homicide victimization rate of 2.40 per 100,000.
- In 2018, the Black female gun homicide victimization rate of 4.24 per 100,000 was four times the Latina female gun homicide victimization rate of 1.05 per 100,000 and four and a half times the white female gun homicide victimization rate of 0.94 per 100,000.
- In 2018, homicide was the leading cause of death for Black males ages 15 to 24 (95.2 percent involving guns) and ages 25 to 34 (91.7 percent involving guns). For Black females, homicide was the second leading cause of death for victims ages 15 to 24 (82.9 percent involving guns) and the fourth leading cause of death for victims ages 25 to 34 (76.9 percent involving guns).
- In 2018, homicide was the third leading cause of death for Latino males ages 15 to 24 (87.2 percent involving a gun) and 25 to 34 (79.8 percent involving a gun). For Latina females, homicide was the third leading cause of death for victims ages 15 to 24 (69.7 percent involving guns) and the fourth leading cause of death for victims ages 25 to 34 (56.9 percent involving guns). [For additional information, including detailed tables, please see the full study.]

SECTION FIVE: THE MYTH OF SELF-DEFENSE GUN USE

While the centerpiece of the shared marketing strategy of the gun industry and NRA is the promotion of guns for self-defense, guns are rarely used to kill criminals or stop crimes.

As detailed in the 2020 Violence Policy Center study *Firearm Justifiable Homicides and Non-Fatal Self-Defense Gun Use*, in 2017, across the nation for all races and sexes, there were only 298 justifiable homicides involving a private citizen using a firearm reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program as detailed in its Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR). That same year, there were 10,380 criminal gun homicides tallied in the SHR. In 2017, for every justifiable homicide in the United States involving a gun, guns were used in 35 criminal homicides. And this ratio, of course, does not take into account the tens of thousands of lives ended in gun suicides or unintentional shootings that year.

Of these 298 justifiable homicide incidents, 146 of the private citizens who used a firearm were Black (Hispanic ethnicity could not be determined because of the inadequacy of data reporting and collection). That same year, there were 7,809 Black homicide victims reported to the SHR. In 2017, for every time a Black American used a gun in a justifiable homicide, 53 Black lives were ended in homicides. And, once again, this ratio does not take into account Black lives lost in suicides or fatal unintentional shootings.

Yet an additional question remains: How many times are guns used in non-lethal self-defense incidents? The most accurate survey of self-defense gun use is the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. According to the NCVS, looking at the total number of self-protective behaviors undertaken by all victims of both attempted and completed *violent crime* for the three-year period 2014 through 2016, in only 1.1 percent of these instances had the intended victim in resistance to a criminal "Threatened or attacked with a firearm." For the three-year period 2014 through 2016, the NCVS estimates that there were 16,115,500 victims of attempted or completed *violent crime*. During this same three-year period, only 177,300 of the self-protective behaviors involved a firearm. Of this number, it is not known what type of firearm was used or whether it was fired or not. The number may also include off-duty law enforcement officers who use their firearms in self-defense.

According to the NCVS, looking at the total number of self-protective behaviors undertaken by all victims of attempted or completed *property crime* for the three-year period 2014 through 2016, in only 0.3 percent of these instances had the intended victim in resistance to a criminal threatened or attacked with a firearm. For the three-year period 2014 through 2016, the NCVS estimates that there were 45,816,900 victims of attempted or completed *property crime*. During this same three-year period, only 123,800 of the self-protective behaviors involved a firearm. Of this number, it is not known what type of firearm was used, whether it was fired or not, or whether the use of a gun would even be a legal response to the property crime. And as before, the number may also include off-duty law enforcement officers. In comparison, a 2017 study estimated that there are approximately 250,000 gun theft incidents per year, with about 380,000 guns stolen. Further, according to the NCVS, there were 470,840 firearm victimizations in 2018 alone.

CONCLUSION

The gun industry faces an existential crisis. If it cannot grow beyond its now-stagnant market of white males, its long-term sustainability remains in peril. This is an open secret when industry members meet and plan for their future, but one they are quick to dismiss when questioned in public forums.

Instead, they point to the latest short-term sales boom (most recently the boost in gun sales during the COVID-19 pandemic) that are part of the crisis-driven peaks and resultant valleys that define gun sales in America. Yet overall, household gun ownership in America has been on a steady decline for decades and now remains relatively stagnant.

The gun industry resembles all other manufacturers in that it needs a constant flow of customers to survive. And, like all other industries, it must adjust to demographic and cultural changes. The industry has worked to not only resell its shrinking primary market of white males, but also focused on new “opportunities.” Historically the focus has been on women and children. And now, following a trail blazed by the alcohol and tobacco industries, it has expanded to non-white potential gun buyers, primarily Blacks and Latinos.

While the gun lobby and firearm industry’s efforts are frequently awkward (NSSF’s proclaiming that they are no longer “stale, male and pale”), ham-handed (the industry and NRA’s utilization and/or employment of pro-gun spokespeople of color, such as Colion Noir, Maj Toure, Gabby Franco, and others), or just puzzling and offensive (Springfield Armory’s gun ad featuring a Black man at a gas station that warns, “It’s a jungle out there”), the reality is that based on the low gun ownership rates of Blacks and Latinos in the United States, there is a potential market to be exploited. And recognizing the support among both Blacks and Latinos for gun violence prevention measures and the growth of Latinos as a political force, it is openly acknowledged by the gun lobby and firearms industry that the hoped-for benefits are political as well as financial.

As with the alcohol and tobacco industries, the joint actions of the NRA and the firearms industry should be seen for what they are: a cynical marketing effort by a rogue industry that values its own perpetuation above all, including any lives lost or communities adversely impacted. Historically, both the gun industry and the NRA have dismissed the gun-driven homicide rates and related violence that disproportionately impact Black and Brown communities as a uniquely urban phenomenon and falsely present it as the inevitable result of irredeemable criminals preying on one another. In 1991, long-time NRA board member Jeff Cooper (now deceased) offered an example of this view to *Guns & Ammo* magazine in a blunt, racist assessment commenting on the murder rate in Los Angeles:

[T]he 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.

Today, both the NRA and gun industry are tethered to the racist words and actions of Donald Trump, who was endorsed by the NRA in both 2016 and 2020. In 2016, the NRA reportedly spent more than \$30 million in support of Trump’s presidential campaign. That same year, the political action committee affiliated with NSSF spent \$430,000 on House and Senate candidates, 95 percent of whom were Republicans. During his term, Trump took numerous actions in support of NSSF’s agenda.

For any American, regardless of race or ethnicity, bringing a gun into the home increases the risk of death or injury to the owner or a family member. If the marketing efforts targeting Black and Latinos by the firearms industry and the National Rifle Association gain traction, the impact will be measured not only in dollars and cents, but in increased death and injury among communities of color.

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Translation by Mauricio Sánchez Álvarez.

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The Violence Policy Center (VPC) is a national nonprofit educational organization that conducts research and public education on violence in America and provides information and analysis to policymakers, journalists, advocates, and the general public.

This study was funded with the support of The Joyce Foundation and the Lisa and Douglas Goldman Fund.

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