A background image of the Chicago skyline reflected in Lake Michigan. The image is split vertically: the left side is a dark, semi-transparent purple overlay, and the right side is a grayscale photograph of the skyline. The title text is positioned on the purple overlay.

# RESULTS OF THE CHICAGO INMATE SURVEY OF GUN ACCESS AND USE

**January 2018**

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Harold A. Pollack, University of Chicago  
Kailey White, University of Chicago

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# 1. Introduction

Chicago became infamous for high rates of gun violence during the Tommy Gun era of the Roaring '20s. While Tommy Guns are rare these days, Chicago continues to have relatively high rates of lethal violence, almost all involving guns. Homicide rates in Chicago hit a post-War peak during the Crack epidemic circa 1992, and declined thereafter. But other cities, most notably New York and Los Angeles, experienced far greater reductions in violence, as did the nation as a whole. Then in 2016, Chicago experienced a spike in gun violence, with the homicide rate increasing year over year by 58% (University of Chicago Crime Lab, 2017). Reducing gun violence, already a priority for city leaders, has become still more urgent. There was also a nationwide surge in gun violence between 2014 and 2016, raising the question of whether the long downward trend in violence has reversed.

What can be done? There are two basic law enforcement strategies for reducing gun violence. The first is through police and court efforts, both reactive and proactive, to deter gun misuse directly. Those efforts entail improved investigation capacity to increase the arrest and conviction rates for gun assault, but also proactive tactics to discourage illicit gun carrying. The second strategy is targeted on illicit gun transactions that arm people who might harm others. The goal is to make guns scarcer to anyone legally disqualified from buying them, including youth and people with prior felony convictions. Crafting an effective supply-side strategy requires a good understanding of how people who might harm

others currently procure their guns. Providing that baseline information is the motivation for this project.

The obvious way to find out how criminal respondents get their guns is to ask them. There have been a number of surveys of gun-involved inmates in the past (Wright, Rossi, & Daly, 1983). The US Department of Justice sponsored three waves of surveys of inmates of state and federal prisons that included questions on gun access; the most recent were in 2004 (Cook, Parker, & Pollack, 2015, appendix). To obtain up-to-date information about the Chicago market, our team first organized a survey of 99 inmates of Cook County to ask about their life with guns (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015). Based on that experience, we went on to develop the Chicago Inmate Survey of Gun Access and Use (CIS), with funding from the National Institute of Justice. During 2016, interviews were conducted with 221 recently sentenced males in Illinois prisons who had been Chicago residents, and whose criminal history indicated some involvement with guns. This report provides a detailed account of the methods and findings from the CIS, together with some discussion of the implications for law enforcement.

Chapter 2 provides the methodological backdrop for the CIS. In cooperation with the Illinois Department of Corrections, we were able to identify potential respondents, defined as those recently sentenced inmates who were male Chicago residents with an arrest record that included charges of criminal use of a gun. The study was limited to 7 prisons located within 250 miles of Chicago. The inmates thus selected were informed about the survey

and asked if they would like to participate in an interview in exchange for a modest payment, with the understanding that participation was completely optional and would have no effect on their release. Professional survey interviewers, all women, conducted one-on-one structured interviews in a private room in each prison, recording the answers on the paper questionnaire and in 63% of cases also making an audio recording.

A unique feature of this survey was that while the interviewers did not know the identity of the subjects, identification numbers were assigned by the research team that later allowed linkage between survey responses and administrative data kept by the Chicago Police Department and Cook County Courts. As a result, on certain items it was possible to check respondent truthfulness by comparing their answers with administrative records. For those items, at least, the respondents' answers appear generally accurate.

Chapter 3 provides description of the sample inmates, including demographic characteristics, current charge, and arrest record. On average, respondents (hereafter "Rs") had been arrested 16 times in Chicago. It is of interest to compare the sample of Rs with the population of active Chicago inmates who are involved with gun violence. Since that population cannot be delineated directly, we use two comparison groups for which administrative records are available, and which plausibly can be said to represent the population of active gun offenders.

The first comparison group is men who were arrested and had a gun confiscated by the Chicago Police Department (CPD) in 2016.

The second group is recent male victims of gun homicide. That requires some explaining. It is well established that there is considerable overlap between the victims and perpetrators of gun violence. We chose to use the victims rather than the perpetrators as the comparison group because the CPD has much more complete records on victims. Our conclusion is that there is a remarkable degree of similarity demographically between the inmates in the CIS and each of our comparison groups. On the other hand, the CIS Rs are far more likely to be classified by CPD as gang members or to have extensive arrest records than is true for either of the comparison groups. These findings are a reminder that the CIS represents the most criminally active of gun involved males.

Chapter 4 explores the Rs' experience with violence, which was extensive. Fully 93% said they had been shot at. More than 40% of Rs reported having actually been shot and wounded at least once, a proportion strikingly similar to that obtained in our earlier survey of Cook County Jail inmates. Despite this high level of violence involvement, only 43% said they felt unsafe in their neighborhood. Feelings of safety were not correlated with the measured rate of violent crime in their community. Those who felt unsafe were worried about gun violence and gang activity, and most of those who admitted to having a gun at the time they were arrested indicated that they bought it for protection.

Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 report on what we learned about the underground gun market from this survey. First Rs answered a series of questions about guns in their neighborhood – where they came from, how they circulated, how easy or difficult it was to obtain one. Most Rs answered the questions, but were unsure about the "right" answers. They mentioned a variety of acquisition

methods, including well-connected outsiders coming to the neighborhood, and residents traveling to Indiana or the suburbs to acquire guns.

More informative were their answers to questions about their personal experience with gun acquisitions, which are summarized in Chapter 6. Rs were asked the sources of up to three guns that they had possessed during the 6 months prior to their arrest. Most of the guns they mentioned were handguns, typically 9 mm pistols. Fewer than 1% of Rs reported purchasing a gun from a store, which makes sense since very few of the Rs could have qualified for an Illinois gun license (Firearm Owners ID card, or FOID). Most reported obtaining guns through voluntary transactions with

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*Fewer than 1% of Rs reported legally buying the gun from a store.*

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friends and acquaintances – their social network. The transactions included purchases, trades, loans, gifts, and sharing arrangements. Only 7% reported stealing a gun, and none mentioned gun shows or the internet as sources.

When respondents purchased the gun, the price range was typically \$100 - \$500, with a median of \$200. These prices appear quite low, especially since over half of the guns were described as “new” and “like new.” Low prices may reflect the fact that the transactions typically involved people who knew each other, so there was no sense of legal risk. Some Rs reported that they had trouble obtaining a gun, with 15% of those who were specifically looking for a gun at the time

saying it took more than a month. The lag between gun acquisition and gun use in crime tended to be brief; when asked about the gun they used in the crime that led to their arrest, most said they obtained it less than a month earlier.

Chapter 7 reports that just 13% of Rs admitted to selling or trading a gun during the 6 months prior to their arrest, and none of them sold very many. Thus, it appears that the sample did not include any active brokers or traffickers in the underground market. Those who did sell or trade did so with acquaintances for the most part, and there were a number who mentioned the risk of being arrested for dealing in guns.

Given that gangs have been changing and have less formal leadership than in the past, it was of interest to see whether access to and use of guns differed by gang membership amongst respondents. Chapter 8 observes that 40% of Rs said they had been a member of a gang, clique, crew, or other such group during the six months prior to their arrest – but that fully 86% of the Rs had been marked by the CPD as gang-involved at some time in their careers. The large gap between CPD record and self-report in this respect may simply reflect the fact that many Rs had aged out of gang membership, and that police speculations about gang membership were not always accurate. In any event, most of those who did admit to being a member of a gang (or clique, etc.) indicated that it did not engage in selling guns as a business, but was active as a gun buyer. (It appears that they considered drug dealing to be more lucrative and less legally risky.) Most of these gangs had a stash of guns for use by members, amounting to 15 or more guns in half of the responses. Self-identified gang members were somewhat more involved with guns



than other Rs. Surprisingly, there is no indication that self-professed gang members had an easier time in gaining access to a gun than other Rs.

The market for ammunition is also of considerable interest, since there are indications that ammunition is not readily available to Chicago criminals, with the logical implication that some shootings could be prevented if the supply could be further restricted. Chapter 9 notes that a FOID is required to obtain or possess ammunition in Illinois, and so it is not surprising that few of the Rs indicated that they had bought ammo at a gun store in Illinois. More common was to obtain it through their gangs, street sources, or other acquaintances. But it should be noted that for the most part, they do not use much (or any) ammunition: only 40% of Rs reported firing a gun in the 6 months before arrest. Several mentioned that ammunition was too scarce to shoot just for fun or target practice.

Chapters 10 and 11 turn to a different topic: the interaction between gun criminals and the police. In Chapter 10, Rs were asked specifically whether they called the police after being shot or shot at, and whether they cooperated with the police in that incident. Their responses confirmed the widely reported belief that criminally involved gun-assault victims have valuable information, yet are reluctant to cooperate with the police. The Rs typically mentioned that they did not trust the police, or that the police “don’t care” and hence would not act on any information they provided. (It was uncommon for them to mention a fear of retaliation for cooperating, but the norm against “snitching” was frequently voiced.)

Interestingly, 39% of the Rs (N=41) who said they had been shot indicated that they

knew the shooter, and hence could have been helpful if they had cooperated, but only 5 Rs of that group said they willingly cooperated with the police investigation. Indeed, those who did not know the shooter were more likely to cooperate, especially if the shooting had been in the context of a robbery. Rs who recognized the shooter as a gang member were not among those who cooperated.

Chapter 11 summarizes responses to a variety of questions concerning the Rs’ perception of legal risk and their response to that risk. While obviously not entirely deterred from criminal activity, it is nonetheless true that as a group, they tend to be very aware of legal risks associated with carrying a gun or making gun transactions. We posed three vignettes, each concerning a street stop of a young man illegally carrying a gun, and asked them to speculate about how the police and courts would respond. Many of them gave thoughtful answers with various provisos, suggesting that they had given this matter a lot of thought and were quite well informed. Despite their awareness of the legal risks, about half of Rs with guns said they carried it all the time, apparently believing that those risks were outweighed by the perceived self-protection benefits. The others usually left their guns at home.

The 26 Rs who admitted to selling or trading guns were for the most part careful to deal with acquaintances in order to avoid the possibility of a “buy and bust” operation by the CPD. These Rs had differing views about whether a gun’s history, and particularly its previous use in crime, was a threat. The general impression is that while they are far from law abiding, their perception of legal risk does shape their behavior in a variety of ways, generally to the benefit of the public safety.



Chapter 12 characterizes responses to the survey's concluding open-ended questions. In response to a question about what they would do following their release, half of them indicated they needed to leave their neighborhood, the city, or even the state – that it was just too dangerous and difficult to remain, and that there were few legitimate opportunities. A quarter of them said specifically that they would stay away from guns, but some said they would arm themselves immediately. A final question

that was entirely open-ended engendered some interesting responses concerning how to improve policing and strengthen gun laws, although for the most part the responses returned to familiar negative themes of gun availability familiar negative themes of gun availability in their neighborhoods and mistrust of the police. About one-third of Rs said they wanted to enter or return to the workforce, and one-fifth that they wanted to get more education.

## 2. CIS Methods

### INTRODUCTION

The Chicago Inmate Survey of Gun Access and Use was sponsored by the National Institute of Justice and conducted between March and September, 2016. Professional interviewers from Research Support Services (RSS) conducted interviews at seven IDOC prisons. Data collected from the survey on 221 adult, male respondents were analyzed by the authors of this research report to fill key gaps in knowledge about how and why criminals obtain guns and ammunition. The methods for this study are generally consistent with those used in other prison studies conducted over the years (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015; United States Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2004; Wright & Rossi, 1985).

Of eligible Rs who were invited, 53.3% opted to take part in the survey, as shown in Table 2-1. While this response rate is lower than is often obtained in surveys of less-marginal populations, it is typical of the response rate obtained in other prison surveys (Barragan, 2016; United States Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2004). Further, as Table 2-1 shows, there was expected variation in response rates across prisons of differing security levels. Even if there had been 100% participation, there is a question of what population of interest is well represented by a sample of prisoners. We explore that issue below by comparing the observed characteristics of CIS with other groups that may be representative of gun offenders.

A final concern is the possibility of response bias, specifically that Rs may have deliberately lied or exaggerated in their answers to the interviewers. To explore this possibility, the researchers compared survey responses to administrative data on a number of sensitive topics about which Rs were questioned, finding little reason for concern.

### THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT AND SAMPLE SELECTION

#### Questionnaire Design

The 48-page survey instrument was developed based on the Cook County Jail (CCJ) survey results, to produce a more structured and rigorous instrument with which to expand upon prior findings about Chicago arrestees' gun acquisition methods (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015). The CIS instrument has eight sections: (I) Background Characteristics, (II) Guns in the Neighborhood, (III) Gun Details, (IV) Selling Guns, (V) Criminal Justice System and Response, (VI) Ammunition, (VII) Gangs and Guns, and (VIII) Conclusion. A copy of the survey instrument with counts for each response can be found in the appendix.

The survey instrument is a semi-structured questionnaire, including Yes/No questions, multiple response options, and some open-ended questions. For the multiple response questions, interviewers read the question to the R without providing response options and coded the response accordingly, except in cases when respondents asked for

clarification or examples, in which case the response options were read aloud.

**Sample Selection and Characteristics**

We surveyed 221 males incarcerated in Illinois Department of Corrections prisons for gun- or weapons-charges. Interviews were conducted between March and September, 2016, as Table 2-1 shows. All Rs had been arrested in Chicago no more than three years prior to their interview date, to increase the odds of collecting timely information on behavior and attitudes toward guns and gun acquisition in Chicago.

Table 2-1 shows that interviews were conducted with convicted inmates in seven

IDOC prisons. These facilities were selected for study participation based on their proximity to Chicago (<300 miles), the security level of the prison, and the number of individuals meeting the sampling criteria. Facilities were chosen by the research team in conjunction with members of the IDOC Research and Planning Department, who had detailed information on all IDOC prisons and inmates. Table 2-1 provides characteristics for each of the prisons included in the study and the response rate for each facility. Two of the prisons were maximum-security – although one was a reception center.<sup>1</sup> The other five prisons were various levels of medium-security.

**Table 2-1**

*IDOC Prison Characteristics and Response Rates*

Prisons	Security level <sup>2</sup>	Interview months	Audio recording permission	# of respondents invited	# of respondents consented	Response rate
Prison 1	Level 1: maximum	March-May	yes	9	2	22.2%
Prison 2	Level 1: maximum	March-May	yes	81	49	60.5%
Prison 3	Level 4: medium	March-June	yes	95	71	74.7%
Prison 4	Level 2: medium	June	no	67	14	20.9%
Prison 5	Level 3: medium	July	no	30	15	50.0%
Prison 6	Level 2: medium	August	no	80	39	48.8%
Prison 7	Level 3: medium	September	yes	53	31	58.5%
Total	N/A	N/A	N/A	415	221	53.3%

Source: CIS survey data

Note: Prison 2 is a reception center, responsible for intake, diagnoses, and classification of respondents, so it houses respondents with various charges and sentence lengths despite being labeled as maximum security.

<sup>1</sup> Reception centers are responsible for intake, diagnoses, and classifications of offenders, and as such house offenders with various charges and sentence lengths. They must be classified as maximum-security, because they could be temporarily holding offenders with serious charges, although could also housing offenders with less serious charges (<https://www.illinois.gov/idoc/facilities/Pages/receptionclassificationcenters.aspx>).

<sup>2</sup> Source: <https://www.illinois.gov/idoc/reportsandstatistics/Documents/FY2015%20Annual%20Report.pdf>

The sample selection process began in December, 2015. The first four months were spent working with the IDOC Research and Planning Department to obtain a large enough, eligible sample to ultimately interview 200 convicted inmates arrested in Chicago for gun-related offenses. Initially, in December, 2015 only three prisons were selected for inclusion in the study (Prisons 1-3). The target sample at that time included only inmates who had been arrested no more than two years prior to the interview date.

In early January, 2016, the IDOC Research and Planning Department sent the researchers a list of inmates at each of the three prisons who met the given sampling criteria, with the exception that they could not filter by city of arrest. The researchers then were able to use probabilistic matching methods to assess whether the inmates on the list sent by IDOC had been arrested in Chicago, using Chicago Police Department (CPD) data.

After selecting only inmates originally arrested in Chicago, the research team corresponded with wardens at each of the three prisons about conducting interviews with those on the list of eligible individuals. The wardens then notified the research team of any inmates who had to be excluded from participation for any reason, including that they were housed in segregation, were diagnosed with a mental disorder, or could pose a danger to the interviewer. The most common reason for exclusion was either that the individual was in segregation or had been transferred to a different facility. Data collection efforts began in March 2016, at which point it was realized the response rates were not high enough to obtain data from 200 respondents without expanding to other prisons or altering the sampling criteria.

The sampling criteria were thus altered by expanding to a three-year arrest time window 2013-2016, and by including inmates of Prisons 1-3 who were arrested for weapons-related charges. By including inmates arrested for weapons-charges other than gun-charges, the researchers hoped to gain information on why some criminals used weapons other than a gun.<sup>3</sup> This brought the total sample size to 122 respondents, as shown in Table 2-1.

Still hoping to meet the goal of 200 interviews, the research team coordinated with the Research and Planning Department to include two new prisons in the study. Data collection efforts began at Prisons 4 and 5 in June and July, 2016, which led to an increased sample size of 151 respondents after interviews were completed, as Table 2-1 shows. Two final prisons were then added to the study, Prisons 6 and 7, where interviews were conducted in August and September, 2016, which led to the final sample size of 221 respondents.

## **HUMAN SUBJECT PROTECTIONS AND THE INTERVIEW PROCESS**

### **Human subject protections and study recruitment**

The study included many human subject protections to ensure confidentiality. These measures included not putting the name of study participants on any interview materials; keeping all interview information in a locked office or on a secure, password protected computer not located in the prison; destroying audio recordings after they had been transcribed; and not providing any information gathered through the interview to any prison staff, probation officers or parole agents, Prisoner Review Board personnel, or

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<sup>3</sup> From the final sample, only 8 respondents (3.6%) reported having or using a different weapon at the time of their arrest, so there was not enough variance to adequately explore this question.

any other criminal justice agencies. A copy of the consent form detailing these measures can be found in the appendix.

To ensure confidentiality, all research data were stored on a password-protected secure server maintained by the University of Chicago Crime Lab. Access to the data was restricted to necessary study personnel, and names and identifying information were not included in any data set containing the respondents' interview responses during any point of the analysis. Additionally, the research team obtained an NIJ Privacy Certificate so that any identifiable data could not be used or revealed to anyone outside the project investigators and research personnel.

The University of Chicago IRB files, the survey questionnaire, consent form, and NIJ Privacy Certificate were sent to IDOC and signed by the Acting Director, which gave the researchers consent to conduct interviews in prisons if the wardens agreed to participate. After receiving lists of inmates incarcerated in each of the prisons meeting the given sampling criteria, the research team coordinated with each warden to determine the best protocol for recruitment and audio recording, and the process for conducting interviews.

To ensure safety and minimize inmates' movement around each facility, those selected for participation were notified a few days to a week in advance of the interview date of an opportunity to participate in a study about safety and violence in Chicago neighborhoods via a one-page flyer (see appendix). The flyer explained that participation was voluntary and would have no effect on the length of their prison sentence, that if they chose to participate the interviews would be confidential, and that they would receive \$10 in their prison account as a token of the research team's appreciation. They were informed that if they

wished to learn more about this opportunity, they could meet with an interviewer the following week. Depending on the facility, a Correctional Officer, Counselor, or Assistant Warden showed inmates the flyer and kept track of individuals who indicated they did not wish to participate. Those inmates were coded as declining to participate and did not meet with the interviewer at any point.

Inmates selected for participation were each assigned a random case ID so the interviewers would not ever know their identity. The research team kept a file of respondents' names connected to their random case ID in a secure password-protected folder separate from any of the interview data, which was not shown to interviewers or anyone outside members of the research team. The interviewers only met with respondents who had indicated ahead of time their interest in participating. At that point, the interviewer explained the study in full, reading through the consent form with the respondent and informing them of their right to decline to participate, to choose not to answer any questions, and to end the interview at any time for any reason. After reading through the consent form, individuals either decided to continue with the interview or to not participate. Anyone who chose not to participate at that time were coded as declining to participate.

### **Response rates**

The response rates can be found in Table 2-1 above, and differed by facility, with an overall response rate of 53.3%. Prison 1, a maximum security facility, had a response rate of about 22.2%, but only 9 inmates were invited to participate there. Prison 2 is a reception center, so while it is technically classified as maximum security, inmates have varying sentencing charges, which could explain the much higher response rate of 60.5%. The highest response rate in the study was for Prison 3 (74.7%), which was

the lowest security prison included in the study. The remaining level-2 and level-3 medium security facilities had response rates around 50%, other than Prison 4, which actually had the lowest response rate in the study, at 20.9%. The warden at Prison 4 informed the researchers that a rumor had circulated the prison prior to the interview date that the interviews were connected to the police and might be used to catch gang activity, which could explain the unusually low response rate at this facility.

While the total response rate was below that often obtained in less-sensitive studies of non-institutionalized populations, it was not particularly low for a prison study. Further, it should be noted that of the inmates who indicated to prison staff ahead of time they were willing to speak with the interviewer about the opportunity, and who actually had the chance to sit down and hear about the study, almost all decided to participate. The low response rates rather seemed to come earlier on, when prison staff showed inmates the flyer and asked whether they were willing to meet with the interviewer. Showing inmates the flyer prior to the interview date and compiling a list of those who should be moved the day of the interview was an important safety protocol put in place by the wardens to minimize unnecessary movement around the facility, but may have contributed to the lower than expected response rate in this study.

### **Permission to audio record**

Part of the interview process included audio recording, when allowed, to capture rich qualitative data from the interviews. According to the IRB text and agreement with the Acting Director of IDOC, it was up to each warden or deputy director to determine whether audio recording would be permitted. Prior to the interview date, the researchers coordinated with wardens at each facility about an audio recording protocol.

Table 2-1 above shows that the permission to audio record interviews was ultimately granted in four prisons.

In prisons where audio recording was allowed, interviewers read respondents the consent form language inquiring whether they would agree to be audio recorded and if so, whether they consented to be quoted without any identifying information. Rs were also given the option to participate in the interview without being recorded. Only after receiving consent to audio record would the interviewers begin recording.

In total, 139 interviews were recorded. In the survey instrument text interviewers read aloud prior to beginning the interview, Rs were specifically asked not to mention their own name, any identifying information, or the names of individuals they chose to discuss, to maintain confidentiality. When names were used, the research team later redacted them in the text of the interview transcript. The audio files were deleted after transcriptions were created.

Interviewers used small handheld recorders, which they brought with them to the prison and took back at the completion of each day of interviews, not permitting any prison staff or outside individuals access. The audio files were then uploaded to a secure password-protected site for the researchers to access and transfer the files to the secure, password-protected folder. After the completion of data collection, the audio files were wiped from the recording devices and the password-protected site. Additionally, following transcription of the interviews, the audio files were permanently destroyed.

### **Qualifications of Interviewers**

The researchers partnered with Research Support Services Inc. (RSS) to assist with instrument design, qualitative data collection, and coding for the close-ended interview



questions, as was done in previous pilot work conducted in the Cook County Jail survey in 2013. RSS is a firm based in Evanston, IL which provides research support for a wide range of clients including government, universities, non-profit organizations, and corporate clients. RSS brings specific expertise in surveying incarcerated and formerly incarcerated populations. The current study team has collaborated with RSS on a similar study of Cook County Jail detainees (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015).

Seven female interviewers conducted the survey at each of the seven prisons during the seven month data collection period. RSS led an in-house training for interviewers, including a full discussion of the importance of informed consent and all the aspects it covers, including risks, benefits, and Rs’ rights to not consent or to skip questions without negative consequences.

Additionally, a member of the research team was present at the training to explain the study, walk through the survey instrument, and answer questions. Each of the RSS interviewers then were required to pass an IDOC background check at which point they were cleared to conduct interviews at the selected IDOC prisons.

Table 2-2 below presents background characteristics for the seven interviewers who conducted the survey for this study. The interviewers ranged from 23 to 60 years old, and included White, Hispanic, and African American women. The years of interviewing experience across interviewers ranged from 1 to 20 years; the interviewer with 1 year of experience was a member of the research team who observed one full day of interviews at each prison and conducted two full days of interviews at the end of the study.

**Table 2-2**

*Interviewer Background Characteristics*

Interviewers	Age	Race/ethnicity	City of residence (IL)	Years of experience	# of IDOC interviews
Interviewer 1	60	White	Oak Park	6	24
Interviewer 2	57	Hispanic	Chicago	20	53
Interviewer 3	25	White	Chicago	2	17
Interviewer 4	42	African American	Ottowa	4	18
Interviewer 5	52	Hispanic	Chicago	6	45
Interviewer 6	63	African American	Chicago	10	52
Interviewer 7	23	White	Chicago	1	12

Source: CIS survey data

**Process for conducting interviews**

During the set days of data collection, interviewers entered the prison and were escorted by prison staff to a pre-determined location where they could conduct interviews

that day. The location of the interviews included library offices, school classrooms, and other vacant rooms. Interviews were always conducted in separate rooms, with a closed door, to ensure neither prison staff nor



other inmates could hear what was discussed. A Correctional Officer would sit outside the interview rooms, out of earshot, to supervise and help transport Rs to and from interviews throughout the day. The rooms each had windows or a line of sight for prison staff to maintain safety protocols. Depending on the room availability at each facility, there were anywhere from one to four interviews occurring at a time, in separate rooms. The interviewers typically stayed at each facility for about six hours per day of interviews, taking a half-hour lunch break in the middle of the day.

After interviewers were escorted to the interview locations, the Correctional Officer(s) assigned to assist for the day would begin calling inmates down to be interviewed. The correctional officers had a list of selected inmates' names and their randomly generated case IDs. They had been briefed ahead of time regarding the nature of the study. Officers were also reminded the day the survey was conducted that interviewers were not to be told respondents' names and would only identify each individual by their randomly generated case ID. Correctional Officers removed respondents' name tags and any other identifying information before sending them into the interview room. They also handed each respondent a slip of paper containing their randomly generated case ID to hand to the interviewer. The interviewers then recorded the Case ID on the study protocol prior to beginning.

Once the door was closed, the interviewer introduced herself and went through the consent form process, detailing information about the study as well as the respondent's right to decline to participate at any time. Inmates who agreed to participate and who were in prisons where audio recording had been approved were also asked for their consent to be audio recorded and quoted.

Instead of having respondents sign the consent form with their names, they initialed the bottom or made any mark on the paper to show they consented, while their case ID was recorded at the top of the consent form by the interviewer so as to maintain confidentiality. Anyone who declined to participate was sent back outside to the Correctional Officer to return to his cell.

Interviews took between ten minutes and two and a half hours, averaging about fifty minutes. After starting the interview, almost all study participants completed the entire interview, but three Rs decided to stop early. Once the interview was complete, respondents were sent back outside to the Correctional Officer, who then sent in a new inmate to be interviewed.

A member of the research team attended at least one full day of interviews at six of the seven prisons and sat in on interviews with different interviewers throughout the day to learn more about the themes that were emerging and make sure the survey instrument was clear and being administered properly. Additionally, the research team was able to access audio files from the interviews after completion at each prison to ensure the data collection process was going smoothly.

## **DATA ENTRY AND CODING**

The survey instrument was semi-structured, and included mostly multiple choice questions. Interviewers brought several paper copies of the survey questionnaire along with pencils to each day of interviews. During each interview, interviewers circled the appropriate response options, wrote in any 'other' responses, or identified the reason for any missing data for each close-ended question. For open-ended questions, interviewers took hand written notes unless the interview was audio recorded, in which case they wrote in the word 'verbatim,' so the response could be taken from the recorded

interview in the Rs' own words. After the completion of a round of interviews at each prison, the RSS interviewers brought their completed study questionnaires to RSS and uploaded the audio files to the secure, password-protected site.

### **Data Entry**

RSS assisted the research team in creating a close-ended data set, by entering the collected information into an original database in SPSS Data Entry, creating data values and variable labels corresponding to the survey instrument for all interviews. RSS also transcribed open-ended responses that were not audio recorded, and included them in this database. The database was programmed to allow for automatic skips of questions not applicable in each case for ease of data entry. Prior to data entry, paper questionnaires were edited and reviewed for missing or miscoded data, and audio recordings reviewed as needed for correction or clarification.

Data were reviewed using SPSS Statistics 20 with frequencies run for each survey item. Notes were added to the dataset for any items that RSS staff deemed as needing further clarification or context. Coded data sets were delivered to University of Chicago Crime Lab on a rolling basis throughout the field period, in Stata file formats using the secure, password-protected site. After completion of data collection at the end of the study, the

research team merged the coded data sets from each round of interviews, to have quantitative data on all close-ended questions for all 221 study participants.

### **Audio Recording and Transcribing Interviews**

The research team also pulled the 139 audio files that interviewers had uploaded to the secure, password-protected website and submitted them to an online transcription service, Rev.com, to be securely transcribed. Rev and University of Chicago both signed a Data Use Agreement to ensure confidentiality of the data. Rev provided direct transcription documents for the audio recorded interviews. After receiving the interview transcriptions, the researchers used QSR International's NVivo 10 qualitative data analysis Software to code open-ended questions and to identify themes emerging throughout the interviews.

Because only 139 (63%) of interviews were recorded, it is important to determine whether there were observed differences in the sample that was audio recorded compared to the one that was not. Table 2-3 provides summary background statistics for the sample of respondents that was not recorded and the sample that was audio recorded. Of the 82 respondents who were not audio recorded, only 14 refused to be audio recorded. The rest were incarcerated in one of the prisons that had prohibited audio recording.

**Table 2-3***Respondent Background Characteristics by Audio Recording Status*

	Not audio recorded	Audio recorded
Age (mean)	29.6	27.0
Age (min)	18	18
Age (max)	61	62
Age (median)	26.5	25
Race		
Black	91.5%	88.5%
Hispanic	8.5%	10.1%
White	0.0%	1.4%
Chicago resident	93.9%	95.7%
Reported ever owned gun		
Yes	84.2%	82.7%
No	12.2%	16.6%
Missing	1.2%	0.7%
Refused	1.2%	0.0%
Don't know	1.2%	0.0%
Total # respondents	82	139

*Source:* Data are from the CIS survey, other than observations on race, which were taken from linked CPD arrest data.

Table 2-3 shows that the age distribution is similar across these samples, but the non-audio recorded sample had a slightly older average age (29.6) compared to the audio recorded (27). The racial compositions were also similar. The vast majority of respondents in both samples reported being Chicago residents prior to their incarceration. The percentage of Rs who admitted to ever owning a gun was also consistent across samples.

### **ADMINISTRATIVE DATA**

The research team was able to link five administrative datasets with the CIS sample. The five linked administrative data sources included in this study are: (1) Illinois Department of Corrections publicly available sentencing data, (2) Cook County publicly available disposition data, (3) Chicago Police Department arrest data, (4) Chicago Police Department victim data, and (5) Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) Chicago Trace data.

Data were presented in the aggregate to better understand Rs' criminal history and to validate self-reported responses.

### **Bringing in the Administrative data**

The data fields for each of the five linked administrative data sources and the number of matched respondents can be found in Table 2-4. The IDOC sentencing data were sent to the University of Chicago Crime Lab for each of the 221 respondents by IDOC, and are publicly available, posted on IDOC's website while individuals are still incarcerated. Data from IDOC used in this study include the sentencing statute and date for respondents' incarceration at the time of the interview. The research team also collected publicly available disposition data from Cook County for all 221 respondents. Data collected included whether Rs had a felony conviction prior to their current conviction and all of the sentencing charge statutes for their current conviction.

In addition to the publicly available data, the University of Chicago Crime Lab was able to access administrative data from CPD on arrests, victimizations, and to access ATF data on recovered guns, which were linked to the CIS study participants using probabilistic matching of first name, last name, and date of birth. A member of the research team, who had no access to the interview data, accessed the separately stored file with names and date of births linked to the randomized case IDs of the 221 respondents who participated in the study. The analyst used the names and date of births to link to each of the administrative data sets to these Rs. After linking case IDs to the administrative data sources, the analyst deleted the names, date of births, and any identifying information from the linked data, but left the randomized case IDs. The non-identifying administrative data were then

linked to the interview data by a different member of the research team, using only the randomized case IDs. The analyst who did the linking to administrative data never had access to the interview data, as a way to maintain participants' privacy.

Table 2-4 shows that for the arrest data, all 221 respondents were matched to at least one arrest in the system. Many had multiple arrests. The arrest data fields used in this study included arrest statutes, dates, and arrest locations for all Chicago arrests; a gang indicator; race; and residential address. These data were only ever used and reported in the aggregate and will never be reported for particular respondents in a way that would allow them to be identified. For the CPD victim data, 114 respondents, or about half of the sample, were matched to each data field. The victim data would only be available for individuals who had previously reported a crime against them that occurred in Chicago between 1990 and 2016. However, there were many missing cases in the date-of-birth field in the administrative victim data, which would also have prevented the probabilistic matching to the CIS Rs.

For Chicago ATF trace data, Table 2-4 shows that 114 respondents were linked as possessors for at least one gun recovery between 2001 and 2016. Given that the majority of these individuals in the study (93%) had at least one gun-related arrest charge, we might expect the number of respondents who were possessors of a recovered gun to be higher. However, for some crimes, like armed robbery with a gun, individuals may be arrested hours, days, or weeks after the crime occurred and may not have the gun in their possession at that time to be recovered.

**Table 2-4***Number of CIS Respondents Matched to each Administrative Data Source*

	# respondents	% of respondents matched
<b>Illinois Department of Corrections sentencing data</b>		
Sentencing date for current conviction	221	100%
Gun/weapon sentencing statute for current conviction	221	100%
<b>Cook County disposition data (publicly available, ~1980-2017)</b>		
Felony conviction prior to current conviction	143	64.7%
All sentencing statutes for current conviction	221	100%
<b>Chicago Police Department arrest data (1999-2016)</b>		
Arrest statute for any Chicago arrest	221	100%
Arrest date for any Chicago arrest	221	100%
Address of arrest for any Chicago arrest	221	100%
Gang record	190	86.0%
Race	221	100%
Residential address	221	100%
<b>Chicago Police Department victim data (1999-2016)</b>		
Description of victimization crime	114	51.6%
Date of victimization crime	114	51.6%
Location of victimization crime	114	51.6%
Whether injured during victimization	114	51.6%
<b>Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco, Firearms (ATF) Chicago Etrace data (2001-2016)</b>		
Recovered gun information (type, make,	114	51.6%

model, caliber, obliterated serial number)		
Gun recovery date	114	51.6%
Gun recovery address	114	51.6%
Gun recovery crime type	114	51.6%
Name of FFL of first purchase	106	48.0%
Address of FFL	106	48.0%

*Source:* IDOC sentencing data, Cook County disposition data, CPD arrest data, CPD victim data, ATF Chicago ETrace data

*Note 1:* The counts in this table indicate the number of IDOC respondents for whom we had at least one record for each type of administrative data. Some respondents may have had multiple records in each data set.

*Note 2:* Any administrative records for which we are missing data on IDOC respondents could be a result of respondents not having such records in Chicago for the given time periods or a result of being unable to successfully link to their administrative data due to missing or incorrect data on names or date of birth.

*Note 3:* It is a coincidence that the victimization data and the recovered guns data have the same totals. The 114 individuals who have victim data are not the exact same 114 individuals who have gun recovery records.

*Note 4:* The reason the Name of FFL of first purchase and address of FFL have fewer matches than the other variables in the ATF data is because while the 8 missing Rs were matched to an ATF record, the gun they were linked to wasn't successfully traced to an FFL name and address.

### **Validating Self-Report Responses**

In survey research, and particularly survey research of prisoners, one of the concerns is that Rs will lie and that the information gathered cannot be trusted. We used administrative data on certain topics to help validate Rs' self-reported answers. Table 2-5 presents the overlap between respondents' reports and administrative data on three key and sensitive measures: whether respondents have ever possessed a gun, whether respondents had a gun at the time of their arrest, and whether they were gang affiliated, to better address the validity of the findings.

When respondents reported they had owned a gun, Table 2-5 shows the administrative arrest almost always affirmed the claim (81.0/83.3, or 97%). About 13% of Rs reported they had never owned or possessed a gun, while the administrative data showed they had at least one prior gun arrest. Of these 27 respondents, 24 had only 1 or 2 prior gun-related arrests on their record, while the other

3 respondents had 3 gun-related arrests or more. A few of these Rs with only one arrest for gun-related charges in Chicago reported that the gun recovered was mistakenly identified as theirs (2 Rs), that the police had planted a gun on them (1 R), or that they had bullets but not an actual gun on them (1 R).

The next measure, whether the respondents had a gun with them at the time of their arrest, was slightly more ambiguous. While the interviewers asked respondents about the arrest leading to their current conviction, there were sometimes multiple arrests leading to their current sentence, or respondents had been released and arrested again while out on parole. It was not always clear to the respondents which of their arrests they were being asked about. Table 2-5 shows only 61% of respondents reported they had a gun with them during the incident leading to their arrest, which was supported by administrative data, while about 31% of

**Table 2-5***Comparison of Self-Reports and Administrative Data, % of Total Respondents*

Administrative data	Self-report data				Total
	No	Yes	Refused	Missing	
<b>Ever possessed a gun</b>					
No	2.7%	2.3%	0.0%	0.5%	5.4%
Yes	12.7%	81.0%	0.5%	0.5%	94.6%
Total #	34	184	1	2	221
<b>Possessed gun at time of arrest</b>					
No	4.1%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	5.4%
Yes	24.0%	68.8%	0.9%	0.9%	94.6%
Total #	62	155	2	2	221
<b>Ever gang affiliated</b>					
No	9.5%	4.1%	0.5%	0.0%	14.3%
Yes	47.1%	36.2%	1.8%	0.9%	86.0%
Total #	125	89	2	5	221

*Source:* Administrative data in this table are from the CPD arrest data and are compared to the CIS survey responses.

Rs reported they did not have a gun while the administrative data suggested they did. Gang affiliation was the final measure used for validation. Rs were asked whether in the six months prior to their arrest they were involved with any gang, clique, crew, or group, while the administrative data only showed whether respondents were marked by CPD as ever being gang affiliated any time between 1990 and 2016.

Table 2-5 shows that only 89 Rs reported being gang involved in the past 6 months, while administrative data shows an additional 104 respondents had been marked by CPD as being gang involved at some point. The difference in the data time frames – involvement in the past 6 months versus involvement between 1990 and 2016 likely accounts at least partially for the difference in gang-involvement answers.



# 3. Demography and Criminal History

## DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

The study included 221 male respondents between the ages of 18 and 62. Table 3-1 displays the Rs' self-reported background characteristics, including age, marital status, and number of children. The mean age of the Rs was 28 years old. The median age was 25 years old, with close to 70% of the Rs being under the age of 30. Most (87%) of the participants had never been married, though many had children. About 75% of respondents had at least one child at the time of the interview, and 27% had three or more children.

Each R provided his Chicago neighborhood of residence<sup>4</sup>, and the results are displayed in Table 3-2 and are mapped in Figure 3-1. Rs provided the name of the neighborhood if possible, but if they did not know the name, they provided a nearby street intersection, which was later coded by the researchers into the corresponding Chicago neighborhoods<sup>5</sup>. The participants came from over 55 different neighborhoods in Chicago, primarily located on the South, South West, and West sides of the city (see Figure 3-1).

Englewood was the most commonly reported neighborhood of residence, containing 24% of all Rs. The rest of the Rs were spread across neighborhoods in Chicago's South or

West sides, as can be seen in Figure 3-1. Fifteen Rs reported living in suburbs closely surrounding the city, but clearly spent time in Chicago based on their other responses. Other Rs were only able to provide the geographic location where they lived in the city (i.e., "South Side"). The 'Other' response category in Table 3-2 encompasses 35 different Chicago neighborhoods, each of which were reported by fewer than four Rs.

## CURRENT OFFENSE AND CRIMINAL HISTORY

All 221 Rs included in the CIS study had at least one gun- or weapon-related charge in Chicago. Table 3-3 displays the distribution of the most serious charge for which respondents were convicted for their prison sentence they were serving at the time of the interview. About half of Rs were sentenced for a felony X or higher charge, though only five individuals were charged with murder, the most serious possible charge conviction. Charges related to illegal possession or use of a firearm (ranging from class 1 to class 4 in severity) were the most common types of highest charges (27%), followed by armed habitual criminal<sup>6</sup> (16%), which is a class X felony. Most Rs had at least one charge related to firearm possession for their current conviction, even if it was not the highest

<sup>4</sup> Rather than using the technical Chicago community areas, the Chicago neighborhoods were used instead, since not all Rs knew the technical name of their community area.

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1O-3Uot4mSetKW-M\\_govahruUjDc&hl=en\\_US&ll=41.835929258325436%2C-87.731988&z=10](https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1O-3Uot4mSetKW-M_govahruUjDc&hl=en_US&ll=41.835929258325436%2C-87.731988&z=10)

<sup>6</sup> Armed habitual criminal is a felony X charge in Illinois that can be used when the individual who commits a weapons crime had already been convicted two or more times for any of the following offenses: a weapons felony, vehicular jacking, aggravated battery, gunrunning, or drug felonies (720 ILCS 5/24-1.7).

charge. Only about 4% of Rs had a drug charge as their highest charge.

Almost all Rs were charged with multiple offenses for the sentence they were currently serving. Table 3-4 shows that each of the

respondents interviewed had at least one felony charge, and the majority (87%) had three or more charges. The average number of sentencing charges for their prison sentence was about 6, and the maximum number of charges was 42.

**Table 3-1**  
*Respondents' Self-Reported Background Characteristics*

	# of respondents	% of total respondents
<b>Age</b>		
18-20	36	16.3%
21-24	66	29.9%
25-29	49	22.2%
30-39	46	20.8%
≥40	24	10.9%
<b>Marital Status</b>		
Never married	192	86.9%
Married	13	5.9%
Divorced/separated	9	4.1%
Engaged	6	2.7%
Widowed	1	0.5%
<b>Number of children</b>		
0	54	24.4%
1	61	27.6%
2	46	20.8%
≥3	60	27.2%
<b>Total # respondents</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: CIS survey data

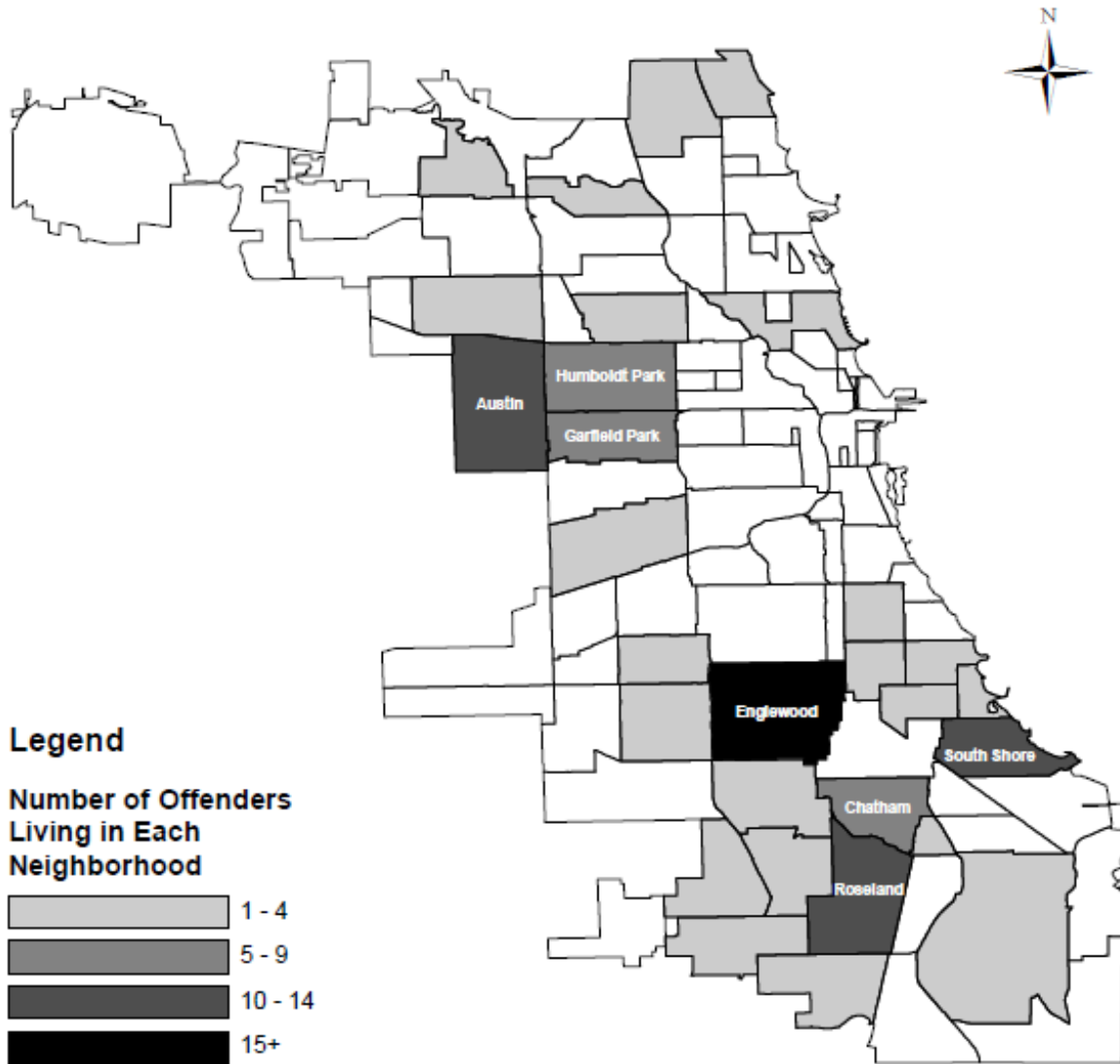
**Table 3-2**  
*Chicago Neighborhood of Residence*

Statute description	# of respondents	% of total respondents
Englewood	53	24.0%
Lawndale	14	6.3%
Austin	13	5.9%
Roseland	12	5.4%
South Shore	11	5.0%
Humboldt Park	9	4.1%
Chatham	8	3.6%
Garfield Park	7	3.2%
Bronzeville	6	2.7%
Gage Park	4	1.8%
Other	53	23.9%
Vague (Ex: "South Side")	16	7.2%
Outside Chicago	15	6.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source:* CIS survey data

*Note:* The "Other" responses included 35 different Chicago neighborhoods, each of which had fewer than four total observations.

**Figure 3-1**  
*Chicago Neighborhood of Residence*



Source: CIS survey data

**Table 3-3***Distribution of Highest Sentencing Charge by Charge Class for Current Prison Sentence*

Statute description	Charge class	# of respondents	% of total respondents
Murder, intent to kill	M	5	2.3%
Armed habitual criminal	X	36	16.3%
Armed robbery with firearm	X	21	9.5%
Attempted murder, intent to kill	X	15	6.8%
Armed robbery with dangerous weapon	X	13	5.9%
Armed violence, category 1	X	6	2.7%
Possession cocaine/heroin, <100g, >15g	X	5	2.3%
Aggravated kidnapping with firearm	X	3	1.4%
Aggravated battery, discharge firearm	X	1	0.5%
Aggravated vehicle hijacking, weapon	X	1	0.5%
Armed violence, category 2	X	1	0.5%
Felon possession/use machine gun	X	1	0.5%
Possession cocaine/heroin, <15g, >1g	1	4	1.8%
Aggravated discharge firearm in vehicle	1	3	1.4%
Attempted armed robbery	1	3	1.4%
Attempted aggravated vehicle hijacking	1	1	0.5%
Residential burglary	1	1	0.5%
Felon possession/use firearm, prior	2	40	18.1%
Aggravated unlawful use of a weapon, previous conviction	2	12	5.4%
Felon possession/use firearm, parole	2	12	5.4%
Felon possession weapon/2 <sup>nd</sup> +	2	3	1.4%

Possession of firearm, gang member	2	3	1.4%
Aggravated battery against officer	2	2	0.9%
Possession of stolen firearm	2	2	0.9%
Aggravated driving under the influence	2	1	0.5%
Felon possession/use weapon/firearm	3	8	3.6%
Possession of firearm with defaced serial number	3	3	1.4%
Carry/possess firearm at school	3	1	0.5%
Aggravated unlawful use of weapon, no FOID	4	14	6.3%
<b>Total</b>		<b>221</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: IDOC sentencing data and Cook County disposition data.

Note: “Armed violence, category 1” is when a person discharges a firearm while committing a felony, while “Armed violence, category 2” is when a person armed with a dangerous weapon (other than a gun) commits a felony.

**Table 3-4**  
*Number of Charges for Current Sentence*

# of charges	# of respondents	% of total respondents
1-2	29	13.1%
3-4	49	22.2%
5-6	43	19.5%
7-8	48	21.7%
9-10	22	10.0%
≥11	30	13.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: IDOC sentencing data and Cook County disposition data.

In addition to being charged with multiple offenses for their prison sentence, most Rs had many prior arrests in Chicago. Linked

administrative data from the Chicago Police Department shows the number of times Rs had been arrested in Chicago between 1991

and 2016. Table 3-5 shows that on average, Rs had been arrested about 16 times, including the arrest for their current prison sentence. There was considerable variation in the number of arrests per respondent, ranging from 1 to 54 arrests. Many Rs (88%) had been arrested 5 or more times in Chicago. Over half (51%) had been arrested 15 or more times across the 25 year time span. Some may have had more arrests that took place either outside of Chicago or before 1991, so these numbers can be considered a lower limit for CIS Rs' prior arrests. Overall, it is clear that

the majority of Rs were not one-time inmates, but rather had many prior experiences with the criminal justice system.

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*Over half (51%) had been arrested 15 or more times across the 25 year time span*

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**Table 3-5**

*Number of Total Arrests in Chicago for CIS Respondents, 1991-2016*

# of arrests	# of respondents	% of total respondents
1-4	26	11.8%
5-9	36	16.3%
10-14	47	21.3%
<hr/> <i>Median: 15 arrests</i> <hr/>		
15-19	35	15.8%
20-24	24	10.9%
25-29	30	13.6%
≥30	23	10.4%
Total	221	100%

Source: CPD arrest data

**Eligibility to Possess Firearm Owner ID (FOID) Gun Card**

For the purposes of this study, it was important to understand whether CIS Rs would have been legally permitted to acquire a gun in the state of Illinois. Illinois firearm regulations require all gun buyers to have a

registered Firearm Owners Identification (FOID) card<sup>7</sup>. Individuals must be 21 years or older, have United States citizenship, have no past felony or domestic battery misdemeanor convictions, and not have been a patient in a mental institution within the

<sup>7</sup> 430 Illinois Compiled Statute 65/2(a)(1),(2)



past five years to obtain a FOID<sup>8</sup>. Further, individuals have to submit an application to apply for a FOID. Any time individuals who own a FOID card stop meeting any of the above qualifications, the FOID card would be deactivated and could not be used to purchase guns in Illinois.

Administrative data from CPD was used to check whether CIS Rs met a few of these requirements: (1) whether Rs were 21 years old when arrested for the charge leading to their current conviction, (2) whether they had a prior felony conviction or domestic battery misdemeanor conviction, and (3) whether the administrative data indicated they did not own a FOID (regardless of whether they were eligible)<sup>9</sup>. Table 3-6 provides information on age and prior convictions. Data in this table concerning prior felony convictions or domestic battery misdemeanor convictions came from the Cook County public access terminals. Based on this information, at least 84% of Rs would have been ineligible to own a FOID card at the time of the arrest leading

to their prison sentence they were serving at the time of the interview.

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*At least 84% of Rs would have been ineligible to own a FOID card at the time of the arrest leading to their prison sentence they were serving at the time of the interview*

---

Table 3-6 shows that only 36 respondents in the survey may have been eligible for a FOID card. However, other administrative data revealed that 18 of these Rs had prior charges making it clear that they had a prior felony (outside of Cook County<sup>10</sup>) and five Rs had a charge that indicated they did not own a FOID regardless of their eligibility. Thus, 94% of the survey Rs were either ineligible or known not to have a FOID card. None of the Rs who may have been eligible indicated during the interview at any point that they possessed a FOID card or that they legally acquired guns from an FFL.

**Table 3-6**

*Disqualifiers for FOID Prior to Arrest: Age and Felony Conviction*

Prior felony conviction	<21 at time of arrest		Total #
	No	Yes	
No	16.3%	19.0%	78
Yes	55.2%	9.5%	143
<b>Total #</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>221</b>

Source: IDOC sentencing data and Cook County disposition data

<sup>8</sup> 430 Illinois Compiled Statute 65/4(a)

<sup>9</sup> Some Rs were directly charged with an illegal gun possession offense and it was noted that they did not have a valid FOID, which suggests even if they may have been eligible to have a FOID they did not own one.

<sup>10</sup> The arrest charges indicated these Rs had a prior felony charge, but it was not listed on the Cook County public access terminal data, suggesting it may have occurred outside of Cook County. The researchers have no data on these felonies, but the Chicago Police Department data suggest that the prior felony conviction does exist, making these individuals ineligible for a FOID.

## COMPARISON TO TARGET POPULATION

The CIS sample was limited to male inmates in 7 IDOC prisons who were arrested for gun- or weapons-related charges in Chicago between 2013 and 2016, and who agreed to be interviewed. The motivation for collecting data from this sample is to learn how Chicago's criminal offenders obtain their guns. There is not census of "Chicago dangerous gun-involved offenders," and it is difficult to say whether the CIS sample is representative of this population, and if not, how it differs. Our strategy was to compare the CIS sample with two other groups that might reasonably be considered samples that are largely taken from the population of gun-involved offenders: those arrested by the CPD in conjunction with the confiscation of an illegal gun, and those who were murdered with a gun. Both comparison groups are limited to males age 18 and older, and to calendar year 2016.

The use of homicide victims as a comparison group requires some explanation. It would be of more direct interest to have a representative sample of shooters rather than victims. However, all that is available is those were arrested by the CPD in shooting cases, and that is a small and unrepresentative sample. (In nonfatal shootings, the arrest rate in 2016 was 5%, and 25% in fatal shootings.) Victims may be a more useful comparison group because the CPD records data on nearly all homicide victims. Given the

common view that the populations of shooting victims and perpetrators have a great deal of overlap, we chose to go with comprehensive data on victims rather than spotty data on perpetrators.

Table 3-7 provides comparisons with respect to age, race, gang involvement, and number of prior arrests. It is evident that the age distributions are similar among all three groups. They are also similar with respect to the fraction that are either Black or Hispanic (which is to say, almost all of them), although the CIS sample has fewer Hispanics than the two comparison groups. Large differences occur with respect to prevalence of gang involvement and number of prior arrests, both of which are much higher in the CIS sample than the other two. For example, the fractions with 5 or more arrests are 88% (CIS), 53% (homicide victims) and 66% (gun recovery arrestees).

The greater involvement with the criminal justice system by the CIS sample is perhaps not surprising, since the path to a prison term is typically by way of many arrests. What is not clear is whether the inmate sample is more representative of the current population of Chicagoans who might commit gun offenses, or whether the other two groups are. In any event, it is important to recall that one way our sample may differ systematically from the overall population of gun offenders is that ours has a more extensive criminal record.

**Table 3-7**

*Comparison of CIS Respondents with Other Measures of Target Population  
Male Homicide Victims and Male Gun Arrestees in Chicago, 2016*

	CIS Sample	Chicago Homicide Victim >18, 2016 Sample	Chicago Gun Recoveree >18, 2016 Sample
Age (at time of arrest)			
18-20	16.3%	17.3%	14.5%
21-24	29.9%	22.1%	28.5%
25-29	22.2%	21.0%	24.2%
30-39	20.8%	23.3%	21.2%
≥40	10.9%	16.2%	11.7%
Race			
Black	89.6%	77.9%	83.4%
Hispanic	9.5%	17.0%	13.2%
White	0.9%	4.8%	3.2%
Asian/Pacific Islander	0	0.3%	0.1%
Native American	0	0.0	0.1%
Gang involvement			
Unknown	16.7%	65.2%	57.4%
Yes	83.3%	34.8%	42.6%
Number of CPD arrests			
0-4	11.8%	46.7%	33.5%
5-9	16.3%	17.5%	20.9%
10-14	21.3%	12.8%	15.1%
15-19	15.8%	7.8%	11.5%
≥20	34.8%	13.1%	19.1%
Total #	221	647	4,306

*Source:* The statistics for the CIS sample come from matched CPD arrest records and the male homicide victim sample statistics also come from CPD records. The statistics for the gun recovery sample come from ATF Etrace data, and is a sample of all men in Chicago, over the age of 18, who had a gun recovered from 2013-2016.

*Note:* There were 425 observations missing race information in the third, Etrace data column, so these observations were excluded from the table. The other two columns had no missing data present.

# 4. Experience with Violence

## INTRODUCTION

There were over 19,000 homicides nationwide in 2016, a rate of 6.0/100,000, of which 74% were committed with firearms. In Chicago the corresponding numbers are much higher: 27.8 homicides per 100,000, 90% of which were committed with a firearm (University of Chicago Crime Lab, 2017). Victims in both Chicago and nationwide are greatly disproportionately male, youthful, and Black or Hispanic (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention). As shown in Table 3-7, over half of the male homicide victims in Chicago had 5 or more arrests before their deaths. It is to be expected that the CIS Rs would have a high incidence of victimization, and that is what we found. Rs reports of gunshot victimization experiences provide a window into their relationship to authorities, and to their motivation for carrying a gun.

Prior prison and jail studies that focused on firearm topics have asked Rs about their victimization history (Barragan, 2016; Cook, Parker, et al., 2015; Sheley & Wright, 1993a, 1993b; Wright & Rossi, 1985). One survey conducted with inmates in five jails across the United States included questions about gunshot wounds and treatment, finding that 90% were treated in a hospital and hence subject to mandatory reporting (May, Hemenway, & Hall, 2002). Well-founded fear of gun violence has been documented as motivation for illegally carrying guns (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015). Sheley & Wright, 1993b; Watkins, Huebner, & Decker, 2008; Wright & Rossi, 1985; Wright, Sheley, & Smith,

In this chapter, we explore Rs' history of gun victimization, details on the events leading up to and during their most recent event, perceptions of safety in their neighborhoods, and the view of guns as a source of self-protection. Information on Rs' gunshot history was verified using Chicago Police Department administrative data, which provided information on whether Rs had ever been reported as the victim of a shooting in Chicago. To collect detailed information on the most recent time Rs were victimized, they were asked an open-ended question about what happened leading up to and during the shooting.

## VIOLENCE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Over 95% of CIS Rs from Chicago lived in South or South West Side neighborhoods. Englewood, Lawndale, Roseland, and South Shore were the most heavily represented neighborhoods, with almost half of all Rs living in one of these areas prior to their incarceration. These same neighborhoods have high homicide rates, particularly Englewood, where there was a homicide rate of 179.5 per 100,000 residents in 2016 (University of Chicago Crime Lab, 2017). It is thus unsurprising that when CIS Rs were asked whether there was frequent gunfire in their neighborhoods, about 89% of Rs replied there was.

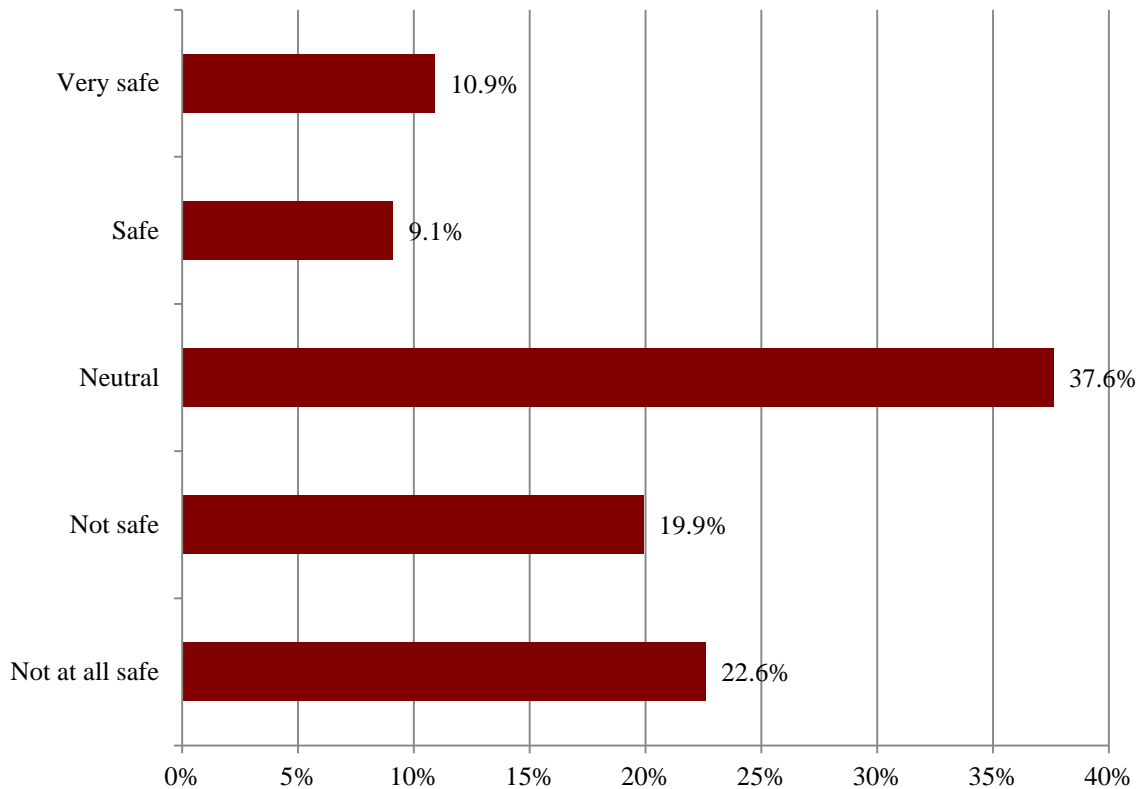
### Feelings of Safety and Guns

The following question was asked of all Rs in the CIS: "Using a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means not safe at all and 5 means very safe, how safe would you say you felt in the neighborhood you lived in before you were

incarcerated?” Rs who indicated they felt very unsafe to neutral were then asked what in particular made them feel unsafe. Figure 4-1 presents the results on self-reported feelings of safety in the neighborhood. The figure shows that about one quarter of Rs

reported feeling safe or very safe (‘4’ or ‘5’ on the scale). More (43%) reported feeling unsafe (‘1’ or ‘2’), while about 38% reported feeling in-between safe and unsafe (a ‘3’ on the scale).

**Figure 4-1**  
*Self-reported Feelings of Safety in Neighborhood (n=221)*



Source: CIS data

Table 4-1 presents the reported reasons Rs felt unsafe in their neighborhoods. Shootings were listed as the main reason for feeling unsafe in Chicago (40%), followed by gang activity (29%), and general violence (24%). One R (R1036) said, “There was a lot of shooting and a lot of people getting killed in the area.” Another (R1054) detailed other general violent incidences that were of concern, “Everybody got guns, everybody fighting, everybody robbing, everybody

trying to get money. So if you look like you got a little money somebody going to up a gun on you and they’re going to try to rob you. People die every day in my neighborhood.” A big concern seemed to be the younger generation who were involved in gangs and perceived as willing to shoot. One R (R1113) details this, “The young gang bangers, the young generation out here, gang banging hard. Yeah, they just fighting with each other.

**Table 4-1***Reasons Respondents Felt Unsafe in Neighborhood*

	# of respondents	% of respondents who felt unsafe
Frequent shootings and gunfire	71	40.1%
Gangs	51	28.8%
Violence in neighborhood	42	23.7%
Deaths in neighborhood	17	9.6%
Mistrust of police officers	14	7.9%
Too many weapons around	11	6.2%
R participated in illegal activity	11	6.2%
Drugs or drug dealers	9	5.1%
Robberies	6	3.4%
Other	20	11.3%
Missing	5	2.8%
Total	177	N/A

*Source:* CIS survey data

*Note 1:* Multiple responses were allowed, so percentage total will be more than 100%.

### **Fear of Gun Violence**

There was a strong correlation between reported gunfire in the neighborhood and feelings of safety, with just over half (54%) of those with little gunfire in their neighborhood feeling safe and only 16% of those with frequent gunfire in their neighborhood feeling safe. Despite the correlation, it is interesting to note that even those who experience frequent gunfire report feeling either ‘safe’ or ‘very safe,’ suggesting that either perceptions of safety are quite subjective amongst these Rs or that other characteristics influenced feelings of safety in these cases. In fact, when asked to rate his safety in his neighborhood, one R (R1143)

inquired, “For myself or for people in general?” before responding that he felt very safe, with the insinuation being that others may be less safe in his neighborhood. There were no significant differences in feelings of safety depending on the Chicago neighborhood where Rs lived, by their gang status, or by their previous criminal activity, measured by number of total arrests in Chicago. One reason for the lack of correlation with Rs’ gang status or past criminal activity could be that some individuals who were in gangs felt more safe with the protection of the gang while others felt less safe because of gang wars. Further crime is often concentrated at certain blocks within neighborhoods.

### **Guns Acquired for Protection**

Although gun violence and the proliferation of guns were commonly listed as reasons for feelings of unsafety in the neighborhood, many Rs reported acquiring guns as a method of protecting themselves from gun violence. However, over half of those who reported acquiring a gun for a reason other than protection had multiple guns, some as many as 15 or more, suggesting that there may have been other reasons for ownership than they were willing to admit. So while there is widespread fear of gun violence, this did not prevent Rs from acquiring guns or feeling that guns were useful to own personally.

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*So while there is widespread fear of gun violence among Rs, this did not prevent them from acquiring guns or feeling that guns were useful to own personally*

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One reason Rs felt they needed guns to protect themselves was their lack of trust in police officers to keep them safe. In fact, about 8% of Rs who felt unsafe in their neighborhood attributed police officers as a key reason. More widely, Rs were unlikely to ever voluntarily cooperate with police or to call them when they were in danger. Less than one-fifth of Rs who were shot reported calling the police, and those who did typically did so because they needed medical care. Rs frequently reported throughout the survey feeling that police officers could not be trusted or that they do not care enough about the residents in their neighborhood. As a result, Rs report feeling the need to take their protection into their own hands, often by acquiring guns.

During the time of their arrest, 154 of the CIS Rs had a gun, even if it was not on their person at the time of the arrest. Almost three-

quarters of Rs reported they had acquired that gun to protect themselves generally, and 14% reported obtaining the gun for protection in an impending event. These numbers are in accord with other prison surveys, in which the majority of Rs stated protection was the key reason for acquiring and possessing an illegal gun (Barragan, 2016; Bennett, 2004; Urban Institute, 2018; Sheley & Wright, 1993b; Wright & Rossi, 1985). CIS Rs who reported acquiring a gun for safety reasons ultimately still reported feeling unsafe in their neighborhood (46%), suggesting while they perceived it would improve their safety, they still did not feel completely safe in their neighborhood with a gun.

### **GUN VICTIMIZATIONS**

The CIS included several questions to determine the gun victimization history of the respondents. Rs were first asked: “Has a friend or a member of your family ever been shot?” This was followed by questions about their own gun violence experiences: “Have you ever been shot?” If Rs said they had not been shot, they were asked: “Have you ever been shot at?” Follow-up questions for those who reported being shot or shot at included the number of times R was shot (at), and his age during the first and most recent times. This made it possible to estimate the general year of the first and most recent shootings by subtracting the age from their age at the time of the interview. Finally, any Rs who were victims of gun violence were asked to describe the events that occurred the most recent time they were shot (at).

#### **History of Gun Victimization**

Almost all Rs (93%) reported that they had at least been shot at before, while almost half (47%) had actually been shot—a prevalence close to that reported by Cook County Jail detainees in Cook, Parker, and Pollack (2015). Other prison studies have similar or slightly lower numbers - Barragan et al.



(2016) found about three quarters of their sample of gun inmates from Los Angeles jails had been direct victims of gun crimes. However, these studies took place in other cities, and generally included a wider sample, while CIS Rs were mostly those with gun charges. A recent study in Chicago found that among a non-prison sample, about one third of those who reported carrying a gun had been recently shot or shot at (Urban Institute, 2018).

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*Almost all Rs (93%) reported that they had at least been shot at before, while almost half (47%) had actually been shot*

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For CIS Rs, such victimization often began at early ages, with about 29% reporting they had first been shot or shot at when they were younger than 15 years old. The circumstances surrounding the shooting seemed to vary across Rs, even for those occurring at young ages. Some who were shot at admitted being directly involved with criminal activity, while others described cases of mistaken identity or stray bullets flying. Many Rs clearly detailed being involved with a gang at as young an age as twelve or thirteen, which they stated led to the victimization. One R (R1038) who reported gang-involvement and was first shot at age ten, said, “They’ll [another gang] come to my neighborhood and start shooting. We’ll start shooting back.” Another R (R1094) who did not admit to illegal activity said, “I was walking around my neighborhood and a car just pulled up and started shooting and I got hit in my leg”  
Over half of Rs who were victimized had been shot or shot at less than 3 years prior to the interview date, suggesting that the shootings were often quite recent. However, about a third had not been shot or shot at in at least five years. It was unclear the exact number of incidences in which Rs had been shot or shot at over the years, because while they were asked such a question, some

interpreted it as the number of times within a given incident they were shot at, while others provided the number of separate occasions during which they were victims of gun violence. However, about a third were only shot or shot at during one occasion, while the majority had been victimized during multiple occasions.

In addition to being personal victims of gun violence, most Rs (92%) knew a friend or family member who was shot. One R (R1116) said, “Yeah, my little brother - he died.” Another (R1155) said, “Two of my cousins, a couple of my friends.” Many Rs detailed seeing the shooting firsthand. These results are consistent with prior jail and prison studies, which found that the majority of Rs had similar traumatic experiences with gun violence that strongly affected their lives (Barragan, 2016; Limber, 2000).

### **Validation of Shooting Reports**

CIS Rs were linked to their CPD victimization records which had data between 1999 and 2016, to determine whether self-reports on shootings could be roughly verified. The results of the matching show that about 40% of those who had been shot had a corresponding record for the shooting in the CPD data. About a quarter of the Rs’ whose incidences could not be verified with the CPD data either lived outside of Chicago or had reported being shot prior to 1999. Since the administrative data only covers Chicago shootings between 1999 and 2016, these incidences would not appear in the administrative data. Further, some of the additional incidences that could not be verified had not been reported to the police department, according to the Rs. This means the police either did not know of the shooting or did not know the victim’s name and date of birth to create an incident report. However, there are still 31 of 104 shooting victims for whom there should be a corresponding



administrative record that could not be verified.

Three facts may help to account for our difficulties in validating these shootings: (1) Rs were mobile and could have been in one of the surrounding suburbs during the victimization incident; (2) the CPD victim data frequently have missing last names and dates of birth, which would make it impossible to link to the CIS Rs; and (3) it is possible Rs who did speak with the police gave false names. Relaxing the matching assumptions to determine whether a shooting match could be found using Rs' first and last names only (excluding date of birth requirements), an additional four Rs were linked to a shooting record<sup>11</sup>.

This means about 26% of Rs who reported being shot and speaking with the police did not have administrative data in Chicago to verify the shooting. It is possible these individuals were outside of Chicago at the time of the shooting or refused to give the police their full or correct name. Additionally, only 22% of these Rs said they *willingly* spoke with the police. So it is reasonable that some may have refused to provide full names. The qualitative reasons we heard for why Rs would not willingly speak with the police also support a desire not to provide accurate information to police officers for a few key reasons: (1) they wanted to get retaliation themselves, (2) deep mistrust of police or belief they would not help, or (3) they had warrants out for their arrest or were involved in the shooting where they were injured and wanted to avoid arrest.

### **Gunshot Victims and Feelings of Neighborhood Safety**

Table 4-2 reveals a significant correlation between feeling safe in the neighborhood and Rs' personal victimization history. About 45% of those who had been gun violence victims felt unsafe in their neighborhood, while only 13% of those who had never personally been a victim of gun violence felt unsafe. The severity of the gun violence incidents also seemed to matter – those who had been shot were slightly more likely to report not feeling safe (51%) than those who were only shot at but not wounded (39%). Rs who reported knowing a close friend or family member who had been shot were also more likely to report feeling unsafe (45%), compared to only 11% of those who did not personally know someone who had been shot. Overall, there is a clear correlation between Rs' prior experiences with gun violence and feelings of safety in their neighborhood.

### **SHOOTING NARRATIVES**

To gain qualitative information about the occurrences leading up to and during the shooting, CIS Rs who reported having been shot or shot at were asked: "What happened (the time/the most recent time) you were [shot/shot at]?" This was an open-ended question. Some Rs provided long and detailed responses. Others provided only short and brief descriptions of the shooting. A qualitative analysis conducted in NVIVO showed that some key themes emerged in the topics the 205 Rs chose to discuss. These included whether the shooting was a drive-by (89%), the shooting location (77%), the number of shooters (64%), and the reason for the shooting (39%).

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<sup>11</sup> These four Rs who were linked using only first and last names did not have common names that would be difficult to verify as a correct match.

**Table 4-2***Distribution of Feelings on Neighborhood Safety by Whether R had ever been Shot*

Self-Report Neighborhood Safety	Self-Report Ever Shot (at)			Total
	Never shot or shot at	Shot at	Shot	
Not Safe	12.5% (2)	38.6% (39)	51.0% (53)	42.5% (94)
Neutral	50.0% (8)	41.6% (42)	31.7% (33)	37.6% (83)
Safe	37.5% (6)	19.8% (20)	17.3% (18)	19.9% (44)
Total	100% (16)	100% (101)	100% (104)	100% (221)

*Source:* CIS survey data

About 20% of Rs stated the incident had been a drive-by shooting. Individuals who were shot in drive-by shootings were most likely to report hanging out on the streets or coming to or from the store when they were shot at suddenly. They also tended to report that the shooter was a stranger or that they did not see who shot them since it happened so quickly.

Most Rs mentioned the location of the shooting in their responses. Table 4-3 presents the most common locations mentioned. About half (49%) of Rs who were victims of gun violence reported being shot or shot at while they were ‘on the streets.’ An examination of Chicago Police Department Data by the University of Chicago Crime Lab found that in Chicago about three quarters of gun homicides took place in the streets or alleys, which is consistent with the CIS findings (University of Chicago Crime Lab, 2017). Some Rs explained they were speaking with friends on the street corner or

walking down the street when the shooting happened. One R (R1245) detailed the occurrence, saying,

“I was hanging out on the corner with a couple of friends, smoking and drinking. We seen a familiar car, and we all tried to scatter, but I was the last one to actually notice anything, and I got shot in the left leg.”

Another R (R1153) said, “I was walking down the street on the way to my cousin’s house and some guy ran up on me and my friend and got to shooting.” Rs also commonly reported being shot either in the front yard of a house (8%) or while they were driving in a car (8%). Other locations mentioned included the front of a store or a gas station, or within a public park. As indicated by these provided locations, Rs were almost always outside when they were shot or shot at.

**Table 4-3**  
*Shooting Location*

	# of respondents	% of respondents
On the streets	101	49.3%
Car	17	8.3%
Yard	16	7.8%
Store	11	5.4%
Park	7	3.4%
Other	5	2.4%
Didn't mention	28	13.7%
Missing	12	5.9%
Refused	8	3.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source:* CIS survey data

*Note:* Respondents were not explicitly asked about the location where they were shot, so there were about 28 who had been victims of gun violence but didn't discuss the shooting location.

Rs reported some variation in the number of shooters targeting the R. Shootings that were gang-involved tended to have multiple shooters. Robberies were more likely to have just one shooter, even if multiple people partook in the robbery.

There were three key reasons Rs listed for the shooting taking place: a fight or altercation had escalated, a gang-related reason, or stray bullets flying everywhere. The University of Chicago Crime Lab found that in Chicago in 2016 about 64% of homicide shootings stemmed from an altercation, which is consistent with the CIS findings (University of Chicago Crime Lab, 2017). For CIS Rs, those who reported prior gang involvement were almost twice as likely to report that the shooting was caused by gang activity compared to those who denied gang involvement in the six months prior to their

arrest. One R (R1016) who claimed he was gang-involved detailed a shooting he experienced:

“Opposition [another gang], basically, they came by. We had been beefing for so long since we were children, neighborhood beefing. We all sat on the corner in the neighborhood outside. They came up shooting at us on the corner.”

After discussing the most recent time they were victimized, Rs were asked a few follow-up questions. First, they were asked: “Did you know the person who [shot you/shot at you] (the most recent time)?” All Rs who reported they did were then asked: “How well did you know him or her?” Some Rs had already mentioned the identity of the person who shot them in the open-ended question

about the shooting circumstances. Comparing these open-ended responses with the close-ended responses, it seems clear some Rs thought the close-ended question was asking whether the personally knew the shooter well, while others interpreted it as whether they at least knew of or would recognize their shooter. Thus, responses for both questions were used to examine the identity of the individual(s) who shot R.

When Rs were asked whether they knew their shooter, only about 35% reported they did. Some of the individuals who reported not knowing their shooter when asked this question had earlier mentioned it was a gang member or police officer who had shot them, indicating while they may not have personally known the person, they at least knew of them. Those who specifically reported knowing their shooter were then asked how well they knew him or her. About 44% reported knowing their shooter well, a little less than one-fifth reported it being an acquaintance, and about 36% reported it was someone they recognized.

### **Drinking and Drug Use at Time of the Shooting**

Rs who had been victims of gun violence were asked whether the shooter had been

drinking or doing drugs and whether they personally had been drinking or doing drugs at the time of the shooting incident. Consumption of alcohol or use of drugs can exacerbate situations in which individuals are fighting, which can be dangerous when guns are involved. About 42% of Rs admitted they had been drinking or doing drugs at the time. However, almost three-quarters of CIS Rs did not know whether the shooter was drinking or doing drugs, especially during drive-by shootings or when there were just stray bullets flying from an unknown shooter.

Of the 69 Rs who seemed aware of whether the shooter had been drinking or doing drugs, only about 42% reported they were. Rs seemed more likely to know whether the shooter was drinking or doing drugs when the shooting was caused by a fight or a robbery where they had an up-close interaction with the shooter. About half of Rs reported the shooter was drinking or doing drugs when the cause was a fight and about one-third reported the shooter was during a robbery.

# 5. Guns in the Neighborhood

## INTRODUCTION

The CIS was designed to collect detailed information on the acquisition of guns by prohibited individuals, including:

- how guns flow into Chicago neighborhoods,
- how guns circulate within neighborhoods,
- the importance of trustworthy connections, and
- the ease of acquisition in the neighborhood.

This helps to provide information not only about how specific individuals acquire guns, but to learn about perceptions of key gun acquisition methods prevalent in their neighborhoods.

## SOURCES OF GUNS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Each R was asked questions about guns in his neighborhood to try to gain a better understanding both of the flow of guns into Chicago neighborhoods as well as how guns are acquired within the neighborhoods. First, R was asked: “How do guns come into your neighborhood? I mean, how do people in your neighborhood get guns?” Multiple responses were allowed, and many Rs provided at least three answers.

Table 5-1 provides a summary of the sources and methods for acquiring guns that Rs believed were prevalent in their neighborhoods. Some Rs reported not knowing how guns came into their

neighborhood or how they circulated through the neighborhood and could not provide an answer. One R (R1006) said, “Guns have been around for a long time. It’s like they’ve never gone nowhere. It’s like it’s always around, so we don’t know how they come in. It’s just around.” While he had ideas on how guns circulated through the neighborhood, he was less sure of how they had initially entered the neighborhood. Others first prefaced their responses with “I don’t know,” but after some thought were able to posit key methods or sources relevant for gun acquisition in their neighborhood. However, the majority of Rs seemed confident in their answers and would often tell personal stories to back up their answers.

Table 5-1 shows that strangers were listed as one of the most common sources through which one could acquire guns in the neighborhood (34%). Rs explained this was often someone who they could meet on the street, sometimes a drug dealer or drug user. Many Rs stated that drug addicts on the street would sell or trade a gun so they could acquire drugs. Other commonly mentioned sources for acquiring guns were friends and family (27%) and gang members (23%). Theft was frequently mentioned as a method for acquiring guns within the neighborhood (32%). Several Rs reported the specific possibility of breaking into a freight car in the rail yards to steal crates of guns –which in fact has happened at least twice in recent years in the South Side of Chicago.

**Table 5-1***Methods and Sources for Acquiring Guns in Respondent's Neighborhood*

	# of respondents	% of all respondents
Strangers	76	34.4%
Theft	70	31.7%
Friends/family members	59	26.7%
Gang/crew/cliq	50	22.6%
Straw purchases	46	20.8%
On the street	37	19.7%
Bought (FFL, gun show, online)	32	14.5%
Outside of Chicago	28	12.7%
Police officers	24	10.9%
Anywhere – easy to acquire	13	5.9%
Acquaintances	6	2.7%
Trade	5	2.3%
Other	11	4.9%
Refused	1	0.5%
Don't know	26	11.8%

*Source:* CIS survey data

*Note 1:* Multiple responses were allowed, so percentage total will be more than 100%.

*Note 2:* For responses coded as “bought legally,” it is not always clear whether it would have actually been a legal purchase. Many respondents seemed to believe that straw purchasing or going to Indiana to purchase a gun was legal.

Others mentioned theft from individuals who were known to have a FOID card and who lived within the neighborhood. One R (R1053) explained,

“They might steal it from somebody that’s a gun card holder. They break in people’s cribs, and okay this guy’s got some guns in his crib. They’ll break in. That’s how they get them,

and they sell them, and they go from hand go hand, even if it’s a murder on it, it can go from hand to hand.”

In this case, R was suggesting theft as a way that guns could be circulated to others in the neighborhood. The stolen gun did not seem to be necessarily for the thief’s direct use, but rather would be sold in the neighborhood. While gun theft is commonly perceived as a

key source of guns to criminal offenders, only about 7% of 332 guns the Rs discussed in the CIS were obtained through theft, suggesting it is not a common method for acquiring a gun R would want for his own use.

Some Rs (21%) described straw purchasing as an important method through which individuals in their neighborhood could acquire guns. This means an individual with a gun license would purchase a gun for someone without a gun license. All FFLs are legally required to have gun purchasers fill out paper work and sign forms testifying that they are buying the gun for themselves, not for someone else. Thus, purchasing a gun for someone else is considered to be an illegal purchase.

Most Rs seemed aware that such purchases were illegal. One R (R1143) detailed that drug addicts may have gun licenses, which they could use to make straw purchases. "They'll have gun permits, usually a drug addict or something probably." Some Rs were aware that guns illegally purchased for someone else could eventually be recovered in a crime and traced back to the original owner.

One R (R1067) described what he seemed to view as a solution to this risk, "One way is some people, say people might have gun licenses or something like that. They buy some guns, and report the guns stolen. That's how a lot of people make their money." The logic of reporting them stolen is that first purchasers can be identified in a police investigation of a gun crime. CPD will sometimes contact first purchasers, who believe that they can protect themselves from liability for illegally selling the gun by reporting it stolen.

A few Rs (11%) noted that people in their neighborhoods could access guns through police officers. Some elaborated that they perceived that police officers could sell guns

on the streets for extra money, although none of the Rs listed police officers as the source of guns they owned. When asked how guns come into his neighborhood, one R (R1434) said, "They strictly come from the police. Just police."

### **Flow of Guns into the Neighborhood**

Two ways that Rs reported guns flowing into their neighborhoods, as reported in Table 5-1, were outside traffickers and neighborhood residents who travel outside of Chicago to buy guns. Because there are no gun stores in the city of Chicago, all of the guns recovered in Chicago were originally purchased elsewhere. Prior research notes that in-state illicit gun purchases have increased in recent years, most likely due to changes in national gun regulations such as the background checks mandated under the Brady Act (Collins, 2017; Cook & Braga, 2001). One report finds that 40% of guns recovered between 2013 and 2016 were originally from Illinois ("Gun Trace Report," 2017). One R (R1140) noted, "You can get guns from having a connection in the suburbs or something, you know what I'm saying? And they might sell you a crate of guns for a low price." Others described Chicago as a dumping ground for guns they did not wish to keep any longer. One (R1054) described, "People out of town use guns to commit crime so they bring them to the city and dump them off or they trade with somebody for another gun."

Many Rs stated that individuals could drive to Indiana to obtain guns, where the gun laws are more relaxed than in Illinois. Administrative data indicate that 21% of crime guns recovered in Chicago between 2013 and 2016 were first purchased in Indiana ("Gun Trace Report," 2017). There did not seem to be a consistent answer from Rs about whether people were going to Indiana to acquire the guns or if people from

Indiana were coming in to sell them. One R (R1138) said, “Mainly from, through Indiana. Somebody is definitely buying them and trafficking them to Chicago. You don’t need a gun card, basically, you can just have an ID for a different state and they’ll let you buy it right then and there.” This shows that at least some prohibited individuals are aware that even in Indiana, Chicago residents cannot obtain a gun legally without a gun card, but that if they pose as an Indiana resident with a counterfeit ID, they may be able to purchase guns from FFLs.

### **Outsiders Selling Guns**

The majority of Rs (64%) said outsiders did come into their neighborhoods to sell guns. However, the outsiders were not always strangers. In fact, about 77% reported that outsiders either knew the gun buyer personally or they knew them through someone else. A majority (54%) of Rs reported that outsiders would not sell guns to just anyone. One R (1053) explained, “Nah, they’ll go to jail like that because they wouldn’t know who they were selling them to.” Other Rs disagreed, believing that outsiders would sell to most anyone, “You can be 9 years old, they’ll sell you a gun” (R1430).

When asked how outsiders would make connections with their customers, those who reported that the outsiders did not previously know the gun buyer, explained that they

would simply meet them on the street. One R (R1430) explained using a personal example, “How do they make connections with their customers? People like me. They ride up on the block and say, ‘Hey, you know somebody want to buy some guns?’ I say, ‘Let me see them. Pull over.’ They sell them. I buy them. I resell them.” Others mentioned that they may happen to meet someone during a drug deal, “They used to come to buy drugs and they would mention that they had guns for sale” (R1178).

### **PERCEPTIONS ABOUT EASE OF ACQUISITION**

Throughout the survey, many Rs opined that there was a proliferation of guns in their neighborhood, and that guns were easy to access. One R (R1065) said, “There’s a lot of guns everywhere. Everybody got a gun nowadays... Everybody.” Another (R1460) said simply “I mean, it’s real easy to get a gun.” When asked whether people in R’s neighborhood who were not in gangs or other groups would have a harder time getting guns and ammunition, about 70% reported that they would not. Many here reiterated the point that ‘anybody’ could get guns, and that guns were ‘everywhere.’ That may well reflect the experience of most of the CIS sample, since they were selected because they were involved with guns.



## 6. Personal Experience with Guns

### INTRODUCTION

Legal purchase or possession of a firearm in Illinois requires a Firearms Owner's Identification (FOID) card, issued by the Illinois State Police Department. Eligibility for an FOID is restricted to those residents age 21 or over who do not have any disqualifying conditions. The list of disqualifications is specified in federal law as expanded by Illinois law, and includes a felony conviction or current indictment, a conviction for domestic violence, narcotic addiction, and is either disqualified under federal law from firearms ownership for mental health reasons or has been a patient in a mental health facility in the last five years. Based on administrative records, we were able to establish that the vast majority of CIS Rs (94%) were either not eligible for a FOID Card at the time of their arrest or were identified by the police department in their arrest as not having a FOID. Without a FOID, Rs would have had no chance to make a legal purchase at a gun dealer. Gun possession for this group was a crime.

The survey questionnaire contained 20 questions about as many as 4 guns which Rs possessed in the six months prior to their arrest. These questions gathered information on the gun characteristics, the length of time R had the gun prior to their arrest, the source and method for acquiring the gun, the amount of time they were searching for a gun, their reason for acquiring the gun, and the storage location for the gun. The first gun Rs were questioned about, if relevant, was their "crime gun" or the gun they had with them or used in the incident leading to their arrest and subsequent prison sentence.

To determine whether or not Rs had a crime gun, they were asked, "Did you use a gun or have a gun with you in the event or events leading to your original arrest?" They were first reminded that all of their responses would be completely confidential so that they would feel comfortable discussing this information with the interviewer. If they reported that they did have a crime gun, they were asked the series of questions about that gun first, but otherwise they were asked about any other guns they owned during the six months prior to their arrest.

### SELF-REPORTED GUN OWNERSHIP

The CIS sample was intentionally selected to include gun and weapon offenders, and most (83%) Rs report owning a gun at some point, as shown in Table 6-1. To validate responses on these key items, we linked the Rs to their CPD administrative data records to determine whether they had prior gun arrests. In Table 2-5 it is reported that almost all (97%) of Rs who self-report owning a gun have been arrested for a gun offense. The 17% who deny ever owning a gun include a small group who have never been arrested for a gun offense. The remaining 13% of Rs reported they had never owned a gun, even though administrative records show they had at least one prior gun arrest. (Only one R in the whole survey refused to answer questions about whether he had owned a gun.)

In addition to being asked about whether they had ever owned guns, Rs were asked about gun ownership in the six months prior to their arrest, and about whether they actually had one with them or used a gun during the crime

that led to their subsequent arrest. About 77% of Rs had owned a gun within six months prior to their arrest, and 61% reported having or using a gun at the time of their arrest. While this 61% statistic seems surprisingly low given that the majority of Rs were in prison for a gun-related charge, during the survey questionnaire, Rs indicated confusion about which arrest they were supposed to answer about. In fact, some Rs had been either arrested and let out on bail pending trial or had been arrested, convicted, and released on probation, at which time they committed another offense leading them to be sent back to jail or prison.

Thus, these results suggest that while very few of these respondents may have been eligible to legally acquire a gun (<6%), most had possessed a gun at some point in their lives. The fact that gun ownership is so prevalent among this population of prohibited possessors leads to questions about how they are able to gain access to guns.

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*These results suggest that while very few respondents may have been eligible to legally acquire a gun (<6%), most had possessed a gun at some point in their lives*

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## **SOURCES AND METHODS**

Inmate surveys have long tried to determine how prohibited possessors access guns through the illicit market (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015; United States Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2004; Wright & Rossi, 1985). Recent studies find commonly reported methods for illegally acquiring guns include buying it from someone with whom they have a prior relationship, trading drugs or other guns for a gun, borrowing it from another, receiving it

as a gift, or sharing it with a group of people (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015). The recent surveys do not report theft as a common method for acquisition, but do find that theft is still widely perceived among Rs as arming those in their neighborhood (Collins, 2017; Cook, Parker, et al., 2015). The majority of prior prison surveys find that Rs self-report only acquiring guns directly from someone with whom they had a prior relationship, often a friend or family member, so as to reduce the risk of arrest (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015; Wright & Rossi, 1985).

### **Sources and Methods of Gun Acquisition**

To better understand the methods and sources for acquiring guns, Rs were asked about up to three guns they owned in the six months prior to their arrest. Research has shown that only a very small percentage of guns used in crime in Chicago were purchased directly from a Federal Firearms License (FFL) dealer (Cook, Harris, Ludwig, & Pollack, 2015). The CIS Rs tend to follow this pattern. Table 6-2 presents the statistics on the top methods for gun acquisition. In total, 332 guns were discussed. The first gun that Rs reported on in this table was the gun that they had with them during or at the time of the crime they were arrested for, and each of the subsequent guns they discuss were in order of the gun they felt was most important or most recent. There are slight differences in the gun acquisition methods across the three guns, but the most frequent methods remain consistent across guns. Consistent with prior research, the main method of gun acquisition was a cash purchase, with about 46% of Rs buying the guns (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015; Wright & Rossi, 1986). This was followed by receiving a gun as a gift (10%) and sharing one with a group of individuals (8%). Contrary to older surveys, theft was not particularly prevalent in the CIS sample, with only about 7% of guns acquired directly through theft, compared to about 32% in Wright and Rossi's (1986) prison survey.

**Table 6-1**  
*Self-Reported Gun Ownership*

	# of respondents	% of respondents
Ever owned a gun		
No	33	14.9%
Yes	184	83.3%
Refused	1	0.5%
Missing	2	0.9%
Don't know	1	0.5%
Owned gun 6 months prior to arrest		
No	50	22.6%
Yes	169	76.5%
Refused	1	0.5%
Missing	1	0.5%
Had/used gun at arrest		
No	81	36.7%
Yes	135	61.1%
Refused	3	1.4%
Missing	1	0.5%
Don't know	1	0.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source:* CIS survey data

Also interesting is that straw purchases, or having someone else buy the gun directly from a gun store, was not commonly mentioned (<5%). While this was mentioned as a way people in the neighborhood could acquire guns, both in this study and in others (Urban Institute, 2018), very few Rs

reported directly acquired a gun this way. It may be difficult to find a straw-purchaser, since recovered guns can be traced back to the original purchaser, making this a risky transaction for the first purchaser. Indeed, Rs reported being quite aware of this risk involved in straw purchasing guns.

**Table 6-2***Gun Acquisition Method for up to Three Guns per Respondent*

	Gun 1	Gun 2	Gun 3	Guns total
Bought it	66 42.6%	53 54.6%	32 40.0%	151 45.5%
Got it as a gift	21 13.6%	6 6.2%	7 8.8%	34 10.2%
Found it	11 7.1%	4 4.1%	1 1.3%	16 4.8%
Borrowed it	10 6.5%	2 2.1%	6 7.5%	18 5.4%
Traded it	9 5.8%	3 3.1%	8 10.0%	20 6.0%
Shared it	9 5.8%	7 7.2%	11 13.8%	27 8.1%
Stole it	9 5.8%	7 7.2%	6 7.5%	22 6.6%
Someone else bought it	7 4.5%	6 6.2%	4 5.0%	17 5.1%
Other	9 5.8%	3 3.1%	1 1.3%	11 3.3%
Missing	0 0.0%	3 3.1%	3 3.8%	6 1.8%
Refused	3 1.9%	3 3.1%	1 1.3%	7 2.1%
Don't know	1 0.7%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 0.3%
Total # respondents	155 100%	97 100%	80 100%	332 100%

*Source:* CIS survey data

*Note:* The “Gun 1” column includes only guns that respondents had with them at the time of the arrest leading to their current sentence. The other two columns include any other guns that respondents reported owning or possessing in the six months prior to that arrest.

Table 6-3 provides the top four gun acquisition methods for three surveys, comparing the CIS survey results to results from the Cook County Jail (CCJ) Survey and the U.S. Department of Justice State Prison Survey (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015, see appendix; United States Department of

Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2004). The results from these three survey sources, conducted across a 12 year time period are remarkably similar. Across all three surveys the most commonly reported method for acquiring guns was through a money purchase or trade, which accounted for about

half of respondents. For both CIS and CCJ, respondents were next most likely to report obtaining the gun through a gift. For the U.S. DOJ State Prison surveys, slightly more respondents reported borrowing a gun than

acquiring it as a gift. Sharing or finding a gun was reported by about 13% of CIS respondents, while none of the CCJ or U.S. DOJ respondents mentioned these methods.

**Table 6-3**  
*Top Four Gun Acquisition Methods Across Surveys*

Acquisition Method	Survey		
	CIS	CCJ	U.S. DOJ State Prisons
Buy or trade	48.4%	60.0%	51.9%
Got it as a gift	13.6%	11.4%	12.1%
Borrowed it	6.5%	8.6%	15.8%
Shared or found it	12.9%	4.3%	0
Total #	155	70	438

*Source:* CIS survey data (2015), Cook County Jail Survey (2013), U.S. Department of Justice Survey of Inmates in State Correctional Facilities (2004)

*Note:* For each of the three surveys here, the total number of respondents at the bottom reflect those who were asked the question, but do not include those for whom the question was not applicable as a result of denying gun ownership. The CIS survey had 2.6% missing cases (refused, don't know, blank), the CCJ survey had 12.9% missing cases, and the U.S. DOJ had 7.1% missing cases for gun acquisition methods.

Rs were also asked about the source of up to three guns they owned in the six months prior to their arrest. Questions about sources were tailored to fit the methods Rs had described. For example, if a R reported that he had bought the gun, he was then asked “Where or from whom did you buy it?” These sources are displayed in table 6-4. Acquiring guns through prior relationships, like friends, acquaintances, and family members comprise almost half (48%) of the gun sources for the 332 guns discussed. About 12% of guns were acquired from a stranger, despite some Rs providing lengthy arguments of the importance in finding trustworthy connections. About 10% of Rs cited a gang member as the source for one of the guns they owned. In contrast to other studies, fewer than 1% of guns were reportedly acquired directly from a gun store, which is likely a result of selecting a sample of gun offenders, most of

whom had prior felony convictions and could not legally buy guns from FFLs.

## **THE TRANSACTION**

Rs were asked a series of questions regarding the transaction that occurred when they acquired each of the guns they discussed with the interviewer. Rs were asked a few questions about risk management tactics they may have taken to avoid arrest. First, they were asked if they paid someone else to find and acquire the gun for them. They were also asked, “In general when getting a new gun, is there any information you like to know about the gun itself or the person you’re getting it from?” Rs were asked the price they paid for the gun (if it was purchased) or what they traded to obtain the gun if the gun was borrowed. Finally, to determine ease of acquisition, rather than using self-reported

responses to this question, Rs were asked, “At the time that you got that gun, were you actively looking to get a gun?” All those who responded that they were, were then asked,

“How long were you looking for a gun before you found that one?” to get information that was more easily comparable across Rs.

**Table 6-4**  
*Sources of Guns for up to Three Guns per Respondent*

	Gun 1	Gun 2	Gun 3	Guns total
Friend	46 29.7%	27 27.8%	25 31.3%	98 29.5%
Stranger/on the “street”	23 14.8%	10 10.3%	6 7.5%	39 11.7%
Acquaintance	20 12.9%	14 14.4%	18 22.5%	52 15.7%
Gang member	10 6.5%	14 14.4%	10 12.5%	34 10.2%
Family member	2 1.3%	4 4.1%	3 3.8%	9 2.7%
Gun store/department store	2 1.3%	1 1.0%	0 0.0%	3 0.9%
Other	13 8.4%	9 9.3%	2 2.5%	24 7.2%
Missing	32 20.7%	14 14.4%	15 18.8%	57 17.2%
Refused	7 4.5%	4 4.1%	1 1.3%	12 3.6%
Total # respondents	155 100%	97 100%	80 100%	332 100%

Source: CIS survey data

Note: There were 32 missing responses for Gun 1 because many respondents when asked how they acquired their gun (Q27) responded “Other” and due to the skip logic in the survey were not asked the follow-up questions about the sources of guns.

**Risk Management Tactics**

Rs discussed what they would like to know about the gun or the seller prior to obtaining a gun. The most common piece of information Rs wished to know was whether the gun was ‘dirty,’ meaning whether it had been used in a crime. About half of Rs who had a crime gun reported needing to know if the gun was dirty, because they were worried

they could be accused of committing the original crime. Others disagreed and felt that it would not make a difference. One R (R1054) said, “Well people will tell you information on the gun, but it doesn’t really matter to me because even if the gun is already dirty, like it’s been used already, we’re not going to do nothing but use it again so it doesn’t matter.”

A few Rs were worried about selling to police, such as one R (R1236), who said, “Make sure the person you’re getting it from ain’t the police.” However, for many Rs this did not seem to be a concern since they were only buying from people they knew well. When asked about the information Rs would like to know, almost a quarter felt that there was nothing in particular they needed to know before acquiring a gun.

**Gun Price**

Rs who reported buying their crime gun (66 Rs) were asked about the amount of money they paid. The results are presented in Table 6-5. The median amount paid for the crime gun was about \$200, while the minimum paid

was \$16, and the maximum \$2,500. Overall though, most prices were between \$100 and \$500. There did not seem to be a clear pattern of gun price dependent on the gun source, except that guns acquired from gang members cost more (\$500+), while those purchased from friends or on the street ranged widely in price.

Newer guns, and guns in better conditions do command a price premium. While both guns reported as new and guns reported as acceptable or older were about equally likely to be any price between \$50-299, guns that were over \$300 were primarily guns reported as brand new or like new.

**Table 6-5**

*Amount Paid for Gun 1 of those who bought their Gun*

	# of respondents	% of respondents
\$1-99	3	4.5%
\$100-199	19	28.8%
\$200-299	15	22.7%
\$300-399	12	18.2%
400+	16	24.2%
Don’t know	1	1.5%
<b>Total # of respondents</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: CIS survey data

Note: The minimum amount paid for a gun was \$16, the maximum \$2,500, and the median amount \$200.

Those who reported trading for the crime gun (n=9) were directly asked what they traded for the crime gun. Most Rs reported trading another gun. Some reported trying to find a smaller gun that could be more easily concealed, which was their reason for trading one gun for another gun.

**Ease of Acquisition**

While many Rs reported a perception that guns are easy to acquire, it is difficult to compare these perceptions across Rs. Thus, ease of acquisition in this survey is measured by the length of time it took Rs to acquire their crime gun. A little under half reported they had been specifically looking for a gun when they obtained the crime gun,

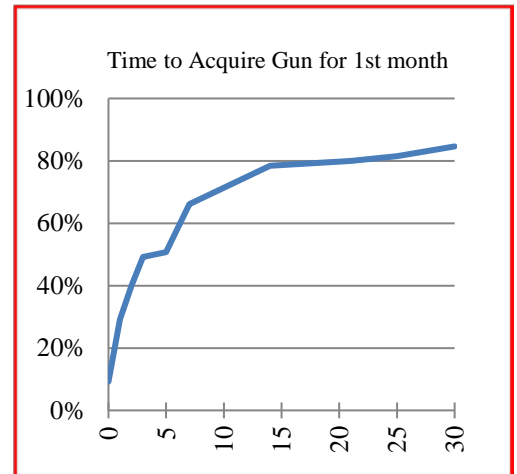
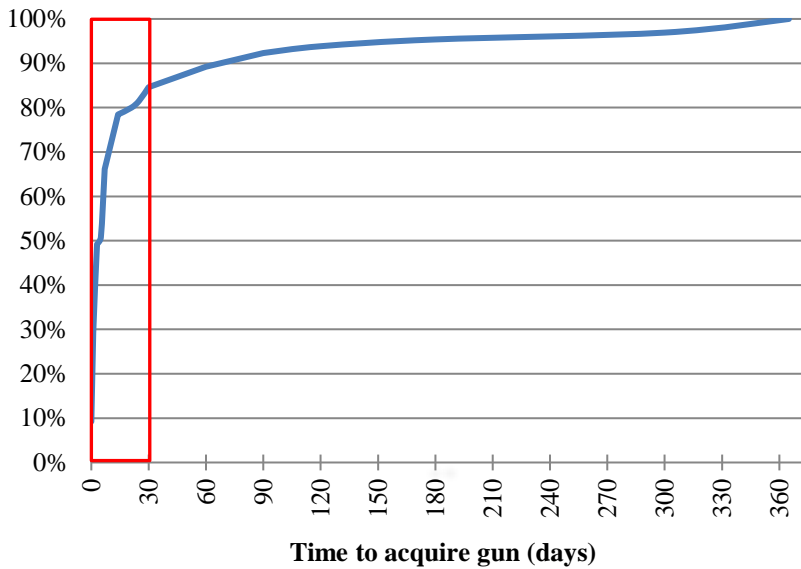
while others noted that they happened to come upon a gun that was available.

Those who reported that they were looking for a gun were asked how long it took them to acquire the crime gun, and responses are captured in Figures 6-1a through 6-1c. About

40% reported that it took them over a week to acquire a gun. Thus, while for many, gun acquisition seemed quick and effortless, for others it was a long process -- about 15% it took longer than a month before they were able to acquire a gun.

**Figure 6-1a**

*Cumulative Time to Acquire Gun in Days (N=65)*

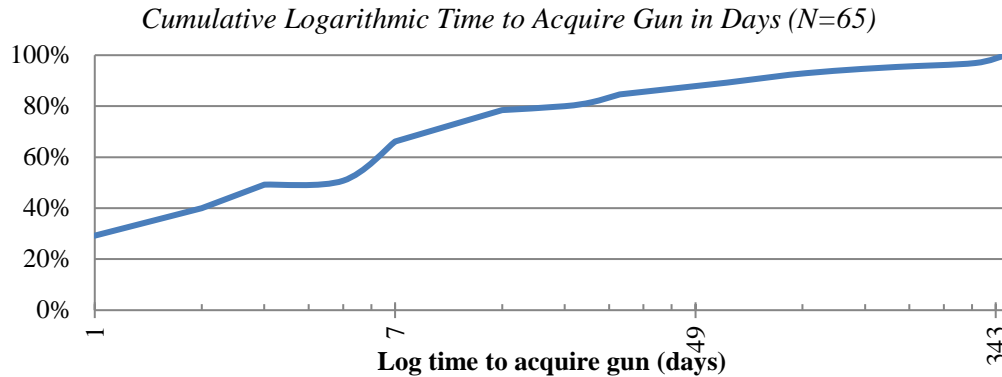


Source: CIS survey data

Note: One outlier response of 1,095 days was excluded from the figure.



**Figure 6-1b**



Source: CIS survey data

Note: One outlier response of 1,095 days was excluded from the figure

## **GUN CHARACTERISTICS**

Rs were asked to provide as much information as they could about the guns they owned, including the type, make, model, and caliber. The results for gun type and make reported are provided by Table 6-6. Handguns were the most common guns (83%) owned by CIS Rs in the 6 months prior to their arrest. Rs frequently spoke of desiring small guns that could be easily concealed so that they could avoid arrest. This is similar to other prison surveys, which typically find that handguns are preferred by prohibited offenders (Barragan, 2016; Cook, Parker, et al., 2015; Wright & Rossi, 1986). In the CIS, about 169 individuals reported owning a gun in the six months prior to their arrest.

Of those individuals, over half reported owning more than one gun. In fact, about 16% owned more than 10 guns during that time period. While some Rs reported owning rifles or shotguns, they almost always also owned at least one handgun too that they seemed to carry as their primary gun. One R (R1005) provided an often heard answer when discussing his reasoning for choosing a specific handgun, “You can conceal them easily.” Another (R1181) described the same sentiment as a reason not for acquiring bigger guns, “I’m not going to war or nothing – I

can’t put no AK in my pocket,” referring to an AK-47 rifle. In addition to expressing a preference for handguns, specifically Rs seemed to prefer pistols to revolvers, with many Rs explicitly stating they disliked using revolvers.

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*While some Rs reported owning rifles or shotguns, they almost always also owned at least one handgun too that they seemed to carry as their primary gun*

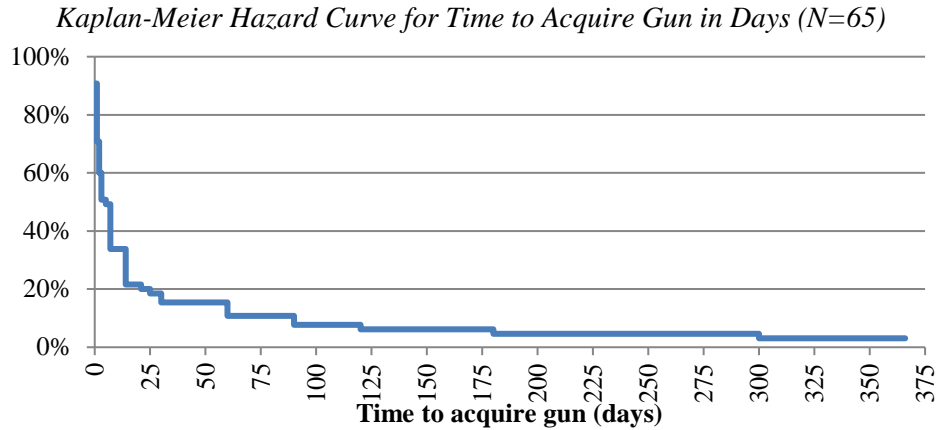
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The reported condition of guns acquired by CIS Rs was somewhat surprising and in conflict with other prison surveys (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015; Wright & Rossi, 1986). CIS Rs were asked about the condition of the crime gun that they acquired. Specifically, interviewers asked, “Would you describe the condition of the gun when you got it as brand new, like new, very good, good, acceptable, or broken?” Over a third of Rs reported that the gun they acquired was “brand new,” while another one fourth reported it was “like new.” Most Rs did not clarify, but one R (R1038) reported, “It was brand new. It came in the box with two clips.” We are reluctant

to take this report at face value, since few of the guns recovered by the CPD are in fact

“new” by any definition (Cook, Harris, et al., 2015).

**Figure 6-1c**



Source: CIS survey data

Note: One outlier response of 1,095 days was excluded from the figure.

### Design Characteristics

While Rs were mostly able to provide interviewers with the gun type, this was not equally so for the make or model of the gun. Table 6-6 shows that Rs reported being unsure of the gun make for (37%) of the guns owned at the time of the crime. For Rs who were able to provide a make for their guns, the most commonly reported guns were Smith & Wessons, followed by Rugers, and Glocks. Only about 25 Rs total were able to provide an answer for the model of the crime gun.

Rs seemed to be more aware of the caliber of the gun, and frequently discussed that as a reason for liking a gun, either because of its size, ability to continuously fire, or the reported power of the gun. Indeed, the firearm designs can speak to the intended use of a gun. For example, Cook and Ludwig (1996) report, “a gun designed to be carried in a pocket or handbag is usually light and short-barreled, while a gun designed with the primary purpose of shooting accurately over long distances will be larger and heavier.”

Almost a third of the guns Rs owned at the time of their arrest were 9 millimeter semiautomatic pistols. One R (R1172) discussing his reason for choosing his 9mm pistol said, “The size, the power, the extended magazine.”

### TIME TO CRIME

Guns are considered durable goods, and so instead of focusing only on the stock of guns in the United States, which may be difficult to control, it is important to focus on the flow of guns to and within the underground market and on specific transactions that arm prohibited individuals. One important factor considered by law enforcement is the average time each gun spends in private hands before being recovered after use in a crime. The average time to crime is defined as the time between the first legal purchase and the final recovery in the use of a crime – which is to say, the number of years that the gun has been in circulation since it was first sold new at retail.

**Table 6-6***Gun Type and Make for up to Three Guns per Respondent*

	Gun 1	Gun 2	Gun 3	Guns total
<b>Gun type</b>				
Pistol	68.4%	54.6%	60.0%	62.3%
Revolver	23.2%	20.6%	15.0%	20.5%
Rifle	3.9%	14.4%	16.3%	9.9%
Shotgun	0.7%	2.1%	2.5%	1.5%
Other	0.7%	2.1%	1.3%	1.2%
Missing	0.7%	3.1%	3.8%	2.1%
Refused	0.7%	2.1%	1.3%	1.2%
Don't know	1.9%	1.0%	0.0%	1.2%
<b>Gun make</b>				
Smith & Wesson	18.7%	14.4%	16.3%	16.9%
Glock	8.4%	10.3%	7.5%	8.7%
Ruger	9.0%	4.1%	3.8%	6.3%
Taurus	5.2%	4.1%	3.8%	4.5%
Other	28.3	20.7%	11.0%	21.9%
Missing	3.2%	3.1%	3.8%	3.3%
Refused	0.7%	2.1%	1.3%	1.2%
Don't know	26.5%	41.2%	52.5%	37.0%
Total #	155	97	80	332
	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Source:* CIS survey data

In Chicago, guns tend to be quite old, with an average time to crime was about 12.6 years (or a median of 10.4) for guns that were recovered (Cook, Harris, et al., 2015). Further, the first legal purchaser of the gun

and the ultimate possessor of the gun at the time of the crime are rarely the same, as research shows there is typically at least one intermediary individual in between the first legal purchases and the individual in

possession at the time of the crime (Cook, Harris, et al., 2015). Thus, it is important to better understand the transactions that arm illegal offenders and the amount of time that prohibited possessors own said guns before the ultimate recovery. However, administrative data can only provide the time between the first legal purchase and the ultimate gun recovery, but cannot speak specifically to the transactional time to crime – the time between when the person using the gun in the crime first obtained the gun to when it was recovered. Cook et. al (2015) find evidence to suggest that criminals tend to be in possession of a particular gun for only a brief period of time. CIS can provide some insight into the exact amount of time between that last transaction and when a specific gun was used in a crime.

In the CIS, Rs were asked, “How long did you have that gun prior to your arrest?” for each of the three guns discussed. Note that the answers to this question refer *not* to the time that the gun has been in circulation, but rather to the time that it has been in Rs’ hands. Results are presented in Figures 6-2a and 6-2b. The mean time to crime for CIS Rs’ crime gun was about 448 days, or about one year and two and a half months. There were a few Rs who had owned the crime gun for many years, but they were outliers. The median time to crime for the gun owned by

CIS Rs was far less, namely 61 days, or 2 months. In fact, Figure 6-2a shows that almost one third of guns had an average time to crime of less than one month, and almost a quarter less than a week. For the most part, then, Rs were using recently acquired guns to commit their crimes.

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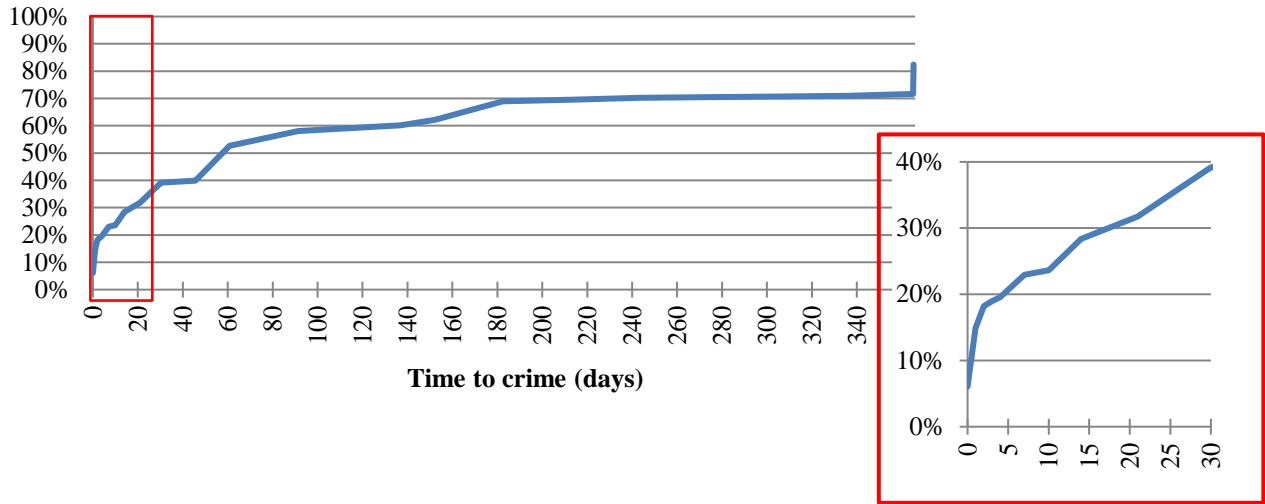
*For the most part, then, Rs were using recently acquired guns to commit their crimes*

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Rs were also asked why they acquired the gun, so we checked to see whether the average time to crime of the gun differed based on their reported reason for obtaining the gun. Overall, about 70% of Rs reported acquiring the gun for general protection. There was a marked difference in median time to crime between those who reported acquiring a gun for general protection compared to those who reported acquiring the gun for protection in an upcoming event, who had an average time to crime of only 21 days. Additionally, about 11% of those who reported the gun as just for general protection had a time to crime of less than 5 days, while 38% of those who acquired the gun because of an upcoming event had such a time to crime.

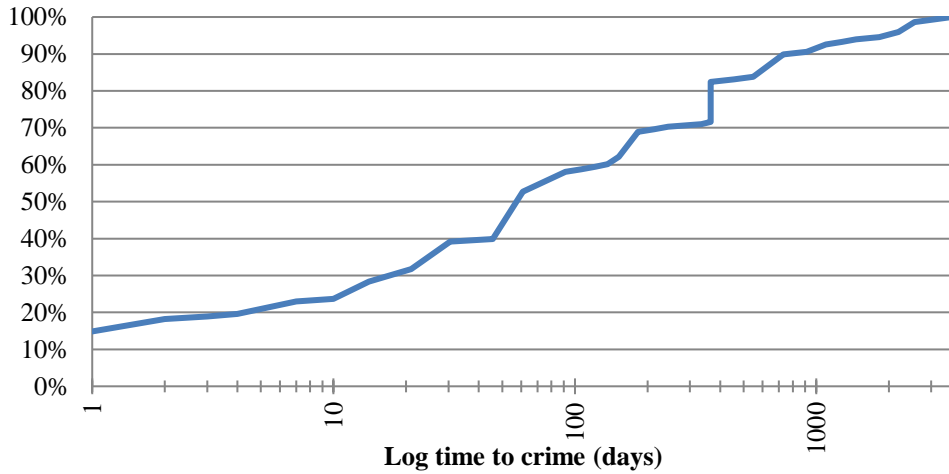
**Figure 6-2a**

*Cumulative Time to Crime in Days (N=148)*



**Figure 6-2b**

*Cumulative Logarithmic Time to Crime in Days (N=148)*



Source: CIS survey data

Note: Two outlier responses were excluded from the figure – one which was 7,304.8 days and another that was 9,496.24 days.

# 7. Selling Guns

## INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, a series of topics related to Rs selling guns were considered, including:

- guns sold by Rs on the underground market;
- importance of trustworthy connections in gun sales; and,
- risk management tactics to avoid arrest during gun sales.

## SELLING OR TRADING GUNS

All CIS Rs were asked a series of questions about selling or trading guns in the six-month time period prior to their arrest. First, they were asked, “Did you sell or trade any guns in the six months before your original arrest?” Surprisingly, only 28 Rs (13%) from the entire sample reported that they had. (An additional 3 Rs refused to answer the question.) Further, over half of Rs who reported selling or trading guns during that time period had only sold or traded one gun, and one-quarter of Rs two guns. In general, Rs seemed to be more willing to trade a gun for either another gun that they felt was better or for drugs than they were to sell a gun, which they perceived as a greater risk. One told the interviewer, “I don’t sell guns, but I traded probably three.”

We thus conclude that if Rs can be believed, selling or trading guns in the months recent to their arrest was quite rare. Throughout the survey, Rs frequently mentioned fear of arrest by police officers, so it is possible that they were concerned about the risks associated with selling guns on the streets. Even those who reported having sold

or traded a gun sometimes mentioned the concern of selling to undercover officers.

### Sale or Trade Transactions

When asked, almost all individuals who sold or traded guns knew the person or people with whom they conducted the transaction. Primarily, they sold to friends or members within their own gang, but several Rs were willing to sell to friends of friends. Despite primarily conducting transactions with close connections during that six month time period, almost 40% reported that they would have been willing to sell a gun to anyone who wanted one. Those who felt differently specifically stated they would only sell to people they knew and trusted.

Almost half of Rs reported a concern about selling to undercover police officers, but others reported that would not be possible since they only conducted transactions with close friends. When asked what in particular Rs had done to avoid arrest while selling guns, they mentioned asking the buyer detailed questions to ensure they were not a police officer. Rs were asked whether they had someone else sell or trade the gun(s) for them or if they completed the transaction personally, and almost all (85%) reported selling the gun themselves, but a few mentioned sending someone else to do it to minimize personal risk of arrest. One R described having accidentally traded a gun to an undercover police officer:

“I was concerned when I traded the gun to the police for the drugs. Scared as hell. Then I thought they was going to turn around and put the drugs and the gun on me. I would have dealt

with the drug case. I mean, you get house arrest for that, one and three, do six months. The drugs and the gun? Now they're talking about 6-30 [years], get kind of messed up, you know. I just came down from that situation."

When asked for the reason they were selling or trading the gun(s), Rs mostly mentioned needing the money or the product for which they traded. They were also likely to report either not needing their current gun anymore or wanting to acquire a different gun. One R (R1421) stated, "He got a gun I want and I got a gun he want, so we gonna trade." Another (R1436) expressed a similar sentiment, "Because you can trade the gun for something [another gun] better than what you have." Only two Rs reported wanting to sell or trade their gun because they had found out it was 'dirty.'

## **CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUALS WHO SELL OR TRADE GUNS**

There was an even age distribution across Rs who reported selling or trading guns.

Similarly, there was an even age distribution of Rs on the number of total arrests for those who reported selling or trading guns. There did not seem to be any differences in those who did or did not trade guns based on age or prior arrests.

However, more gang-involved Rs reported selling or trading at least one gun (20%) than those not involved in a gang (8%). However, none of the Rs mentioned selling or trading the gun for their gang. Gang and non-gang members were about equally as likely to have sold or traded just one gun, but gang members were more likely to report selling or trading multiple guns during that time period.

In total, no one reported individually selling or trading more than twelve guns during the six month time period, and only 1 R reported selling or trading more than 5 guns. This is despite the fact that 12% of Rs reported owning more than 10 guns in that six month time period. Surprisingly, only about one-quarter of those who reported owning more than 10 guns admitted to trading or selling guns during that time.

# 8. Gangs and Guns

## INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, a series of topics related to gangs and guns were considered, including:

- guns owned and shared by gangs;
- gun carrying for gang members; and,
- whether gangs sold guns as a source of income.

## GANG-INVOLVEMENT

Gang membership has long been linked to criminal activity and gun behaviors. Researchers have continued to find that gang members are more likely to be involved in serious crimes like gun violence than are non-gang individuals (Limber, 2000). In Chicago particularly, about 73% of homicide and shooting suspects in 2015 were recorded as gang-affiliated (University of Chicago Crime Lab, 2017).

CIS Rs were asked to self-report their gang involvement. Interviewers first asked, “In the six months prior to your original arrest, were you involved with a gang, clique, crew, or other type of group?” Those who reported they were involved were then asked, “Would you call this group a crew, clique, gang, or other term?” About 40% reported being involved with a group, but only about half of these Rs considered it to be a gang. Others classified the group as a ‘clique,’ ‘family,’ or ‘crew.’ These self-reported gang statistics are fairly consistent with other prison studies across time in large urban cities (Ash, 1996; Barragan, 2016). Interestingly, there was no significant difference in the average number of arrests in Chicago by self-reported gang affiliation<sup>12</sup>.

In an attempt to validate self-reported data, we were also able to examine self-reported gang status in the six month period prior to their arrest compared to Chicago Police Department information on whether the R had ever been recorded as gang involved at the time of an arrest. In total, about 86% of the CIS sample had been marked by police as gang-involved at some point between 1999 and 2016. About 36% of CIS Rs reported being gang-involved and were marked in the administrative data as gang-involved, which would suggest they were being truthful.

Almost half denied gang-involvement but were marked as being involved in a gang at some point. This does not necessarily suggest dishonesty though, since some may have retired from being a gang member and some may have been inaccurately marked as a gang member by police because of the particular area in which they were during the arrest or the other individuals with whom they were arrested. One study found that prison Rs noted that police made assumptions about gang status based on stereotypical factors, like tattoos, baggy clothing, or having a shaved head (Barragan, 2016).

Rs were also asked though about the number of years they had been involved with their particular group. The majority of gang-involved individuals reported being involved with the same gang for 10 years or more. Very few had been involved with the group for fewer than five years,. When asked how they met the members of their current gang or how they became involved, almost all gang-involved Rs reported growing up with

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<sup>12</sup> The average number of arrests in Chicago differences between non-gang individuals, who had an average of about 6 arrests, and gang members who had an average of about 18 arrests using CPD denoted gang affiliation.



members in their neighborhood or school. One R (R1109) described this,

“We all went to school together. We was always together. We just really started it from going to school. Then, when we got out of school, we just started hanging on the block. All of us really stayed there first when we was going to school together from when we were younger.”

The survey questionnaire included questions about the gang itself to get a better understanding of the size and organization of the gang. They were first asked, “We don’t need to know the groups’ name, but does your group have a name?” About 83% reported the group did have a name, which is highly consistent with findings in other studies (Limber, 2000). They were next asked, “I don’t need to know the symbol, but does your group have a symbol?” About 70% reported the group had a symbol. Next, they were asked, “Would you say that your group has fewer than 10 people, 10-20 people, or more than 20 people?” About 78% reported that the group had more than 20 members, suggesting that for the most part Rs were not speaking of small groups of friends, but rather large and likely organized groups or gangs.

## **GANGS AND ACCESS TO FIREARMS**

### **Gangs and Stashes of Guns**

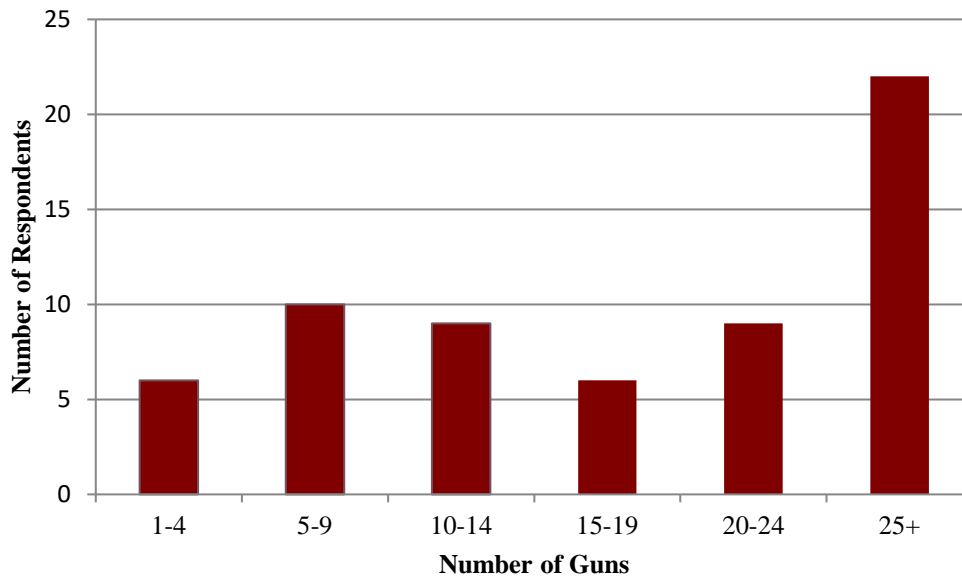
Each gang-involved R was asked a series of questions related to his gang’s use of guns. He was first asked whether the gang had a stash of guns. About three-quarters of Rs in gangs stated their gang had a stash of guns, which again is consistent with other studies (Limber, 2000). Cook et al. (2007) found that gangs in Chicago controlled stashes of guns, which the leader would distribute to members to fulfill business operations for the gang. Figure 8-1 provides the distribution of the number of guns reported in gang stashes. Over 50% of CIS Rs who stated their gang had a stash of guns reported the gang had more than 15 guns in the stash, and about 40% reported the gang had more than 25 guns in the stash. Thus, the majority of Rs belonged to a group that seemed to have numerous guns in their possession at any one time.

### **Gun Carrying**

Rs were also asked to identify who within the gang could carry a gun and during what times they were likely to carry a gun. Interviewers asked, “Did every member of the (crew/cliq/ue/gang/OTHER NAME) carry a gun?” to which only about 30% responded ‘yes.’ About 40% of gang-involved Rs reported that there was someone within the gang who determined which members could carry a gun and when. Cook et al. (2007) has similarly argued that the gang leader typically distributes guns from the gang stash when needed for the business interests of the gang.

**Figure 8-1**

*Distribution of Number of Guns in Gang Stashes (N=62)*



*Source:* CIS survey data

Rs described that the decision of who could carry a gun largely depended on who in the group was known for being willing to shoot if needed. One R (R1041) described this, “He’d say if they’re not going to shoot it, they’re not going to carry it.” Additionally, it seemed important to consider whether the person was deemed trustworthy enough, meaning that they would not be irresponsible with the gun or get the gun confiscated by police. A few explained that younger members were given the guns to carry since they likely had fewer prior arrests and would get less jail time for being under the age of 18 years old, which is fairly well documented in the literature (Cook et al., 2007). One R (R1113) described this,

“The older people, the old homies, they usually give it to the young boys so they don’t get caught with it. The young people, they got an advantage to get out of jail because they juvenile.”

When asked when or why gang members would carry guns, there were a variety of responses. Interestingly, most Rs reported that gang members (though not necessarily all members of a gang) would carry guns all the time. One R explained, “They carried them every day, wherever they went. To the corner store, they can just ride around in the car, they could just be standing outside, they got it.” Other studies have found that those associated with a gang had higher rates of gun carrying than non-gang individuals (Limber, 2000; Watkins et al., 2008). The second most common response was that members would carry when the gang was at war with a rival gang, especially any time members left the neighborhood. The third most common response was that guns were carried any time individuals were carrying out some type of illegal activity, including drug transactions.

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*Interestingly, most Rs reported that gang members (though not necessarily all members of a gang) would carry guns all the time*

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## **GANG MEMBERS' PERSONAL GUN OWNERSHIP AND USE**

### **Gun Ownership and Acquisition**

Looking at gun ownership by self-reported gang status, we find slight differences in whether Rs owned guns in the six months prior to their arrest. About 89% of those involved in gangs possessed a gun at that time, while only 68% of non-gang members did. These results are in line with findings from other studies (Barragan, 2016; Watkins et al., 2008). Interestingly, there was no significant difference in the percentage of gang-members compared to non-gang members who reported sharing a gun with others. Gang members were about twice as likely to report acquiring a gun as a gift (13%) compared to non-gang members (7%). Additionally, gang members were more likely to report acquiring the crime gun from another gang member (8%) compared to non-gang members (2%).

While there were some differences in gun ownership and methods of acquisition by gang status, the reported reasons for acquiring guns were mostly the same. The majority of both non-gang members (68%) and self-reported gang members (72%) reported acquiring a gun for general protection. A slightly higher percentage of those in a gang (8%) reported acquiring a gun to shoot in an impending event, while only about 3% of non-gang members did.

### **Ease of Acquisition for Gang Members**

All CIS Rs were asked whether they believed it was more difficult for someone in their neighborhood who was not in a gang or other group to get guns and ammunition. About 70% of Rs felt it would not be more difficult without gang involvement. Fifteen Rs reported not being sure.

On average, when Rs were asked how long they were looking for a gun before they found one, there was no difference in the average number of days it took. However, gang members were more likely to report actively searching for a gun at the time they acquired the crime gun (46%) compared to non-gang members (22%). Overall, while gang members were more likely to report owning a gun in the six months prior to their arrest and were more likely to actively seek out a gun, it was not necessarily easier for gang members to acquire guns relative to non-gang members in the CIS sample.

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*Overall, while gang members were more likely to report owning a gun in the six months prior to their arrest and were more likely to actively seek out a gun, it was not necessarily easier for gang members to acquire guns relative to non-gang members in the CIS sample*

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### **Gun Use**

When asked about gun use in the six months prior to their arrest, self-identified gang members were about twice as likely as non-gang individuals to report having fired a gun. However, those in gangs and those not were almost equally as likely to report that they had only fired a gun for target practice. These groups were equally likely to have reported firing a gun on more than 3 occasions for a reason other than target practice during that

six month period. These shooting occurrences may have also included shooting the gun for “fun,” which many Rs mentioned happens during certain holidays, like Independence Day or New Year’s Eve. These findings seem contradictory to other studies, which find gang members are more likely to report firing a weapon for an illegal, aggressive reason (Limber, 2000).

## **GANGS SELLING GUNS**

Rs who admitted to gang-involvement were asked a series of questions about their gang and selling guns. Only about 44% of Rs reported being in a gang that sold guns. However, even of these, only about 18% reported that selling guns was an important source of income for their group. Quite a few Rs expressed the sentiment that their gang was more in the business of acquiring guns than selling them, which R1181 responded to the interviewer’s question, “No. We’d mostly buy guns. We wasn’t really quick to sell any.” Cook et al. (2007) argued that gangs in Chicago may avoid selling guns to avoid attracting law enforcement. Instead, they tend to focus their time and resources selling illegal drugs, which is a lucrative underground market (Cook et al., 2007; Levitt, 2000). When asked about the number of guns typically sold by their gang per month, about

41% reported they sold five or fewer guns, another 41% reported 7 or more guns, and the final 18% reported they were not sure about the exact number sold. A few reported large numbers of guns being sold, with one R (R1081) telling the interviewer, “200-300 or more.”

Rs were also asked who their gangs sold guns to, and most reported to members of the same gang (51%), and friends or family members (46%), but 38% stated that the gang would sell guns to anyone. One R (1021) described this,

“To be honest, technically, we don’t even sell guns. We get the guns, we’re not going to sell them unless a family member or somebody, like they really needed it, and then we’ll just uh, ‘Give us such and such,’ but as far as like just selling guns, no, we wouldn’t sell them.”

In conclusion, the CIS results tend to suggest that gangs play a role in the underground gun market in Chicago, primarily through obtaining guns and distributing them to members to use when needed. Few gangs were routinely engaged in selling to non-gang members.

# 9. Ammunition

## INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, a series of topics related to ammunition acquisition and use were discussed, including:

- perceived sources of ammunition for those in their neighborhood;
- acquisition methods and sources for R; and,
- target practice and use of ammunition.

Ammunition access is an important consideration for reducing gun violence, with some policy makers arguing that cutting off or limiting access to ammunition can be effective in curbing gun violence, because guns are not any more harmful than other blunt objects if they are not loaded with ammunition. Some believe that cutting off access to ammunition may be more effective at reducing gun violence than directing efforts to limit firearm access, since guns are durable and numerous, while ammunition is expendable (Cook, Ludwig, & Braga, 2005a; Tita, Braga, Ridgeway, & Pierce, 2006).

## AMMUNITION REGULATIONS

Federal law prohibits ammunition purchases and possession for the same categories of people prohibited from purchasing firearms, but does not require ammunition sellers to be licensed, to conduct background checks of buyers, or to verify that a person is of legal age to purchase ammunition. This *laissez faire* approach was adopted in 1986, when Congress repealed many of the provisions in the federal Gun Control Act of 1968 that had initially regulated ammunition purchases.

Since then, there have been no substantive federal regulations on retail commerce in ammunition. According to federal law, it is even legal to ship ammunition directly to a purchaser's home.

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*Under statutes 65/2(a)(2) and 65/3(a), Illinois requires residents to obtain a FOID card before they can lawfully purchase or possess ammunition*

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Six states, including Illinois, have enacted their own laws to regulate the sale, possession, purchase, and use of ammunition. Under statutes 65/2(a)(2) and 65/3(a), Illinois requires residents to obtain a FOID card before they can lawfully purchase or possess ammunition. Similar to firearm transfers, it is illegal to transfer ammunition in Illinois unless the transferee also has a currently valid FOID card. FOID card ownership must also be verified if the ammunition is purchased out of state or is shipped to a purchaser's home. Therefore, because few or none of our Rs had FOID cards, any ammunition acquired was likely done so illegally.

## PERCEPTION OF ACQUISITION IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Rs were first asked how individuals were able to access ammunition in their neighborhood, similar to the question in Chapter 6 about gun acquisition in the neighborhood, to first understand perceptions on ammunition access. Interviewers asked, "How can

someone get ammunition in your neighborhood?” and allowed multiple responses. They also asked, “Do people in your neighborhood get ammunition from the same or different sources as guns?” It was important to understand whether ammunition was only acquired with a gun, or if Rs were specifically seeking out additional ammunition from different sources over time.

As shown in Table 9-1, the most common source of ammunition in the neighborhood mentioned by Rs was a straw purchase (34%), where a person legally able to obtain ammunition using a FOID card would purchase the ammunition for someone else. This number is notably higher than the number of Rs who said that people in their neighborhood acquired guns through straw purchases (21%). This difference suggests that straw purchasing may be perceived as a more feasible method for acquiring ammunition, which cannot be traced back to the purchaser, while gun purchases are documented and easily traced back.

Rs also frequently described ammunition as being bought (27%), both through what the R believed were legal means (i.e., from a store) and through illegal means. For example, Rs perceived that going to Indiana to obtain ammunition from a gun store was legal, even though it would in fact not be legal (because of federal laws) for anyone with a prior felony conviction, but could be easy since a FOID card would not be required. Over 25% of Rs said that friends and family members were common sources of ammunition in their neighborhood, and 19% said that strangers were common sources. Other commonly perceived sources included gang members

(29%) and theft (9%). Of the 221 Rs asked, about 11% said they did not know how ammunition came into their neighborhood.

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*Straw purchasing may be perceived as more feasible method for acquiring ammunition, which cannot be traced back to the purchaser, while gun purchasers are documented and easily traced back*

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CIS Rs were asked whether individuals in their neighborhood obtained ammunition from the same or different sources as guns, and almost half reported that it was sometimes or mostly from the same source. In some instances it seemed that certain individuals were provided ammunition when they purchased the gun, and some may have not ever needed to acquire more.

## **SOURCES AND METHODS OF Rs ACQUISITIONS**

Later in the survey, all Rs who had not denied all use of guns throughout the interview were asked, “How did you most often get ammunition? Did you buy it, trade for it, borrow it, take it from someone or somewhere, share it with someone, did someone buy it for your, or was it a gift?” Rs were then asked a series of follow-up questions depending on their method of acquisition. For example, if the R said that they most often bought ammunition, they were asked, “Where or from whom did you buy it?” and “How much did you pay for it?” Table 9-2 displays these results.

**Table 9-1**

*Sources and Methods for Acquiring Ammunition in Respondent's Neighborhood*

	# of respondents	% of all respondents
Straw purchases	74	33.5%
Bought	60	27.2%
Friends/family members	56	25.3%
Strangers	42	19.0%
R's own gang	34	15.4%
Another gang	31	14.0%
Theft	20	9.1%
Acquaintances	16	7.2%
On the street	14	6.3%
Police or other officials	12	5.4%
Same source as guns	12	5.4%
Networking around	12	5.4%
Out of town	9	4.1%
Other	6	2.7%
Refused	1	0.5%
Don't know	25	11.3%

Source: CIS survey data

Note 1: Multiple responses were allowed, so percentage total will be more than 100%.

Note 2: For responses coded as "bought legally," it is not always clear whether it would have actually been a legal purchase. Many respondents seemed to believe that straw purchasing or going to Indiana to purchase ammunition was legal.

Rs' descriptions of how they personally acquired ammunition differed in some ways from descriptions of ammunition acquisition in their neighborhoods. Nearly 50% of Rs said that they bought their ammunition. When then asked who they bought the ammunition from, the most common

response was "someone on the street," with nearly equal numbers of Rs saying they knew this person as those saying it was purchased from a stranger. The second most common response for the identity of the ammunition seller was a friend, followed by a gang member. Other Rs mentioned buying



from a family member or a store such as Wal-Mart. Only two Rs mentioned from gun

shows or from a pawn shop, and none mentioned acquiring the ammunition online.

**Table 9-2**  
*R's Main Method for Acquiring Ammunition*

	# of respondents	% of respondents
Bought it	107	48.4%
Someone bought it for R	33	14.9%
Received it as gift	7	3.2%
Obtained it with the gun	6	2.7%
Borrowed it	5	2.3%
Never obtained ammunition	4	1.8%
Other	17	7.7%
Not applicable	31	14.0%
Missing	6	2.7%
Refused	4	1.8%
Don't know	1	0.5%
Total	221	100%

Source: CIS survey data

The second most common response for how Rs acquired ammunition for themselves was having someone else buy it for them (15%). However, for the most part, these did not seem to be straw purchases from an FFL, but rather someone buying ammunition for them on the street. Only about 15% of Rs stated that they usually had someone buy ammunition for them, compared to 33% who said people in their neighborhoods acquired ammunition through straw purchases. Rs also mentioned receiving the ammunition as a gift, receiving it with a gun acquisition, or borrowing it, though these responses were less frequent.

**Ease of Acquiring Ammunition**

Rs who admitted to acquiring ammunition at some point (n=180) were asked, “How long did it normally take you to obtain more ammunition?” The majority of Rs said it would take just days to obtain more ammunition, and almost 40% stated it would take a day or less. To compare, only about 15% of Rs stated it would take a day or less to acquire a gun. Only 15 Rs said it would take a month or more to acquire ammunition. Thus, Rs seemed to find it easy to acquire new ammunition when they wished to do so, especially compared to gun acquisition.



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*The majority of Rs said it would take just days to obtain more ammunition, and almost 40% stated it would take a day or less*

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Rs who indicated that they had paid in some way for their ammunition (n=102) were asked, "How much did you pay for the ammunition?" Most Rs reported paying between \$20 and \$60 on average for 50 bullets. However, 17 reported paying less than that, and 18 reported paying more. Some Rs reported not spending any money on ammunition, since it had come "free" with a gun they purchased.

Previous research has indicated that the market for ammunition in Chicago may be tighter than the market for guns (Cook, Ludwig, & Braga, 2005b). People interviewed reported having a more difficult time accessing ammunition than guns, and faced considerable markups in prices compared to the legal market (Cook et al., 2005a).

## **TARGET PRACTICE AND USE OF GUNS**

Each R who had not denied firearm access during the initial parts of the survey was later asked, "In the six months prior to your original arrest, did you ever fire a gun for target practice, for fun, or for another reason?" If the R said yes, they were asked, "On how many occasions did you fire the gun in those six months?", "On how many occasions did you fire the gun specifically for target practice in those six months?" and "In total, how many rounds of ammunition would you say you fired in the six months before your original arrest?" Even though most Rs had at least one arrest for some type of gun crime, the majority of

the current sentencing charges were for some type of unlawful possession of a gun, making it unclear the extent to which Rs had actually been using the illegally possessed gun(s). Thus, these questions help to provide additional information on how often and for what reason Rs used guns in the six months prior to their arrest. Eight Rs declined to answer questions about their use of ammunition during that time period.

Only about 40% of Rs reported firing a gun in the six months prior to their arrest. Cook et al. (2007) found that even gang members and criminals who were repeat offenders tended to use guns only by brandishing the weapon as a threat or having it as a backup means of protection. Of the Rs who reported that they had fired a gun in the six months leading up to their arrest, most said they had only fired occasionally. The majority (65%) reported firing a gun 5 or fewer times in those six months. About one-quarter of Rs reported firing a gun between 5 and 20 times, and just 10 Rs said they had fired a gun more than 20 times in those six months. Two Rs reported firing a gun 100 times or more.

About half of the instances that Rs reported firing a gun were for a reason other than target practice. Rs were not asked for the other reason they fired the gun, and many did not offer the information unprompted. A few mentioned firing the gun for fun, or on New Year's, the Fourth of July or another cause for celebration. R1194 said he personally fired a gun on New Year's and others in his neighborhood would fire celebratory shots as well, saying, "Yeah. They're always ... If the Bulls win, they're shooting." Others mentioned test-firing the gun prior to acquiring it in order to make sure it was functioning properly.

Some Rs, however, offered an explanation for why they did not use guns more for fun or target practice, explaining that ammunition

was too valuable to waste. For example, one R (R1415) said, “No. Where I’m from you don’t just shoot at things. If you got you a target and you want to go get it, go get it. You don’t waste bullets.” Another (R1228) agreed, saying: “You got some people who don’t do like kids do on the Fourth of July and January the first, New Year’s, shoot bullets. No, they preserve them because we never know when we going to have a gun war. They ain’t wasting no bullets, we don’t waste no bullets.” This is interesting because it suggests that many people illegally armed with guns may not have a lot of practice or experience in shooting the gun.

To understand more about which CIS Rs were choosing to fire guns for purposes other than target practice, we ran a few cross-tabulations with other influential factors. There seemed to be little correlation between age and gun use, although in general those who reported firing guns were, at the time of the interview, under the age of 30. There was also no significant correlation between the reported reason for acquiring a gun and

whether or not they reported firing it. Rs who said they had acquired a gun for protection were just as likely to report firing it as those who had said that they acquired the gun specifically to shoot it in an impending event.

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*Self-identified gang members comprised almost all of the Rs who reported firing a gun on more than 20 occasions in the six months prior to arrest*

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Finally, we looked at whether or not Rs who reported being involved in a gang or group were more likely to have also fired a gun. It seemed that self-reported gang members were more likely to report gun use, with about 60% of Rs who reported firing a gun in the six month time period also identifying as gang members. Additionally, self-identified gang members comprised almost all of the Rs who reported firing a gun on more than 20 occasions in the six months prior to arrest.

# 10. Cooperation with Police

## INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we examined a series of topics related to cooperation with police officers, including:

- willingness to cooperate after gun victimization;
- who is most likely to cooperate;
- the reasons for not cooperating; and
- overall mistrust of police officers.

## WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH THE POLICE

The following question was asked of all Rs who reported having been victims of gun violence in the CIS: “When you were shot (at), did you call the police?” This was followed up with, “When you were shot (at), did the police ask you about the shooting?” If Rs said the police asked them about the shooting, they were then asked, “Did you willingly discuss the shooting with the police?” Table 10-1 displays the results from these three questions.

**Table 10-1**

*Percentage of Respondent Cooperation by Whether Respondents were Shot or Shot at*

	Shot at	Shot	Total
<b>Called police when shot/shot at</b>			
No	96.0%	79.8%	87.8%
Yes	3.0%	19.2%	11.2%
Missing	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%
<b>Willingly speak with police</b>			
No	21.8%	51.0%	36.6%
Yes	6.9%	26.0%	16.6%
Police didn't ask	71.3%	23.1%	46.8%
<b>Total #</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>205</b>

*Source:* CIS survey data

*Sample:* Respondents who reported having been shot at or shot, N=205.

Cooperation with the police in instances of gun violence is important, particularly

because it affects the police officer's ability to investigate the crime, as well as the

victim's ability to receive proper treatment. Victims are typically the most important witnesses and information sources assisting police after a violent incident. Studies have shown willingness to cooperate with the police is influenced by both direct and indirect prior experiences with law enforcement. A study similar to the CIS conducted in Los Angeles in 2014 found gun offenders reported being frequently harassed, disrespected, or physically abused by the police, which in turn compromised their willingness to cooperate with the police (Barragan, 2016). Perceptions of law enforcement are also heavily influenced by vicarious experiences with the police, and perceptions in minority neighborhoods seem to be particularly affected by negative stories circulating about the police (Rosenbaum, 2005). In order to increase police-victim cooperation in high-crime neighborhoods, it is important to understand why and under what circumstances individuals may be willing to speak with law enforcement officers.

### **Shooting Incidents**

As shown in Table 10-1, police cooperation was rare among Rs during incidents in which they had been shot or shot at. Only a small minority (11%) of Rs reported calling the police when they were victims of gun violence, though markedly more Rs called the police when they were actually shot (19%) than when they were shot at (3%). This is likely a result of those who had been shot needing medical care. Many of those who were shot reported that someone who they were with at the time of the incident called emergency services when R was wounded. Few Rs were willing to speak to the police, even if they or their friends had called for emergency services. In cases where law enforcement officials had contact with the R, only 7% of those who were shot at and 26% of those shot reported willingly speaking

with the police. Given the perceived stigma and risk of retaliation that result from assisting the police, our estimates may undercount those who spoke with the police, since Rs may not be willing to admit cooperating even if they did (Barragan, 2016). Similar surveys conducted in St. Louis and Los Angeles found that offenders avoided enlisting police help whenever possible, and only initiated contact with police when they or a close friend or family member were in immediate and serious danger (Barragan, 2016; Rosenfeld, 2003).

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*Only 7% of those who were shot at and 26% of those shot reported willingly speaking with the police*

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Notably, 23% of Rs in the CIS who were shot reported the police never questioned them about the shooting. Across all Rs who had been either shot or shot at, nearly half said the police had not questioned them about the shooting. This suggests there was a high percentage of cases in which the police either had no knowledge someone was shot or the police were not able to identify the victim.

The lack of cooperation impairs police investigations, since victims often have valuable information. Rs were asked whether or not they knew the person who had shot or shot at them. They were asked first, "What happened the most recent time you were shot (at)?" When relating the encounter, many Rs mentioned the identity of their shooter. All Rs who were victims of gun violence were additionally asked, "Did you know the person who shot (at) you?" If the R said they did know or know of the person, they were asked, "How well did you know him or her?" Almost half of respondents who were shot or shot at reported that the shooter was a

stranger. Another 22% reported more generally that it was someone they knew or recognized. Close to 14% reported that they knew it was a gang member who shot or shot at them.

Table 10-2 shows the percentage of Rs who willingly spoke with the police by whether Rs knew the shooter. In total, 39% of Rs who were shot could have provided information to the police about the identity of their shooter (n=41), but only five of these 41 respondents willingly spoke with the police. One quarter of those who knew the identity of the shooter

reported the police did not question them about the shooting, possibly because the police were unaware of the shooting or of the identity of the victim.

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*In total, 39% of Rs who were shot could have provided information to the police about the identity of their shooter (n=41), but only five of these 41 respondents willingly spoke with the police*

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**Table 10-2**

*Willingly Spoke with Police by Whether Respondent Knew the Shooter (of those shot only)*

	Shooter unknown	Shooter known	R shot himself	Missing	Total
No	28 46.7%	25 61.0%	0	0	53 51.0%
Yes	22 36.7%	5 12.2%	0	0	27 26.0%
Police didn't inquire	10 16.7%	11 26.8%	2 100%	1 100%	24 23.1%
Total	60 100%	41 100%	2 100%	1 100%	104 100%

Source: CIS survey data

Table 10-2 shows that Rs who were shot and did not know their shooter (n=60) were in fact more likely to speak with the police (37%) than those who knew their shooter (12%). Though not directly asked about in the CIS, this result may reflect Rs' fear of retaliation or a desire to take justice into their own hands, which was found in some of the qualitative responses participants provided. Other studies have found individuals who knew the identity of a person who had committed a crime feared retaliation if they

'snitched' (Barragan, 2016; Rosenfeld, 2003) or wanted to seek their own revenge after an assault on their person or reputation (Anderson, 1999).

## **REASONS FOR COOPERATING WHEN SHOT**

In an effort to identify patterns in cooperation, we first considered whether cooperation differed by various background

factors that could seemingly be related to willingness to cooperate. Table 10-3 shows results for police cooperation by whether R reported frequent gunfire in his neighborhood, whether R was a self-reported gang member, and R's number of prior arrests. Results show in neighborhoods without reported frequent gunfire Rs were less likely to call police (8%) than those who lived in neighborhoods with frequent gunfire (21%). However, there were no significant differences in willingness to speak with police, as Table 10-3 shows. Table 10-3 also shows that self-identified gang members were slightly less likely to willingly cooperate when interviewed (20%) than were other Rs (30%). Further analysis in Table 10-3 revealed some correlation between police cooperation and criminal history (number of arrests). Those who had more prior arrests were less likely to call the police, but not necessarily less likely to cooperate with the police.

Next, we explored whether cooperation with the police differed by the identity of the individual who shot R. Of those who were shot or shot at and who described the identity of their shooter (n=80), many specified the shooter was a gang member (35%), while some specified it was someone they knew very well (29%), and others described the shooter as being someone they recognized or an acquaintance (29%). All of the individuals who reported being shot by a gang member stated they did not call the police when they were shot or shot at. In comparison, about 18% of those who reported knowing or recognizing their shooter (who was not a gang member) reported calling the police. Being shot by a gang member was negatively associated with R's willingness to cooperate with the police.

Finally, we looked at cooperation with police by the reported reason for the shooting when data were available. When Rs who had been

victimized were asked, "What happened (the time/the most recent time) you were [shot/shot at]? Please tell me about it," many mentioned the reason for the shooting. The most common reasons listed for those who were shot were a fight or altercation, a gang-involved shooting, or a robbery. Consistent with the results above, we found none of the Rs who were shot as a result of a gang-related conflict had called the police. Very few of those who had been in a fight or altercation reported calling the police (9%), and some of these Rs reported they were afraid of being implicated in the fight. Finally, those who reported being robbed were most likely to report being willing to speak with the police if police inquired about the shooting (57%), but they were still resistant to calling the police in the first place, with only 13% reported making the call.

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*Being shot by a gang member was negatively associated with R's willingness to cooperate with the police*

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### **Reported Reasons for Not Cooperating**

Rs were not specifically asked for the reasons underlying their cooperation or lack of cooperation with the police, but some offered additional information that was captured by the interview audio recordings. Qualitative information was pulled from 139 interview audio recordings, and many did offer explanations for their choice not to cooperate with the police. A few gave pragmatic reasons: One R (R1121) said he did not call the police when he was shot because the police were already nearby, and one R (R1005) said he did not call the police when he was shot because the police were the ones who shot him. This explanation may have applied to two other Rs, who also reported that the person who had shot them was a



police officer and reported they had not called the police after the incident. A few other Rs reported fear of arrest as a reason for not calling, such as (R1228), who said he did

not call the police when he was shot, despite knowing the identity of his shooter, because he had warrants out for his arrest.

**Table 10-3**

*Willingness to Cooperate with Police by Respondents' Background Characteristics*

	No cooperation	Willing to cooperate	Police not called	Total # Respondents
<b>Frequent gunfire in neighborhood</b>				
No	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	12
Yes	51.7%	26.4%	22.0%	91
<b>R gang-involved</b>				
No	50.8%	29.9%	19.4%	67
Yes	54.3%	20.0%	25.7%	35
Refused	0	0	100.0%	1
<b>Number of prior arrests</b>				
1-10	54.6%	13.6%	31.8%	7
11-20	43.6%	33.3%	23.1%	
21+	57.1%	26.2%	16.7%	221

Source: CIS survey data

Most Rs who possessed additional information, however, attributed their lack of cooperation with the police to mistrust of the police or a belief that the police do not care about their well-being. When asked if the police inquired about the shooting, one R (R1023) said, “No, they don’t care.” Another (R1014) said police will question victims briefly about the shooting, but drop the investigation if the victim does not know who the shooter was, explaining: “They really don’t care to tell you the truth. To them it’s like, okay, that’s one less guy we got to worry about.” Other Rs expressed mistrust or dislike for the police to explain why they did not call the police or would not willingly talk to the police, even when they were victims of

a shooting. Many drew on personal examples of negative experiences with the police, or recounted stories they had heard from friends and family.

Several Rs described a prevailing attitude of unwillingness to talk to the police in their neighborhood. Their responses describe norms on the street and a desire from those in their communities to handle their own affairs. One R who was shot at (R1140) said “No, you know, growing up in our neighborhood, that ain’t what you do. You don’t call the police.” Another (R1122) said, “Most of the times out of 10, they not going to get no straight answer no way, from a person that’s involved in street activity. Because people

handle their own justice.” This is consistent with the literature, which finds offenders and gang members see cooperating with the police as against their “code” and view cooperation as snitching (Anderson, 1999; Barragan, 2016; Jacobs & Wright, 2006; Rosenfeld, 2003).

Street code has been described as a cultural alternative to laws and legal systems, stemming from a profound lack of faith in the police and the judicial system. Residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods who do not trust the police feel they must take their personal safety into their own hands. Cooperation with police is also perceived as a threat to one’s own credibility, or could potentially make one a target for retaliation. Fears of these consequences ultimately outweigh the benefits of providing information about the incident to the police. CIS Rs did not specifically mention fear of retaliation as a reason for not cooperating, but many mentioned the existing gang wars and the overall resultant fear they felt in their neighborhood.

In a few cases, unwillingness to cooperate with the police resulted in CIS Rs forgoing or abandoning medical treatment. Rs (R1165, R1184) mentioned driving themselves to the hospital rather than calling the police, or extracting bullets themselves when shot rather than seeking medical attention at all. R1228 said, “I couldn’t go to the hospital because I had warrants and I was going to end up being in jail.”

Illinois statute 20 ILCS 2630/3.2 requires medical personnel, physicians, and nurses to notify local law enforcement when it is clear a person entering the facility has received an injury resulting from the discharge of a firearm. Rs who were aware of this requirement may have avoided medical attention for their wounds in order to avoid contact with the police, but this did not seem

to be widespread. Some Rs though described this sentiment, such as one R (R1122) who said, “Yeah, when you go to the hospital they always ask you who did it or whatever, you know, you just tell them, ‘I don’t know who it was.’” Some researchers speculate that it is common for gunshot victims to forego medical treatment for fear of being reported to the police (Kleck, 1997). However, the direct evidence suggests otherwise; a survey of inmates of five jails found that 90% of inmates who had been shot were treated in a hospital (May et al., 2002).

Mistrust of the police was not limited to discussion during the shooting narrative – throughout the interviews, Rs consistently reported a deep mistrust of police officers. They spoke of set-ups, being targeted by the police, or that police officers do not care about them or will not help them. Some (ie, R1237, R1153, R1421) expressed the belief that the police add to fear in communities rather than make residents feel safe. These CIS results support prior studies on police legitimacy and cooperation among jail and prison inmates. Barragan et al., 2016 found most Rs reported not trusting the police, mainly because they had been mistreated, harassed, and discriminated against by law enforcement. A large share of Barragan’s Rs additionally said their current case was a police set-up, and many Rs held the belief that police are unable to secure their communities (Barragan, 2016). Other studies have similarly found that police legitimacy is linked to procedural justice and positive individual encounters with the police. In turn, high perceptions of police legitimacy are correlated with higher levels of cooperation with the police (Rosenbaum, 2005; Tyler, 2008; Weisburd & Majmundar, 2017).

In sum, Rs in the CIS were largely unwilling to cooperate with the police and many expressed a deep sense of mistrust of the police. Those who were personally in a gang



or were shot by someone in a gang as part of a gang-involved shooting were least likely to speak with police. This unwillingness to interact with law enforcement led to important information on crimes being

withheld from the police and sometimes interfered with Rs' ability to get medical attention when they were victims of gun violence.

# 11. Perceptions of Legal Risks and Risk Management

## INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we examine survey responses related to perceptions of legal risks associated with gun carrying and the risk management behaviors Rs engage in:

- how respondents perceive and predict police action;
- precautions Rs take to avoid being caught with a gun; and
- Rs' analysis of the competing risks associated with gun carrying

## PERCEPTIONS OF CONSEQUENCES FOR GUN-RELATED CRIMES

To better understand how CIS Rs perceived law enforcement and criminal justice systems, we presented them with three hypothetical situations and asked follow-up questions. The use of scenarios in surveys, sometimes referred to as 'experimental vignette methodology,' is common in social science research. Participants are presented with carefully constructed and realistic scenarios to assess intentions, attitudes, and behaviors. This strategy allows researchers to manipulate independent variables through the scenario. Scenarios are known to increase external and internal validity, remove barriers of self-incrimination for participants, and gain participant interest (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014). The three situations in the CIS are presented below, and Table 11-1 displays participant responses for each situation.

Situation One: "A young man is walking down the street near his home. He is stopped by the police who frisk him and find a gun. He does not have a gun license. This man does not have a felony record."

Situation Two: "A young man is walking down the street near his home. He is stopped by the police, who frisk him and find a gun. He does not have a gun license. The man is known to be in a gang and has previously served time in prison."

Situation Three: "A young man without a felony record is walking down the street near his home. He is stopped by the police, who frisk him and find a gun. He does not have a gun license. The police take the gun and let him go. They conduct a background check on the gun, and find that it had been used previously in a crime."

After each scenario was read aloud by the interviewer, Rs were asked, "What do you think the police will do? Will they arrest him, give him a warning, make a deal with him, or something else?" Multiple responses were allowed for each question, to obtain a more comprehensive picture of how Rs viewed police action. Rs were then asked, "Will the police take the gun?" followed by "Will this man end up spending time in jail or prison?" If R said the man would spend time in jail or prison, he was asked, "How long do you predict this man will spend in jail or prison?"

**Table 11-1**  
*Jail/Prison Time Length in Hypothetical Situations*

	Situation 1: No FOID	Situation 2: No FOID, felon, gang member	Situation 3: No FOID, dirty gun
No jail/prison time	14.0%	6.3%	30.3%
Probation	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Less than one year	22.6%	3.2%	7.7%
One year	7.2%	3.6%	2.3%
Two years	19.9%	7.2%	2.7%
Three - Five years	14.0%	31.7%	10.4%
Six + years	1.4%	29.9%	11.3%
Depends on priors	1.4%	5.9%	0.9%
Depends on crime on gun	0.0%	0.0%	18.6%
Other	9.1%	5.4%	5.4%
Missing	5.0%	3.6%	5.9%
Don't know	3.2%	3.2%	4.5%
Total #	221	221	221

Source: CIS survey data

Understanding offenders' perceptions of the criminal justice system is an important piece of the Chicago underground gun market puzzle. Wright and Rossi found criminal Rs tended to have about as much knowledge on gun laws as an average male college student with no criminal justice system experience (Wright & Rossi, 1986). Fear of arrest and predictions about police practices have been shown to affect offenders' behavior regarding gun carrying and use (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015). Therefore, the ways offenders perceive police action and criminal justice punishments for gun offenses – and how accurately they perceive them – could

have implications for the deterrent effects of gun laws and police practices.

### **Perceptions of Criminal Justice System**

The most common responses for what the police would do when stopping an individual illegally carrying a gun but who had no prior felony record, were to arrest the man (77%) or make a deal with the man (38%). Others said it depended on the officer (8%) and a few thought the officer might shoot or kill the man (3%).

As shown in Table 11-1, most Rs believed the man involved would spend time in jail or

prison, with just 14% of Rs believing he would not receive any jail time. The most common response (23% of Rs) was that he would receive incarceration time totaling less than one year, and the second most common response (20%) that he would receive two years in prison. The vast majority of Rs (93%) said the police would take the gun, although a few said that the police would keep the gun to later plant on another suspect.

In response to Situation Two, in which the individual in the scenario was a documented gang member with a criminal history, 82% of Rs believed the police would arrest the man involved, 28% said law enforcement would make a deal with the man, 5% said it depended on the officer, and 4% said the police would shoot or kill the man involved. More Rs said the man in Situation Two would receive jail time than the man in Situation One, since the individual was gang-involved. Rs also believed he would receive a longer sentence than the man in Situation One. Most Rs believed the man in Situation Two would receive at least three years in prison, with about one-third of Rs assigning 3-5 years and another third assigning six or more years in prison.

In response to Situation Three, in which case Rs were told a man without a felony record who did not possess a gun license was caught with a gun that had been involved in a prior shooting, just over half of Rs believed the police would arrest the man involved. About a quarter believed the man could make a deal. In addition, and perhaps explaining why far fewer Rs said the man would spend time in jail or prison than in Situations One or Two, about 15% of Rs said the police would do nothing, and 10% believed the police would put the gun on someone else. It seemed many Rs believed the police would be unwilling or unable to find the man after letting him go, or would use the situation as an opportunity to put a 'dirty' gun on a

different known criminal. About one-third of Rs believed the man involved would not receive any jail time. Of those who said he would spend time in jail, the most common response for length of time was 'Depends on the crime on the gun.' As shown in Table 11-1, other responses for those who said he would spend time in prison spread from less than one year to over six years. Researchers have consistently found many individuals who obtain guns through illegal methods fear purchasing a "dirty gun" that had been used in a crime, which makes it interesting that one-third of CIS Rs believed the individual in Situation Three would not even receive any jail time.

For all three situations, Rs tended to give multiple options for what the police would do. Many said the police response would depend on one or more factors beyond what the situation outlined, indicating Rs viewed police action as somewhat flexible or unpredictable. Rs frequently mentioned how much discretion officers had in each scenario, saying the outcome could vary based on either the officer or the individual in the scenario.

A few themes did emerge from the data. It was clear Rs believed police would prioritize confiscating guns; in Situation One and Situation Two, nearly every R said the police officer would take the gun involved. Rs also understood that an individual's background and potential threat to society would influence police action; most Rs tended to assign more severe consequences to the man in Situation Two, who was a known gang member and had been previously incarcerated.

Another major theme across Rs and scenarios was the idea of law enforcement making a deal with the individual in the scenario. For each scenario, a significant number of Rs said at least one likely outcome of the situation

would be that law enforcement would bargain with the individual to some degree. Rs mainly described two types of deals: one in which the police free the individual in exchange for a second gun, and one in which the prosecutors reduce the charges or free the individual in exchange for information about another person or crime. Many Rs referred to personal experience or experiences of people they knew when describing police deals. For example, one R (R1081) said,

“I have been arrested before on several occasions for drugs and the police told me specifically that if I give them a gun, they will let me go without charging me. Now if the police have it in for me, I’m going directly to the police station and I’m getting locked up.”

Some Rs said the man in the scenario might still receive jail or prison time, but that the time would be lessened if he accepted the deal. Many Rs mentioned if the man refused the deal he would definitely receive prison time.

### **Illinois Gun Laws and Chicago Statistics**

Mandatory minimum sentencing laws for Unlawful Use of Weapon crimes in Illinois make it possible to compare Rs’ predictions to statutory sentence lengths for the crimes depicted in these three scenarios to see whether R’s perceptions align with the sentencing laws. For actions similar to the pattern presented in Situation One, where the individual illegally possessed a gun but had no prior felony record, a person in Illinois could potentially be charged with Aggravated Unlawful Use of a Weapon under statute 720-5/24-1.6(3)(c). This is a class 4 felony for which the sentence is a term of imprisonment of not less than 1 year and not more than 3

years. It is important to note prosecutors involved may make a deal with an individual for a lesser sentence time or an individual may be released from prison early (for good behavior or prison crowding), so these comparisons are not meant to suggest Rs are right or wrong, but rather to examine their perceptions in relation to the sentencing laws.

Of the Rs who said the individual would receive jail or prison time (N=181), about 40% were in line with the sentencing charges for a class 4 felony. Rs were more likely to lowball the length of time in prison, perhaps due to an expectation of a plea bargain to a lesser crime. Of those who said the man would spend time in prison, about 30% estimated the sentence length to be less than the sentencing laws, saying he would receive less than one year or only probation, and about 12% estimated the sentence length to be longer than the sentencing laws. Most who overestimated perceived the individual would be in prison for 1-2 years longer than the 3 years denoted under the sentencing laws.

The nature of Situation Two and Situation Three make it difficult to compare R answers to Illinois law. For Situation Two, unlawful possession or use of a firearm by a felon is a Class 3 felony carrying a minimum of 2 years and a maximum of 10 years prison sentence. This range is large enough that the vast majority of Rs’ answers fell within the range. Further, in Illinois, individuals who are arrested for a gun crime after having previously been convicted for two or more gun or drug crimes may be charged as an Armed Habitual Criminal, which has a much longer mandatory minimum sentence<sup>13</sup>. For Situation Three, the man involved could be charged with a wide range of crimes, depending on if he was tied to the crime on

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<sup>13</sup> <http://www.ilga.gov/legislation/ilcs/fulltext.asp?DocName=072000050K24-1.7>

the gun and what the crime was which is in line with Rs' comments.

## **RISK MANAGEMENT BEHAVIOR**

Previous literature has shown that those who carry illegal guns are more concerned with their safety than the legal punishment for carrying firearms, and they perceive they will be safer with a gun than without (Barragan, 2016; Limber, 2000; Urban Institute, 2018; Webster, Freed, Frattaroli, & Wilson, 2002). The fact that 47% of Rs reported actually being shot suggests that such risk-benefit calculations would be especially important to this CIS sample.

Researchers have found that prohibited gun possessors' decision to carry a gun is often based on a perceived lack of safety in their neighborhoods, a fear of being the victim of a crime, or past experience being direct victims of gun crimes (Barragan, 2016; Sheley & Wright, 1993a; Wright & Rossi, 1985). In order to gauge CIS Rs' perceptions of safety and risk, they were asked about a variety of risk management behaviors relating to owning, acquiring, storing, and selling guns. Examining individuals' risk management behavior regarding guns helps to better-understand the cost-benefit analysis individuals engage in when they make choices to carry or not carry guns.

### **Risk management and owning guns**

In order to legally possess or purchase a gun in Illinois, individuals must have a FOID card. Purchasing or possessing a gun without a FOID card is a felony offense, and carries stricter penalties if the possessor has a prior felony conviction. The majority of CIS Rs had assumed the risk of these legal penalties by purchasing a gun through illicit channels, but they were also asked if and how they modified their behavior to avoid arrest when obtaining and possessing a gun to see

whether they engage in other types of risk management behavior.

Rs were asked, "Have you ever done any of the following to avoid being caught with a gun?" This question was followed by questions about five specific risk management behaviors: hidden a gun, sold/gave away a gun sooner than R wanted, gotten rid of a gun sooner than R wanted, kept a gun with a friend or relative, and chosen not to carry a gun even when R thought it might be useful.

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*Despite the majority of Rs reporting having owned or possessed a gun though they are legally prohibited from doing so, they do seem aware of the risks and are altering their behavior in important ways*

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Figure 11-1 and Table 11-2 show most Rs had employed at least one method in the past to manage the risks associated with illegally carrying a firearm. Of the 213 respondents who answered each risk management question, 71% had hidden a gun; over half had kept a gun with a friend, half chose not to carry their gun, even when they thought it might be useful; 40% had discarded a gun; and 30% had sold a gun earlier than planned. These results show despite the majority of Rs reporting having owned or possessed a gun though they are legally prohibited from doing so, they do seem aware of the risks and are altering their behavior in important ways.

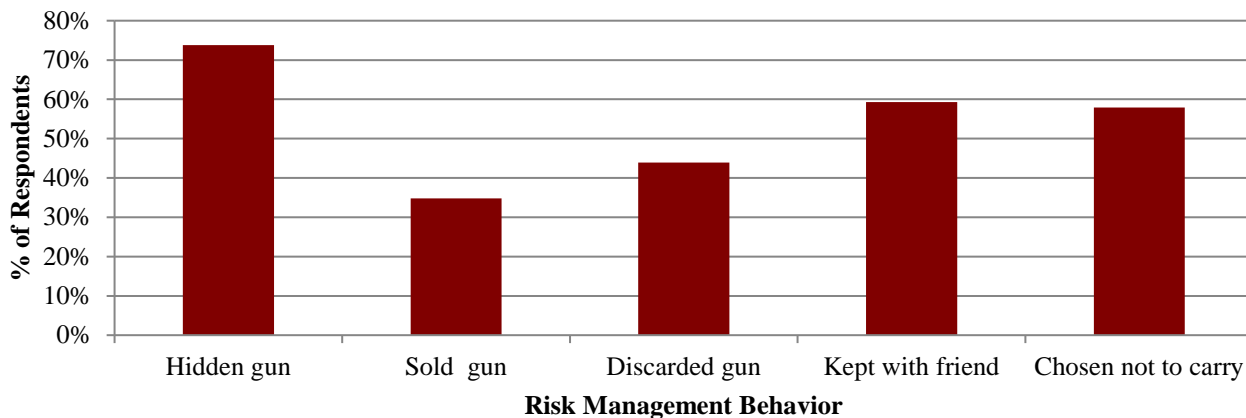
Table 11-2 presents the percentage of Rs who engaged in each type of risk management behavior by their self-reported gun ownership. Two Rs were coded as "Not applicable" because when asked the first risk management question they told the interviewer that the questions were not

relevant for them since they had never held a gun before. This table shows that some of the Rs who reported engaging in different types

of risk management behavior had also previously, in the survey, denied ever having owned or shared a gun.

**Figure 11-1**

*Percentage Who Engaged in Different Risk Management Behaviors*



Source: CIS survey data

Sample: Rs who answered each risk management question, N=213.

Interestingly, about 17 Rs who had denied ever having owned or shared a gun reported here that they had chosen not to carry a gun when they felt it could be useful to avoid the risks of arrest. This risk management behavior seemed to address why they had never owned a gun. On the other hand, 5 Rs who had denied ever owning or sharing a gun reported that they had sold a gun sooner than they wanted to avoid the risk of arrest.

**Risks of acquiring guns**

In an effort to determine what, if any, risk management behaviors Rs engage in when obtaining a gun, Rs were asked in general when acquiring a gun if there is any information they would like to know about the gun itself or the person from whom they are obtaining the gun. About half (49%) of Rs who had owned or shared a gun in the six months prior to their arrest said they wanted to know whether the gun they were

purchasing had been previously used in a crime (whether it was ‘dirty’ or ‘clean’). Some Rs mentioned wanting to know about the previous owners (12%), and only a few (3%) were concerned about whether the seller was an undercover police officer.

Though not specifically asked, many Rs gave additional information to justify why it did or did not matter to them if the gun had been used in a crime before. Those who wanted to know if the gun was ‘clean’ or ‘dirty’ reasoned that past crimes on a dirty gun could be linked to them if they were to possess the gun. Those who did not care if the gun had been previously used in a crime tended to either prioritize the gun’s physical capabilities or figured the gun’s history didn’t matter if it was likely going to be used in a crime in the future. As one R (R1003) said, It’s going to get dirty eventually.” Other Rs said the gun’s history did not matter

because it was impossible to know for sure whether a gun was clean or dirty when

buying, or because they planned on re-selling or tossing the gun in the future anyway.

**Table 11-2**

*Percentage of Respondents Who Engaged in Risk Management Behaviors by Self-Reported Gun Ownership*

	Never owned gun	Yes, owned gun	Missing	Refused	Total # respondents
<b>Hidden a gun</b>					
No	49.0%	51.0%	0	0	51
Yes	4.3%	95.1%	0.6%	0	162
<b>Sold a gun</b>					
No	19.3%	80.0%	0.7%	0	135
Yes	6.5%	93.5%	0	0	77
<b>Discarded a gun</b>					
No	23.3%	76.7%	0	0	116
Yes	4.1%	94.9%	1.0%	0	97
<b>Kept with a friend</b>					
No	32.9%	67.1%	0	0	82
Yes	3.1%	96.2%	0.8%	0	131
<b>Chosen not to carry</b>					
No	16.5%	82.4%	1.2%	0	85
Yes	13.3%	86.7%	0	0	128
Not applicable	100%	0	0	0	2
Missing	0	50.0%	50.0%	0	2
Refused	0	66.7%	0	33.3%	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>221</b>

Source: CIS survey data

Note 1: Two Rs were marked as “Not applicable,” because instead of responding as “Yes,” or “No,” to each of the questions, they explained the questions were not applicable for them because they had never held a gun before.

Note 2: The same Rs were either marked as “Not applicable,” “Missing,” or “Refused,” across each of the five risk management questions



## **Gun Storage**

Gun storage is a much-discussed national topic. The majority of U.S. gun owners do not keep their guns locked, and about half of U.S. gun owners with children under the age of 18 living at home do not keep their guns unloaded or locked (Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 2017). Improper gun storage is dangerous and can lead to accidents. In order to understand how our Rs manage these gun storage concerns, we asked them about their gun storage and carrying behaviors.

For each of the 3 potential guns discussed with Rs, respondents were asked, “Where did you most often keep this gun?” Table 11-3 displays these results. Almost one-half of the primary guns were kept on the R’s person at all times. This percentage is consistent with previous literature on gun storage habits of offenders, where about half of those interviewed indicated carrying a gun regularly (Sheley & Wright, 1993b; Watkins et al., 2008; Wright & Rossi, 1985).

Table 11-3 shows that over 25% of Rs said they kept their primary gun hidden in their home, but unlocked. Other common storage locations were a family member or friend’s home or car (7%), or hidden in a public place (7%). This is interesting since some of the CIS Rs also reported finding at least one gun in the past in a public space. Only about 3% of Rs who said they owned a gun kept it locked in their home, despite the fact that three-quarters of Rs had one or more children and many Rs mentioned throughout the survey that their homes had been robbed in the past.

The fact that so many Rs carried a gun on their person or in their vehicle can be considered in the framework of competing risk. On the one hand, almost all of the Rs could have been arrested if picked up with a gun, since they lacked an FOID – and some

of them were. That concern competed with their belief that a gun provided protection against assault. As discussed in Chapter 6, the majority of Rs who owned a gun reported that the reason they had acquired their primary gun was for protection. Additionally, in many places throughout the survey, Rs discussed needing guns for protection and guns as being worth the risk of carrying, saying “it’s better you get caught with it than without it” (ID1415, ID1243). This rationale is common in other prison or jail surveys (Cook et al., 2013; Wright & Rossi, 1985).

**Risk Management When Selling Guns** As discussed in Chapter 7, few respondents reported selling or trading guns. Approximately 13% of Rs (n=28) said they had sold or traded at least one gun in the six months prior to their most recent arrest. Rs who admitted to selling or trading guns were asked a series of questions to determine what, if any, precautions they took during the transaction. They were asked if they knew the person they sold or traded to in advance of the transaction, how they decided who to sell to, what information they needed to decide who to sell or trade to, and if they were concerned about selling to undercover officers.

Of the 28 Rs who said they had sold or traded guns in the six months prior to their arrest, about 93% indicated they sold or traded to someone they knew. In fact, many Rs reported having a general practice of only selling to people they knew – around 60% of Rs said they would not sell or trade to just anyone who wanted a gun, and about 65% of Rs said they would only sell or trade to people they knew. When asked what information they would like to know about a person before deciding whether or not to sell or trade to them, most Rs said they would want to make sure they knew the person well; one additionally mentioned wanting to know what the person would do with the gun and one mentioned wanting to know if the other

person was affiliated with the police. These practices indicate Rs tended to sell or trade guns only with people they knew and trusted,

and exercised caution when buying or selling from strangers.

**Table 11-3**  
*Location Respondent Most Often Stored Each Gun*

	Gun 1	Gun 2	Gun 3	Guns total
On person at all times	46.5%	18.6%	17.5%	31.3%
Hidden in home	26.5%	41.2%	35.0%	32.8%
Family/friend's home or car	7.1%	13.4%	22.5%	12.7%
Hidden in public place	7.1%	11.3%	3.8%	7.5%
Locked in home	2.6%	5.2%	3.8%	3.6%
Other	4.5%	3.1%	6.3%	4.5%
Didn't store gun	4.5%	0.0%	3.8%	3.0%
Missing	0.7%	3.1%	5.0%	2.4%
Refused	0.0%	4.1%	2.5%	1.8%
Don't know	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Total #	155	97	80	332
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: CIS survey data

The Chicago Police Department has been known to engage in undercover gun buys, a practice has been shown to affect the behavior of potential illicit gun sellers in Chicago (Cook, Parker, et al., 2015). When the 28 Rs who sold or traded guns were asked what information they wanted to know about the other person before engaging in a transaction, only one said he wanted to know if the person was an undercover officer. When the 28 Rs were directly asked if they were concerned about selling to undercover officers, 61% said they were not concerned,

which would make sense if they were only selling to individuals they knew well. The 11 Rs who said they were concerned were asked about how they have protected themselves against the possibility of selling to a police officer. Practices discussed included only selling to people they knew, having another person sell or trade the gun for them, and employing a screening process of the individual during which they ask questions or pat down the person.

# 12. Conclusions and Discussion

## INTRODUCTION

Information in this section come from the final section of the survey and includes topics on:

- planning for return to society;
- perceived opportunities and resources in Rs' Chicago neighborhoods; and
- suggestions for how laws, resources, and opportunities could be improved in Chicago to mitigate gun violence.

## CONCLUDING SURVEY QUESTIONS

At the end of the interview, Rs were asked two final open-ended questions. The first was, "What are your plans for staying safe after your release?" The second was, "Is there anything I missed asking you that you think is important for us to know as we try to understand more about guns and violence in Chicago neighborhoods?" For each question, multiple responses were allowed. Rs provided diverse answers that both reinforced previous themes unearthed by the CIS and brought up new ideas or suggestions regarding guns, violence, and life in Chicago.

### Plans for Staying Safe after Release

When asked about their plans for staying safe after their release from prison, Rs' answers ranged from turning their life around to immediately acquiring another gun. A response mentioned by about half of Rs was that they planned to move out of their neighborhood, or out of Chicago entirely, as they felt the city was not safe and that they would not be able to improve their lives while staying. One R (R1438) said,

"I don't even want to be in Chicago because every time I'm outside of Illinois period I do better...the inner city of Chicago is rough, and when you go back out there from being in here, even if you're trying to do good it draws you back."

Other Rs opined that Chicago is a particularly dangerous environment, with limited opportunities for those who have been previously incarcerated.

Rs also mentioned generally staying away from certain people (38%) or certain places (48%), and many planned on spending more time around their families (29%). Almost one-quarter of Rs also said they planned on avoiding guns in the future. About one-third of Rs mentioned they wanted to enter or return to the workforce, and about one-fifth of Rs wanted to return to school or another type of education program. Although we asked each R this question, it is important to note they were facing widely differing sentence lengths, and some answered the question with the knowledge of an upcoming release while others knew they would not be released for many years or potentially ever.

### Other Information about Guns and Violence in Chicago

The final question Rs were asked was "Is there anything I missed asking you that you think is important for us to know as we try to understand more about guns and violence in Chicago neighborhoods?" Similar to the question about plans after release, this question was open-ended and multiple-response, inducing diverse responses. Some Rs expanded upon previous survey themes, including mistrust of the police and using

guns as protection, or gave additional information about gun sources in their neighborhoods. Others gave recommendations for improvements to laws and communities, discussed the ease of access to guns in their neighborhood, or provided other commentary on guns, gangs, and violence in Chicago.

Many Rs detailed the lack of opportunities, resources, and safety in their neighborhoods. One (R1142) compared his South Side neighborhood to other neighborhoods, saying:

“You might see a basketball rim up every now and then, but when I stayed up north, they had everything I could do. I went to all the park districts, the park districts had a lot of funding and money so they could do things, activities, after-school programs. They have none of that out South. None of that. We had swimming pools up North where they stayed open, lifeguards and stuff. We have none of that out South. The kids have nothing else to do but walk around the neighborhood, get into trouble. There’s no mentors or anything like that to give them something to do, some activities. They get into trouble.”

Other Rs likewise described a lack of job opportunities and activities for youth in their communities. Many also expressed a sense of hopelessness for improving these situations, believing reform would be difficult. One R (R1021) said, “I really don’t know what to say like because people are still going to carry guns, trying to steal guns continually, rob in Chicago neighborhoods.” Another (R1422) said, “The killing, I wish it wasn’t like that. The robbing and all that, I wish it wasn’t, but that’s what it is....It’s a part of life.” Beyond systematic reform, Rs also pointed out the

difficulty of individual reform, discussing the hardships of finding employment after being incarcerated and returning to the same people, places and pressures that led to their incarceration in the first place.

Some Rs used this question as an opportunity to point out the ease of gun acquisition in their neighborhoods. One (R1047) said, “It’s really, really, really easy to get one. All you got to do is say, ‘I’m looking for one’ and somebody knows somebody. It’s really easy.” Some spoke of the prevalence of guns in their neighborhood as a catalyst for crime; others reiterated the need for these guns as protection.

Many Rs mentioned or reinforced their deep mistrust for the police. Some offhandedly mentioned the police when discussing another subject, but some took a more targeted approach. One (R1096) said, “I don’t put nothing past police in Chicago.” Another R (R1095) said,

“Police officers target young, black men. You see it on the news every day. They shoot us for no reason or put guns on us when we don’t have any guns. If they run our background and see that we was in trouble before, they will put guns on us, because they get commission for taking us off the streets. They put drugs on us, guns on us, anything on us. Shoot at us for no reason, all type of stuff.”

Finally, many Rs voiced ideas for reducing violent crime in their neighborhoods and getting guns off the street. Some offered improvements to police practices, such as where to patrol. Others discussed increasing employment, education, or mentorship opportunities for youth and adults.

Most suggestions for improvement related to gun laws in Chicago. A few suggested more

lenient gun laws (“Just because people have guns, don’t mean they going to commit crimes. They just protecting themselves” – R1411), but many suggested additional barriers to buying guns such as drug tests and crack downs on who could own a FOID card. Some mentioned gun laws outside of Chicago as well. One R (R1047) advocated for stricter gun laws nation-wide, saying: “As long as you can buy guns in Texas, Virginia, Indiana or wherever...As long as you can buy twenty guns there and come back to Chicago and sell them, it’s going to happen.”

This final question gave Rs the chance to discuss any topic they thought was important, or expand upon topics they mentioned earlier in the survey. As a result, we learned more about Rs’ perceptions of Chicago, their own neighborhoods, and how they believe resources and opportunities could be improved in their communities.

## **CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION**

The Chicago Inmate Survey of Gun Access and Use (CIS) was motivated by an interest in learning more about how Chicagoans who might harm others obtain lethal weapons. The sample of gun-involved inmates of Illinois prisons provided a wealth of information on that topic and others. Data collection has certain obvious limitations, starting with the most fundamental concern, namely that while we are interested in the workings of the underground gun market, our sample is not necessarily representative of the relevant population, namely Chicago residents who obtain guns through illegal transactions and are likely to use them in criminal violence. Still, a comparison of the CIS sample with another “sample” that has greater face validity (victims of gun homicide) demonstrates a high degree of overlap.

An additional concern regards the truthfulness of responses on sensitive matters – after all, much of the survey concerned criminal activity. But with CIS we had the unique opportunity to compare some items with administrative data, and found a reassuring overlap.

Our Rs, mostly youthful men of color, typically had multiple prior arrests, but had also been victims of gun violence. Many of them viewed their old neighborhoods as bad for them, both because of the plethora of guns and gun violence, but also because of a social environment that got them in trouble in the past, and offered few legitimate opportunities.

The core questions on Rs’ experience with guns help establish the importance of the underground gun market in fueling gun crime. Gun possession tends to be a rather fluid status, with a good deal of turnover. The time from gun acquisition to criminal use was typically a matter of weeks or months. That pattern suggests that a successful crackdown in illegal transactions could have a quick and pervasive effect on gun crime.

One important characteristic of the transactions documented in CIS was their heterogeneity. What is common to all of these transactions is that they are not purchases at legitimate gun stores, but off-the-books transactions of various sorts, mostly involving sources with whom the Rs were acquainted and presumably had some reason to trust. Because these transactions depended so much on social-network sources, they were inevitably diverse. Some underground actors are simply better connected than others. The heterogeneity is reflected in the type of transaction, the prices when guns were purchased, and search times.

Ammunition was not readily available either, and generally obtained through their social network. Most of the Rs, even those who had guns, told us that they did not shoot recreationally, and so in fact used little or no ammunition. Several spelled out the fact that ammunition was scarce and they needed to husband it for violent confrontations.

The survey also provided some information about the Rs' relationship to law enforcement. Perhaps inevitably, respondents have a very negative view of the Chicago Police Department, based on actual or vicarious experience. That contributes to a near universal reluctance to cooperate with the police in investigations. The extremely low arrest rate for shootings in Chicago results in part from lack of cooperation by witnesses. Almost all CIS Rs were victims of

gun violence at some point, and in many cases knew who shot them or at them. But since most were unwilling to cooperate with the investigation, that information did not get passed on to the investigators.

Respondents also provided their views on the legal risks that they faced in connection with illegal gun carrying and transactions. Even though the sample of Rs were all convicted criminals, they nonetheless were sensitive to the risk of arrest and quite thoughtful about it. One quarter of the Rs left their guns at home, and relatively few of them were willing to sell guns – in part for fear of legal repercussions.

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**Appendix A. Survey Questionnaire With Counts**

**COMMUNITY SAFETY INTERVIEW  
Winter 2016**

**INTERVIEWER:** |\_\_|\_\_|

**DATE:** |\_\_|\_\_| / |\_\_|\_\_| / |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

**RSS CASE ID:** |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

**TIME STARTED:** |\_\_|\_\_| : |\_\_|\_\_| **AM/PM**

## About this Study

(Good morning/Good afternoon) My name is [INTERVIEWER FIRST NAME] and I'm working with a research project based at the University of Chicago. We would like you to be part of this project. You are being asked to participate in this interview so that researchers can learn from you about your experiences with guns and safety in your community. Everything you say will be kept confidential. First, you will be given the information you need to help you decide whether to be in the study or not. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what you will be asked to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When all of your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent."

### INTERVIEWER:

- ADMINISTER CONSENT
- REVIEW CONSENT BOXES WITH R AND ASK HIM TO CHECK WHAT HE CONSENTS TO
- MAKE SURE R CHECKS ALL 'UNDERSTAND' BOXES
- MAKE SURE R PUTS CHECK MARK OR INITIAL AND DATE
- CONSENT TO REPORT HARM: IF R DOES NOT CONSENT, END INTERVIEW.
- CONSENT TO REPORT ABUSE: IF R DOES NOT CONSENT, END INTERVIEW
- OPTIONAL CONSENTS: IF NO CONSENT TO AUDIO RECORD, YOU WILL NEED TO TAKE NOTES FOR OPEN ENDED QUESTIONS
- OPTIONAL CONSENTS: CONSENT TO QUOTE --> NOT RELEVANT DURING YOUR INTERVIEW.
- ENTER RSS CASE ID AT BOTTOM OF CONSENT FORM



### **TURN ON TAPE RECORDER IF R CONSENTED TO AUDIO RECORDING**

#### Section I: Background Characteristics

Goal: *Obtain information about the R's background and history with gun violence*

**\*REMEMBER TO READ SLOWLY AND ALLOW TIME FOR RESPONSES. FOCUS ON BUILDING RAPPORT.\***

As you know, this interview is completely confidential, but we're hoping to know some basic information about our participants. I have a few questions about you and your life before this incarceration.

1. How old are you?

|\_\_| |\_\_|

18-20 .....	1	(36)
21-23 .....	2	(45)
24-26 .....	3	(41)
27-29 .....	4	(29)
30-32 .....	5	(26)
33+ .....	6	(44)

2. What is your marital status?

Never married .....	1	(192)
Married .....	2	(13)
Divorced/separated .....	3	(9)
Widowed .....	4	(1)
Engaged .....	5	(6)

3. Do you have any children?

No .....	0	(54)	SKIP TO Q4
Yes .....	1	(167)	ASK A

A. How many? |\_\_|\_\_|

0 .....	0	(54)
1 .....	1	(61)
2 .....	2	(46)
3 .....	3	(20)
4 .....	4	(18)
5+ .....	5	(22)

B. How old is your oldest (or only) child? |\_\_|\_\_|

<1-4 years old .....	0	(61)
5-9 years old .....	1	(46)
10-14 years old .....	2	(25)
15-19 years old .....	3	(14)
20+ years old .....	4	(21)
Not applicable .....	96	(54)

C. How old is your youngest child? |\_\_|\_\_|

<1 years old .....	0	(13)
1 years old .....	1	(16)
2 years old .....	2	(20)

3 years old .....	3	(9)
4+ years old .....	4	(48)
Not applicable .....	96	(115)

4. In the six months before this incarceration, did you live in Chicago?

No.....	0	(11)	SKIP TO Q5
Yes.....	1	(210)	ASK A

A. In which area or neighborhood in Chicago did you live most of the time during those six months?<sup>14</sup>

[PROBE FOR SPECIFIC NEIGHBORHOOD (EX: ENGLEWOOD, HUMBOLDT PARK)]

---

Englewood.....	0	(53)
Lawndale .....	1	(14)
Austin.....	2	(13)
Roseland.....	3	(12)
South Shore .....	4	(11)
Humboldt Park .....	5	(9)
Chatham .....	6	(8)
Garfield Park.....	7	(7)
Other .....	8	(83) <sup>15</sup>
Not applicable .....	96	(11)

5. Is there frequent gunfire in your neighborhood?

No.....	0	(24)
Yes.....	1	(197)

6. Using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means not safe at all and 5 means very safe, how safe would you say you felt in the neighborhood you lived in before you were incarcerated?

Not safe at all	_____					Very Safe
	1	2	3	4	5	

<sup>14</sup> Some respondents weren't sure which neighborhood they lived in, so they provided interviewers with a street intersection instead. The researchers then determined the Chicago neighborhood, using: <http://chicagomap.zolk.com/>

<sup>15</sup> The rest of the neighborhoods in the "other" category have fewer than 7 observations each. Three respondents who said that they did live in Chicago listed Chicago suburbs for Q4A, and are included in the "other" category.

Not safe at all.....	1	(50)
Not safe .....	2	(44)
Neutral.....	3	(83)
Safe .....	4	(20)
Very safe.....	5	(24)

7. ASK ONLY IF Q6 IS 3 OR LOWER: What made you feel unsafe? (Multiple responses allowed)\*\*\*  
 PROBE IF NECESSARY: Tell me a little more about that.

Violence.....	0	(42)
Gangs.....	1	(51)
Guns or shootings.....	2	(82)
Police .....	3	(14)
Deaths.....	4	(17)
Drugs .....	5	(9)
Robberies.....	6	(6)
R's participation in illegal activity.....	6	(11)
Other .....	7	(20) <sup>16</sup>
Not applicable (because R felt safe).....	96	(44)
Missing.....	97	(5)

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

---



---



---

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about being the victim of a shooting.

8. Has a friend or a member of your family ever been shot?  
 RESPONSE IF YES: I am so sorry to hear that.

No.....	0	(17)
Yes.....	1	(204)

9. Have you ever been shot?<sup>17</sup>

No.....	0	(117)	SKIP TO Q10
---------	---	-------	-------------

<sup>16</sup> The majority of the "other" responses are related to respondents feeling unsafe in their neighborhood for various reasons, including the people, the environment, and some of them because they were personally buying/selling drugs or were involved in gangs.

<sup>17</sup> "Shot" is defined as shot and hit by a bullet.

Yes..... 1 (104) ASK A

A. How many times? |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| --> SKIP TO BOX ON p.4

Never shot ..... 0 (117)  
 1 time..... 1 (57)  
 2 times..... 2 (20)  
 3 times..... 3 (13)  
 4+ times..... 4 (14)

10. Have you ever been shot at?<sup>18</sup>

No..... 0 (16) SKIP TO SECTION II, p.5  
 Yes..... 1 (101) ASK A  
 Not applicable..... 96 (104)

A. How many times?<sup>19</sup> |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

1 time..... 1 (3)  
 2 times..... 2 (19)  
 3 times..... 3 (11)  
 4 times..... 4 (11)  
 5+ times ..... 5 (53)  
 Not applicable<sup>20</sup>..... 96 (120)  
 DON'T KNOW..... 99 (4)

<p>INTERVIEWER: FOR REMAINDER OF THIS SECTION</p> <p>IF Q9 = YES, READ 'shot'</p> <p>IF Q9 = NO, READ 'shot at'</p>
---

11. When you were shot (at), did you call the police?

No..... 0 (180)<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> "Shot at" is defined as shot, but not hit by a bullet.

<sup>19</sup> For Question 10A, some respondents seemed to be describing the number of shots that had ever been fired at them and others the number of total occasions they had ever been shot at, so it seems these responses are not reliable.

<sup>20</sup> Q10A was not applicable for any respondents who already stated they had been shot before, nor for respondents who had never been shot at.

<sup>21</sup> A few respondents said that while they did not personally call the police, someone they were with did, often because the respondent was hurt and required medical assistance.

Yes..... 1 (23)  
 Not applicable..... 96 (16)  
 Missing..... 97 (2)

A. When you were shot (at), did the police ask you about the shooting?

No .....	0 (95)	SKIP TO 12
Yes .....	1 (106)	ASK B
Sometimes.....	2 (3)	
Not applicable .....	96 (16)	
Missing.....	97 (1)	

B. Did you willingly discuss the shooting with the police?

No .....	0 (75)
Yes .....	1 (34)
Not applicable .....	96 (112)

12. How old were you the first (or only) time you were shot (at)?

|\_\_|\_\_|

1-9 years old.....	0 (4)
10-14 years old.....	1 (55)
15-19 years old.....	2 (99)
20-24 years old.....	3 (36)
25+ years old.....	4 (9)
Not applicable .....	96 (16)
Missing.....	97 (2)

A. IF MORE THAN 001 AT Q9A OR AT Q10A, ASK: How old were you the most recent time you were shot (at)?

|\_\_|\_\_|

1-9 years old .....	0 (1)
10-14 years old .....	1 (3)
15-19 years old .....	2 (39)
20-24 years old .....	3 (53)
25-29 years old .....	4 (27)
30+ years old .....	5 (18)
Not applicable .....	96 (76)
Missing.....	97 (4)

13. IF Q12A WAS ASKED, READ "THE MOST RECENT TIME": What happened (the time/the most recent time) time you were [shot/shot at]? Please tell me about it. (*open-ended question*)\*\*\*22  
 [PROBE TO UNDERSTAND SITUATION]

Number of shooters<sup>23</sup>:

One.....	0	(64)
More than one .....	1	(68)
Didn't mention .....	2	(52)
Not applicable.....	96	(16)
Missing .....	97	(12)
Refused .....	98	(8)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(1)

Reason for shooting:

Gang involvement.....	0	(21)
Fight or altercation .....	1	(22)
Mistaken identity .....	2	(7)
Robbery.....	3	(11)
Stray bullets .....	4	(21)
Didn't mention.....	5	(94)
Not applicable.....	96	(16)
Missing .....	97	(12)
Refused .....	98	(8)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(9)

Shooter identity:

Someone R knew .....	0	(45)
Gang member .....	1	(28)
Stranger.....	2	(96)
Police officer .....	3	(3)
Other .....	4	(9)
Not applicable.....	96	(16)
Missing .....	97	(12)
Refused .....	98	(8)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(4)

<sup>22</sup> Q13 is an open-ended question, which was coded afterwards into the 4 categories about the number of shooters, reason for shooting, shooter identity, and shooting location.

<sup>23</sup> This question specifically refers to the number of individuals shooting, not the number of people overall with the shooter(s).



Shooting location:

Indoors .....	0	(3)
Park .....	1	(7)
Party .....	2	(2)
On the streets .....	3	(101)
Yard .....	4	(16)
Car .....	5	(17)
At the store .....	6	(11)
Didn't mention .....	7	(28)
Not applicable .....	96	(16)
Missing .....	97	(12)
Refused .....	98	(8)

Mentioned shooting was a drive-by:

No .....	0	(143)
Yes .....	1	(42)
Not applicable .....	96	(16)
Missing .....	97	(12)
Refused .....	98	(8)

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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14. Did you know the person who (shot you/shot at you] (the most recent time)?

No .....	0	(132)	SKIP TO Q15
Yes .....	1	(71)	ASK A
Not applicable .....	96	(16)	
Missing .....	97	(2)	

A. How well did you know him or her?

Recognized them .....	1	(26)
Had talked to them before/acquaintance .....	2	(13)
Knew them well .....	3	(32)
Not applicable .....	96	(148)
Missing .....	97	(2)

15. Was the shooter drinking or doing drugs?

No.....	0	(40)
Yes.....	1	(29)
Not applicable.....	96	(16)
Missing.....	97	(2)
DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER.....	99	(134)

16. Were you drinking or doing drugs at the time?

No.....	0	(115)
Yes.....	1	(87)
Not applicable.....	96	(16)
Missing.....	97	(2)
DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER.....	99	(1)

**Section II: Guns in the Neighborhood**

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Goal: *Learn more about guns in the R's neighborhood and how they arrive there*

I'd like to ask you a few questions about the neighborhood where you lived in the last six months before this incarceration.

17. How do guns come into your neighborhood? I mean, how do people in your neighborhood get guns? [IF NEEDED, PROBE: For example, do people buy them legally, do they have someone buy them legally for them, do they steal them, do they get them from strangers, or from people they know...]? *(Multiple responses allowed)*

Bought legally (FFL, gun show, online, etc.).....	1	(32)
Gang/crew/cliq ue.....	2	(50)
Strangers.....	3	(76)
Friends/family members.....	4	(59)
Straw purchases.....	5	(46)
People steal them.....	6	(70)
Police or other officials sell them.....	7	(24)
On the streets.....	8	(37)
Out of town.....	9	(28)
Anyone.....	10	(13)
Other (SPECIFY).....	11	(11)
Refused.....	98	(1)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(26)

18. Do outsiders sometimes come into the neighborhood just to sell guns?

No.....	0 (55)	SKIP TO Q19
Yes.....	1 (141)	ASK A
DON'T KNOW .....	99 (25)	SKIP TO Q19

A. How do they make connections with their customers? *(Multiple responses allowed)*

Arrange to meet with them in advance .....	1 (21)
Know them personally.....	2 (30)
Know them through someone else .....	3 (78)
Meet them on the street.....	4 (57)
During drug deals/drug dealers .....	5 (7)
Through gangs .....	6 (4)
Networking around .....	7 (6)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	8 (6)
Not applicable .....	9 (80)
Refused.....	98 (1)
DON'T KNOW .....	99 (1)

B. Are they selective about who they will sell guns to?

No .....	0 (56)
Yes .....	1 (76)
Not applicable .....	96 (80)
Missing.....	97 (1)
DON'T KNOW .....	99 (8)

19. How can someone get ammunition in your neighborhood?

[IF NEEDED, PROBE: For example, do people buy it legally, do they have someone buy it legally for them, do they steal it, do they get it from strangers, or from people they know...] *(Multiple responses per person allowed)*

Bought (Dept. store, FFL, gun show, online, etc.).....	01 (60)
Own gang/crew/cliqye .....	02 (34)
Another gang/crew/cliqye.....	03 (31)
Strangers .....	04 (42)
Friends/family members.....	05 (56)
Straw purchases.....	06 (74)
People steal it.....	07 (20)
Police or other officials sell it.....	08 (12)
From outside of Chicago .....	09 (9)
On the street .....	10 (14)
Comes with the gun .....	11 (12)
Networking or asking around .....	12 (12)

Other (SPECIFY) .....	09	(7)
Refused .....	98	(1)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(25)

20. Do people in your neighborhood get ammunition from the same or different source as guns?

The same .....	1	(75)
Different .....	2	(92)
Sometimes .....	3	(20)
Refused .....	98	(1)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(33)

**Section III: Gun Details**

Goal: *Obtain information about the R's history with guns – obtain as much information about the crime gun (and other guns), where he obtained the crime gun (and other guns).*

I now have a few questions about your experience with guns. Please remember that all of your responses are completely confidential, but you can skip any questions you're not comfortable answering. Please do not share any names of individuals or other identifying information – but you can identify individuals as a family member, stranger, friend, etc if you wish. We are going to ask you a few questions about the timing around the arrest that led to the prison sentence you are now serving. From now on, we will call that your **original** arrest.

21. Did you use a gun or have a gun with you in the event or events leading to your original arrest?

No.....	0	(81)	ASK Q22
Yes.....	1	(135)	SKIP TO Q25
Missing .....	97	(1)	
Refused .....	98	(3)	} ASK Q22
DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER .....	99	(1)	

22. Did you use a different type of weapon or have a different type of weapon with you in this event?

No .....	0	(75)	SKIP TO Q24
Yes .....	1	(8)	ASK Q23
Not applicable .....	96	(135)	
Missing.....	97	(1)	} ASK Q23
Refused.....	98	(1)	

DON'T KNOW ..... 99 (1) SKIP TO Q24

23. What type of weapon was this?

Knife..... 1 (4)  
Blunt object (hammer, bat, etc.) ..... 2 (4)  
Not applicable ..... 96 (213)

A. Did you use the weapon or just have it on you?

Used it.....1 (6)  
Had it on me.....2 (2)  
Not applicable .....96 (213)

B. Why did you [use/have] this weapon instead of a gun? (CODE ONE ONLY)

I did not own a gun or share a gun..... 1 (5)  
Wasn't planned ..... 2 (2)  
Thought it wasn't felony..... 3 (1)  
Not applicable ..... 96 (213)  
DON'T KNOW..... 99 (0)

24. Did you have a gun or share a gun with others at the time of your original arrest, even if you didn't have it with you?

No..... 0 (62) SKIP to Q37, p.16  
Yes..... 1 (20) ASK Q25  
Not applicable..... 96 (135)  
Missing ..... 97 (1)  
Refused ..... 98 (2)  
DON'T KNOW ..... 99 (1) SKIP to Q37, p.16

25. I'd like to ask you more about that gun. Can you tell me about the gun, providing as much information as you can about type, make, model, and caliber?

[PROBE FOR TYPE, MAKE, MODEL, CALIBER. IF UNCLEAR OR DK, RECORD VERBATIM]<sup>24</sup>  
(Q25, Q38, Q44, Q50)

Make: \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>24</sup> For Q25, responses were recorded verbatim and recoded into type, make, model, and caliber later by the research team.

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>	
Smith & Wesson .....	1	(29)	(14)	(13)	(1)
Glock.....	2	(13)	(10)	(6)	(1)
Ruger .....	3	(14)	(4)	(3)	(1)
Taurus.....	4	(8)	(4)	(3)	(0)
Beretta.....	5	(6)	(2)	(1)	(0)
Hi-Point.....	6	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Sig Sauer .....	7	(4)	(2)	(1)	(0)
Colt .....	8	(3)	(3)	(2)	(0)
Mac.....	9	(0)	(3)	(0)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) <sup>25</sup> .....	10	(27)	(10)	(5)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(66)	(124)	(141)	(217)
Missing.....	97	(5)	(3)	(3)	(0)
Refused.....	98	(1)	(2)	(1)	(0)
DON'T KNOW <sup>26</sup> .....	99	(41)	(40)	(42)	(1)

Model: \_\_\_\_\_

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>	
AK-47 .....	0	(0)	(8)	(3)	(0)
M1911 .....	1	(3)	(1)	(0)	(0)
P89.....	2	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Desert Eagle.....	3	(2)	(3)	(1)	(0)
Tec-9 .....	4	(1)	(3)	(1)	(1)
Glock 17.....	5	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)
MAC-11.....	6	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	7	(15)	(18)	(11)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(66)	(124)	(141)	(217)
Missing.....	97	(8)	(3)	(3)	(0)
Refused.....	98	(1)	(2)	(1)	(0)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(121)	(55)	(60)	(3)

Caliber: \_\_\_\_\_

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>	
9mm .....	1	(44)	(17)	(12)	(2)
.25.....	2	(7)	(0)	(2)	(1)
.40.....	3	(17)	(14)	(6)	(1)
.45.....	4	(17)	(8)	(13)	(0)
.38.....	5	(13)	(10)	(5)	(0)
.380.....	3	(8)	(4)	(4)	(0)
.357.....	6	(3)	(5)	(4)	(0)

<sup>25</sup> For Q25 on gun model, two responses were coded as "Other" since two Rs listed two different gun models in their responses. One responded "Glock Smith and Wesson," and the other responded, "Taurus Hi-Point."

<sup>26</sup>For each part of Q25, responses were classified as "Don't Know" if respondents answered at least part of the question but left out information on either the type, make, model, or caliber.

Other (SPECIFY) .....	7	(20)	(13)	(12)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(67)	(124)	(141)	(217)
Missing.....	97	(1)	(3)	(3)	(0)
Refused.....	98	(1)	(2)	(1)	(0)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(23)	(21)	(18)	(0)

A. Is that a handgun, rifle, or a shotgun? (CODE ONE ONLY) (Q25A, Q39, Q45, Q51)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Handgun.....	1 ASK B	(144)	(74)	(60)	(3)
Rifle .....	2 SKIP TO C	(6)	(14)	(13)	(1)
Shotgun.....	3 SKIP TO D	(1)	(2)	(2)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY).....	4	(1)	(2)	(1)	(0)
Not applicable.....	96	(66)	(124)	(141)	(217)
Missing.....	97	(1)	(3)	(3)	(0)
Refused .....	98	(1)	(2)	(1)	(0)
DON'T KNOW .....	99 SKIP TO Q26	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)

B. What kind of handgun was it exactly? (CODE ONE ONLY) (Q25B, Q39A, Q45A, Q51A)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Revolver.....	1	(36)	(20)	(12)	(0)
Semi-automatic pistol .....	2	(65)	(31)	(38)	(2)
Automatic pistol.....	3 SKIP TO Q26	(41)	(22)	(10)	(1)
Other (SPECIFY).....	4 FOR ALL	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(77)	(147)	(161)	(218)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(2)	(1)	(0)	(0)

C. What kind of rifle was it exactly? (CODE ONE ONLY) (Q25C, Q39B, Q45B, Q51B)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Bolt action rifle .....	1	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Military-style semi-automatic rifle .....	2	(0)	(8)	(5)	(0)
Semi-automatic rifle .....	3 SKIP TO Q26	(3)	(5)	(3)	(0)
Modified rifle .....	4 FOR ALL	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	5	(1)	(1)	(2)	(1)
Not applicable.....	96	(215)	(207)	(208)	(220)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)

D. What kind of shotgun was it exactly? (CODE ONE ONLY) (Q25D, Q39C, Q45C, Q51C)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Pump-action shotgun.....	1	(1)	(1)	(1)	(0)
Double-barreled shotgun.....	2	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Semi-automatic shotgun.....	3	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Automatic shotgun .....	4	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Revolving cylinder shotgun.....	5	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)

Other (SPECIFY) .....	6	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Not applicable.....	96	(220)	(219)	(219)	(221)

26. How long did you have that gun prior to your arrest? (Q26, Q40, Q46, Q52)

- A. \_\_\_\_\_ DAYS
- B. \_\_\_\_\_ MONTHS
- C. \_\_\_\_\_ YEARS

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>	
<1 day .....	0	(9)	(0)	(1)	(0)
1-9 days .....	1	(25)	(3)	(8)	(0)
10-19 days .....	2	(8)	(4)	(3)	(0)
20-30 days .....	3	(5)	(1)	(2)	(0)
30.4-91 days .....	4	(31)	(11)	(7)	(0)
91.1-152 days .....	5	(11)	(9)	(5)	(0)
152.1-212.8 days .....	6	(13)	(7)	(9)	(1)
212.9-273.7 days .....	7	(2)	(4)	(5)	(0)
273.8-334.5 days .....	8	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)
334.6-364.9 days .....	9	(1)	(2)	(0)	(0)
365-729 days .....	10	(19)	(16)	(10)	(0)
730-1094 days .....	11	(10)	(13)	(9)	(0)
1095 days+.....	12	(16)	(22)	(13)	(3)
Not applicable .....	96	(66)	(124)	(141)	(217)
Missing.....	97	(1)	(3)	(4)	(0)
Refused.....	98	(0)	(2)	(1)	(0)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(4)	(0)	(1)	(0)

27. How did you get that gun? I mean, did you buy it, have somebody buy it for you, trade for it, share it, rent it, borrow it, steal it, find it, or was it a gift? (CODE ONE ONLY) (Q27, Q41, Q47, Q53)

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>	
Bought it .....	1 ASK A	(66)	(53)	(32)	(1)
Someone else bought it for you .....	2 SKIP TO C	(7)	(6)	(4)	(1)
Traded it .....	3 SKIP TO F	(9)	(3)	(8)	(0)
Shared it .....	4 SKIP TO I	(9)	(7)	(11)	(1)
Rented it .....	5 SKIP TO L	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Borrowed it.....	6 SKIP TO O	(10)	(2)	(6)	(0)
Stole it.....	7 SKIP TO Q	(9)	(7)	(6)	(0)
Found it.....	8 SKIP TO S	(11)	(4)	(1)	(0)
Got it as a gift .....	9 SKIP TO T	(21)	(6)	(7)	(1)
Other: (SPECIFY) .....	10	(8)	(3)	(1)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(66)	(124)	(141)	(217)
Missing.....	97	(0)	(3)	(3)	(0)
Refused.....	98	(3)	(3)	(1)	(0)
DON'T KNOW.....	99 SKIP TO Q28	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)

A. Where or from whom did you buy it? (Q27A, Q41A, Q47A, Q53A)

<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
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Gun Shop/Store .....	1	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Flea Market .....	2	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Pawn Shop .....	3	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Gun Show .....	4	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Department Store .....	5	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Online .....	6	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
From a family member .....	7	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)
From a friend .....	8	(24)	(17)	(11)	(0)
From someone in gang .....	9	(5)	(5)	(1)	(0)
From someone in another gang/group .....	10	(0)	(4)	(0)	(0)
From someone on the street (known) .....	11	(11)	(8)	(11)	(0)
From someone on the street (not known) .....	12	(15)	(8)	(5)	(1)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	13	(7)	(6)	(3)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(155)	(169)	(190)	(220)
Refused .....	98	(3)	(1)	(0)	(0)

B. How much did you pay for it? (Q27B, Q41B, Q47B, Q53B)

\$ |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| --> SKIP TO Q28

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
\$0-49.....	1	(3)	(1)	(0)	(0)
\$50-99.....	2	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
\$100-149.....	3	(7)	(3)	(6)	(0)
\$150-199.....	4	(12)	(4)	(6)	(0)
\$200-249.....	5	(7)	(10)	(6)	(0)
\$250-299.....	6	(8)	(7)	(4)	(0)
\$300-349.....	7	(5)	(4)	(2)	(1)
\$350-399.....	8	(7)	(6)	(4)	(0)
\$400-449.....	9	(2)	(4)	(0)	(0)
\$450-499.....	10	(3)	(2)	(0)	(0)
\$500+ .....	11	(11)	(10)	(3)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(155)	(169)	(190)	(220)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)

C. Who bought you the gun? (Q27C, Q41C, Q47C, Q53C)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Friend.....	1	(7)	(2)	(2)	(0)
Family member.....	2	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Someone in R's crew/cliq/ue/gang.....	3	(0)	(2)	(1)	(0)
Someone in other crew/cliq/ue/gang.....	4	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)
Hired someone the R did not know.....	5	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Other .....	6	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(214)	(215)	(217)	(220)
Missing.....	97	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)

D. Where did the person who bought the gun for you get it from? (Q27D, Q41D, Q47D, Q53D)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Bought it from a physical store .....	1	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)

Got it from a gang member.....	2	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Got it from a family member.....	3	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Got it from a friend.....	4	(0)	(1)	(2)	(0)
Online .....	5	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	6	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(214)	(215)	(217)	(220)
Missing.....	97	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(4)	(3)	(2)	(0)

E. How much did this person pay for the gun? (Q27E, Q41E, Q47E, Q53E)

\$ |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| --> SKIP TO Q28

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
\$1-200.....	0	(2)	(0)	(2)	(0)
\$201-300 .....	1	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)
\$301-400.....	2	(2)	(1)	(0)	(0)
\$401-500.....	3	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
\$600+.....	4	(1)	(2)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(214)	(215)	(217)	(220)
Missing.....	97	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(2)	(1)	(2)	(0)

F. Who did you do this trade with? (Q27F, Q41F, Q47F, Q53F)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Friend.....	1	(2)	(3)	(3)	(0)
Family member.....	2	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Gang member (Own gang/crew/cliq...)	3	(2)	(0)	(3)	(0)
Stranger .....	4	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) _____	5	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(212)	(218)	(213)	(221)

G. Where did the trade occur? (Q27G, Q41G, Q47G, Q53G)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Chicago neighborhood .....	1	(1)	(3)	(8)	(0)
Outside of Chicago .....	2	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)
On the streets.....	3	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)
At person's house.....	4	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(212)	(218)	(213)	(221)

H. What did you trade for it? (Q27H, Q41H, Q47H, Q53H)

--> SKIP TO Q28

G1    G2    G3    G4

Another gun.....	1	(5)	(2)	(4)	(0)
Drugs .....	2	(3)	(0)	(2)	(0)
Money and another gun.....	3	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
A car.....	4	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Other .....	5	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(212)	(218)	(213)	(221)

I. Who did you share this gun with? (Q27I, Q41I, Q47I, Q53I)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Friend.....	1	(4)	(4)	(5)	(0)
Family member.....	2	(2)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Gang member (gang/crew/cliq...)	3	(2)	(1)	(4)	(1)
Stranger .....	5	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(212)	(215)	(212)	(220)
Missing.....	97	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)

J. Where did you or the person/group you shared the gun with get it from? (Q27J, Q41J, Q47J, Q53J)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Bought it from a physical store.....	1	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Got it from a gang member .....	2	(2)	(2)	(3)	(0)
Got it from a family member .....	3	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Got it from a friend .....	4	(3)	(1)	(1)	(0)
Online.....	5	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	6	(0)	(2)	(1)	(0)
Not applicable.....	96	(212)	(214)	(212)	(220)
Missing.....	97	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(3)	(0)	(4)	(1)

K. How often did you have access to this gun? (Q27K, Q41K, Q47K, Q53K)

--> SKIP TO Q28

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Daily/Always .....	1	(8)	(6)	(8)	(1)
Majority of the time.....	2	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Only sometimes .....	3	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable.....	96	(212)	(214)	(212)	(220)
Missing.....	97	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)

L. Who did you rent this gun from? (Q27L, Q41L, Q47L, Q53L)

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Friend.....	1	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(220)	(221)	(221)	(221)

M. Where did this happen? (Q27M, Q41M, Q47M, Q53M)

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Outside R's neighborhood..... 1	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable ..... 96	(220)	(221)	(221)	(221)

N. How much did it cost to rent it? (Q27N, Q41N, Q47N, Q53N)

\$ |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| --> SKIP TO Q28

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
\$20..... 1	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable ..... 96	(220)	(221)	(221)	(221)

O. Who did you borrow this gun from? (Q27O, Q41O, Q47O, Q53O)

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Friend..... 1	(8)	(1)	(4)	(0)
Family member..... 2	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)
Gang member (same gang/crew/cliq) ..... 3	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Gang member (other gang/crew/cliq) ..... 4	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Stranger ..... 5	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) _____ 6	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable ..... 96	(211)	(219)	(215)	(221)
Refused..... 98	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)

P. Where did this exchange occur? (Q27P, Q41P, Q47P, Q53P)

--> SKIP TO Q28

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
R's neighborhood ..... 1	(4)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Friend's house ..... 2	(2)	(0)	(1)	(0)
R's house ..... 3	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
In a car ..... 4	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Other ..... 5	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)
Not applicable ..... 96	(211)	(219)	(215)	(221)
Missing..... 97	(0)	(0)	(3)	(0)
Refused..... 98	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
DON'T KNOW..... 99	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)

Q. Where or from whom did you steal this gun? (Q27Q, Q41Q, Q47Q, Q53Q)

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Off a person the R knows ..... 1	(1)	(1)	(4)	(0)
Off a person the R does not know..... 2	(3)	(3)	(0)	(0)
From a store ..... 3	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
From a house..... 4	(1)	(2)	(1)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) ..... 6	(1)	(1)	(1)	(0)
Not applicable ..... 96	(213)	(214)	(215)	(221)
Refused..... 98	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)

R. Where did this happen? (Q27R, Q41R, Q47R, Q53R)

--> SKIP TO Q28

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Chicago neighborhood ..... 1	(4)	(2)	(1)	(0)
R's neighborhood ..... 2	(1)	(0)	(2)	(0)
Someone's home..... 3	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Outside Chicago..... 4	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
On the streets..... 5	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
In a car ..... 6	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
R's house ..... 7	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Other ..... 8	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable ..... 96	(213)	(214)	(215)	(221)
Missing..... 97	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Refused..... 98	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)

S. Where did you find this gun? (Q27S, Q41S, Q47S, Q53S)

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
In a trash can ..... 1	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
In a park..... 2	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
In an alley ..... 3	(4)	(2)	(1)	(0)
On the street ..... 4	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)
In a vacant building ..... 5	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) ..... 6	(4)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable ..... 96	(210)	(217)	(220)	(221)

T. Where did the person who gave you the gun get it from? (Q27T, Q41T, Q47T, Q53T)

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Bought it from a physical store ..... 1	(2)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Got it from a gang member (own gang/crew/cliq) 2	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Got it from a gang member (another gang/crew/cliq)...3	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Got it from a family member..... 4	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Got it from a friend..... 5	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Online ..... 6	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) ..... 7	(1)	(2)	(1)	(1)
Missing..... 97	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)
DON'T KNOW..... 99	(11)	(1)	(3)	(0)
Not applicable ..... 96	(202)	(217)	(215)	(220)

U. How much did this person pay for the gun? (Q27U, Q41U, Q47U, Q53U)

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
\$0..... 1	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)
\$200 ..... 2	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
\$250..... 3	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
\$400..... 4	(3)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable ..... 96	(202)	(217)	(215)	(220)
Missing..... 97	(1)	(2)	(1)	(0)

DON'T KNOW..... 99 (11) (2) (5) (1)

28. At the time that you got that gun, were you actively looking to get a gun? (Q28, Q42, Q48, Q54)

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
No..... 0 SKIP TO Q29	(82)	(51)	(45)	(2)
Yes..... 1 ASK A	(71)	(40)	(29)	(1)
Not applicable..... 96 SKIP TO Q29	(67)	(125)	(141)	(217)
Missing..... 97	(1)	(3)	(5)	(0)
Refused..... 98	(0)	(2)	(1)	(0)
DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER..... 99	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)

A. How long were you looking for a gun before you found that one? (IT'S OK TO RECORD A RANGE) (Q28A, Q42A, Q48A, Q54A)

- a. \_\_\_\_\_ DAYS
- b. \_\_\_\_\_ MONTHS
- c. \_\_\_\_\_ YEARS

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
0 days..... 0	(6)	(1)	(1)	(0)
1 day ..... 1	(13)	(3)	(8)	(0)
2-6 days ..... 2	(14)	(14)	(11)	(0)
7-13 days ..... 3	(10)	(7)	(5)	(0)
14-20 days ..... 4	(8)	(9)	(1)	(1)
21-30 days ..... 5	(4)	(2)	(0)	(0)
1-3 months ..... 6	(5)	(0)	(0)	(0)
4+ months..... 7	(6)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Not applicable..... 96	(150) <sup>27</sup>	(181)	(192)	(220)
Missing..... 97	(1)	(4)	(3)	(0)
Refused..... 98	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
DON'T KNOW..... 99	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)

Did you pay someone to find the gun for you? (Q28B, Q42B, Q48B, Q54B)

	<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
No ..... 0	(65)	(37)	(24)	(1)
Yes ..... 1	(6)	(4)	(3)	(0)
Not applicable..... 96	(116)	(180)	(192)	(220)
Missing..... 97	(1)	(0)	(2)	(0)
Refused..... 98	(33)	(0)	(0)	(0)

29. Where did you **most often** keep this gun? (Q29, Q43, Q49, Q55)

<sup>27</sup> Question 28A was only relevant for respondents who reported that they were actively looking to get a gun when they obtained their gun.

		<u>G1</u>	<u>G2</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>G4</u>
Visible in your home .....	1	(2)	(2)	(1)	(0)
Hidden in your home .....	2	(41)	(40)	(28)	(1)
Locked in your home.....	3	(4)	(5)	(3)	(0)
Hidden in your car.....	4	(4)	(1)	(2)	(0)
In your family/friends home or car.....	5	(11)	(13)	(18)	(1)
Hidden in a public place.....	6	(11)	(10)	(3)	(0)
On your person at all times.....	7	(72)	(18)	(14)	(2)
Didn't own or have gun for extended period of time .....	8	(7)	(0)	(3)	(0)
Other .....	9	(0)	(1)	(2)	(0)
Not applicable.....	96	(67)	(124)	(141)	(217)
Missing.....	97	(1)	(3)	(4)	(0)
Refused .....	98	(0)	(4)	(2)	(0)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)

30. Why did you get this gun? (Multiple responses per person allowed)(Asked for G1 only)

To shoot in upcoming event .....	1	(8)	}	SKIP TO Q31
To protect themselves during upcoming event.....	2	(22)		
To protect themselves generally .....	3	(108) <sup>28</sup>		
Price was right (e.g. it was a "good deal") .....	4	(2)	}	ASK A
Right type of gun (features they desired).....	5	(0)		
Happened to be available .....	6	(11)		
Somebody owed me goods/money.....	7	(0)		
Other (SPECIFY) .....	8	(23)		
Not applicable.....	96	(67)		
Missing.....	97	(1)		
Refused .....	98	(1)		
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(0)		

A. What did you plan to do with this gun? \*\*\*

Protect myself .....	0	(8)
Commit a crime .....	1	(4)
Sell it .....	2	(3)
Just own it.....	3	(4)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	4	(8)
Not applicable .....	96	(192)
Missing.....	97	(1)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(1)

<sup>28</sup> There were 5 respondents who responded that they got the gun to protect themselves, but later elaborated that they planned to use it to shoot in an upcoming event.

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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31. Would you describe the condition of the gun when you got it as brand new, like new, very good, good, acceptable, or broken? (CODE ONE ONLY) (Asked for G1 only)

Brand new .....	1	(60)
Like new.....	2	(39)
Very good .....	3	(11)
Good .....	4	(20)
Acceptable.....	5	(17)
Broken .....	6	(3)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	7	(1)
Not applicable .....	96	(67)
Missing.....	97	(1)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(2)

32. Did you test fire the gun before you got it? (Asked for G1 only)

No .....	0	(67)
Yes .....	1	(84)
Not applicable .....	96	(67)
Missing.....	97	(1)
Refused.....	98	(2)

33. At the time you got this gun, did you get multiple guns or just this one? (CODE ONE ONLY)(Asked for G1 only)

Multiple guns .....	1	(31)	ASK A
Just this one .....	2	(119)	SKIP TO Q34
Other .....	3	(2)	SKIP TO Q34
Not applicable.....	96	(67)	} SKIP TO Q34
Missing.....	97	(1)	
Refused .....	98	(1)	

A. How many other guns did you get at that time?

|\_|\_|\_|\_|

1 other gun .....	0	(4)
2 other guns .....	1	(8)



3 other guns.....	2	(4)
4 other guns.....	3	(2)
5 other guns.....	4	(3)
6 other guns.....	5	(4)
7+ other guns.....	6	(6)
Not applicable .....	96	(189)
Missing.....	97	(1)

34. Were there other guns you could have gotten instead of this one (or the others you got)? (Asked for G1 only)

No.....	0	(54)	SKIP TO Q35
Yes.....	1	(96)	ASK A
Not applicable.....	96	(67)	} SKIP TO Q35
Missing.....	97	(1)	
Refused .....	98	(1)	
DON'T KNOW .....	9	(2)	

A. Why did you want this gun over others? \*\*\*

WRITE IF NO RECORDING: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Size.....	0	(33)
Power .....	1	(5)
Appearance .....	2	(5)
Gun type.....	3	(12)
Convenience .....	4	(6)
Price.....	5	(4)
New .....	6	(3)
Better gun.....	7	(10)
Holds more shots.....	8	(4)
Other .....	9	(12)
Not applicable .....	96	(124)
Missing.....	97	(3)

35. Is there anything in particular that made you **like** this particular gun? (Multiple responses allowed per person)(Asked for G1 only)

Like: Size .....	01	(68)
Like: Number of bullets it can hold (extended clip) .....	02	(18)
Like: Power of gun (caliber).....	03	(34)

Like: Impresses others.....	04	(2)
Like: Already had the right ammunition.....	05	(2)
Like: Cost .....	06	(6)
Like: Accuracy of shot.....	07	(10)
Like: Nothing.....	08	(40)
Like: Gun type or model .....	09	(14)
Like: Appearance .....	10	(14)
Like: Age .....	11	(7)
OTHER LIKE: (SPECIFY) _____	16	(16)
Not applicable .....	96	(67)
Missing.....	97	(1)

Is there anything in particular that made you **dislike** this particular gun? *(Multiple responses allowed per person)*

Dislike: Size .....	12	(3)
Dislike: Number of bullets it can hold (extended clip) .....	13	(3)
Dislike: Power of gun (caliber).....	14	(3)
Dislike: Did not impress others.....	15	(0)
Dislike: Didn't have the right ammunition for it.....	16	(0)
Dislike: Cost .....	17	(2)
Dislike: Accuracy of shot.....	18	(4)
Dislike: Nothing .....	19	(117)
Dislike: Broken .....	20	(6)
OTHER DISLIKE: (SPECIFY).....	21	(6)
Not applicable .....	96	(67)
Missing.....	97	(7)

36. In general, when getting a new gun, is there any information you like to know about the gun itself or the person you're getting it from? *(Multiple responses allowed per person)*

Dirty/clean gun (other terms: burner, thumper, dropper, drop piece).....	1	(76)
Age of gun.....	2	(6)
Previous owners .....	3	(18)
If all parts are original.....	4	(3)
Quality of the gun.....	5	(32)
Nothing.....	6	(37)
Undercover police officer.....	7	(5)
Gun type .....	8	(7)
Number of shots.....	9	(4)
Other (SPECIFY) _____	10	(7)
Not applicable .....	96	(67)
Missing.....	97	(1)
Refused.....	98	(2)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(2)

37. In the six months before your original arrest, did you own or share any (other) guns?<sup>29</sup>

No.....	0 (118)	SKIP TO B
Yes.....	1 (97)	ASK A
Missing.....	97 (2)	
Refused.....	98 (3)	
DON'T KNOW.....	99 (1)	SKIP TO B

A. How many?

|\_\_|\_\_| ---> SKIP TO Q38

1 other gun.....	0 (17)
2 other guns.....	1 (16)
3 other guns.....	2 (15)
4 other guns.....	3 (5)
5 other guns.....	4 (8)
6 other guns.....	5 (6)
7+ other guns.....	6 (28)
Not applicable.....	96 (118)
Missing.....	97 (2)
Refused.....	98 (3)
DON'T KNOW.....	99 (3)

B. Have you **ever** owned or shared a gun with a group of people?

No.....	0 (80)
Yes.....	1 (39)
Not applicable.....	96 (97)
Missing.....	97 (3)
Refused.....	98 (2)

C. Have you **ever** held or stored a gun for someone else?

No.....	0 (80)
Yes.....	1 (38)
Not applicable.....	96 (97)
Missing.....	97 (4)
Refused.....	98 (2)

<sup>29</sup> This question was asked after the questions about Gun 1, prior to asking any questions about Guns 2, 3, and 4.

D. Have you **ever** borrowed or carried a gun?

No.....	0	(32)	} SKIP TO Q56 p.34
Yes.....	1	(45)	
Not applicable.....	96	(141)	
Missing.....	97	(2)	
Refused.....	98	(1)	

43A. Did you get that gun from the same source as the previous gun we discussed? (Asked about G2)

No .....	0	(43)
Yes .....	1	(10)
Not applicable .....	96	(162)
Missing.....	97	(5)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(1)

49A. Did you get that gun from the same source as [any of] the previous gun(s) we discussed? (Asked about G3)

No .....	0	(38)
Yes .....	1	(17)
Not applicable .....	96	(162)
Missing.....	97	(4)

55A. Did you get that gun from the same source as [any of] the previous gun(s) we discussed? (Asked about G4)

No .....	0	(3)
Yes .....	1	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(218)

56. After your original arrest, were you released from jail or prison at anytime before your trial or were you released on parole?

No.....	0	(145)	SKIP TO SECTION IV
Yes.....	1	(57)	ASK Q57
Missing.....	97	(16)	
Refused.....	98	(3)	

57. During the time after your original arrest when you were released from jail/prison, did you own or share a gun with others?

No..... 0 (34)  
 Yes..... 1 (21)  
 Not applicable..... 96 (164)  
 Refused ..... 98 (2)

**Section IV: Selling Guns**

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Goal: *Understand if the R sold guns and what his selling patterns/decisions were*

59. Did you sell or trade any guns in the six months before your original arrest?

No ..... 0 (188)      SKIP TO p.37  
 Yes ..... 1 (28)      ASK A  
 Missing..... 97 (2)      SKIP TO p.37  
 Refused..... 98 (3)

A. How many guns did you sell or trade?

|\_\_| |\_\_| |\_\_|

1 gun ..... 0 (15)  
 2 guns ..... 1 (7)  
 3 guns ..... 1 (3)  
 4 guns ..... 1 (1)  
 5+ guns ..... 1 (2)  
 Not applicable ..... 96 (193)

B. Did you know or know of the person/people you sold or traded (it/them) to?

No..... 0 (2)  
 Yes..... 1 (26)  
 Not applicable..... 96 (193)

C. Did you sell or trade the gun(s) to anyone who wanted one?

No..... 0 (17)      ASK D  
 Yes..... 1 (11)      SKIP TO F  
 Not applicable..... 96 (193)

D. How did you decide which people you wanted to sell to? \*\*\*

IF NO RECORDING: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Only to people R knows .....	0	(11)
Other .....	2	(6)
Not applicable .....	96	(204)

E. What information did you want to know to make your decision? (Multiple responses allowed per person)\*\*\*

WRITE VERBATIM AND CODE BELOW \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If they were an undercover cop.....	1	(1)
If they'd committed crimes before.....	2	(0)
What they were planning to do with the gun.....	3	(1)
Wanted to know who the person is.....	4	(5)
No particular information .....	5	(5)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	6	(5)
Not applicable .....	96	(204)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(1)

F. Who did you end up selling or trading the gun(s) to? (Multiple responses allowed per person)

Anyone .....	1	(0)
Friends of friends.....	2	(8)
Friends.....	3	(14)
Sell only to very close friends.....	4	(5)
Sell to members of my gang/crew/cliq/et/.....	5	(3)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	6	(6)
Not applicable .....	96	(193)

G. Did someone else sell or trade the gun(s) for you?

No.....	0	(24)
Yes.....	1	(4)

Not applicable..... 96 (193)

H. Was the person or people you sold/traded the gun(s) to from your neighborhood or somewhere else?

Neighborhood..... 1 (17)  
Somewhere else..... 2 (10)  
Not applicable..... 96 (193)  
Missing..... 97 (1)

I. Were you concerned about selling to undercover officers?

No..... 0 (17) SKIP TO K  
Yes..... 1 (11) ASK J  
Not applicable..... 96 (193) SKIP TO K

J. What have you done before to protect yourself against that possibility? ? (Multiple responses allowed)\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Ask questions..... 1 (3)  
Sell to person R knows ..... 2 (4)  
Send someone else to do it..... 3 (2)  
Other (SPECIFY) \_\_\_\_\_ 4 (2)  
Not Applicable..... 96 (210)

K. Why were you selling or trading the gun(s)? (Multiple responses allowed per person)

Didn't want/need it anymore..... 1 (7)  
Found out it was dirty ..... 2 (2)  
Needed the money/other product..... 3 (11)  
Somebody offered good money for it..... 4 (3)  
Wanted to get a different gun..... 5 (8)  
Other (SPECIFY) \_\_\_\_\_ .6 (4)  
Not applicable ..... 96 (193)

**Section V: Criminal Justice System and Response**

Goal: Understand how the R perceives police and the criminal justice system as they relate to guns.

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING PRETEND SITUATIONS SLOWLY, AND EMPHASIZE THE BOLDED TEXT.

Now, I'm going to present you with a few different pretend situations. After I read each pretend situation, I'll ask you a few questions. If at anytime you would like me to repeat the pretend situation, I would be happy to do so.

**Situation 1:** A young man is walking down the street near his home. He is stopped by the police, who frisk him and find a gun. He **does not have a gun license**. This man does **not** have a felony record.

60. What do you think the police will do? Will they arrest him, give him a warning, make a deal with him, or something else? \*\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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Arrest him .....	1	(169)
Make a deal.....	2	(84)
Depends on officer.....	3	(17)
Shoot/Kill him .....	4	(6)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	5	(11)
Not applicable.....	96	(0)
Missing.....	97	(7)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(1)

A. Will the police take the gun? \*\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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No.....	0	(5)
Yes.....	1	(206)
Maybe .....	2	(3)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	3	(0)
Not applicable.....	96	(0)
Missing.....	97	(7)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(0)

61. Will this man end up spending time in jail/prison? \*\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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No.....	0	(31)
Yes.....	1	(129)
Maybe .....	2	(18)
Depends if he bonds out.....	3	(7)
Depends on deal .....	4	(24)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	5	(3)
Not applicable.....	96	(2)
Missing.....	97	(7)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(0)

62. How long do you predict this man will spend in jail/prison? \*\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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Probation .....	0	(5)
Less than one year .....	1	(50)
One year.....	2	(16)
Two years.....	3	(44)
Three – Five years .....	4	(31)
Six+ years .....	5	(3)
Depends on priors.....	6	(3)
Other (SPECIFY).....	7	(14)
Not applicable.....	96	(38)
Missing.....	97	(10)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(7)

**Situation 2:** A young man is walking down the street near his home. He is stopped by the police, who frisk him and find a gun. He does **not have a gun license**. This man is **known to be in a gang and has previously served time in prison**.

63. What do you think the police will do? Will they arrest him, give him a warning, make a deal with him, or something else? \*\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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Arrest him .....	1	(182)
Make a deal.....	2	(61)
Depends on officer.....	3	(10)

Shoot/kill him.....	4	(9)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	5	(7)
Not applicable.....	96	(0)
Missing.....	97	(7)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(0)

A. Will the police take the gun? \*\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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No.....	0	(1)
Yes.....	1	(209)
Maybe .....	2	(1)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	3	(0)
Not applicable.....	96	(0)
Missing.....	97	(10)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(0)

64. Will this man end up spending time in jail/prison? \*\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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No.....	0	(14)
Yes.....	1	(172)
Maybe .....	2	(5)
Depends if he bonds out.....	3	(1)
Depends on deal .....	4	(15)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	5	(3)
Not applicable.....	96	(2)
Missing.....	97	(8)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(1)

65. How long do you predict this man will spend in jail/prison?

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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Probation .....	0	(0)
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Less than one year .....	1	(7)
One year.....	2	(8)
Two years.....	3	(16)
Three – Five years .....	4	(70)
Six+ years .....	5	(66)
Depends on priors.....	6	(13)
Other (SPECIFY).....	7	(12)
Not applicable.....	96	(14)
Missing.....	97	(8)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(7)

**Situation 3:** A young man **without a felony record** is walking down the street near his home. He is stopped by the police, who frisk him and find a gun. He does not have a gun license. The police take the gun and let him go. They conduct a background check on the gun, and find that it **had been used previously in a crime**.

66. What do you think the police will do? Will they find and arrest him, find him and give him a warning, find him and make a deal with him, or will they do nothing? \*\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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Arrest him .....	1	(115)
Make a deal.....	2	(55)
Put the gun on someone else .....	3	(22)
Depends on officer.....	4	(3)
Question him .....	5	(12)
Do nothing .....	6	(33)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	7	(8)
Not applicable.....	96	(0)
Missing.....	97	(7)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(3)

67. Will this man end up spending time in jail/prison? \*\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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No.....	0	(71)
Yes.....	1	(97)

Maybe .....	2	(22)
Depends if he bonds out.....	3	(0)
Depends on deal .....	4	(10)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	5	(6)
Not applicable.....	96	(0)
Missing .....	97	(11)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(4)

68. How long do you predict this man will spend in jail/prison? \*\*\*

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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Probation .....	0	(0)
Less than one year .....	1	(17)
One year.....	2	(5)
Two years.....	3	(6)
Three – Five years .....	4	(23)
Six+ years .....	5	(25)
Depends on priors.....	6	(2)
Depends on crime on gun.....	7	(41)
Other (SPECIFY).....	8	(12)
Not applicable.....	96	(67)
Missing .....	97	(13)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(10)

69. Have you ever done any of the following to avoid being caught with a gun?

A. Hidden a gun?

No.....	0	(51)
Yes.....	1	(163)
Not applicable.....	96	(2)
Missing .....	97	(2)
Refused .....	98	(3)

B. Sold/gave away a gun sooner than you wanted?

No.....	0	(135)
Yes.....	1	(77)
Not applicable.....	96	(2)

Missing ..... 97 (3)  
 Refused ..... 98 (4)

C. Got rid of a gun sooner than you wanted?

No..... 0 (116)  
 Yes..... 1 (97)  
 DON'T KNOW ..... 96 (2)  
 Missing ..... 97 (2)  
 Refused ..... 98 (4)

D. Kept a gun with a friend or relative?

No..... 0 (82)  
 Yes..... 1 (131)  
 DON'T KNOW ..... 96 (2)  
 Missing ..... 97 (2)  
 Refused ..... 98 (4)

E. Chosen not to carry the gun even when you thought it might be useful?

No..... 0 (85)  
 Yes..... 1 (128)  
 DON'T KNOW ..... 96 (2)  
 Missing ..... 97 (2)  
 Refused ..... 98 (4)

**Section VI: Ammunition**

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Goal: <i>Understand gun behavior and how ammunition is acquired and distributed.</i>
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Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about your experience firing guns and with obtaining ammunition.

70. In the six months prior to your original arrest, did you ever fire a gun for target practice, for fun, or for another reason?

No .....	0 (122)	SKIP TO Q71
Yes .....	1 (89)	ASK A
Missing.....	97 (2)	
Refused.....	98 (8)	

A. On how many occasions did you fire the gun in those six months?

|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

1 .....	0	(16)
2 .....	1	(14)
3 .....	2	(10)
4 .....	3	(10)
5 .....	4	(8)
6 .....	5	(1)
7 .....	6	(1)
8+ <sup>30</sup> .....	7	(29)
Not applicable .....	96	(132)
Refused .....	98	(0)

B. On how many occasions did you fire the gun specifically for target practice (in those six months)?

|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

0 .....	0	(38)
1 .....	1	(14)
2 .....	2	(5)
3 .....	3	(10)
4 .....	4	(0)
5 .....	5	(4)
6 .....	6	(4)
7 .....	7	(1)
8+ .....	8	(10)
Not applicable .....	96	(132)
Missing .....	97	(2)
Refused .....	98	(1)

C. In total, how many rounds of ammunition would you say you fired in the six months before your original arrest?

|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

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<sup>30</sup> There were two outliers, one of whom said they had fired a gun on 100 occasions and the other on 180 occasions. It was unclear whether they meant they had fired a gun on 100/180 different occasions or that they had fired a gun 100/180 times.

0-19 rounds.....	0	(35)
20-39 rounds.....	1	(14)
40-59 rounds.....	2	(9)
60-79 rounds.....	3	(4)
80-99 rounds.....	4	(4)
100+ rounds.....	5	(18)
Not applicable.....	96	(132)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(5)

INTERVIEWER:

HAS R DENIED ALL USE OF GUNS THROUGH INTERVIEW?

IF YES, SKIP TO SECTION VII, p.44  
IF NO, ASK Q71

71. How did you **most often** get ammunition? I mean, did you buy it, trade for it, borrow it, take it from someone or somewhere, share it with someone, did someone buy it for you, or was it a gift? (CODE ONE ONLY)

Bought it.....	1	(107)	ASK A
Traded for it.....	2	(4)	SKIP TO C
Borrowed it.....	3	(5)	SKIP TO F
Stole it from someone or somewhere.....	4	(3)	SKIP TO H
Shared it with someone.....	5	(4)	SKIP TO J
Someone bought it for you.....	6	(33)	SKIP TO L
Received it as a gift.....	7	(7)	SKIP TO O
Never obtained ammunition.....	8	(4)	
Obtained ammunition with gun.....	9	(6)	
Other(SPECIFY).....	10	(6)	SKIP TO Q72
Not applicable.....	96	(31)	
Missing.....	97	(6)	
Refused.....	98	(4)	
Don't know.....	99	(1)	

A. Where/from whom did you buy it? (*Multiple responses per person allowed*)

Gun shop/store.....	01	(13)
Flea market.....	02	(1)

Pawn shop .....	03	(1)
Gun show.....	04	(1)
Department store.....	05	(3)
From a family member .....	06	(5)
From a friend .....	07	(37)
From a crew, clique, or gang .....	08	(12)
From someone on the street (known) .....	09	(29)
From someone on the street (not known).....	10	(21)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	11	(20)
Not applicable .....	96	(118)
Refused.....	98	(3)

B. How much did you pay for it? (IF R DID NOT VOLUNTEER, ASK: For how many bullets was that?)  
(IT'S OK TO RECORD A RANGE)

\$ |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| FOR |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| BULLETS--> SKIP TO Q72

Amount of money spent:

\$0-19.....	1	(12)
\$20-39.....	2	(40)
\$40-59.....	3	(30)
\$60-79.....	4	(2)
\$80-99.....	5	(2)
\$100+ .....	6	(12)
Not applicable .....	96	(119)
Refused.....	98	(1)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(3)

Number of bullets acquired:

0-19 bullets.....	1	(7)
20-39 bullets.....	2	(15)
40-59 bullets.....	3	(41)
60-79 bullets.....	4	(4)
80-99 bullets.....	5	(4)
100+ bullets .....	6	(22)
Not applicable .....	96	(119)
Missing.....	97	(3)
Refused.....	98	(1)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(5)

Average amount of money spent per 50 bullets acquired:

\$0-9.....	1	(8)
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\$10-19.....	2	(9)
\$20-29.....	3	(24)
\$30-39.....	4	(10)
\$40-49.....	5	(8)
\$50-59.....	6	(15)
\$60+.....	7	(18)
Not applicable .....	96	(120)
Missing.....	97	(3)
Refused.....	98	(1)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(5)

C. Who did you do this trade with? *(Multiple responses allowed per person)*

Friend.....	1	(1)
Family member.....	2	(0)
Gang member (own gang/crew/cliq).....	3	(1)
Gang member (another gang/crew/cliq).....	4	(0)
Stranger .....	5	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	6	(2)
Not applicable .....	96	(217)

D. Where did the trade occur?

---

R's neighborhood .....	1	(1)
On the streets.....	2	(1)
Inside somewhere .....	3	(2)
Not applicable .....	96	(217)

E. What did you trade for it? *(Multiple responses allowed per person)*

---

---> SKIP TO Q72

Money .....	1	(2)
Drugs .....	2	(3)
Not applicable .....	96	(217)

F. Who did you borrow this ammunition from? *(Multiple responses allowed per person)*

Friend.....	1	(1)
Family member .....	2	(0)
Gang member (own gang/crew/cliq).....	3	(1)
Gang member (another gang/crew/cliq).....	4	(0)
Stranger.....	5	(1)
Other (SPECIFY).....	6	(2)
Not applicable.....	69	(216)

G. Where did this exchange occur?

-----> SKIP TO Q72

On the street .....	1	(2)
At a party.....	2	(1)
Not applicable .....	96	(216)
Refused .....	97	(2)

H. Where or from whom did you steal this ammunition? *(Multiple responses allowed per person)*

Off a person the R knows.....	1	(1)
Off a person the R does not know .....	2	(0)
From a store.....	3	(0)
From a home.....	4	(1)
From a hiding place.....	5	(0)
Other (SPECIFY).....	6	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(218)
Missing.....	97	(1)

I. Where did this happen?

-----> SKIP TO Q72

R's home.....	1	(1)
Chicago neighborhood .....	2	(1)
Not applicable .....	96	(218)
Missing.....	97	(1)

J. Who did you share this ammunition with? *(Multiple responses allowed per person)*

Friend.....	1	(3)
Family member.....	2	(1)
Gang member (own gang).....	3	(2)
Gang member (another gang).....	4	(0)
Stranger .....	5	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	6	(0)
Not applicable .....	96	(217)

K. How often did you have access to this ammunition?

All the time .....	1	(4)
Sometimes.....	2	(0)
Almost never .....	3	(0)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	4	(0) ---> SKIP TO Q72
Not applicable .....	96	(217)

L. Who bought you the ammunition? *(Multiple responses allowed per person)*

Friend.....	1	(19)
Family member.....	2	(4)
Someone in crew/cliq/ue/gang .....	3	(2)
Hired someone the R did not know.....	4	(1)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	6	(7)
Not applicable .....	96	(189)
Missing.....	97	(2)

M. Where did the person who bought the ammunition for you get it from? *(Multiple responses allowed per person)*

Bought it from a store .....	1	(20)
Got it from a gang member .....	2	(2)
Got it from a family member.....	3	(0)
Got it from a friend.....	4	(1)
Other (SPECIFY) .....	5	(2)
Not applicable .....	96	(189)
Missing.....	97	(5)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(5)

N. How much did this person pay for the ammunition? (IF R DID NOT VOLUNTEER, ASK: For how many bullets was that?) (IT'S OK TO RECORD A RANGE)

\$ |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| FOR |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| BULLETS

Amount of money spent:

\$0-19.....	1	(4)
\$20-39.....	2	(11)
\$40-59.....	3	(3)
\$60-79.....	4	(0)
\$80-99.....	5	(1)
\$100+ .....	6	(1)
Not applicable .....	96	(189)
Refused.....	97	(2)
Missing.....	98	(1)

DON'T KNOW..... 99 (9)

Number of bullets acquired:

0-19 bullets..... 1 (3)  
 20-39 bullets..... 2 (1)  
 40-59 bullets..... 3 (9)  
 60-79 bullets..... 4 (3)  
 80-99 bullets..... 5 (0)  
 100+ bullets ..... 6 (4)  
 Not applicable ..... 96 (189)  
 Missing..... 97 (3)  
 DON'T KNOW..... 99 (9)

Average amount of money spent per 50 bullets acquired:

\$1-9..... 1 (2)  
 \$10-19..... 2 (5)  
 \$20-29..... 3 (5)  
 \$30-39..... 4 (1)  
 \$40-49..... 5 (3)  
 \$50+ ..... 6 (4)  
 Not applicable ..... 96 (189)  
 Refused..... 97 (3)  
 DON'T KNOW..... 99 (9)

O. Where did the person who gave you the ammunition get it from? (Multiple responses allowed per person)

Bought it from a store ..... 1 (1)  
 Got it from a gang member..... 2 (1)  
 Got it from a family member ..... 3 (0)  
 Got it from a friend ..... 4 (0)  
 Other (SPECIFY) ..... 5 (1)  
 Not applicable ..... 96 (214)  
 DON'T KNOW..... 99 (4)

P. How much did this person pay for the ammunition? (IF R DID NOT VOLUNTEER, ASK: For how many bullets was that?) (IT'S OK TO RECORD A RANGE)

\$ |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| FOR |\_\_|\_\_|\_\_| BULLETS

\$0..... 1 (1)  
 \$20..... 2 (1)  
 \$50..... 3 (1)  
 Not applicable ..... 96 (214)  
 DON'T KNOW..... 99 (4)

50 bullets .....	1	(1)
70 bullets .....	2	(1)
Not applicable .....	96	(214)
Missing.....	97	(1)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(4)

72. How long did it normally take you to obtain more ammunition?

- A. \_\_\_\_\_ DAYS
- B. \_\_\_\_\_ MONTHS
- C. \_\_\_\_\_ YEARS

0 days.....	0	(32)
1 day .....	1	(39)
2 days.....	2	(31)
3 days.....	3	(12)
4 days.....	4	(5)
5 days.....	5	(2)
6 days.....	6	(0)
7 days.....	7	(14)
8+ days.....	8	(28) <sup>31</sup>
Not applicable .....	96	(41)
Missing.....	97	(7)
Refused.....	97	(3)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(7)

## Section VII: Gangs and Guns

Goal: <i>Establish how gangs acquire, handle, manage, and allocate guns.</i>
--

73. In the six months prior to your original arrest, were you involved with a gang, clique, crew, or other type of group?

No .....	0	(125)	SKIP TO Q74
Yes .....	1	(89)	ASK A
Missing.....	97	(2)	
Refused.....	98	(5)	

- A. How long had you been involved with this particular group?  
(IT'S OK TO RECORD A RANGE)

<sup>31</sup> 17 of the "8+ days" responses are over 1 month, and the maximum response is 2 years.

- a. \_\_\_\_\_ DAYS
- b. \_\_\_\_\_ MONTHS
- c. \_\_\_\_\_ YEARS

0-4 years .....	0	(6)
5-9 years .....	1	(23)
10-14 years .....	2	(33)
15-19 years .....	3	(7)
20-24 years .....	4	(10)
25+ years .....	5	(9)
Not applicable .....	96	(132)
Refused.....	97	(1)

B. How did you meet them? \*\*\* IF NECESSARY, PROBE: Tell me a little more about that.

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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Grew up together in neighborhood .....	0	(59)
School .....	1	(9)
Family members .....	2	(13)
Acquaintances .....	3	(4)
Other .....	4	(3)
Not applicable .....	96	(132)
Refused.....	97	(1)

C. We don't need to know the group's name, but does your group have a name?

No .....	0	(14)
Yes .....	1	(74)
Not applicable .....	96	(132)
Refused.....	98	(1)

C1. Would you say that your group has [READ OPTIONS]...

Fewer than 10 people.....	1	(8)
10-20 people.....	2	(6)
More than 20 people.....	3	(49)

Not applicable.....96 (132)  
 Missing..... 97 (26)<sup>32</sup>

C2. I don't need to know the symbol, but does your group have a symbol?

No.....0 (18)  
 Yes.....1 (45)  
 Not applicable.....96 (132)  
 Missing..... 97 (26)

D. Would you call this group a crew, clique, gang, or other term? (CODE ONE ONLY)

Crew ..... 1 (6)  
 Clique ..... 2 (13)  
 Gang..... 3 (43)  
 Family ..... 4 (13)  
 Mob..... 5 (4)  
 Other (SPECIFY) ..... 6 (10)  
 Not applicable..... 96 (132)

E. Did your [crew, clique, gang, OTHER] ever sell guns?

No..... 0 (48)	SKIP TO I
Yes..... 1 (39)	ASK F
Not applicable..... 96 (132)	
Refused ..... 98 (1)	
DON'T KNOW ..... 99 (1)	SKIP TO I

F. Who did they sell guns to? (*Multiple responses allowed per person*)

Friends and/or Family ..... 1 (18)  
 Members of same gang ..... 2 (20)  
 Members of different gang..... 3 (9)  
 Strangers ..... 4 (6)  
 Anyone ..... 5 (15)  
 Other (SPECIFY) ..... 6 (2)  
 Not applicable..... 96 (182)

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<sup>32</sup> This question was added after interviews began, so 26 respondents who indicated group involvement were not asked.

G. On average, how many guns per month would you say your (crew/cliqe/gang/OTHER NAME) sold? (IT'S OK TO RECORD A RANGE)

|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

0 guns.....	1	(1)
1 gun .....	2	(2)
2 guns.....	3	(6)
3 guns.....	4	(2)
4 guns.....	5	(1)
5 guns.....	6	(4)
6 guns.....	7	(0)
7+ guns.....	8	(16) <sup>33</sup>
Not applicable.....	96	(182)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(7)

H. Was selling guns an important source of income for your (crew/cliqe/gang/OTHER NAME)?

No.....	0	(32)
Yes.....	1	(7)
Not applicable.....	96	(182)

I. Did your (crew/cliqe/gang/OTHER NAME) have a stash of guns?

No.....	0	(17)	SKIP TO K
Yes.....	1	(67)	ASK J
Not applicable.....	96	(132)	
Refused .....	98	(3)	
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(2)	SKIP TO K

J. How many guns did your (crew/cliqe/gang/OTHER NAME) have in the stash?  
(IT'S OK TO RECORD A RANGE)

|\_\_|\_\_|\_\_|

1-4 guns.....	1	(6)
5-9 gun .....	2	(10)
10-14 guns.....	3	(9)
15-19 guns.....	4	(6)
20-24 guns.....	5	(9)

<sup>33</sup> There were two outliers – one respondent who reported his gang sold on average 100 guns per month and another who reported his gang sold on average 250 guns per month.



25-29 guns.....	6	(6)
30-34 guns.....	7	(3)
35+ guns.....	8	(13) <sup>34</sup>
Not applicable.....	96	(154)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(5)

K. When did members carry a gun? (Multiple responses allowed per person)

All the time.....	1	(48)
During a war with another gang.....	2	(26)
If they had a plan to shoot someone.....	3	(3)
When the leader said to carry a gun.....	4	(1)
During a drug transaction.....	5	(3)
When doing any illegal activity.....	6	(3)
When leaving the neighborhood.....	7	(11)
Never.....	8	(3) SKIP TO Q74
When going to a party or hang out.....	9	(6)
Most of the time.....	10	(4)
Other (SPECIFY).....	9	(12)
Not applicable.....	96	(132)
Refused.....	98	(1)

L. Did every member of the (crew/cliq/ang/OTHER NAME) carry a gun?

No.....	0	(56)
Yes.....	1	(27)
Not applicable.....	96	(135)
Missing.....	97	(1)
Refused.....	98	(1)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(1)

M. Did anyone in the (crew/cliq/ang/OTHER NAME) have a say in who could carry a gun and when?

No.....	0	(47)	SKIP TO Q74
Yes.....	1	(36)	ASK N
Not applicable.....	96	(135)	SKIP TO Q74
Missing.....	97	(1)	
Refused.....	98	(1)	
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(1)	

<sup>34</sup> There are four outlier responses which are included here, one respondent who reported 100 guns, two respondents who reported 200 guns, and one respondent who reported 1,000 guns.

N. How did the [that person/those people] determine who could carry a gun and when?

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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Trustworthiness .....	0	(4)
Role .....	1	(1)
Willingness to shoot.....	2	(15)
Other .....	3	(14)
Not applicable.....	96	(185)
Refused .....	98	(1)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(1)

74. Do you think that people in your neighborhood who are not in gangs or other groups have a harder time getting guns and ammunition?

No.....	0	(154)
Yes.....	1	(45)
Missing .....	97	(2)
Refused .....	98	(5)
DON'T KNOW .....	99	(15)

**Section VIII: Conclusion**

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I'm now going to ask you about your plans after leaving prison.

75. What are your plans for staying safe after you are released? *(Multiple responses allowed)*

Stay away from certain people .....	0	(83)
Stay away from certain places .....	1	(105)
Move out of the neighborhood .....	2	(104)
Carry a gun.....	3	(6)
Avoiding guns.....	4	(38)
Stay around my family .....	5	(64)
Education .....	6	(40)
Work .....	7	(70)
Community involvement .....	8	(10)
Avoiding trouble/illegal activity.....	9	(26)
Other (SPECIFY).....	10	(18)

Not applicable.....	96	(0)
Missing.....	97	(5)
Refused.....	98	(0)
DON'T KNOW.....	99	(4)

76. I have asked you a lot of questions. Is there anything I missed asking you that you think is important for us to know as we try to understand more about guns and violence in Chicago neighborhoods? *(Multiple responses allowed) \*\*\**

**WRITE IF NO RECORDING:**

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Lack neighborhood safety.....	0	(48)
Lack community resources.....	1	(20)
Lack opportunity.....	2	(17)
Mistrust of police.....	3	(30)
Guns needed for protection.....	4	(26)
Difficulty of improvements.....	5	(18)
Ideas for improving odds.....	6	(22)
Ideas for improving laws.....	7	(13)
Ease of getting guns.....	8	(23)
More Chicago gun sources.....	9	(6)
Nothing.....	10	(57)
Other.....	11	(23)
Not applicable.....	96	(0)
Missing.....	97	(17)
Refused.....	98	(0)
Don't know.....	99	(1)

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Thank you for taking part in this interview and for providing your thoughts on guns and safety in your community. **(Hand over slip of paper with IRB #)** As we discussed while we reviewed the consent form, here is the number for the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Chicago if you'd like to take it with you. As a reminder, everything we've discussed will be kept confidential, and you will receive a \$10 deposit into your prison fund as a thank you for the time you spent speaking with me today. Thank you again, and have a good rest of your day.

**APPENDIX: Resources for Interviewers**

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**A. Types of Handguns, Rifles, and Pistols**

<b>HANDGUNS</b>	Can be held with one hand.
Revolver	Ammunition is held in a rotating cylinder that holds between 5-9 cartridges. Generally double action, meaning pulling the trigger cocks and fires the revolver, but can also be single action, meaning gun must be manually cocked before each shot. User must empty casings before reloading.
Semi-automatic pistol	Fires a single bullet each time trigger is pulled. Loaded with magazines. Single, non-revolving chamber.
Automatic pistol	Fires bullets as long as the trigger is squeezed.
Other	
<b>RIFLE</b>	Long guns designed to be braced against the shoulder.
Bolt action rifle	User must manually pull bolt back between each round. Loaded with magazines.
Modern military-style semi-automatic rifle	For example, AK-47, SKS, AR-15
Semi-automatic rifle	Fires a single bullet each time trigger is pulled. Loaded with magazines.
Modified rifle	Cut barrel, sawed off, conversion to fully automatic.
Other	
<b>SHOTGUN</b>	Long gun with shells (instead of bullets) that are usually packed with small pellets.
Pump-action shotgun	Handgrip is pumped back and forth to eject spent ammunition between each round.
Double-barreled shotgun	To add shells, user must "break" gun at barrel, add shells, and snap the gun shut again.
Semi-automatic shotgun	Fires a single bullet each time trigger is pulled. Can fire again without reloading.
Automatic shotgun	Fires until the magazine is empty or trigger is released.
Revolving cylinder shotgun	Street sweeper or striker 12.
Other	
<b>MACHINE GUN</b>	Fires until the magazine is empty.

## **Appendix B. Consent Form**

### **University of Chicago Consent Form for Research Participation**

#### **Purpose of the Study**

##### **What is this study?**

The University of Chicago wants to learn about how people get, use, store, and get rid of guns. The research team wants to learn about your experiences with guns. About 200 people in prison who have any prior history of gun-related charges will be interviewed.

##### **Who is doing this study?**

This study is being done by the Crime Lab which is a research center at the University of Chicago. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please contact the lead researcher:

Jens Ludwig

University of Chicago Crime Lab

33 N. LaSalle St. Suite 1600

Chicago, IL 60602

773-702-9145

If you agree to be in this study and feel that your rights have been violated, or you were not treated fairly, contact:

IRB Coordinator

Social and Behavioral Sciences IRB

University of Chicago

1155 E. 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637

(312) 428-8620 \*This telephone number will accept collect calls

You will be handed a paper card containing the above IRB phone number upon conclusion of the interview. The number is not identifiable as a University phone number in order to protect your privacy.

##### **What will we ask you to do?**

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked questions during an interview that will take no more than 2 hours. With your permission, the interviewer will record the interview to make sure that he/she remembers all the information you provide and can focus on listening instead of taking notes. Your name won't be mentioned during the interview. Researchers will type these records and then destroy the recordings. You can take part without being audio-recorded.

##### **What kind of questions will we ask you in the interviews?**

The interviewer will ask you questions about your experiences with guns, like your access to guns, and how you got, used, stored, and disposed of them. Other topics that will be covered may include: personal background, access to ammunition, what you think about the criminal justice system, and your group involvement. It is important to note that some questions may be sensitive, but you will never have to answer a question you don't want to.

##### **Will we get information from other sources besides you?**

Yes, we will be asking other prisoners the same questions we are asking you; however, researchers will not be asking anyone else about you. Researchers will have access to the arrest records of all prisoners selected to be in this study, but they will never tell anyone at the Illinois Department of Corrections, the Chicago Police Department, the Court, or anywhere else if you agreed to take part or anything you personally said during this interview.

##### **Will the information you give be kept confidential?**

Yes. The information you give in the interviews will not be shared with anyone other than the researchers at the University of Chicago Crime Lab and research collaborators at other universities. Researchers at the University of Chicago may match your interview responses to your records as provided by the Illinois Department of Corrections, the Illinois State Police, or the Chicago Police Department; however, once your responses and arrest records have been linked, we will remove any and all information from that data file that could identify you.

If you agree to be in the study, researchers will keep your entire information private by:

- Not putting your name on any interview or written records;
- Keeping all information from the interview in a locked office or on a password protected computer that is secure. These storage locations will not be located in the prison;
- Destroying the audio recordings after they have been typed;
- Not providing any information gathered through the interview to any prison staff, probation officers or parole agents, Prisoner Review Board personnel or other criminal justice agencies.

To help us protect you and the information we will be collecting from you, the research team has obtained a privacy certificate from the U.S. Department of Justice. This privacy certificate means that even if a court or lawyer asks us for information about you, we cannot legally give it to them.

#### **How will we use the information collected from you?**

The information collected from all people in this study will be used by the University of Chicago researchers to write reports. General things learned from the study may also be presented at conferences, professional meetings, and in written articles. Your study data will be handled as confidentially as possible. If results of this study are published or presented, individual names and other personally identifiable information will not be used. The researchers will store the information for ten (10) years, except for the recordings that will be destroyed as soon as they are typed. Researchers may use the data from this project in future research studies or with other researchers – if we share the data that we collected about you, we will remove any information that could identify you before we share it. De-identified data may also be stored at the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data (NACJD) for use in future research.

#### **What risks are there to you if you take part in this study?**

Sometimes you may feel uncomfortable answering questions asked during the interview. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to. There is also a risk that some of what you say during the interview could be seen or heard by someone who should not have seen or heard it, accidentally, but as a reminder you will never be asked your name during the interview. Please do not refer to anyone by their real names during the interview so we can keep the privacy of people you may talk about during the interview.

You saw a flyer about this opportunity while in your cell. Because of this, other prisoners may learn or figure why you may have left your cell. If you think this puts you at risk with others in the prison, we suggest you do not agree to take part. If you do take part, please know that we will also invite other prisoners to this study. Other than that, we will not announce or spread word about the interviews to the general population.

#### **What benefits are there to you if you take part in this study?**

You are not likely to have direct benefit from being in this research study. This study is designed to learn more about your experience with guns. This study results may be used to help people in the future.

#### **What payment will you receive if you take part in the study?**

If you agree to take part we will add \$10 to your commissary account. You will receive the \$10 even if you do not answer all of the questions the interviewer asks you, or you stop the interview early.

**What are my rights as a research participant?**

Whether or not you decide to take part will not change your release date, and have no effect on the outcome of your case or any services you may receive while in prison or on parole/MSR. If at any time you would like to stop participating, please tell me. We can take a break, stop and continue at a later date, or stop altogether. You may withdraw from this study at any time, and you will not be penalized in any way for deciding to stop participation. If you decide to withdraw from this study, the researchers will ask you if the information already collected from you can be used.

**What identifiable information of mine can be disclosed?**

To help us protect you and the information we will be collecting from you, the research team has obtained a privacy certificate from the U.S. Department of Justice. This privacy certificate means that even if a court or lawyer asks us for information about you, we legally cannot give it to them. Your private, identifiable information will be kept confidential and will only be used for research and statistical purposes. However, if you disclose that you are being harmed or abused by either another prisoner or by prison authorities, we will report this to someone at the Illinois Department of Corrections who does not work at this prison. Also, if you tell us that you are planning to harm yourself or someone else, we will report that to the appropriate authorities. Only de-identified data will be submitted to the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data.

**1. CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE**

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I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described above.

*Please check EACH block if you agree with the statements below:*

- I understand that if I agree to take part, I will be one of the 200 individuals in this study.
- I understand that I am being asked to take part in an in-person interview that will last no longer than 2 hours.
- I understand that everything I say will be kept confidential, as described above, and will not be shared with anyone other than the research team and research collaborators.
- I understand that if I agree to take part in the study I will receive \$10 in my commissary account.
- I understand that I will receive \$10 added to my commissary fund even if I don't answer all the questions or I stop the interview early.
- I understand that taking part in this study will have no effect on my court case, release date, or any services I may receive while in prison or on parole/MSR.

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Participant's  
Initials

Date





**2. CONSENT TO REPORT HARM**

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\_\_\_\_\_ (initial) I agree to have any indication of future harm to myself or to others be reported to the Illinois Department of Corrections.

\_\_\_\_\_ (initial) I do not agree to have any indication of future harm to myself or to others be reported to the Illinois Department of Corrections. If I check this line, I understand that I cannot participate in this study.

**3. CONSENT TO REPORT ABUSE TO ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS**

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\_\_\_\_\_ (initial) I agree that any evidence that I am being abused can be reported to the Illinois Department of Corrections.

\_\_\_\_\_ (initial) I do not agree that any evidence that I am being abused can be reported to the Illinois Department of Corrections. If I check this line, I understand that I cannot participate in this study.

**4. OPTIONAL CONSENTS**

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*Initial one of the following to indicate your choice:*

Consent to Audio-Record Interview

\_\_\_\_\_ (initial) I agree to have this interview audio-recorded

\_\_\_\_\_ (initial) I do not agree to have this interview audio-recorded

*Consent to quote from interview:*

\_\_\_\_\_ (initial) I agree to be quoted (without your name or any identifying information)

\_\_\_\_\_ (initial) I do not agree to be quoted

Case ID: | \_\_\_ | \_\_\_ | \_\_\_ | \_\_\_ |



### **Appendix C. Recruitment Flyer**

We would like to invite you to take part in an interview to discuss your thoughts about safety in the Chicago-land area and talk about your personal experiences.

- You are not required to take part in this interview.
- If you decide to take part, **we will deposit \$10 into your prison account** within two weeks of the interview as a thank you for your time.
- Everything you say will be **entirely confidential**.

If you want to learn more about this, please go with the correctional officer when he/she asks you to come with them to meet one of our interviewers.

- The interviewer will tell you more about the interview, the risks and benefits to participation, and how we will use what you tell us.
- The interviewer will not know your name or anything about you other than what you tell them, and all you say will remain **entirely confidential**.
- After you talk with the interviewer, you can decide whether or not to take part. If you do not want to participate, you can go back to your cell.

**Note:** *You are seeing this flyer while in your cell. Because of this, other offenders may learn or figure out why you may leave your cell in the next few days. If you think this puts you at risk with others in the prison, we suggest you do not agree to take part. If you do take part, please know we will also invite other offenders to separate, one-on-one interviews. Other than that, we will not announce or spread word about the interviews to the general population.*