

Murder Rates and Private Gun Ownership

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Outline of talk

- **Chile's Recent Experience**
- **Understanding how to stop crime**
- **US Law Enforcement's Views on Guns**
- **Brazil's experience**
- **Gun ownership and crime in Latin America**
- **The US's experience with permitted concealed handguns**

Chile's Homicide Rate v. US

Year	Homicide Rate in Chile	Homicide Rate in the USA
2022	6.70	5.76
2023		5.01

- Headline from Foreign Policy magazine (May 3, 2024): “Organized crime in Chile grows more sophisticated”
- The homicide rate in Chile appears to be increasing as organized crime is becoming more active.

When Drug
Cartels Sense
Weakness

Year	Homicide Rate in Ecuador
2018	5.9
2019	6.9
2020	7.9
2021	14.5
2022	27.2
2023	45.1

National & Municipal Police in Chile: Lessons from Ecuador?

- In Ecuador, the local police are unarmed. 85% of the police in the country are local police.
- Sayings in Ecuador: “Either take the Silver or take a bullet.”
 - Widespread corruption. Conversations with police and government officials.
- Debate in Chile over whether the municipal police should have batons and pepper spray
- Ecuador threw the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) out of their country. Threw U.S. military out of Ecuador.
- April 2023: The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) met with the Chilean Investigative Police (PDI) to exchange experiences, strengthen police capability, and address emerging criminal scenarios related to narcotrafficking.
- Chile: drug traffickers are exploiting historic tensions between the state and indigenous communities in the south








How do you stop crime?

- You must make it risky for criminals to commit crime.
- Police are the most important factor
- Higher arrest and conviction rates, longer prison sentences
- But the police themselves know that they virtually always arrive on the crime scene after the crime has occurred.
- You can also make it riskier for criminals to commit crime by making so that the victims are able to protect themselves.






The View of Law Enforcement in the USA

PoliceOne's Gun Policy & Law Enforcement survey was conducted between March 4 and March 13, 2013




20. On a scale of one to five — one being low and five being high — how important do you think legally-armed citizens are to reducing crime rates overall:

		Response Percent	Response Count
1		4.7%	665
2		4.9%	701
3		14.0%	1,981
4		21.7%	3,082
5		54.7%	7,771
		answered question	14,200

22. Considering the particulars of recent tragedies like Newtown and Aurora, what level of impact do you think a legally-armed citizen could have made? Choose the statement that you feel is most accurate:

		Response Percent	Response Count
Innocent casualties would likely have been avoided altogether		6.2%	865
Casualties would likely have been reduced		80.0%	11,215
There would have been no difference in outcome		4.1%	568
An active gunfight might have resulted in greater loss of innocent lives		5.5%	767
Unsure or prefer not to answer		4.3%	607
		answered question	14,022

19. Do you support the concealed carry of firearms by civilians who have not been convicted of a felony and/or not been deemed psychologically/medically incapable?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, without question and without further restrictions		91.3%	12,968
No, only law enforcement officers should carry firearms		4.1%	586
Unsure/Neutral		4.5%	646
		answered question	14,200

Similar Survey Results from the National Association of Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs

28TH ANNUAL NATIONAL SURVEY RESULTS






The following survey questions were posed by mail to Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs in the United States. It represents a broad cross section of professional command officers involving every state and every size department. The survey was conducted for the 28th consecutive year by the National Association of Chiefs of Police. (321)264-0911. www.nacoponline.org, policeinfo@aphf.org. Permission to reproduce in whole or part is granted if credit is given to the National Association of Chiefs of Police © 2016.

FIREARMS

18. Does your department support nationwide recognition of state issued concealed weapon permits?	86.4%	10.6%	2.9%
19. Can qualified, law-abiding armed citizens help law enforcement reduce violent criminal activity?	76%	18.6%	5.4%
20. Does your department use reality based/active shooter training?	82.3%	17.1%	.6%
21. Does your department sell confiscated firearms to help meet budget needs or cover budget shortfalls?	18%	81%	1%

Debate in Chile over retired police and military carrying guns

- Not an issue in the United States for retired or off-duty police carrying guns. These individuals are wanting to protect people for free.

24. Do you carry a firearm off duty?		Response Percent	Response Count
Always		59.9%	8,399
Usually		23.7%	3,324
Sometimes		12.3%	1,729
Rarely		2.4%	342
Never		1.6%	226
		answered question	14,020

Predictions of Disaster from media and academic “experts” Regarding Bolsonaro’s Gun Policies

Here’s a simple fact, affirmed by worldwide [research](#), for Bolsonaro to consider: More guns means more deaths by gun — whether by homicide, accident or suicide. A study in Brazil’s state of Sao Paulo, for instance, found that a 1 percent increase in the number of guns in circulation resulted in a 2 percent increase in the homicide rate. . . .

[Editorial Board, “Brazil’s Bolsonaro Makes a Dangerous Decision on Guns,” Bloomberg Opinion, January 18, 2019.](#)

Newly elected Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro is supremely confident he can reduce violent crime — a core pillar of his election campaign. But his proposal to dismantle national gun laws is precisely the wrong way to go about doing this. . . .

[Robert Muggah, “Brazil’s High Murder Rate Could Get Even Worse If Gun Laws Are Relaxed,” National Public Radio, January 10, 2019.](#)

That does not mean that the gun-control law was pointless. Without it, Brazil’s murder rate would have risen much more rapidly than it did, according to a study by the Institute for Applied Economic Research, a government think-tank (see chart).

[Staff, “Jair Bolsonaro wants Brazilians to have more guns,” The Economist, January 26, 2019.](#)

Bolsonaro's highly controversial relaxation of gun laws – [a key pledge in his 2018 campaign](#) – is fuelling fears among experts and campaigners that such moves will add to already shocking levels of violence. . . .

[**Staff, “Firearms exports to Brazil surge as gun ownership increases under Bolsonaro,” The Guardian, July 2020.**](#)

“Mr. Bolsonaro's promise to ease gun regulation . . . is worrying some experts who argue that more guns fuel more violence”

[**Shasta Darlington, “Brazil's New Leader Wants to Ease Gun Laws. Supporters Are Ready, and Training,” New York Times, December 1, 2018.**](#)

But critics of the president's approach have warned that more guns are not the answer to reducing violent crime in a country where a [record high](#) 63,880 homicides took place in 2017, the most recent year for which data is available.

[Staff, "Rio governor brands rise in police killings as 'normal,'" Al Jazeera, July 19, 2019.](#)

Even More Recent Examples of Media/Academic Claims

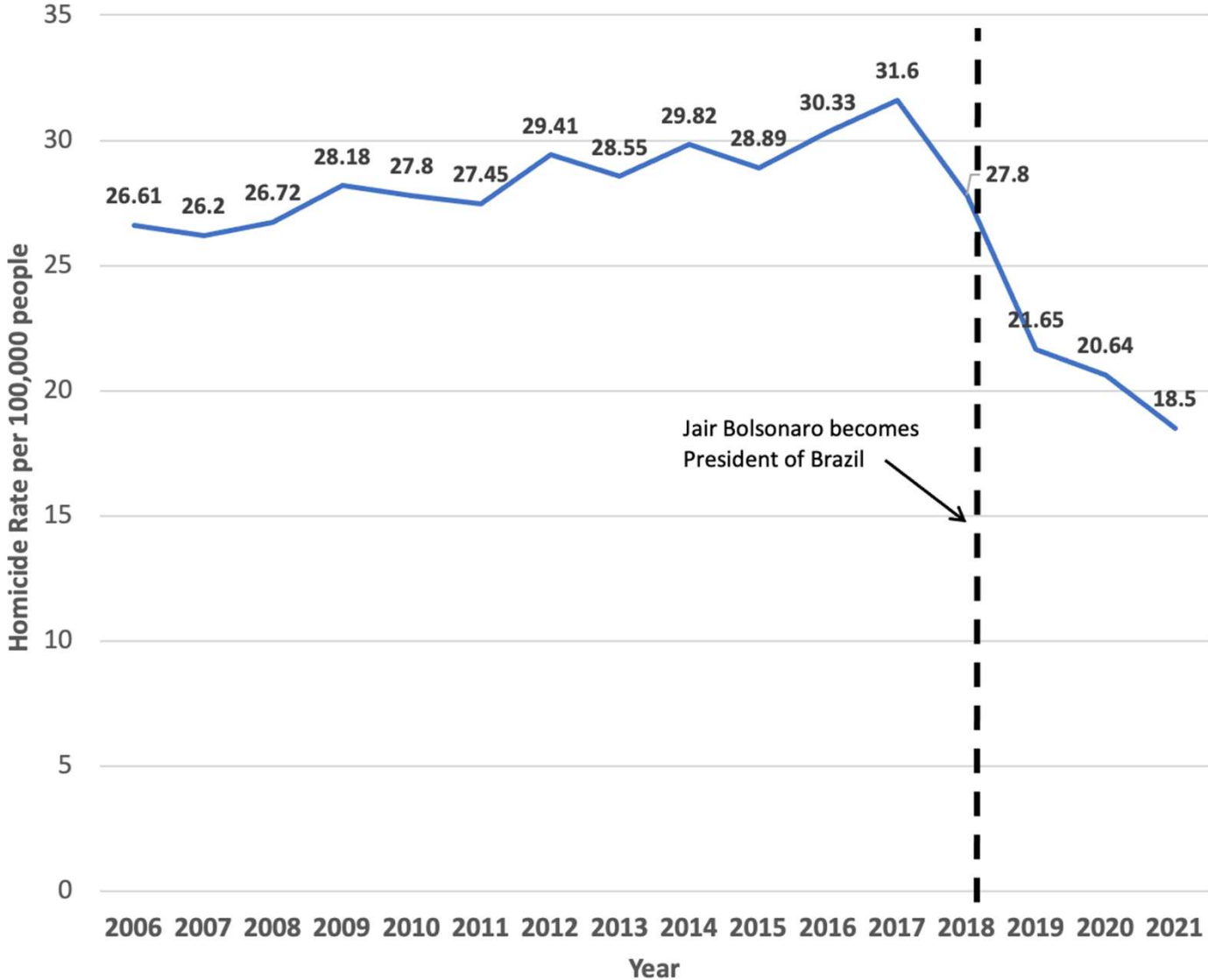
“Research consistently shows that when private gun ownership goes up, killings follow. . . . Every 1 percent increase in firearm ownership is associated with a 0.6 percent increase in overall homicide rates and a 0.9 percent increase in firearm homicide rates, according to Daniel W. Webster, a professor at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health and co-director of its Center for Gun Violence Solutions.”

-- Washington Post, December 23, 2022

So much for the experts

- “A study in Brazil’s state of Sao Paulo, for instance, found that **a 1 percent increase in the number of guns in circulation resulted in a 2 percent increase in the homicide rate.**”
- **“Every 1 percent increase in firearm ownership is associated with a 0.6 percent increase in overall homicide rates”**
- When Mr. Bolsonaro took office, there were 117,467 licensed firearm owners in Brazil. Earlier this year there were apparently about 783,385 license holders, a **569% increase**. Note guns held by law-abiding citizens increased by more than that since the number of guns people could legally own increased by more than that. Did homicides go up by over 1,000% or 340%? No. **It fell by 34%, from 27.8 to 18.5 homicides per 100,000 people.**

Homicide rate in Brazil



Lula's Reforms

- Ban the sale of guns and ammunition
- Ban concealed carry
- Reduce the number of guns people could legally own
- Working on reforming the existing licensing rules

Academics offered the bet

- John Donohue, Stanford
- Dan Webster, Bloomberg School of Public Health, Johns Hopkins
- Paul Helmke, Indiana University
- Frank Zimring, University of California at Berkeley
- James Alan Fox, Northeastern University
- Chris Koper, George Maxon University
- Adam Winkler, UCLA
- Phil Cook, Duke University
- Jens Ludwig, University of Chicago
- Mark Siegel, Boston College
- David Hemenway, Harvard
- Andrew Morral, Rand Corporation
- Garen Wintemute, University of California at Davis

- A few attribute the drop in crime to some of the Brazilian states instituting a comprehensive program of police reforms including better data collection, crime mapping, police training and coordination of military and civil forces.
- Aging population
- The problem for this argument is that Bolsonaro's detractors were making these predictions from December 2018 through July 2020, with lots of the predictions being made throughout 2019.

- Can you name me one place where guns have been banned that has seen its murder rate fall?

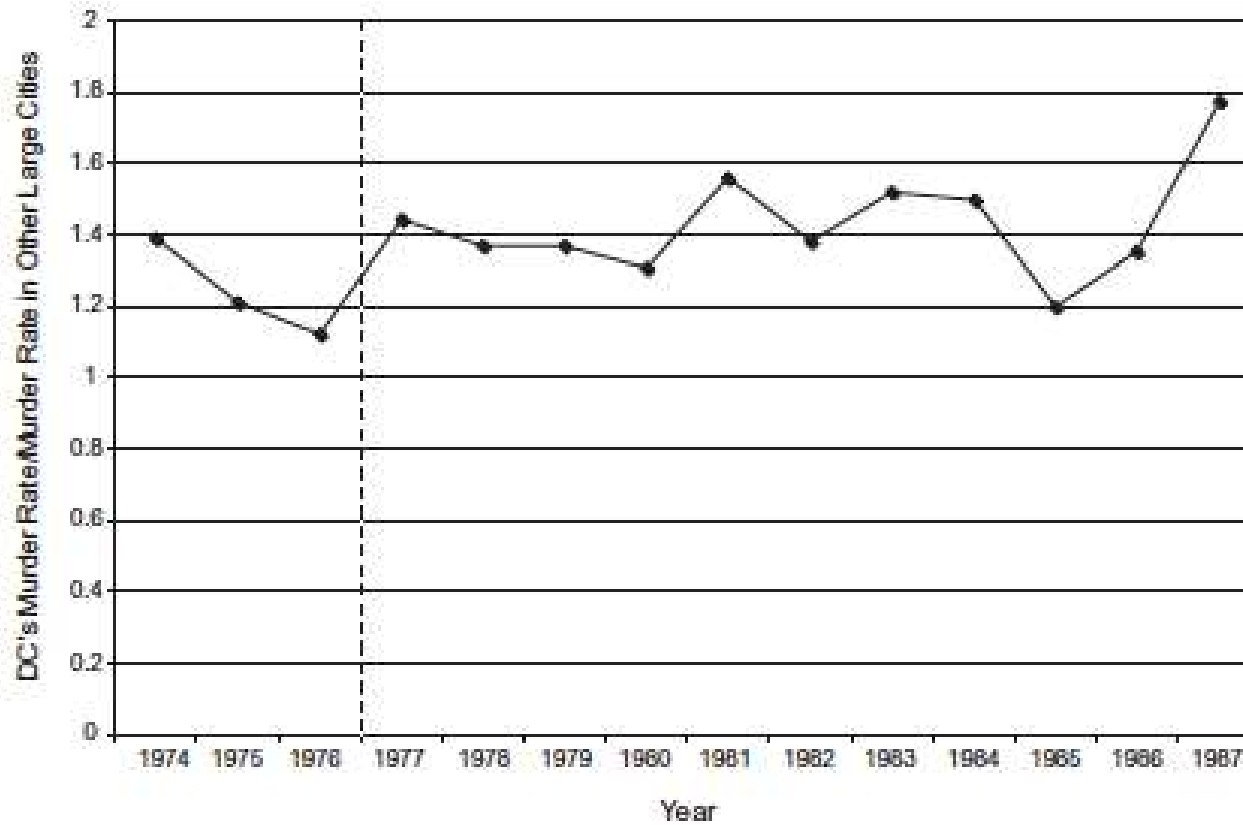


Figure 10.7. Changes in DC's murder rate relative to the other forty-eight largest cities (excluding Chicago from top fifty list, weighted by population)

<http://www.disastercenter.com/crime/dccrime.htm>

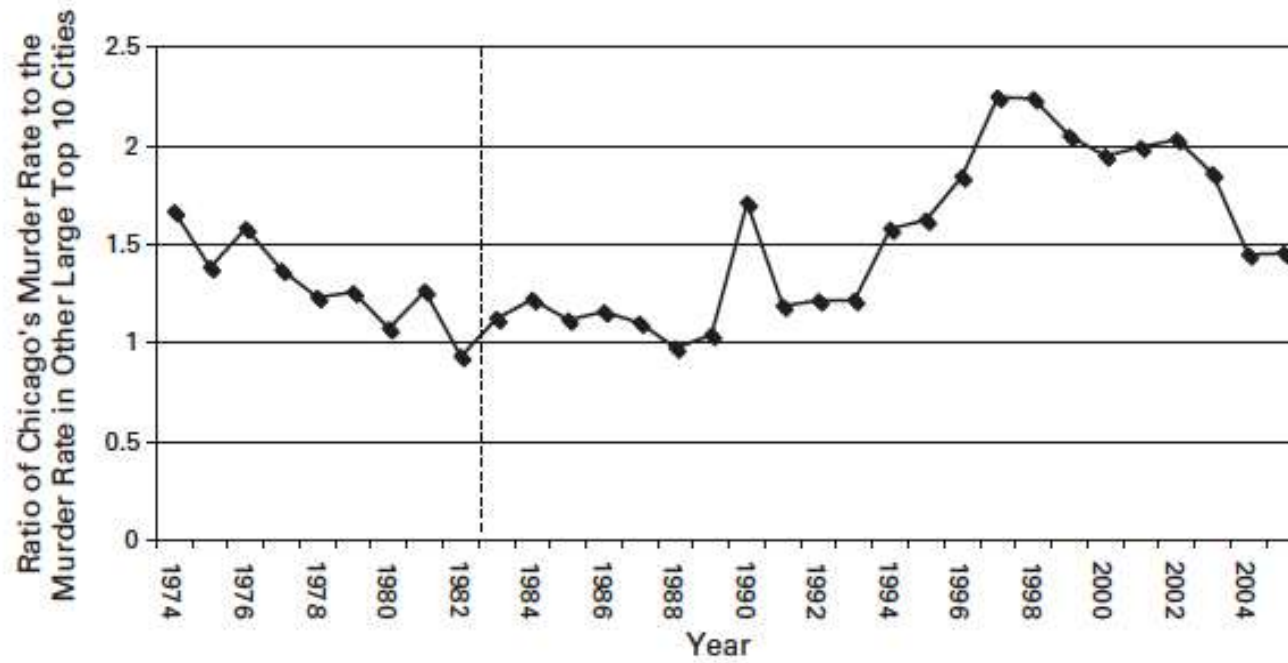


Figure 10.14. Chicago's murder rate relative to the other nine largest cities (weighted by population)

Ireland's murder rate

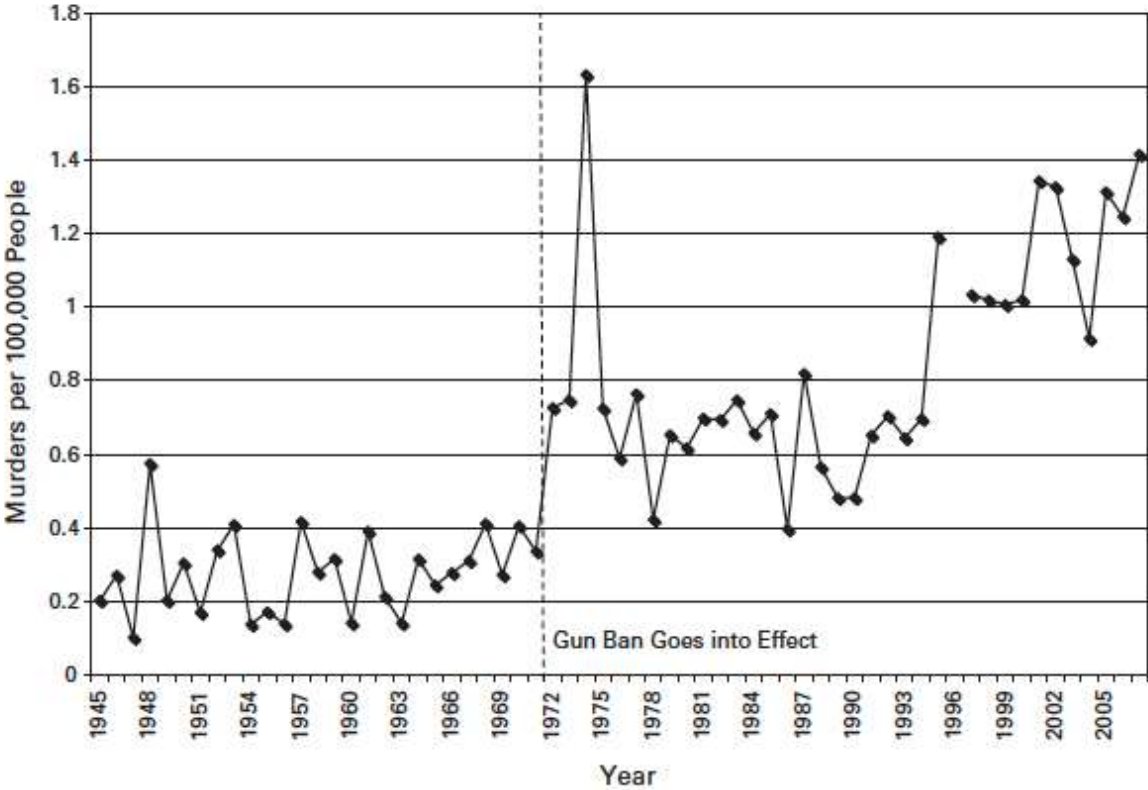
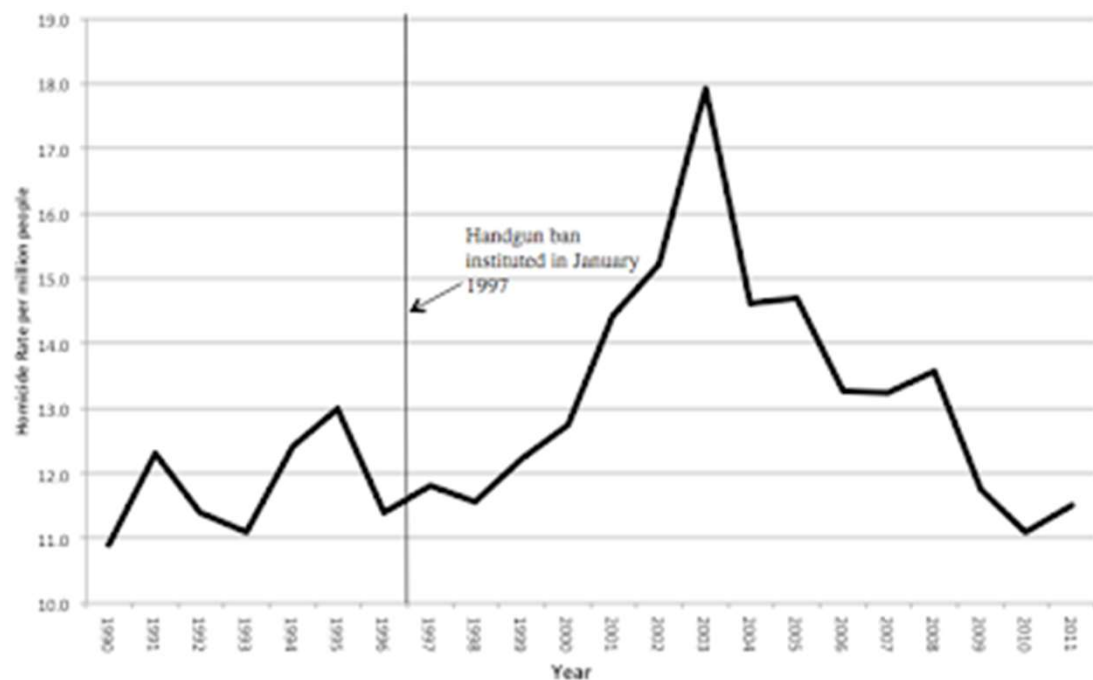


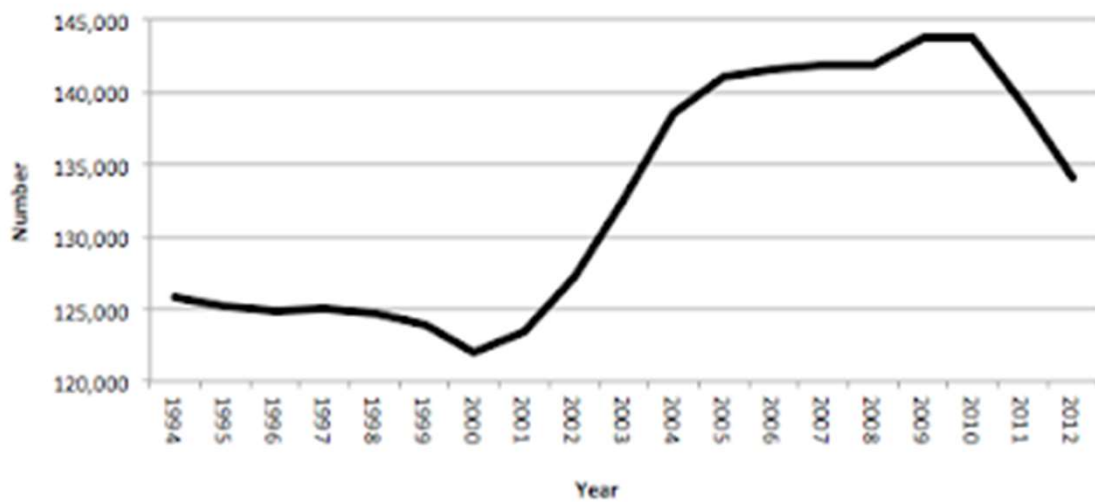
Figure 10.18. Ireland's murder rate. While murder rates in the United States and Jamaica include both murders and manslaughter, Ireland's numbers include only murder. Including manslaughter would probably roughly double the measured murder rate for Ireland for most years. (Murder rate data are not available for 1996.)

Did Homicide Rate Fall After Britain Banned Handguns?



Homicides, Firearm Offences and Intimate Violence 2010/11: Supplementary Volume 2 to Crime in England & Wales 2010/11 (<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/science-research-statistics/research-statistics/crime-research/hosb0212/hosb0212?view=Bin>)

Total Constables, Sergeants, Inspectors, Chief Inspectors, and Superintendents

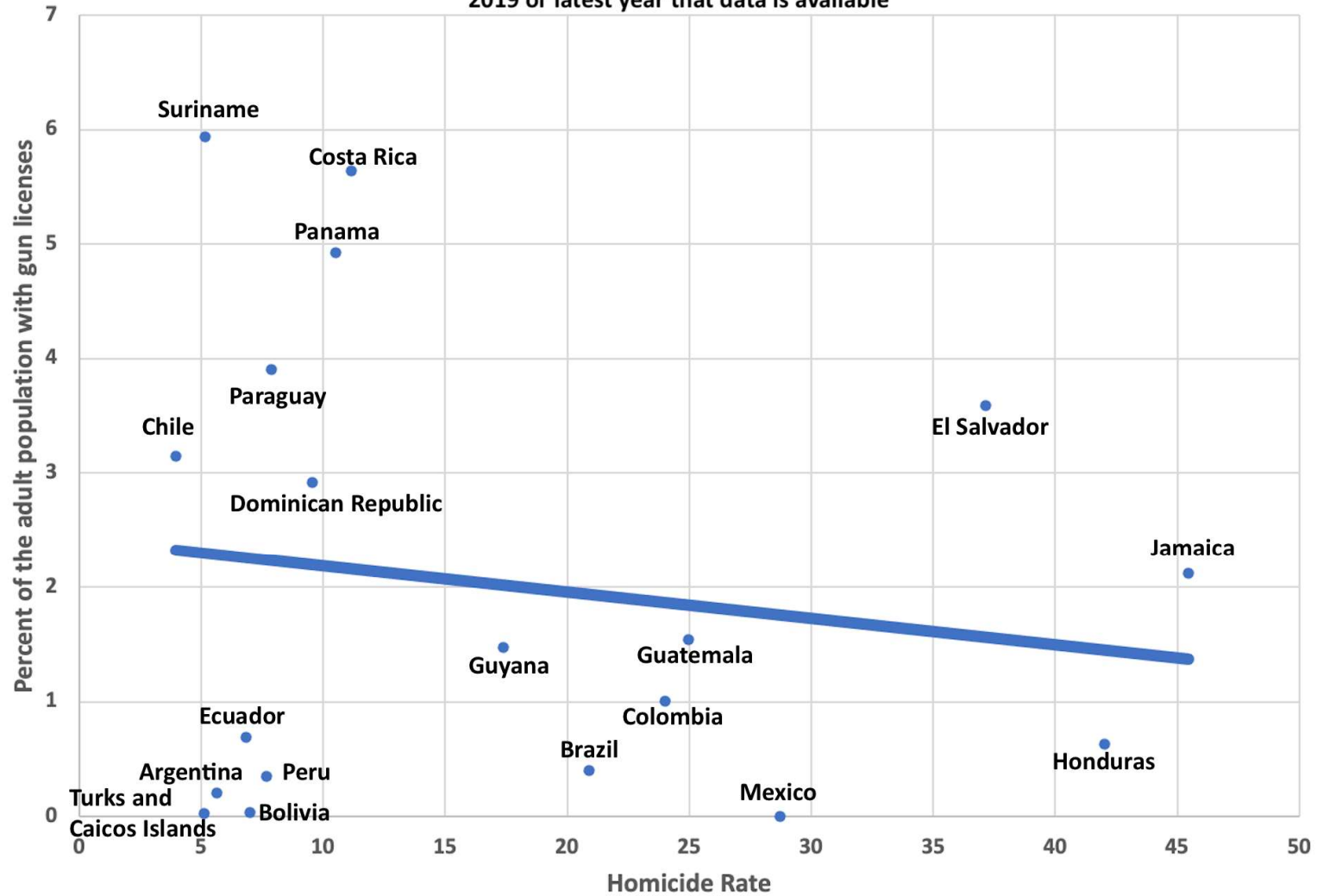


Police Service Strength England and Wales,
Home Office Statistical Bulletin, 2007 and 2012

- Cross-sectional data isn't very useful simply because it doesn't show that the low murder rate places were low murder rate places before they even had their gun control laws, but it is something that we see used a lot.

Gun Ownership and Homicide rates in Latin America Countries

2019 or latest year that data is available



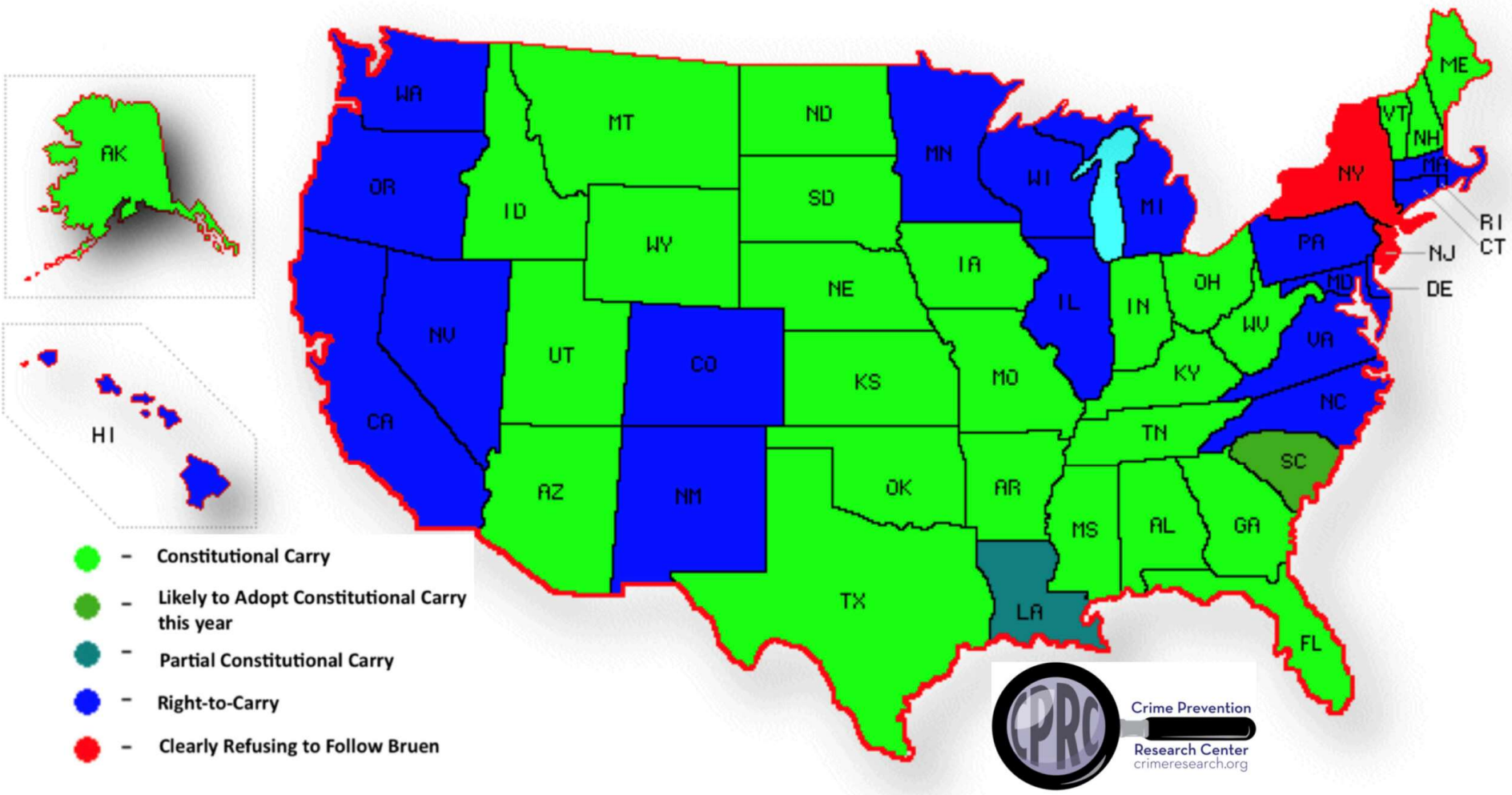
Concealed Carry in the United States

- Extent of permits
- Permit holders are extremely law-abiding
- Concealed handguns and crime

Extent of Permits in 2022

- **22.01 million Americans had a concealed handgun permit in 2022**
- **8.5% of American adults have permits.** Outside of the restrictive states of California and New York, about 10.2% of adults have a permit.
- Alabama has the highest concealed carry rate — 32.5%. Indiana is second with 23.4%, and Georgia is third with 15.5%.
- **29 states now have Constitutional Carry laws**
- Women made up 29.2% of permit holders
 - from 2012 to 2021/2022, and permit numbers grew 115.4% faster for women than for men
- Blacks make up about 13 percent of permit holders, essentially their share of the population

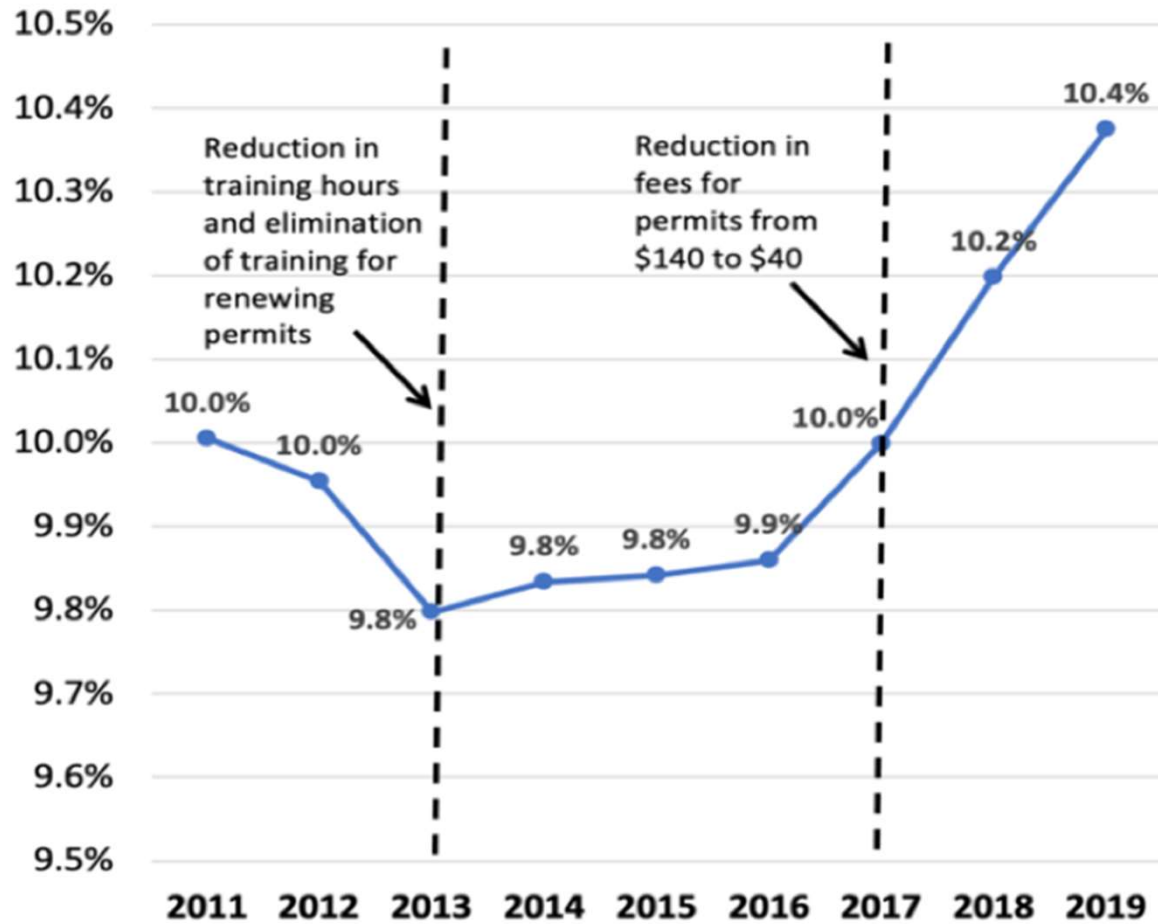
Concealed Carry Laws as of April 25, 2023



When there is discretion on issuing permits, there is discrimination

- Los Angeles County
 - about 48.1% of the people living there were Hispanic, 9% were black, and 50.7% women
 - Permits women (7.6%), Hispanic (6.5%), and blacks (5.2%)

Percent of Concealed Handgun Permit Holders who are Black



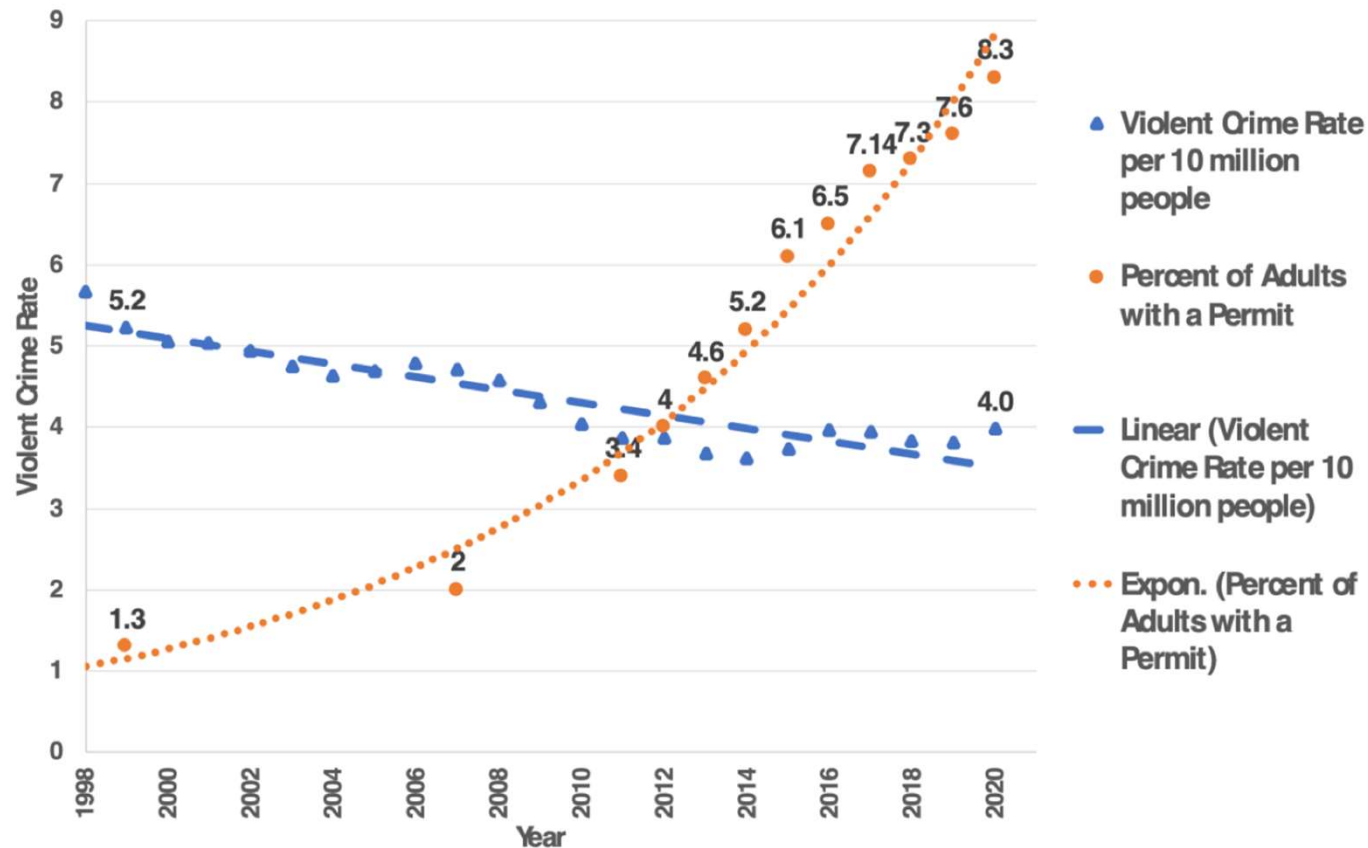
Permit holders are extremely law-abiding

- In the United State, police are rarely convicted of firearms related crimes. They are convicted at about 1/20th the rate of the general population.
- However, permit holders are convicted at a much lower rate than police officers. In Florida and Texas, permit holders are convicted of firearms related violations at one-twelfth of the rate at which police officers are convicted.
- Revocation rates were collected for 29 states. Most of these rates include revocations for any reason, including people moving out of the state, and for the states where the revocation rates are higher than hundredths of a percentage point are due to residency revocations. People can also lose their permits for some types of traffic violations, for forgetting to have their permits with them, for moving, for failure to pay child support, or for being charged with or convicted on a violent misdemeanor or felony.

Table 4: Revocation Rates for permit holders in 2022		
State	Rate	Source
Alaska	0.059%	Lisa Purinton, Bureau Chief, CSO, Criminal Records & Identification, Alaska Department of Public Safety
Arizona	0.001%	https://www.azdps.gov/services/public/cwp
Connecticut	0.332%	Shelley Vincenzo, Paralegal Specialist, Dept. of Emergency Services & Public Protection, Legal Affairs Unit
District of Columbia	0.122%	Alaina Gertz, Public Affairs Specialist, Metropolitan Police Department, Office of Communications
Florida	0.058%	https://www.fdacs.gov/content/download/7499/file/cw_monthly.pdf
Iowa	0.033%	Rusty Ringler, Program Services Bureau Chief, Iowa Department of Public Safety, Program Services Bureau
Kansas	0.047%	https://ag.ks.gov/media-center/annual-reports/concealed-carry-annual-reports
Kentucky	0.145%	http://kentuckystatepolice.org/ccdw/ccdw-home/ccdw-annual-stats-reports/
Louisiana	0.014%	http://www.lsp.org/pdf/2021_CHP_Annual_Legislative_Report.pdf
Maryland	0.174%	Capt. Andrew J. Rossignol, Commander, Maryland Department of State Police, Licensing Division
Massachusetts	0.033%	Michaela Dunne, Deputy Commissioner, Massachusetts Department of Criminal Justice Information Services

Concealed handgun permits and crime

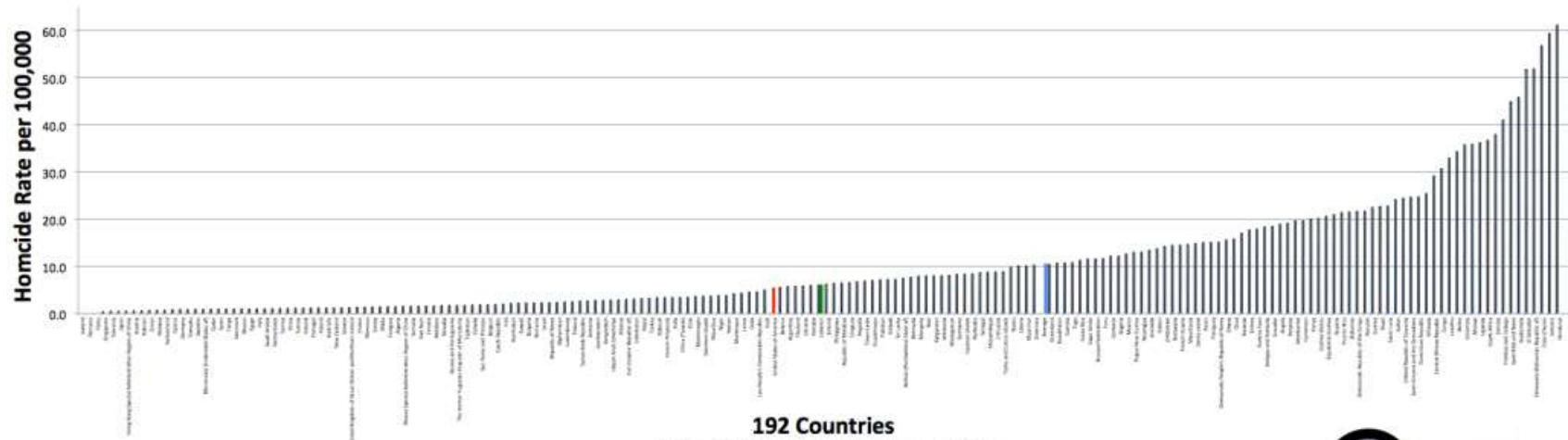
Figure 1b: Violent Crime Rates and the Percentage of the Adult Population with Permitted Concealed Handguns



More evidence

- <https://tinyurl.com/Concealed-Carry-Research>
- Understanding the different studies

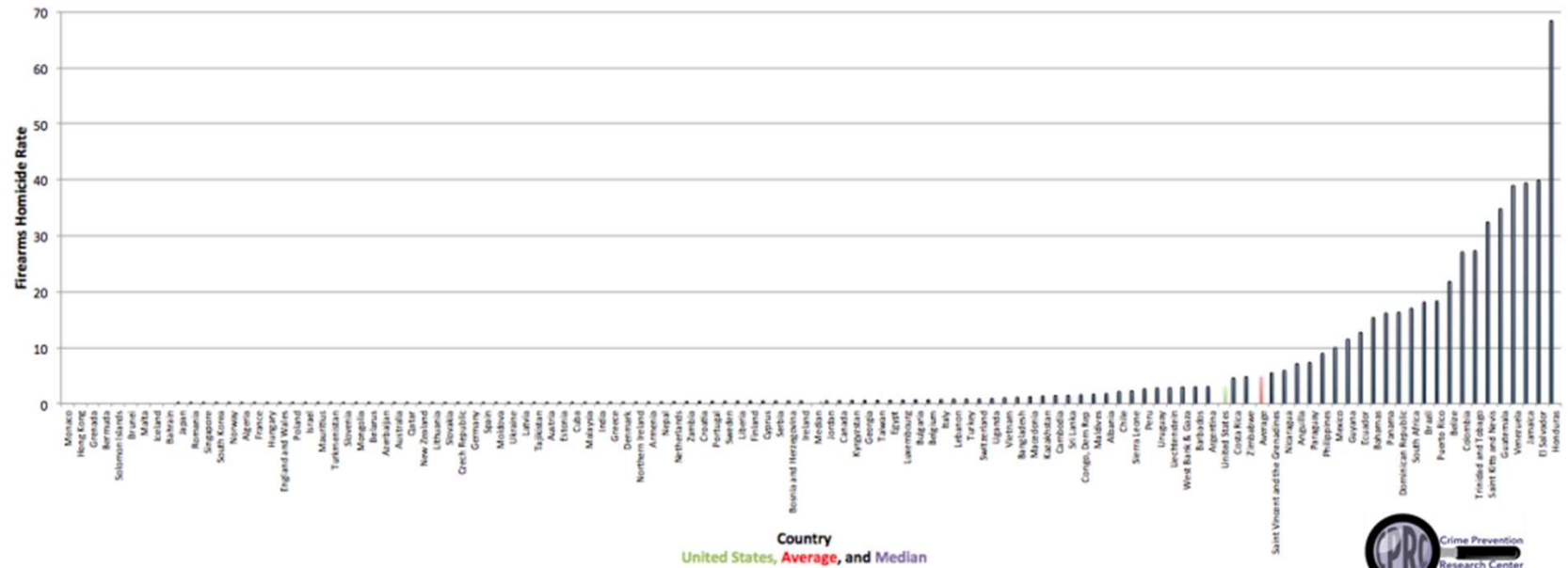
Homicide rates across all countries



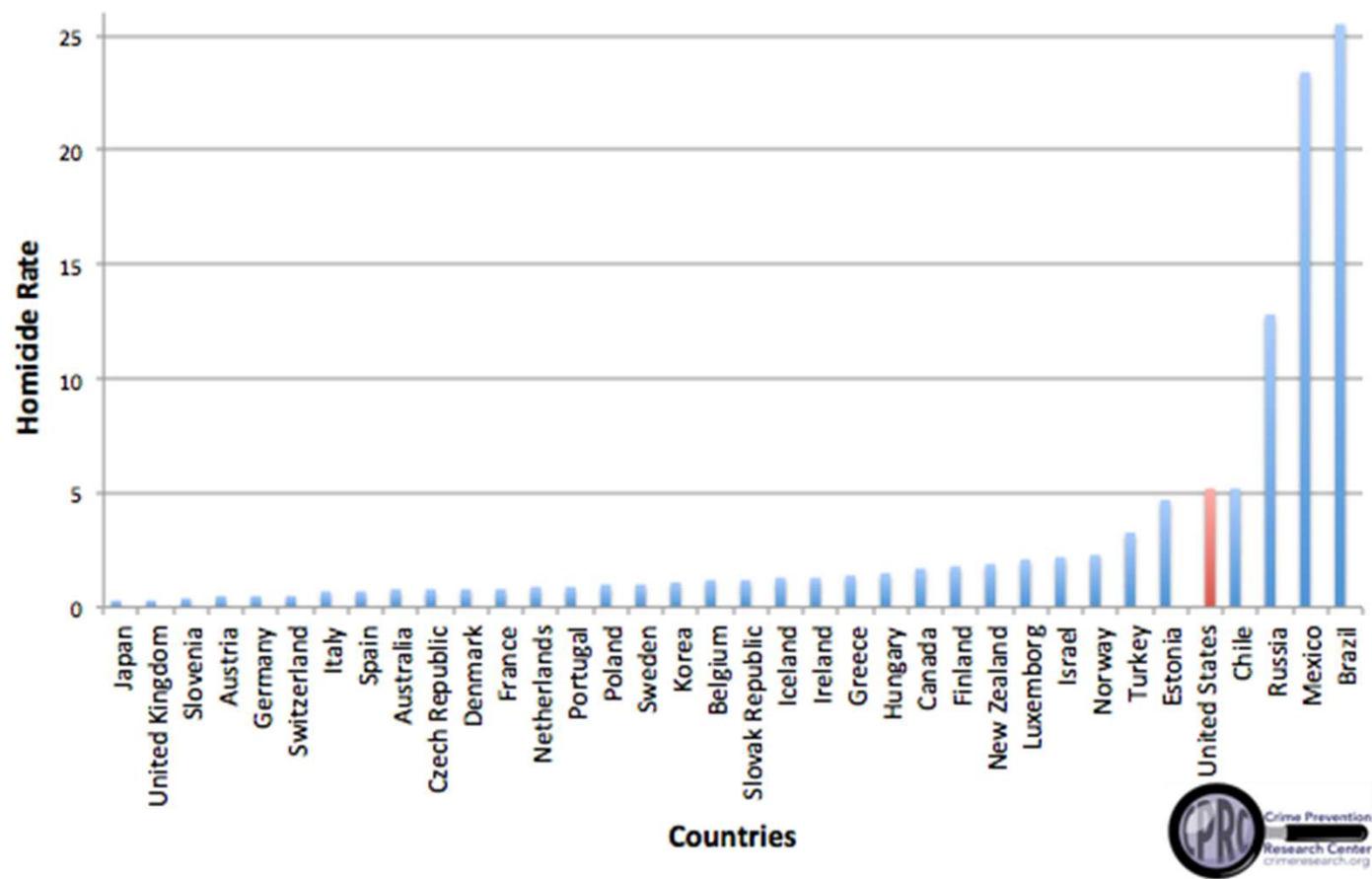
192 Countries
 UNODC Homicide Statistics 2008
 Cape Verde, Mozambique, Saudi Arabia 2007; Iran 2009
 Color Codes: **United States**, **Median Value (Lebanon)**, **Average Value**

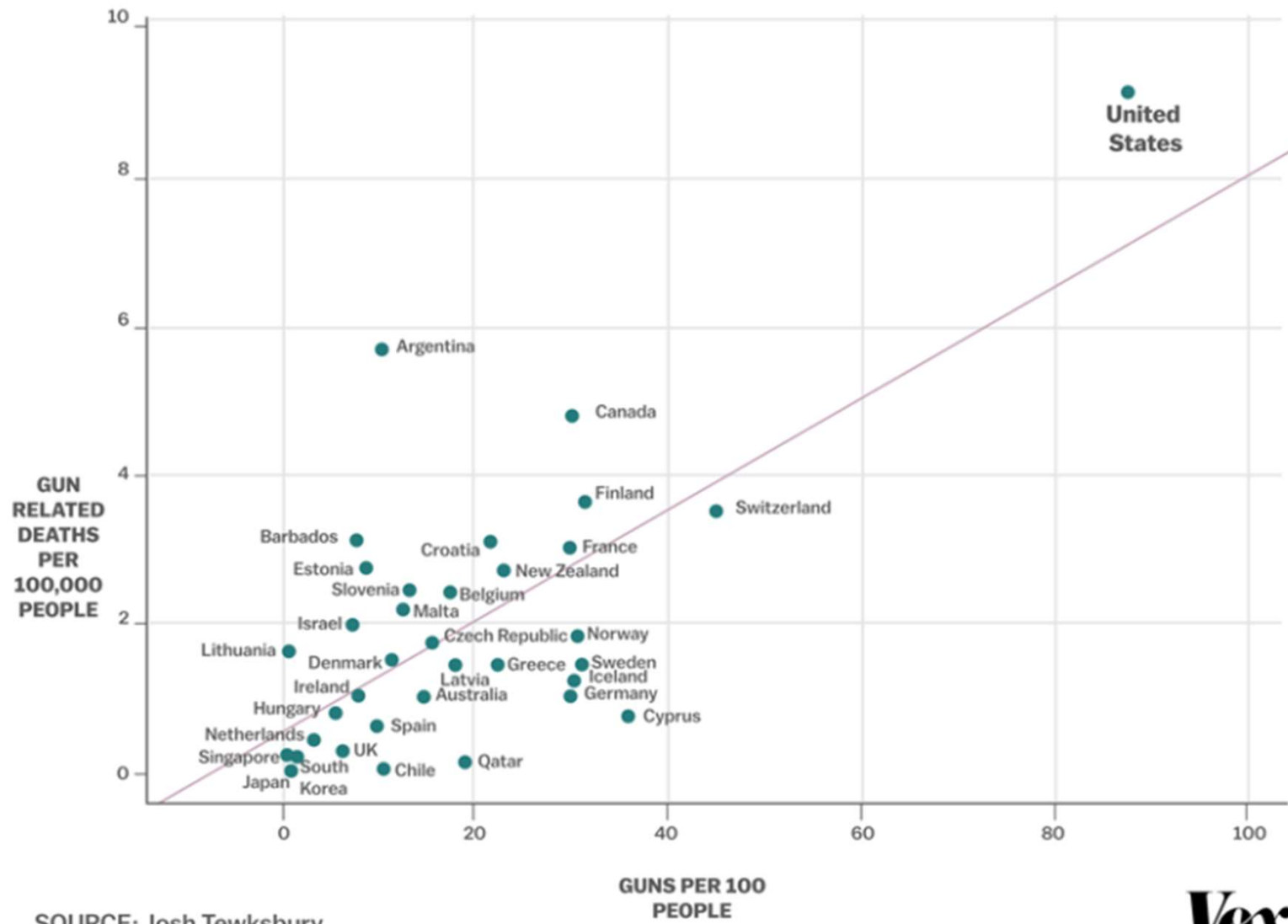


Firearm Homicide rate across countries



Homicide Rates for Developed Countries (OECD 2011 or latest year)

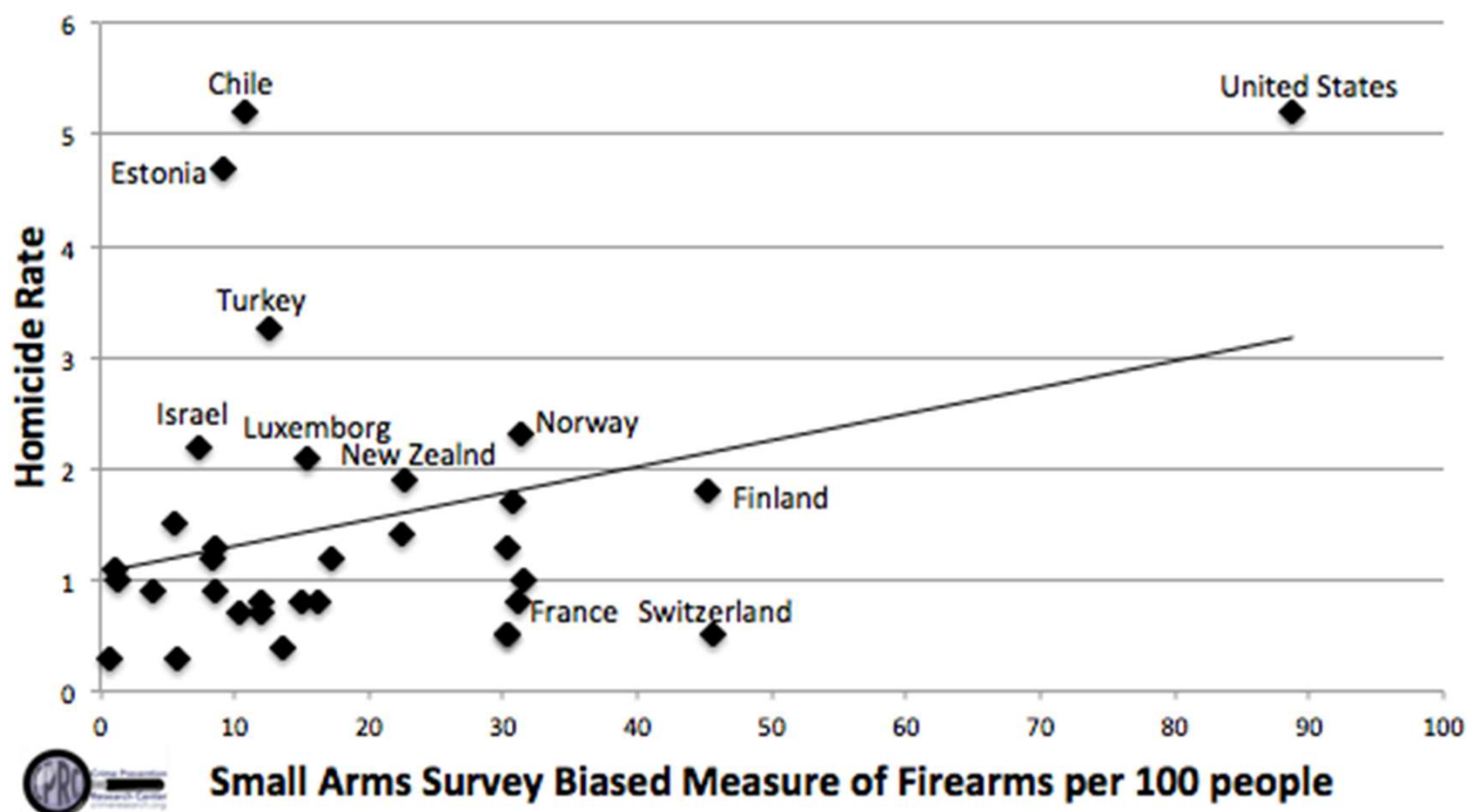




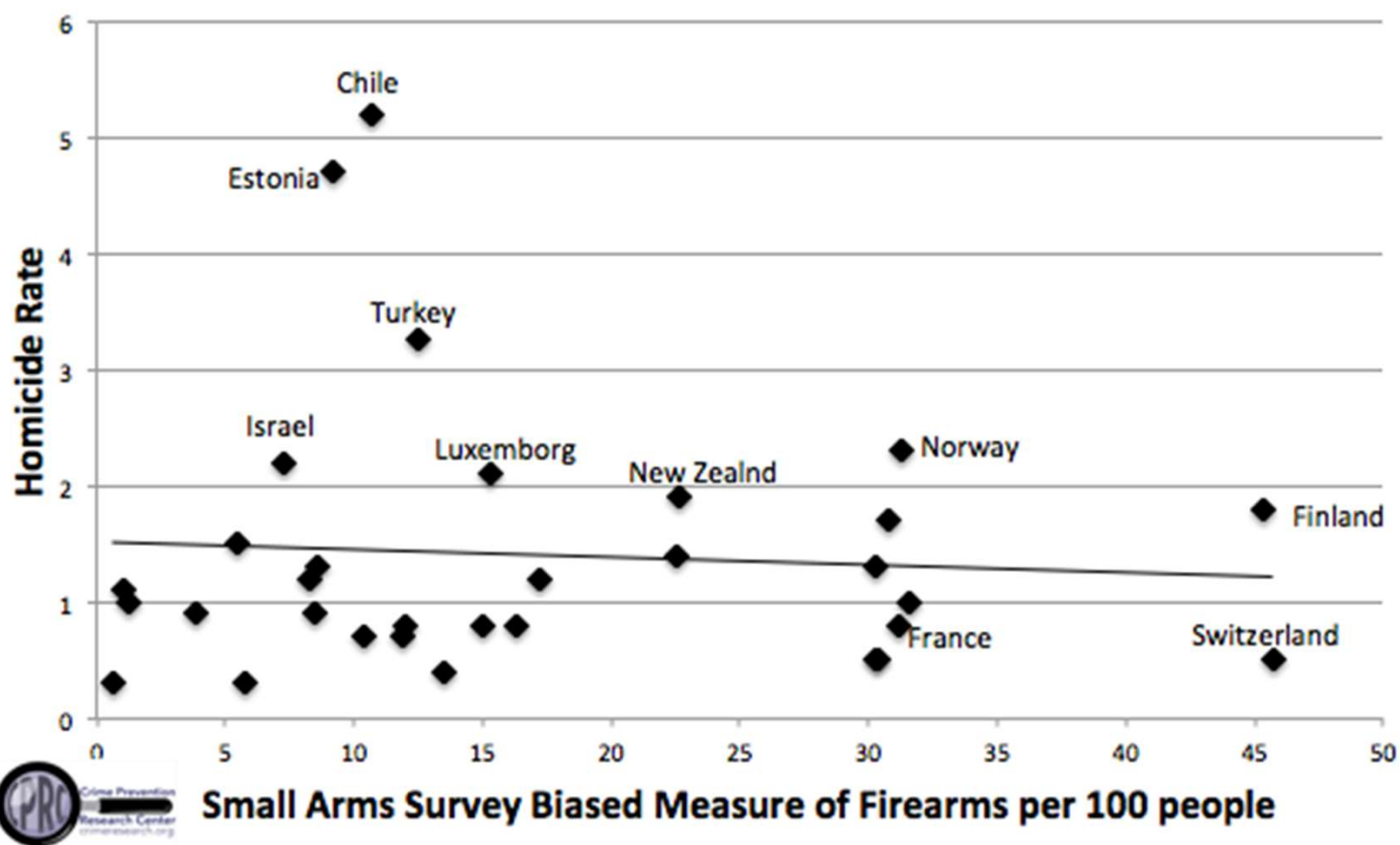
SOURCE: Josh Tewksbury



Showing that the claim of more guns related to more crime depends on including one country and the biased measure of gun ownership: Gun Ownership and Homicide Rates for All Developed Countries (OECD 2011 or latest year)

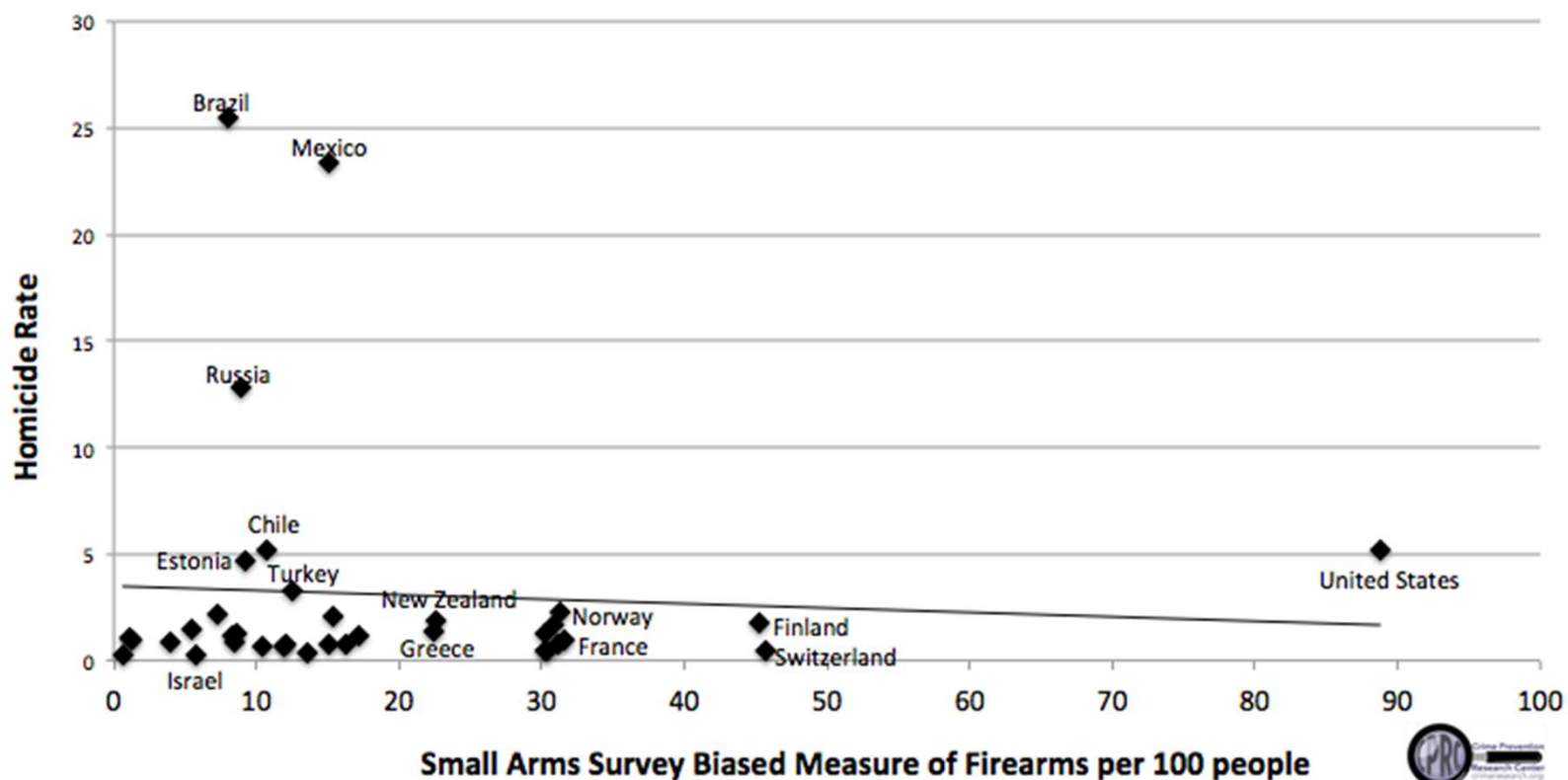


**What can the US learn from other developed countries?:
Gun Ownership and Homicide Rates for All Developed
Countries (OECD 2011 or latest year)**

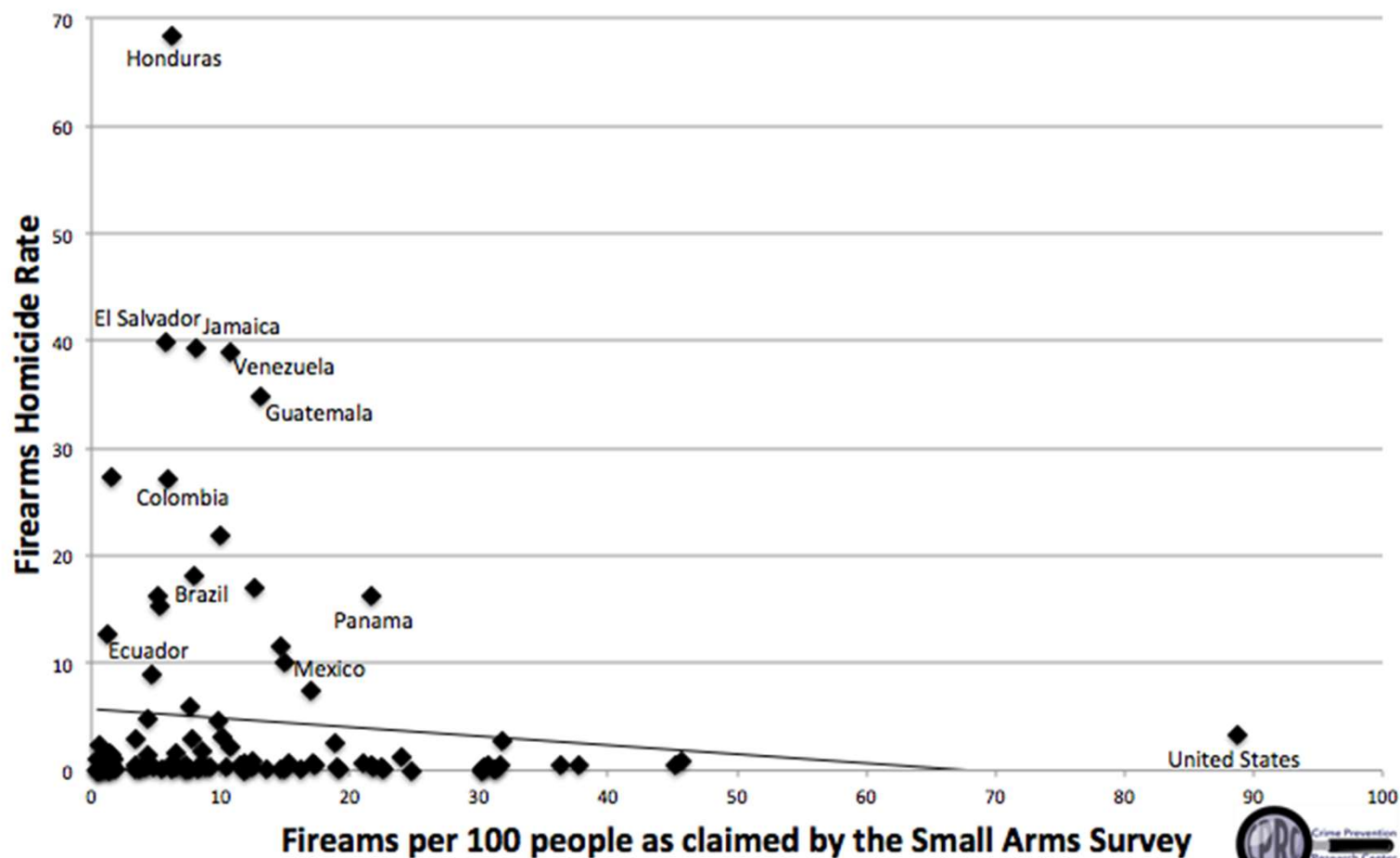


Small Arms Survey Biased Measure of Firearms per 100 people

Gun Ownership and Homicide Rates for All Developed Countries (OECD 2011 or latest year)



Small Arms Survey measure of Gun Ownership and Homicide Rate for the selective countries covered by survey



Small Arms Survey measure of Gun Ownership and Firearm Homicide Rate for the selective countries covered by survey

