

Report: Firearms in Europe

Homicide and Suicide

02.02.2016

Firearms United

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Triebel, Katja (2016) "Homicide and Suicide," Report: Firearms in Europe, <http://bit.ly/1Oo1axX>

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1. Introduction

This report is a study of the relationship between legal firearm ownership and crime. It has been reviewed by academics with expertise in this area, in reaction to the process by the European Commission to amend the EU Firearms Directive with much more restrictions on legal firearm ownership. Such changes are allegedly justified by purported links between legal firearm ownership, crime and terrorism in the EU. However, such purported links are highly controversial, especially in view of the data available to the EU Commission in preparing such amendments to the Directive.

Death is inevitable, but premature death can be prevented. There are enormous differences in the rate of fatal injuries throughout the EU. Eurosafe estimates that almost **100 000 lives could be saved each year** if every country in the EU-27 reduced its injury mortality rate to the same level as in the Netherlands or Spain. Suicides, road accidents and falls are the three main causes of fatal injuries. Interpersonal violence and fire are the least likely causes of fatal injuries.

Between 2000 and 2012 almost 3 million people lost their lives by external causes in Europe (see chapter 2). Less than 2,4% were firearms-related suicides (see chapter 5). Less than 0,5% (12.076) were firearms-related homicides (see chapter 7). Both rates decreased by more than 30% in the last decade. **There is no evidence of 1000 annual homicides committed with legally held firearms.**

Homicides get media coverage; even more so if they are committed with firearms. For this reason firearms became the "weapon of choice" for school shooters who want to become famous, as well as for terrorists who want to spread fear. Terrorists shifted from hard targets to soft targets and from bombings to armed assaults since 2004 with al Qaeda.¹

The prominent criminologist and gun control advocate Peter Squires stated:

"[P]oliticians tend to respond to highly publicised murders by reassuring the public about the toughness of their intentions.

[W]e should not assess government policy on gun crime on the basis of the febrile aftermath of distressing events.

Most of the problems associated with the illegal use of firearms require social and economic rather than criminal justice solutions." (see chapter 7.2.2.)

¹ ["Active Shooters: Threat and defense for soft targets"](#), Katja Triebel, 2015

The action of the European Commission seems unreasonable, since

- if there is no correlation between legal access to firearms and suicide rates, then there is no justification in quoting suicide rates in arguments for restricted access to firearms (see chapter 5.2.);
- if state control is praised as solution, even when this has not had any impact during the last 800 years, as against social and culture change (see chapter 6.4, 6.5 and 7.2),
- if firearms-related homicides rates are misused to justify access restrictions, since there is no correlation between legal firearm access and homicide rates (see chapter 7.1);
- if the "Evaluation of the Firearms Directive" to promote the proposed changes, misuses individual "episodes" of crime or terrorism to generalise a mistrust of more than 16 million law-abiding citizens, especially when it is admitted therein that there are important gaps in the statistics (see chapter 8.1);
- if EC DG Home presents incorrect data (see chapter 8.2);

For example, the German Ministry of the Interior (BMI) researched the utility of greater restrictions to legal access to firearms in 2010 and 2014 (see chapter 7.4.).

It stated:

An identification of particularly dangerous weapons based on specific design features [...] is not possible.

[T]he BMI sees no reason to extend the existing rules, which have proved themselves in principle, to target firearms by target shooters. A measurable increase in safety should be not to be expected of such a scheme.

2. Fatal injuries

We can use available reference databases to identify risks related to specific age-groups, activities, settings or environments, responsible policy or legal domains and we can focus measures on the people most likely to be at risk - as victims and offenders.²

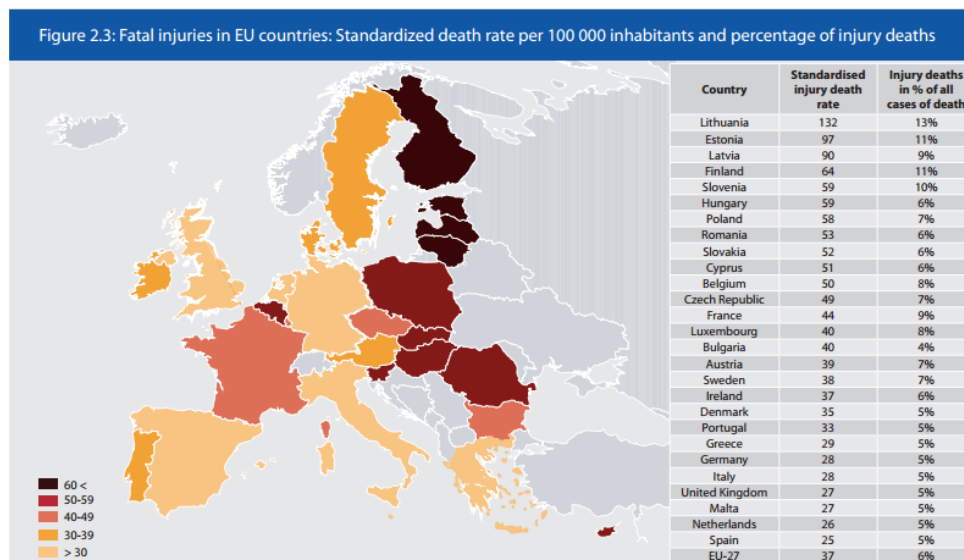
In 2013 Eurosafe published the report about "Injuries in the European Union".

This summary for the years 2008-2010 shows interesting data, determine the eight top priorities (places/causes of injury) and are showing trends between 1998 and 2010. All tables and figures and italic phrases in this chapter are copies of this report. Comments by me in roman letters.³

	Road traffic	Work-place	School	Sports	Home, leisure	Total of unintentional Injuries	Homicide, assault	Suicide, self-harm	Total of all Injuries
Fatalities	38 119 16%	4 961 2%	1 250 1%	7 000 3%	98 891 42%	150 221 65%	4 704 2%	57 614 25%	232 869 100%
Hospital admissions	668 000 12%	252 000 4%	32 000 1%	419 000 7%	3 914 000 69%	5 285 000 93%	202 000 4%	213 000 4%	5 700 000 100%
Hospital outpatients	3 524 000 10%	3 553 000 10%	792 000 2%	5 644 000 17%	18 951 000 56%	32 465 000 96%	1 231 000 4%	205 000 1%	33 900 000 100%
All hospital patients	4 192 000 11%	3 805 000 9%	824 000 2%	6 063 000 14%	22 865 000 59%	37 750 000 95%	1 433 000 4%	418 000 1%	39 600 000 100%

Source: WHO – mortality database, WHO – Health for All database, Eurostat – hospital discharge statistics, EU IDB. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

There are enormous differences in the rate of fatal injuries throughout the EU (Table 2.3). It is estimated that almost 100 000 lives could be saved each year if every country in the EU-27 reduced its injury mortality rate to the same level as in the Netherlands or Spain which currently have the lowest rate of fatal injuries in the EU. (see Figure 2.3)



Source: Eurostat – cause of death statistics. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

² [Global Strategies to Reduce Violence by 50% in 30 Years](#): Global Violence Reduction Conference 2014

³ [Injuries in the European Union](#), EuroSafe 2013

There are also huge differences between EU countries as to the main causes of injury deaths, which is of course related to geographic circumstances (the abundant presence of open water for instance), and are relevant for considering national priorities in injury prevention (Table 2.4).

The proportion of fatal injuries by interpersonal violence is lowest in Slovenia (0,7%) and highest in Latvia (6,8%) with an average of 2%. Self-inflicted death is lowest in Cyprus (4,2%) and highest in Lithuania (32,7%) with an average of 24%.

Table 2.4: Fatal injuries by causes of death: Lowest and highest percentage of fatal injuries by country

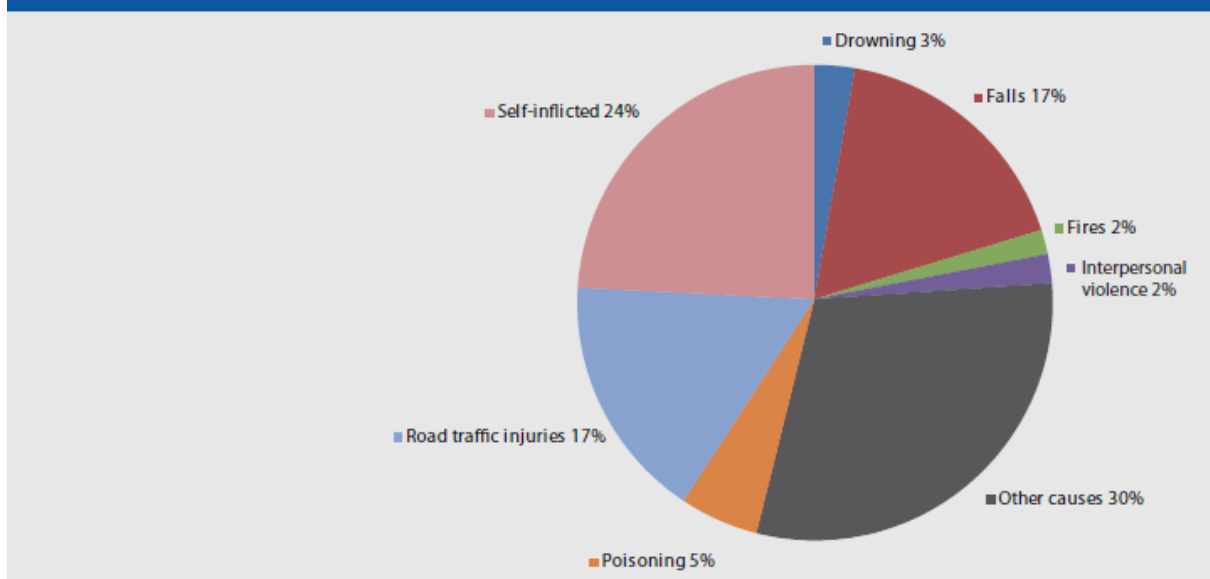
	Fires	Interpersonal violence	Drowning	Poisoning	Falls	Road traffic	Self-inflicted	Other causes
EU-27	2%	2%	3%	5%	17%	17%	24%	30%
Lowest	0,4% (LU)	0,7% (SI)	1,0% (LU)	0,6% (AT)	7,5% (LV)	7,6% (SE)	4,2% (CY)	12,1% (FI)
Highest	6,4% (EE)	6,8% (LV)	9,0% (CY)	19,4% (FI)	35,2% (SI)	51,7% (GR)	32,7% (LT)	43,6% (IT)

Source: WHO – mortality database. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

Suicides, road accidents and falls are the three main causes of fatal injuries, together representing 58% of all injury deaths (Figure 2.5).

Interpersonal violence together with fire are the least likely causes of fatal injuries with 2% for each cause.

Figure 2.5: Fatal injuries by causes of death in the EU-27

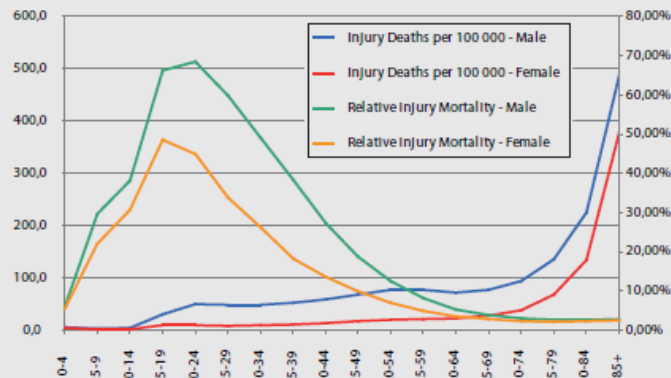


In almost all age groups, males bear a considerably higher risk of fatal injury than females.

Injuries are a leading cause of death for young people, from early childhood, until middle age.

Although the relative percentage of fatal injuries is decreasing in higher ages, their absolute number increases sharply from an age of about 75 years (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6: Injury death rate (per 100 000 persons) and relative injury mortality (injury deaths in % of all causes of death) in the EU-27 by age groups and gender

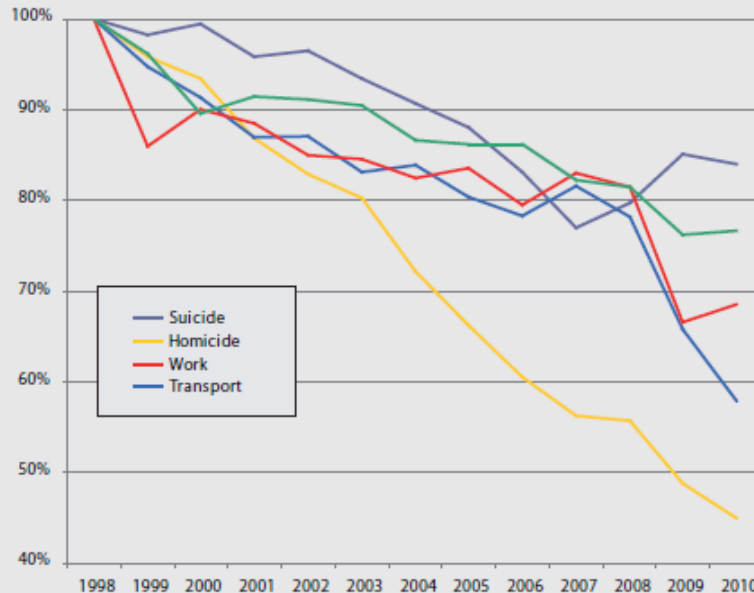


Source: Eurostat – cause of death statistics. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

Homicides, fatal road and work-place accidents show the most favourable trends over the past years. Much less impressive is the decrease of suicides and home and leisure accidents (Figure 2.7).

Homicide decreased by 55%, suicide decreased by more than 40% between 1998 and 2010.

Figure 2.7: Fatal injury trends by injury prevention domain (1998–2010, 1998 = 100%) in the EU-27



The number of fatal home and leisure injuries, mainly attributed to falls among the elderly, is increasing at a faster rate than demographic trends.

3. Data analysis

The criminologist Manuel Eisner, Oxford University, wrote:⁴

Police statistics report homicides known to the police, usually meaning that prima facie evidence suggests an intentional killing of a person. Depending on a country's legal framework, figures may be broken down by legal subcategories such as infanticide, murder, and manslaughter. Mortality statistics, on the other hand, are based on the death certificates completed by the coroner, pathologist, or surgeon. Classification as homicide implies that the death is believed to have been the result of an intentional act. As a rule, the verdict is based on an inquest that reflects the available forensic evidence.

Theoretically, both sets of data should be strongly correlated because a coroner's verdict of "homicide" requires further criminal investigation while a corpse found by the police should always lead to a forensic inquest.

Yet differences may occur for various reasons other than slippage in record-keeping: First, the territorial reference differs as the police count events that happen in a country while mortality statistics register events that happen to the residential population of a country. Second, police statistics record the year when the crime became known while mortality statistics count the year when the death occurred. Third, police records and death certificates are not necessarily completed at the same time and the legal assessment of the death may have changed between both procedures.

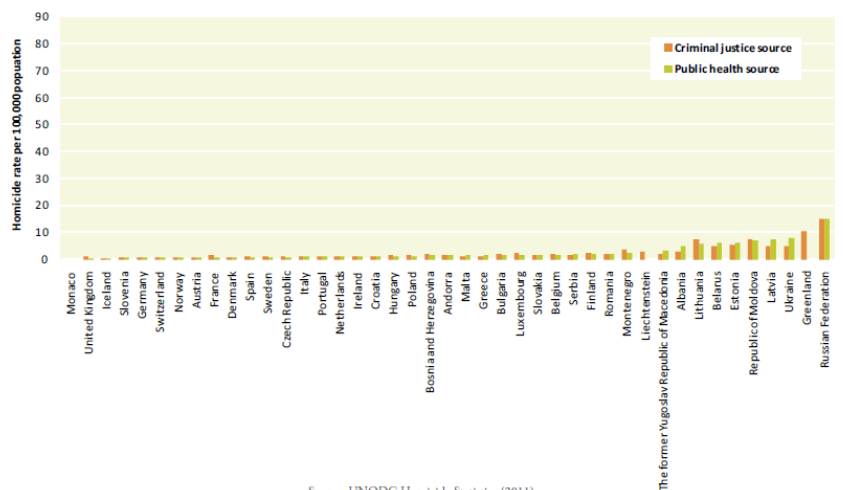
The criminologist Eisner concludes: Scientists should calculate the correlations between homicide rates according to mortality statistics and according to police statistics. Values of correlations between $r = .83$ and $r = .92$ over longer periods of time are suggesting a good fit. **For Europe both rates seem to fit** as one can see at this figure of UNODC Homicide Statistic.

Eisner, who compared homicide rates in Europe for 700 years, is showing that offender rates peak at the age of 20-40. Societies with a younger population will therefore always have higher homicide rates than societies with an older population.

The opposite relationship is valid for suicides. In Western countries with older populations suicide rates are raising for people aged 65 and older. In older populations even homicides by altruistic reasons (retired husband kills his wife who suffered for years with mental deficiency and then himself) are an occurring phenomenon, but no threat to the society.

Therefore we need to calculate age-standardized victimization rates for meaningful statistical comparisons.

Fig. 1.8: Homicide rates by country/territory, Europe (2010 or latest available year)



Source: UNODC Homicide Statistics (2011).

⁴ [Modernity Strikes Back?](#) Manuel Eisner, Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge, UK, 2008

3.1. European Homicide Monitor (EHM)

The EU knows about this problem in statistics and funded a 3-years research project in Scandinavia. The National Council for Crime Prevention (Sweden), The National Research Institute of Legal Policy (Finland) and The Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology at Leiden University (The Netherlands) studied more than 1.500 homicides in their three countries, developed a database for statistics and went deep into the details of each homicide. The results were published in 2011 ("**First Study on the European Homicide Monitor Data**"). The following tables and figures and italic phrases are copies of this study. Comments by me in roman letters.⁵

*Crimes that lead to homicide through murder, manslaughter or aggravated assault involve the most severe types of violence. **Within the EU there is no Union-wide systematic collection of data regarding lethal violence.** Therefore, questions about the incidence and characteristics of homicides within EU member states as well as comparisons between countries regarding trends, levels and structural similarities and differences have remained unanswered.*

*It is the hope and expectation of the three project members that the project will lead to the establishment of the foundations of a **European Homicide Monitor (EHM)** and that the database can and will be used by other European states by adding national data to the international dataset as well as using the data for analyses on lethal violence in Europe.*

The EHM also helps the targeting of homicide prevention efforts. Since homicide is not randomly distributed in physical and social space, the database can help governments and agencies target homicide prevention efforts in terms of identifying social structures (socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, socioeconomic status and ethnic background, etc.), as well as when and where homicides are most likely to occur in terms of variations in time and location. In other words it can be used to identify both social and situational crime preventive strategies.

Unfortunately this study did not reach its goal. We still have no EHM, no systematic collection, no coherent EU targeting of prevention. At least I can highlight the report's major findings in the following chapter 7.1.

⁵ [Homicide in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden, EHM, 2011](#)

4. Suicide

Suicide, suicide attempts and self-harm are frequent causes of hospitalisation and/or premature death. I therefore look first on the facts and impacts which are presented in Eurosafe's report about "Injuries in the European Union". The following tables and figures and italic phrases are copies of this report. Comments by me in roman letters. ⁶

Suicidal behaviour is often the consequence of a number of factors that have interacted, including acute stressors and negative life events (e.g., bereavement, loss of employment, separation, illness), symptoms associated with an acute episode of mental illness or substance use disorder (e.g., psychosis, depression, intoxication), personality characteristics, social and/or economic circumstances.

While not itself a mental disorder, suicidal behaviour is highly correlated to mental illness and addiction. Studies indicate that more than 90% of suicide victims have a diagnosable mental illness or substance use disorder.

4.1. Suicide in Europe by Eurosafe

Fatal injuries

Suicide in the EU is among the three leading causes of death in the age group 15-44 for both men and women.

25% of all fatal injuries, or about 57 000 cases annually, recorded in the national cause of death registers in the EU-27 are related to suicides (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Comprehensive view on injuries in EU-27 by injury prevention domain

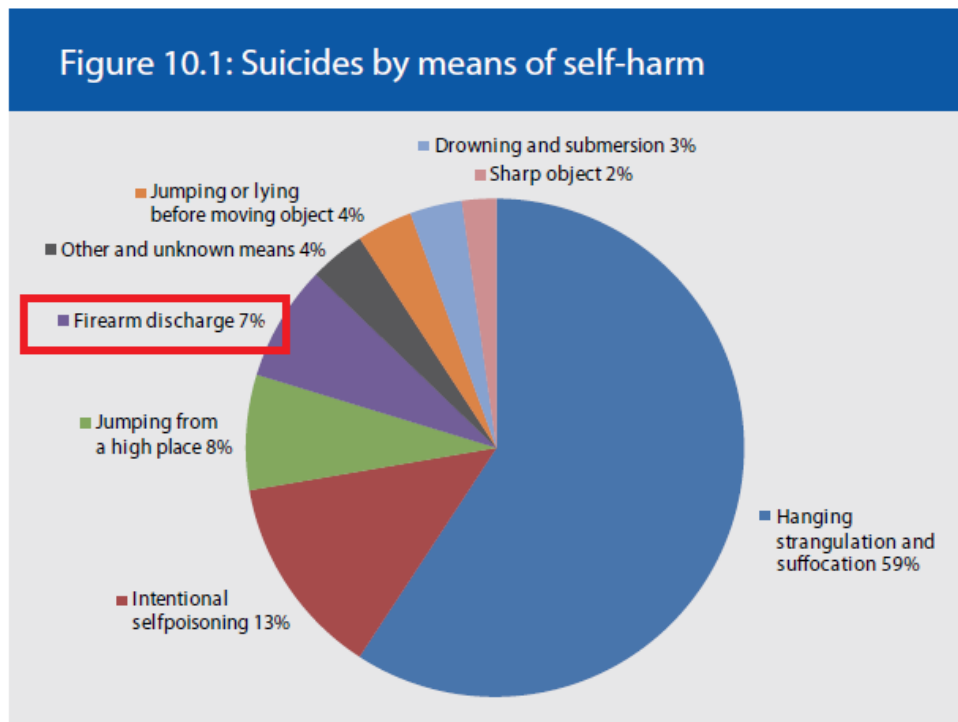
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Source: WHO – mortality database, WHO – Health for All database, Eurostat – hospital discharge statistics, EU IDB. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

⁶ [Injuries in the European Union](#), EuroSafe 2013

The majority of suicides are committed by strangulation, hanging or suffocation (Table 10.1)

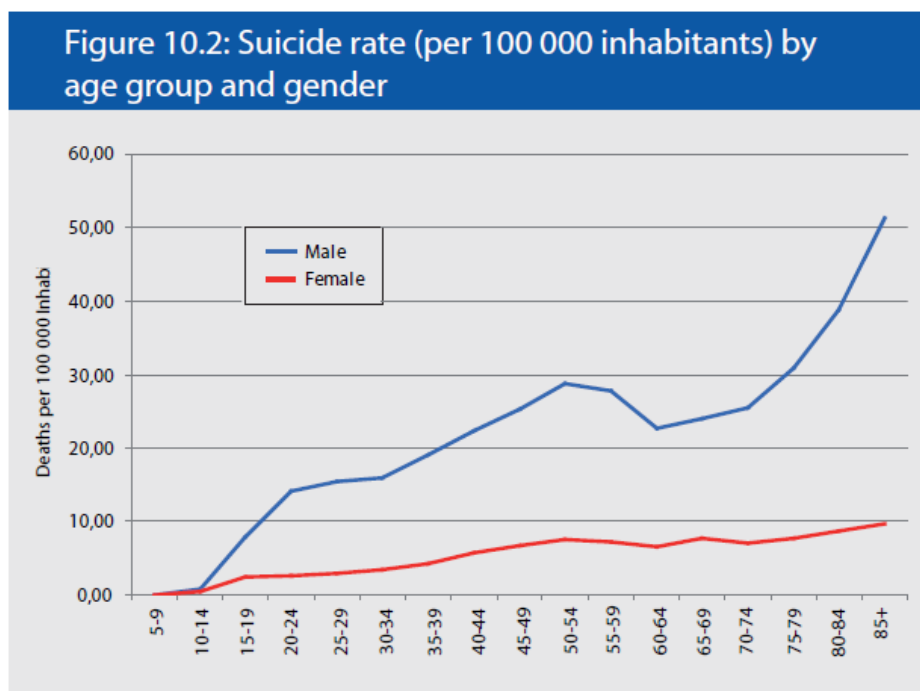
Firearms are used in only 7% of suicides.



Source: WHO MDB. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

The average rate of suicides is 20 per 100 000 for males and 5 for females (the average for both sexes combined is 12 per 100 000; Figure 10.2) For both sexes the rate of suicides is increasing with the age. There is a first peak in the age of 50-54, and a second one in the old age of 85+ (Figure 10.2).

Note: Female suicide rates are evenly increasing without peaks at a low level.

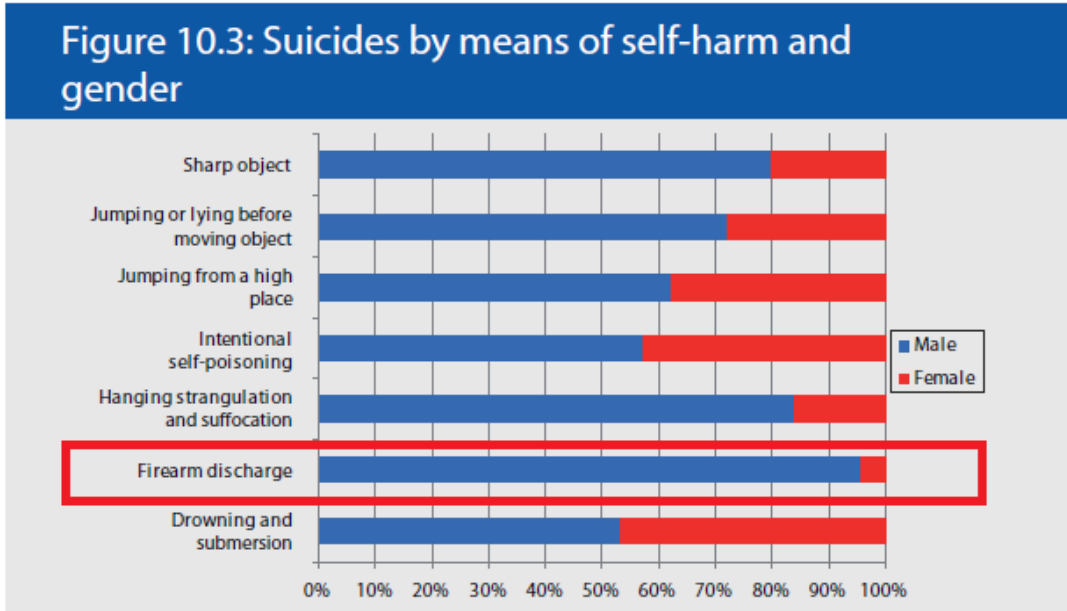


Source: WHO MDB. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

On average, the suicide rate in the EU member states is higher in most of the new member states, while southern EU countries together with the United Kingdom have the lowest suicide rates. The current suicide rate is highest in Lithuania (33) and Slovenia (21). The lowest suicide rates were registered in Cyprus (4) and Greece, Italy and Malta (6).

Marked sex differences exist in the choice of the methods of suicide (Figure 10.3).

Females use very seldom firearms, strangulation or sharp objects for suicides.



Source: WHO MDB. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

Trends

Until 2007 the suicide rate in the EU had been steadily declining. Since 2008, probably due to the economical crises, the rate has been increasing again.

The Central Statistics Office figures confirm that suicides among men in Ireland rose sharply as the economy went into severe recession in 2008.

Non-fatal injuries

The share of intentional self-harm cases of all EU IDB cases is 1.3%. This proportion translates in to an EU estimate of 418 000 people that have to be treated in hospital for intentional self-harm (0.8 hospital-treated injury per 1 000 inhabitants). A relatively high proportion of these cases (51% or 213 000 cases) have to be admitted for further treatment as inpatients.

More than 60% of self-harm victims are female; the respective share among adolescents is even higher than 70%.

According to the EU IDB, especially **adolescents between 15 and 24 years of age (30%) are over-represented** in the recorded cases as compared to their share of the population of only 12%.

Poisoning accounts for the vast majority of injuries diagnosed as intentional self-harm (67% in men as well as women); the use of "piercing/penetrating force", resulting in open wounds, ranks second.

"Psychological/psychiatric condition" and "conflict in relationships" are stated by the patients as the most recent crises that led to the self-harm incident (so-called "proximal risk-factor")

59 in 100 patients reported that there was a previous episode of intentional self-harm.

4.2. Suicides in Europe by WHO and OECD

Suicide by gender and age groups in Europe by WHO, estimates for 2008.⁷

Age group	Males rate	Male number	Females rate	Female number	Male-female rate ratio
0-4	0.0	0	0	0	0
5-14	1.0	509	0.4	203	2,5
15-24	19.1	19.635	4.2	4.001	4,6
30-44	26.8	25.842	5.4	5.228	5,0
45-59	33.6	28.615	7.7	7.017	4,4
60-69	29.2	10.480	8.1	3.464	3,6
70-79	37.9	9.329	9.9	3.559	3,8
80+	53.2	5.070	14.0	2.924	3,8
Total	23.1	99.480	5.8	26.395	4,0

The highest suicide rates for both sex are in the age group of older than 70.

The male-female rate ration is 4:1.

OECD health report 2014.⁸

Suicide rates vary widely across European countries, with the lowest rates in southern European countries – Cyprus, Greece, Malta, Italy and Spain – as well as in the United Kingdom, and the highest rates in Lithuania, Hungary, Slovenia and Latvia (where suicide rates are more than 50% higher than the EU average). There is an eight-fold difference between Lithuania and Cyprus, the countries with the highest and lowest death rates.

Between 2000 and 2011, suicide rates have decreased by 20% across European countries, with pronounced declines of over 35% in some countries such as Estonia and Latvia, although suicide rates in these two countries remain above the EU average .

On the other hand, death rates from suicides have increased in a few countries. In Portugal, suicide rates increased mainly between 2000 and 2002, and have remained fairly stable since then. Previous studies have shown a strong link between adverse economic conditions, higher levels of stress, anxiety and depression, and higher levels of suicide (e.g. Ceccherini-Nelli and Priebe, 2011; van Gool and Pearson, 2014). Suicide rates rose at the start of the economic crisis in a number of European countries, mainly among men (Chang et al., 2013), but in many countries this trend did not persist.

⁷ Värnik, P. [Suicide in the World](#). *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health* **2012**, *9*, 760-771.

⁸ OECD (2014), [Health at a Glance: Europe 2014](#), OECD Publishing.

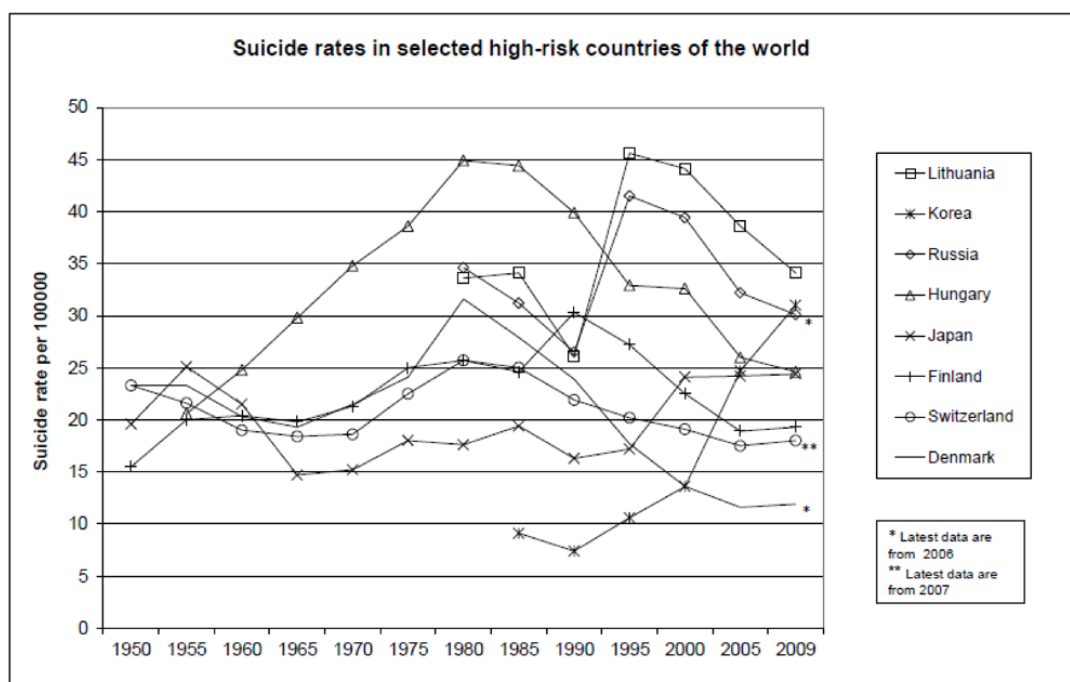
4.3. Suicide in the World

Peeter Värnik published 2014 his article "Suicide in the World":⁹

Suicides in the world amount to 782 thousand in 2008 according to the WHO estimate, which is 1.4% of total mortality and 15% of injury mortality.

- The suicide rate for the world as a whole is estimated at **11.6 per 100,000 inhabitants**.
- The **male–female rate ratio of suicide is estimated to be highest in the European Region** (4.0) and the lowest in the Eastern Mediterranean region (1.1).
- Among males the highest suicide rate in the 15–29 age group is in the SE Asian region, in the 45–59 age group in European males and for ages above 60 in the Western Pacific region.
- Females from SE Asia have a remarkably high suicide rate among 15–29-year-olds and from age 45 in the Western Pacific region.

During the past six decades, according to the WHO Japan, Hungary, and Lithuania have topped the list of world countries by suicide rate, but if the current trends continue South Korea will overtake all others in a few years. The heart of the problem of suicide mortality has shifted from Western Europe to Eastern Europe and now seems to be shifting to Asia. China and India are the biggest contributors to the absolute number of suicides in the world.



Male-female rate ratio was the highest in Puerto Rico (6.6), Slovakia (6.6) and Poland (6.4), while it was the lowest in China (0.9), which is currently the only country where the rate for females is higher than for males.

⁹ Värnik, P. [Suicide in the World](#). Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health **2012**, *9*, 760-771.

5. Suicides with Firearms

WHO wrote in its "Global Suicide Report 2014":¹⁰

Suicide by firearms is a highly lethal method, accounting for the majority of suicides in some countries, such as the USA. Available data show a close correlation between the proportions of households owning firearms and the proportion of firearm suicides. Legislation restricting firearm ownership has been associated with a reduction in firearm suicide rates in many countries, including Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Norway and the United Kingdom.

However, does this simply reflect a change in the method rather than a real reduction in the absolute rate of suicides?

In June 2015 the Flemish Peace Institute uphold a seminar to launch its new report 'Firearms and Violent Deaths in Europe' Mr Fabio Marini, Head of Firearms Task Force at DG HOME, European Commission, Mr Piet De Bruyn, Member of the Flemish Parliament and Prof Keith Krause, Programme Director of the Small Arms Survey, were in the reaction panel with their guests:¹¹

Suicide rates with firearms are higher in countries with high gun ownership than in countries with low gun ownership. Suicide with firearms were committed mostly by men (96%) of whom more than 40% were at least 65 years old. Youths committing suicides in Europe is not common. Most gunshot suicides are committed with legally-held firearms.

The two main questions:

- **Can we use "Suicide by Firearm" as a proxy for gun ownership?**
- **Can restricted access to firearms lower suicide rates?**

5.1. Can we use "Suicide by Firearm" as a proxy for Gun Ownership?

In 1998, a study - supported by the Joyce Foundation in *Social Science & Medicine* found that gun ownership was more strongly associated with gun suicides than with gun homicides.¹² A 2004 review by the National Research Council (US) concluded that, "higher rates of household firearms ownership are associated with higher rates of gun suicide."¹³ Martin Killias, in a 1993 study covering 21 countries, found that there were significant correlations between gun ownership and gun-related suicide.¹⁴ A study published by Killias et al. in 2001, based on a larger sample of countries found "very strong correlations between the presence of guns in the home and suicide committed with a gun."¹⁵

¹⁰ [Preventing suicide: A global imperative, WHO World Report 2014](#)

¹¹ [Seminar and report launch 'Firearms and Violent Deaths in Europe'](#), 2015

¹² Kaplan, Mark S.; Geling, Olga (May 1998). "Firearm suicides and homicides in the United States: regional variations and patterns of gun ownership". *Social Science & Medicine* **46** (9): 1227–1233. doi:[10.1016/S0277-9536\(97\)10051-X](#).

¹³ National Research Council (2005), Wellford, C. F.; Pepper, J. V.; Petrie, C. V., eds., [Firearms and Violence: A Critical Review](#), Committee to Improve Research Information and Data on Firearms, Washington, DC: The National Academies Press

¹⁴ Killias, Martin (1993), Del Frate, A. A.; et al., eds., ["Gun ownership, suicide and homicide: an international perspective"](#) (PDF), Understanding crime: experiences of crime and crime control

¹⁵ Killias, M.; van Kesteren, J.; Rindlisbacher, M. (2001). ["Guns, violent crime, and suicide in 21 countries"](#). *Canadian Journal of Criminology* **43** (4): 429–448.

All studies about gun ownership and suicides show evidence of a link between gun ownership and suicides by firearms. It does not matter if the author is an advocate for gun control or gun rights or an objective scientist.

5.1.1. Suicides in Austria (1982-2011) by Dr. Westphal

Dr. Christian Westphal researched in detail this topic in Austria and could use official data from 1982 to 2011.¹⁶

Austria has relatively low restrictions on the acquisition of firearms but has become increasingly concerned with monitoring legally purchased firearms. Austrian data on concealed carry licenses are available from 1982 to the present for all Austrian counties. This provides a reasonable, albeit imperfect, nationwide proxy for gun ownership taken directly from administrative data on firearm permits. These data have been used to compute correlations between firearm ownership rates and suicide rates in the medical literature (Etzersdorfer, Kapusta and Sonneck, 2006), and provide an intriguing starting point for possibly confirming, or not, the validity of the FSS proxy (“suicides by firearm” of “all suicides”) and at the same time further investigating the relationship between suicide and firearms.

Two questions are addressed in this paper: (1) Can the FSS proxy (“suicides by firearm” of “all suicides”) proxy for gun ownership be confirmed from Austrian data on gun licenses? – and (2) What can be said about the relationship between firearms and suicide in Austria after a careful review of the methods used for analysis in former work? Answering these questions results in two main findings.

First, I confirm the validity of the FSS (Firearms Suicides for all Suicides) proxy. An association between firearms and firearm suicides is persistent across all methods of analysis used and a variety of model specifications.

This is pretty plausible. Imagine everyone who wants to commit suicide having a gun at hands: Surely more people will kill themselves with guns compared to a situation where guns are unobtainable. It does not matter for this measure if the suicide decision depends on the gun availability, i.e. if the gun availability increases the overall rate of suicides.¹⁷

5.2. Can restricted access to firearms lower suicide rates?

Gary Kleck, a professor of criminology at Florida State University in Tallahassee wrote 1993 his award winning book "Point Blank":¹⁸ The availability of guns may (at best) *influence the choice of method, but apparently does not affect the overall frequency of suicide.*

The findings indicate that gun ownership appears to have no effect on rates of total suicide.

Though the associations were not significant, gun ownership was positively associated with the gun suicide rate and negatively related to the non-gun suicide rate.(pp 255-256)¹⁹

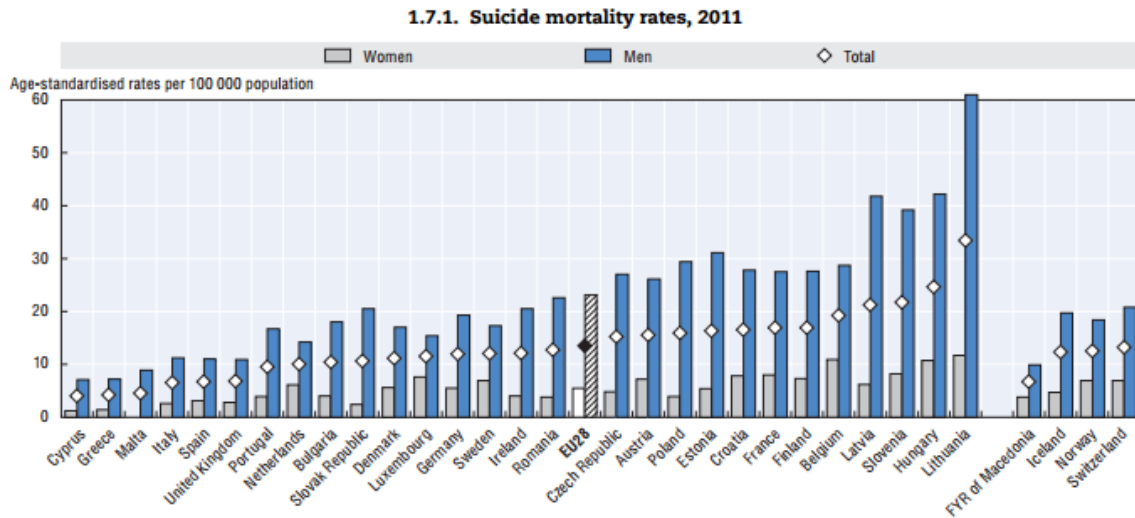
As his book was written 20 years ago one has to have a look at the actual suicides rates.

¹⁶ [Evidence for the “Suicide by Firearm” Proxy for Gun Ownership from Austria](#), Westphal, 2013

¹⁷ [Reanalyzing the social costs of gun ownership](#), Westphal, Homepage

¹⁸ [Point Blank: Guns and Violence in America](#), Gary Kleck, 1994

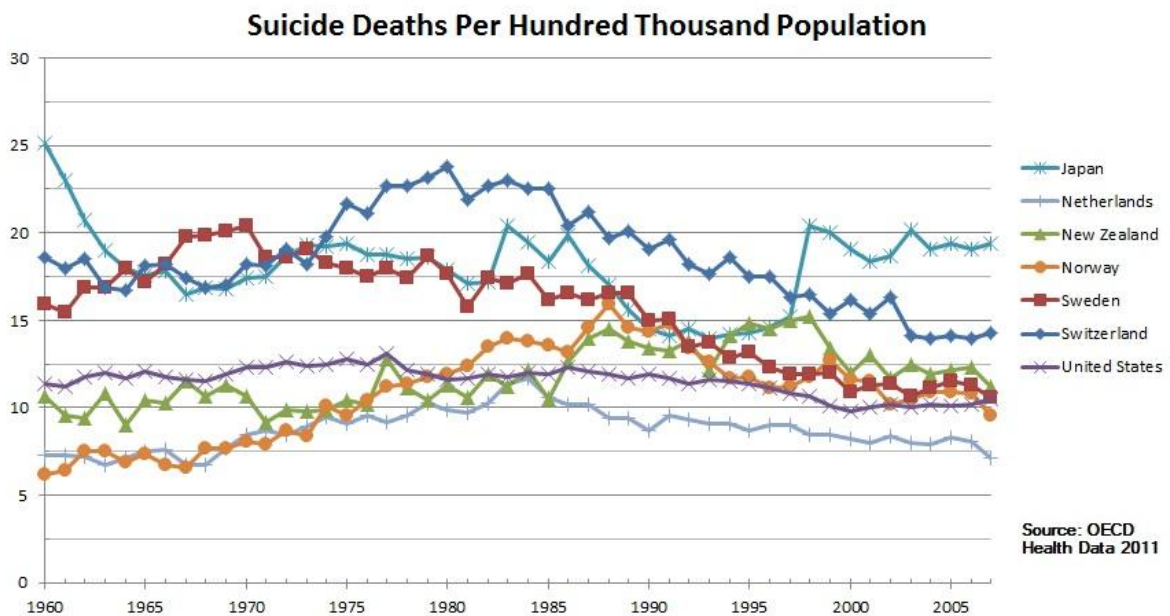
Figure 1.7.1. of the OECD health report 2014 show Lithuania, Hungary, Slovenia, Latvia with high rates:



Source: Eurostat Statistics Database.

- Japan with a very strict gun law has one of the highest suicide rates.
- Switzerland with the most permissive gun law in Europe has a standard total suicide rate. This one could be even lower, if Switzerland would not practise "suicide tourism". Because Switzerland allows "assisted suicide" since 1941, many citizens from other countries ended their lives in Switzerland.
- New Zealand, Norway and Sweden have stricter gun laws, lower gun ownership and similar suicides rates as the US.

The countries with the highest suicide rates are not the countries with the most legal gun owners.



Source: OECD Health Data 2011

5.2.1 Gun Ownership, Suicide and Homicide in UK (1998-2007)

Lets take a detailed look at the United Kingdom where all legally held firearms are registered. These are the average numbers of deaths by firearms, differentiated by intent, region and sex (1998-2007) and the number of registered firearms per certificate per 100 000 inhabitants (data from the UK Office of National Statistics):²⁰

Region	Nos. of legal gun owners (rang)	Suicide (rang)	Unintentional (rang)	Unknown motif (rang)	Homicide/ Manslaughter (rang)
South West	5222,4 (1)	2,72 (2)	0,12 (1)	0,28 (5)	0,40 (9)
East of England	4947,6 (2)	2,57 (3)	0,06 (8)	0,33 (4)	0,55 (7)
Wales	3963,6 (3)	2,78 (1)	0,10 (2)	0,34 (2)	0,17 (10)
South East	3901,0 (4)	2,08 (4)	0,09 (4)	0,21 (7)	0,53 (8)
East Midlands	3425,8 (5)	1,94 (6)	0,06 (8)	0,37 (1)	0,69 (5)
West Midlands	3317,1 (6)	2,06 (5)	0,09 (4)	0,17 (10)	0,77 (3)
Yorkshire + Humber	2755,3 (7)	1,55 (7)	0,10 (2)	0,34 (2)	0,70 (4)
North East	2545,1 (8)	1,45 (8)	0,04 (10)	0,20 (8)	0,63 (6)
North West	1992,9 (9)	1,25 (9)	0,07 (7)	0,28 (5)	1,42 (2)
Greater London	269,9 (10)	0,70 (10)	0,08 (6)	0,19 (9)	2,79 (1)
Total (n)		984	44	141	527
Sex (m:f)		21,4:1	43:1	34,3:1	6,42:1

- South West, East of England and Wales have the most legal gun owners and also the most suicides with firearms.
- South West, East of England and Wales have the less homicides/manslaughters.
- Greater London has the least legal gun owners and the least suicides with firearms
- Greater London has the most homicide/manslaughters with firearms.

It is notable that the rate of suicide with firearms by males is more than 20 times higher than suicides with firearms by females.

²⁰ [Civilian firearm injury and death in England and Wales](#), Davies, Wells,Squires, Hodgetts, Lecky, 2012

5.3. Conclusions

Criminologists agree that there is a strong correlation between legal gun ownership and suicides with firearms.

Nowadays 40 percent of new gun owners in the US are female. However, they meanwhile represent less than 20% of the total gun owners in the US, even though this is changing. Even in Europe one can see this change on a smaller scale. More than 20% of the Germans who become new hunters these days are female, 10% of all Norwegian hunters are female and even more and more women join the ranks of target shooters. In ten years Europe will have at least 10% female gun owners.

The male–female rate ratio of suicide is the highest in the European Region. (4:1). Firearms are seldom used by females. In UK the male-female rate ration for firearms-related suicide was 21:1.

The proxy FSS may become invalid in the near future as female gun ownership increases.

If the access to firearms will be limited, the suicides with firearms will certainly decrease. But will the rates of overall suicides decrease, too?

- US (30% households with guns) and Germany (3% households with guns) have the same suicide rate (apx. 11/100.000).
- Switzerland's (30% households with guns) suicide rate is lower (9/100.000), even though medical supported suicides are allowed and as such there are many "imported suicides" by people who commit suicide (with medical support) in Switzerland but do live in Europe.
- Japan (less than 1% households with guns) has a suicide rate of 18/100.000.
- Japanese women commit suicide more often than male citizens in the USA.
- In the USA the number of female gun owners doubled in the last 20 years, but this has not affected female suicide rates.

Dr. Christian Westphal researched 2013 the correlations between firearm ownership rates and suicide rates in Austria.:²¹

Austria has relatively low restrictions on the acquisition of firearms but has become increasingly concerned with monitoring legally purchased firearms. Austrian data on concealed carry licenses are available from 1982 to the present for all Austrian counties. The association between firearms and firearm suicides, well known from the extant literature, is confirmed at a reasonable level of significance.

No association is found for firearms and overall suicides.

²¹ [Simulation of Rare Events Case-Control Studies](#), Christian Westphal, 2013

6. Homicide

Homicide can be the fatal result of interpersonal violence. Therefore I take a look first on the fatal injuries which are presented in **Eurosafe's report about "Injuries in the European Union"**²². The following tables and figures and italic phrases are copies of this report.

6.1. Interpersonal violence by Eurosafe

Interpersonal violence is an issue of growing public concern and includes domestic violence, child abuse, elder abuse and youth violence. Interpersonal violence takes many forms (physical, mental and sexual) and occurs in different environments (in the family, between intimate partners, in the community, in institutions and at work).

Fatal injuries

About 2% of all fatal injuries in the EU-27, or about 4 600 cases annually, that are recorded in the national cause of death registers are related to homicide (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Comprehensive view on injuries in EU-27 by injury prevention domain

	Road traffic	Work-place	School	Sports	Home, leisure	Total of unintentional Injuries	Homicide, assault	Suicide, self-harm	Total of all Injuries
Fatalities	38 119 16%	4 961 2%	1 250 1%	7 000 3%	98 891 42%	150 221 65%	4 704 2%	57 614 25%	232 869 100%
Hospital admissions	668 000 12%	252 000 4%	32 000 1%	419 000 7%	3 914 000 69%	5 285 000 93%	202 000 4%	213 000 4%	5 700 000 100%
Hospital outpatients	3 524 000 10%	3 553 000 10%	792 000 2%	5 644 000 17%	18 951 000 56%	32 465 000 96%	1 231 000 4%	205 000 1%	33 900 000 100%
All hospital patients	4 192 000 11%	3 805 000 9%	824 000 2%	6 063 000 14%	22 865 000 59%	37 750 000 95%	1 433 000 4%	418 000 1%	39 600 000 100%

Source: WHO – mortality database, WHO – Health for All database, Eurostat – hospital discharge statistics, EU IDB. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

*The current **homicide rate in the EU is highest in the Baltic region** (above 5.5 per 100 000 in all three countries); among the other EU member states the rate ranges from to 2.4 in Romania to 0.3 in the United Kingdom.*

Wrong data for UK

Again we deal with the problems of statistics. **The homicide rate of UK is not 0.3 but 1.39.** The extreme drop to 0.3 per 100.000 in the UK is a result of the method of recording and does not reflect the real case number of murdered victims. . 455 murdered victims in England and Wales (E&W) are missing in the table, maybe even more, if the numbers for Scotland and Northern Ireland are also incorrect.

Country	Homicide rate per 100.000
UK: Scotland	2,14
UK: Northern Ireland	1,52
UK: England and Wales¹	1,35

²² [Injuries in the European Union](#), EuroSafe 2013

²³ [National Statistic by gov.uk](#), 2010-2011

The Government of UK does not hide these facts. Everybody can look in the National Statistics and also read the following annotation: "**455 suspects in 2010/11 in England&Wales have not been reported to Eurostat as court proceedings were not completed by 18 October 2011**".

Table 1.10 Suspects convicted of homicide by type of homicide: England and Wales, 1997 to 2010/11²⁴

Numbers		England and Wales, Recorded crime				
Year offence initially recorded	Total indicted for homicide	Convicted of homicide				
		Total	Murder	Section 2 manslaughter	Other manslaughter	Infanticide
1997	709	509	250	47	209	3
1997/98	713	524	236	51	233	4
1998/99	752	529	256	41	225	7
1999/00	783	532	279	27	225	1
2000/01	802	576	290	18	263	5
2001/02	858	664	329	19	315	1
2002/03	860	623	343	15	265	-
2003/04	890	642	364	21	256	1
2004/05	892	669	396	24	248	1
2005/06	765	595	378	24	192	1
2006/07	772	568	341	37	189	1
2007/08	835	622	361	33	228	-
2008/09	701	514	303	29	181	1
2009/10	503	395	240	21	134	-
2010/11²	219	185	106	8	69	2

²⁴ [National Statistic by gov.uk](#), 2010-2011

Table 1a Homicide rate per 100.000 population for 15 European Union in 2011 (same source)

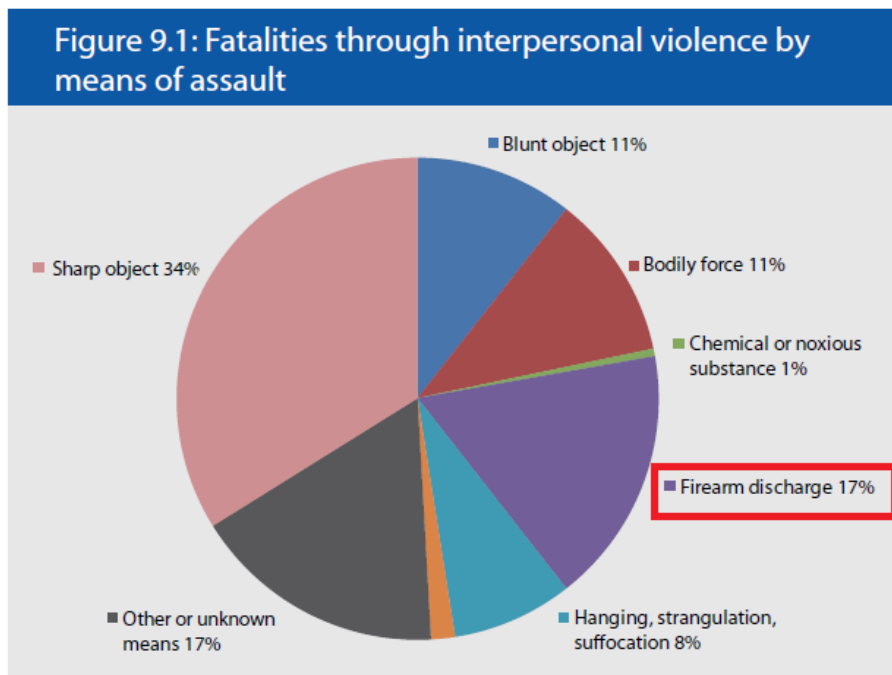
Country	Homicide rate per 100.000 population
Finland	2,34
UK: Scotland	2,14
Ireland	2,00
Belgium	1,97
Luxembourg	1,61
UK: Northern Ireland	1,52
Portugal	1,46
France	1,37
UK: England and Wales ¹	1,35
Denmark	1,22
Italy	1,13
Sweden	1,06
Greece	1,04
Netherlands	1,02
Spain	1,02
Germany	0,84
Austria	0,61

¹ Eurostat calculated this figure using the recorded crime returns, not the Homicide Index. If the Homicide Index was used, the figure would be slightly lower.

The average rate of homicide is 1.3 per 100 000 for males and 0.7 for females (the average for both sexes is 1.0). The **most common means** in homicides are **sharp objects as knives** (Figure 9.1).

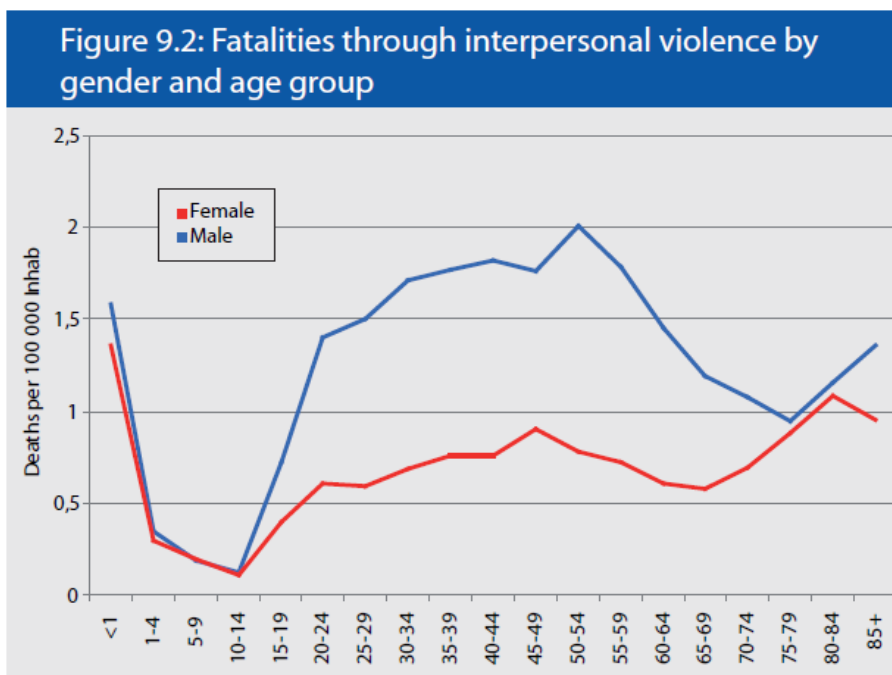
Due to the more than 455 homicide victims missing from the UK statistics, which represent 10% of total EU15 fatalities, the average rate for both sexes is slightly higher than 1.0.

Firearms had been misused in 17% for of assaults with fatalities (Figure 9.1).



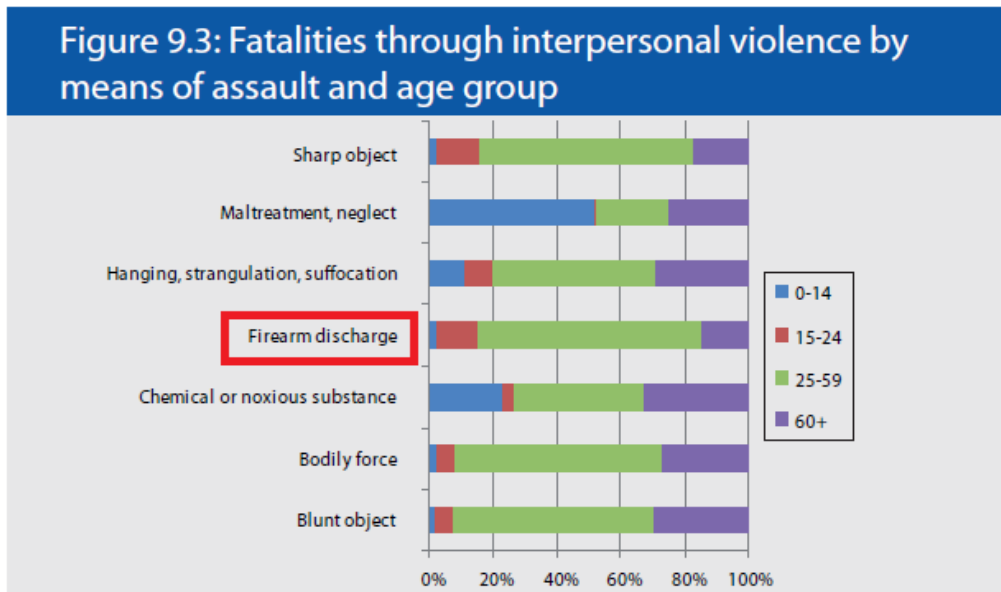
Source: WHO MDB. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

The peak in homicide rate for babies (under one year of age) of both sexes highlights the **grave problem of fatal child abuse** ("maltreatment" in Figure 9.2).



Source: WHO MDB. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

The highest proportion of adolescent homicide victims (15 to 24 years) can be found in the categories "sharp objects" (14%) and "firearm discharge" (13%) (Figure 9.3).



Source: WHO MDB. See Annex "List of figures and tables" for more details.

To improve the mortality data coverage, it would be useful to conduct specific studies on homicides through other complementary data (police, media, etc.), and to better identify and code homicides.

Non-fatal injuries

Data from hospital emergency departments provide valuable insight into the current problems of interpersonal violence, e.g. by monitoring the basic epidemiological patterns by means of a specific "IDB violence module":

- The average proportion of intentional injuries due to interpersonal violence in the EU IDB sample is about 4% (IDB categories "assault" or "other violence"; Table 2.2); and it ranges from 1% (Austria) to 10% (Latvia) among the eight IDB countries that use the "IDB violence module".
- Altercation ("violent dispute") is the most frequently mentioned context of assault.
- Within this category, as well as in all other categories, **adolescent victims between 15 and 24 years are clearly over-represented compared to their share of 12% of the population.**
- Except for sexual assault (91% of victims are women), the vast majority of interpersonal violence victims are male.
- **Also the perpetrators of "violent disputes" are predominately male (92%). 24% of the perpetrators are adolescents (15-24 years) and 68% are adults.**
- The relation of the victim to the perpetrator is stated as intimate (spouse or partner) in 19%, as acquaintance or friend in 20%, and as stranger in 50% of "violent dispute" cases.

Underreporting of violence

There is abundant evidence of the substantial extent to which violence that results in injury is neither investigated nor reported by the police.

Underreporting of gun shots wounds is rare as physicians are obliged to report them.

6.2. Homicide rates by Eurostat (2002-2008)

Eurostat wrote: ²⁵

Homicide is fairly universally reported because of its seriousness, and definitions vary less between countries than for some other types of crime, so that the figures may be regarded as more comparable between countries than for other types of crime. Unlike other offences, the counting unit for homicide is normally the victim (rather than the case).

Country	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Country	City	City
Austria	65	50	59	54	60	45	46	0.61	Vienna	1.06
Belgium	323	230	267	222	224	207	194	1.97	Brussels	3.20
Bulgaria	255	247	240	196	183	169	172	2.27	Sofia	2.09
Czech Republic	234	232	227	186	231	196	202	2.03	Prague	3.06
Denmark	58	82	60	70	45	76	79	1.22	Copenhagen	1.58
Germany	914	820	809	804	727	692	656	0.84	Berlin	1.31
Estonia	142	147	91	113	91	93	84	6.60	Tallinn	6.04
Ireland	59	52	46	65	68	85	89	2.00	Dublin	2.26
Greece	108	122	109	127	109	115	118	1.04	Athens	1.11
Spain	564	587	520	518	476	482	408	1.02	Madrid	1.30
France	1.119	987	990	976	879	826	839	1.37	Paris	1.49
Italy	691	765	767	648	663	685	654	1.13	Rome	1.20
Cyprus	3	15	15	15	12	11	9	1.37	Lefkosia	1.75
Latvia	207	220	199	127	148	117	119	:	Riga	:
Lithuania	316	385	356	404	302	284	304	8.76	Vilnius	8.28
Luxembourg	4	3	2	4	9	7	7	1.61	Luxembourg	3.98
Hungary	203	228	209	164	175	137	147	1.52	Budapest	1.45
Malta	5	0	7	4	0	4	6	0.81	Valletta	0.00
Netherlands	224	247	223	197	159	164	176	1.02	Amsterdam	3.14
Poland	716	663	633	555	490	525	460	1.29	Warsaw	1.92

²⁵ [Eurostat, Crime and Criminal Justice 58/2010](#)

Portugal	119	149	144	135	155	185	124	1.46	Lisbon	0.64
Romania	563	551	516	453	438	416	493	2.08	Bucharest	1.10
Slovenia	29	21	29	20	12	24	11	0.78	Ljubljana	0.50
Slovakia	128	146	122	106	89	89	94	1.68	Bratislava	3.12
Finland	131	103	144	114	111	127	132	2.34	Helsinki	2.01
Sweden	99	83	109	81	93	114	82	1.06	Stockholm	:
UK: England&Wales	1.047	904	868	764	758	774	662	1.35	London	2.17
UK: Scotland	128	109	138	101	122	111	97	2.14	Edinburgh	1.86
UK: Northern Ireland	45	33	41	29	24	30	26	1.52	Belfast	2.12
Croatia	88	76	89	76	75	66	74	1.61	Zagreb	1.36
<i>EU Candidate countries</i>										
Macedonia	60	70	49	49	45	42	36	2.01	Skopje	3.30
Turkey	5.683	5.308	4986	4.973	4.763	3.080	2.751	4.96	Ankara	4.21
<i>EU Potential Candidate countries</i>										
Albania	:	:	:	:	:	:	139	4.38	Tirana	:
Montenegro	27	20	14	22	25	10	23	3.09	Podgorica	:
Serbia	200	176	164	157	160	182	145	2.19	Belgrade	2.92
<i>EFTA/EEA countries</i>										
Iceland	4	0	3	3	0	2	0	0.22	Reykjavik	0.51
Liechtenstein	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.94	Vaduz	0.00
Norway	46	51	36	33	33	30	34	0.69	Oslo	1.76
Switzerland	86	73	79	75	60	51	54	0.73	Berne	1.3

Red marks for higher rates than average, green marks for smaller rates than average of 1.0-1.5

6.3. Homicide rates in detail in Scandinavia (2003-2006)

In Chapter 3.1. I introduced the Scandinavian ISEC study²⁶ - co-founded by the EU - which looked in detail to more than 1.500 homicides of 2003 to 2006. Their main findings of their introduction:

- *Sweden has the lowest and Finland the highest homicide rate with Netherlands in the middle*
- *Homicides in Finland and Sweden are often characterized by acquainted men killing each other in situations where alcohol is an important factor.*
- ***In the Netherlands a larger proportion of homicides were associated with a criminal milieu, with slightly younger perpetrators, a higher proportion of homicides committed outdoors with firearms and a lower clearance rate.***
- *In all three countries the victims and perpetrators are largely characterized by being males born in the same country that the crime took place in.*
- *A large proportion of these men are between the ages of 25 and 64.*
- *Similarities between the three countries include the time of the homicides (predominantly at night-time) and what day of the week they occur (mainly during weekends).*

Some interesting further information (page 40 ff)

- *In general, homicide rates were **higher in large cities than in rural regions**; they were particularly high in the metropolitan regions of Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam. The homicide rate in **Rotterdam was 74 per cent higher than the Dutch national** homicide rate*
- *In Finland and Sweden, homicides were concentrated to a much higher degree in private locations than in the Netherlands, where homicides committed outdoors were more common.*
- *The rate of **street violence-related homicides was 2.5 times higher in the Netherlands.***
- *Homicides against women were concentrated to a much higher degree to private locations.*
- ***15 to 29-year-olds*** had the lowest percentage of victims killed in the domestic sphere, but the highest percentage of victims of **street violence**.
- ***The majority of women were killed by their partners***, while most men were killed by acquaintances.
- *In all three countries, women killed mainly their intimate partners or ex-partners.*
- *In Sweden, about 45 per cent of the perpetrators had been drinking alcohol and about one third were described as **alcoholics**. In Finland more than 50 per cent had been drinking, and more than 40 per cent were described as alcoholics. (No data for the Netherlands).*
- ***Medical care*** in homicides reached only 19% in Sweden and 8% in Finland. (No data for NL).
- *In Finland, 73 per cent of the principal **perpetrators were arrested before the end of the next day** from when the crime was reported, and in Sweden the equivalent figure was 62 per cent. In the Netherlands, the figure is only 28 per cent.*
- *In contrast to Finland (4:4), **victims who were born in a foreign country** were overrepresented in the Netherlands(43:11) and Sweden (20:14) , compared to their representation in the general population. Ganpat & Liem found that among criminal homicides, two-thirds of the perpetrators and 70 per cent of the victims were born outside the Netherlands.*

²⁶ [Homicide in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden, EHM, 2011](#)

6.4. Historical trends in violent crime (1300-2000)

The major findings of the EHM study (see 3.1) and Eurosafe's report (4.1.) have a lot of significant similarities with the findings of Manuel Eisner. Eisner, Professor of Comparative and Developmental Criminology and Deputy Director of the University of Cambridge Institute of Criminology, studied the history of crime from the thirteenth century until the end of the twentieth.²⁷ This is a very short summary about his work. The following tables and figures and italic phrases are copies of his study.

The data suggest a dramatic drop in the fifteenth century and in the twentieth century. The first drop may reflect missing or different sources. For the second drop medical technology have had a major impact. Deaths which occur within the first two hours after the injury may not be cured by modern medical treatment. But most of the deaths occurring after twenty-four hours can now be prevented.

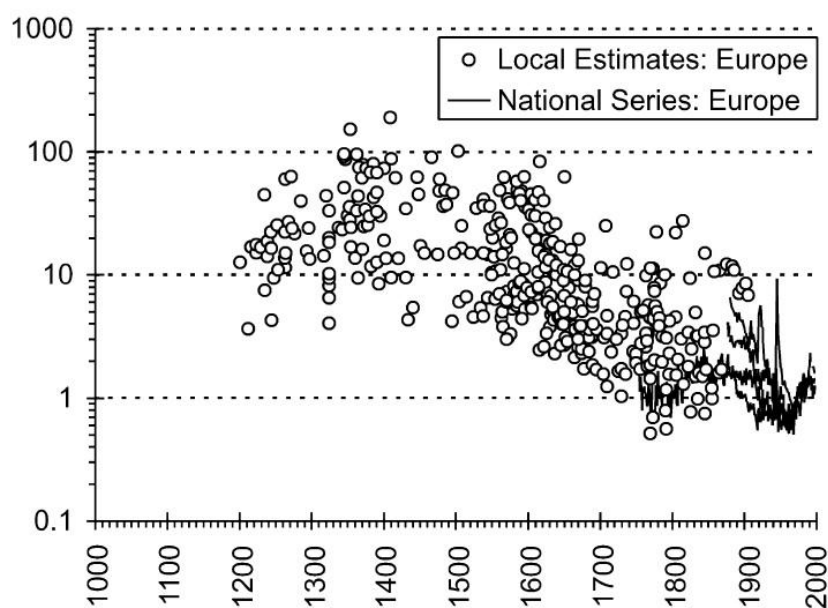


FIG. 2.—Overall trend in homicide rates, all premodern local estimates and four national series. Note: All 398 local estimates from the History of Homicide Database; national series for Sweden, England and Wales, Switzerland, and Italy.

<http://soci.ucalgary.ca/brannigan/sites/soci.ucalgary.ca.brannigan/files/long-term-historical-trends-of-violent-crime.pdf>

6.4.1 Offenders

Over 800 years the proportion of women committing violent crime (homicide, assault, robbery) was hardly ever above 15 percent and typically ranged between 5 and 12 percent. The same appears with the age of the offenders. Over several centuries the sex differences and age differences of the offenders have remained more or less constant.

²⁷ [Long-Term Historical Trends in Violent Crime](#), Manuel Eisner, 2003

6.4.2. Female victims

During 800 years the average proportions of female victims increased from 7 percent (1300-1700) percent to 27 percent (1800) in modern times. But in modern countries with higher homicide rates (Finland, Serbia, Bulgaria, Italy, and Chile) female victims have the same rate as in the Middle Ages. **When lethal violence decline female homicide victims increase.** Those suggest that the drop in male-to-male violent encounters have a high impact on lower homicide rates.

TABLE 5
Average Estimates of Gender-Specific Victimization Rates before the Nineteenth Century

	Female Victims (percent)	Male/Female Ratio	Approximate Homicide Rate
Thirteenth–sixteenth centuries	7	12.5:1	≈30 per 100,000
Seventeenth century	13	6.7:1	≈8 per 100,000
Eighteenth century	27	2.7:1	≈3 per 100,000

SOURCE.—History of Homicide Database.

NOTE.—All estimates refer to various regions in England, the Netherlands, Germany, and France.

<http://soci.ucalgary.ca/brannigan/sites/soci.ucalgary.ca.brannigan/files/long-term-historical-trends-of-violent-crime.pdf>

6.4.3 Personal relationship between offender and victim

Family homicides was uncommon throughout the Middle Ages (less than 10 percent). **During the development to lower overall homicide rates, the share of family killings increased continuously up to 50%.** The decline of private revenge (vendetta) is also linked to the overall drop in homicide rates.

Declines in homicide rates primarily resulted from some degree of pacification of encounters in public space, a reluctance to engage in physical confrontation over conflicts, and the waning of honour as a cultural code regulating everyday behaviour. (table left: 1880, table right: 1998-2000)

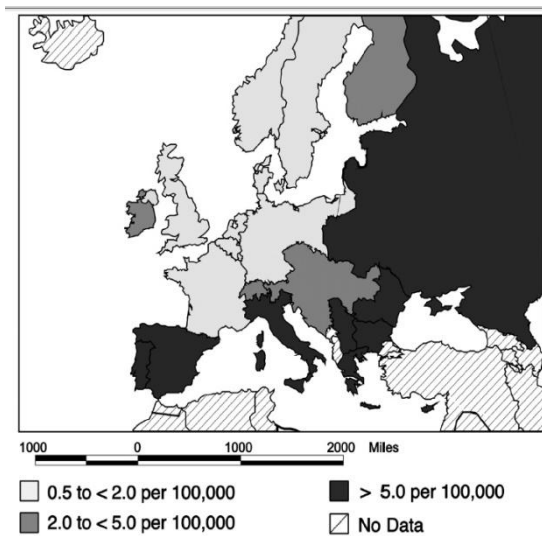


FIG. 8.—Homicide rates around 1880. Sources: History of Homicide Database; Verkko 1951; Chesnais 1981.

<http://soci.ucalgary.ca/brannigan/sites/soci.ucalgary.ca.brannigan/files/long-term-historical-trends-of-violent-crime.pdf>

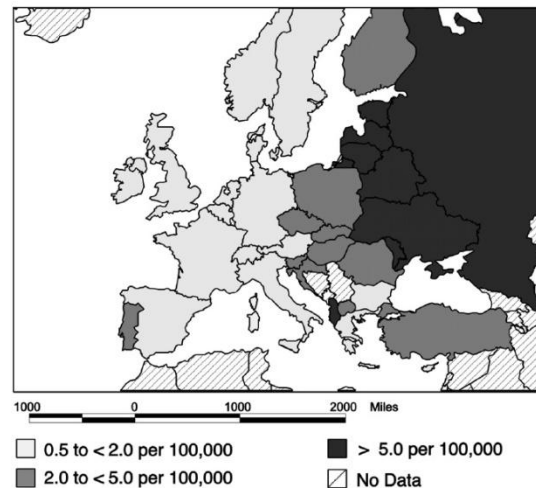


FIG. 9.—Homicide rates around the end of the twentieth century. Note: Data refer to completed homicides known to the police, 1998–2000. Source: Interpol at <http://www.interpol.int/Public/Statistics/ICS/downloadList.asp> (last accessed February 2, 2003).

<http://soci.ucalgary.ca/brannigan/sites/soci.ucalgary.ca.brannigan/files/long-term-historical-trends-of-violent-crime.pdf>

6.4.4 Reasons for the decline in homicide according to Manuel Eisner

A. The theory of the civilizing process

*The rise of monarchic absolutism monopolized violence by central authorities. The nobility (elites) stopped their violent behaviour and increased their affect-control (Elias). **Increasing commercialized exchanges of goods needed liberty and trust instead of war with neighbours** (Adam Smith.) The court record suggests that more people talked out their differences instead of settling it out with knives, fists and pistols (Beattie). [M]ost historians of crime would probably agree that the long-term trajectory in homicide rates is an indicator of a wider dynamic that encompasses some sort of **pacification of interaction in public space**.*

B. Social control

*During the **Middle Ages homicide was perceived as a result of passion** or occurred in defence of honour. Between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries in continental Europe changed this option. **Now homicide was seen as a crime**.*

C. Limitations of the "state control model"

*Muchembled points out that the decline of homicide rates in early modern Europe does not appear to correspond with the rise of the absolutist state. Low Countries show that homicide rates declined in polities where centralized power structures never emerged. No historian believes that the "garrotte among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European rulers decisively reduced crime". **In the past and in modern times intensified policing and harsh regime of public corporal punishment never lead to lower levels of homicide rates**.*

Another exemplar quote from the American context:

"The sudden decline in homicide [1630 to 1800] did not correlate with improved economic circumstances, stronger courts, or better policing. It did, however, correlate with the rise of intense feelings of Protestant and racial solidarity among the colonists, as two wars and a revolution united the formerly divided colonists against New England's native inhabitants, against the French, and against their own Catholic Monarch, James II" (Roth)

***Honour seems to have a major impact on homicide.** In a high-violence society insults lead to personally reaction instead of bringing them to court. Starting in the middle of the seventeenth century verbal violence lost its significance to be defended with every means.*

D. Culture

*At least two broad cultural streams in Western society may have been associated with the decline in interpersonal violence, namely, **Protestantism and modern individualism**. The Protestant ethic's most important commands were discipline, shame and guilt, as well as human dignity and empathy for the weak. Furthermore, both Reformation and Counter Reformation brought about an encompassing wave of church religiosity, legitimating the intrusion of clerics into the private sphere but also serving as a backbone of increasing **literacy and education**.*

*At the same time (from the sixteenth century onward) started the rise of modern individualism. The **individual became freed from its obligation of the group, e.g. vendetta**.*

To criminologists, the rise of moral individualism should not be an implausible candidate for explaining the fall in criminal violence.

Rather, a large number of recent survey studies find that violence is correlated with low autonomy, unstable self-esteem, a high dependence on recognition by others, and limited competence in coping with conflict, which together may well be interpreted as sub dimensions of low moral individualism (Agnew 1994; Baron and Richardson 1994; Heitmeyer 1995).

To this we might add the hypothesis that the secular decline of lethal violence occurred when institutional structures and educational practices supported the stabilization of that type of individualized identity that is shaped to meet the challenges of modern life.

6.4.5. Reasons for the decline by C.E. Moody

Carlisle E. Moody of the College of William and Mary, Department of Economics, came to another conclusion for the extreme drops in 1505 and 1621.²⁸

Invention of concealable firearms

*An alternative explanation, first suggested by Joyce Lee Malcolm, is the **invention of firearms**.*

Referring to England, she writes, “Firearms—muskets, birding guns, and pistols— began to come into common use in the sixteenth century.

*The weight of evidence is that there was a negative break in the mean European homicide rate around **1505, coincident with the invention of the wheel lock pistol**, but the major effect was the significant and negative break in mean and trend around **1621, coincident with the introduction and proliferation of the flintlock**.*

The positive break in trend in 1793 is not consistent with the civilizing process but is consistent with either a reduction in the effective stock of firearms or a decrease in the deterrent effect of firearms at low assault levels.

It is also consistent with inefficiency in the state’s monopoly on violence and a number of other hypotheses. It is possible that firearms outlived their usefulness as weapons of self-defense when the homicide rate fell to very low levels in modern Europe.

The rise in homicide after 1793 could be the result of the lethality and instrumentality effects of firearms exceeding the deterrent effect at low assault levels.

The firearms theory is plausible in that concealable firearms could deter individuals from making assaults, it is testable using breakpoint analysis on the time series of homicide, and it is falsifiable in the sense that the discovery of negative breakpoints before the invention of concealable firearms could be interpreted as evidence suggesting some other process was reducing homicide.

²⁸ [Firearms and the Decline of Violence in Europe: 1200-2010](#), C.E. Moody, 2015

6.5. Interpersonal violence during the last 160 years (1850-2010)

In 2008 Manuel Eisner published his major findings focussing on European homicide during the past 160 years.²⁹ The following tables and figures and italic phrases are copied from his report.

Most criminologists agree that rates of violent crime such as robbery, assault, and homicide started to increase across the Western world sometime in the late 1950s or early 1960s and continued to do so for the next three decades until the early.

6.5.1. Homicide rates and broader violence trends

*There are two main reasons why the ratio between nonlethal interpersonal violence and homicide may vary over long periods of time, namely **change in technologies of killing and in technologies of healing**.*

It is difficult to assess how technologies of killing have affected trends in homicide rates over the past 150 years. Firearms have become more precise and easier to conceal, whereas, at the same time, governments across Europe have put increasing controls on their availability.[..]

Eisner forgot to take into account that firearms are not only a technological mean to harm people, but also a factor to deter crime by potential victims.

Technologies of healing comprise the communication, transport, and medical technologies that influence the likelihood that a wounded person will die from the injuries. This includes telephones to contact emergency services, ambulances to bring a person to a hospital, and the medical expertise to operate on gunshot and stab wounds. Technologies of healing have dramatically advanced over the last two hundred years.

In most societies, for example, offender rates peak at age 20–35. Societies with a younger population may hence have elevated homicide rates simply because a larger proportion of the population is in the high-risk age bracket.

*Table 3 shows the average rates per country and decade for the period **1840–2003**, with data arranged by geographical proximity. Furthermore, the table presents two summary indicators. The first is a European average for each decade from the 1880s onwards. [..]The second indicator shows the standard deviation of the homicide rates for each decade from the 1880s to the 2000s.*

Three methodological notes should be considered when interpreting these figures.

- 1) *all data include infanticide*
- 2) *during the last years of World War II both police recorded homicides and homicides recorded in mortality statistics soared in most occupied countries*
- 3) *Finland is not included in the calculation of European averages and standard deviations as Finland experienced a “homicide wave” between about 1905 and 1935 leading up to rates averaging above 8 per 100,000). Hence Finland was treated as an “outlier”.*

²⁹ [A Historical Perspective on the Latest Increase in Interpersonal Violence \(1960–1990\)](#), Manuel Eisner, 2008

6.5.2. 1850–1960: Decline and convergence

All national series followed a declining trajectory in the second half of the nineteenth century that continued until about 1950.

Around 1880 national homicide rates varied by a factor of 1:10 between countries, ranging from a low of about 0.8 in Scotland to about 8.0 in Italy. By 1950, the range had dwindled to a ratio of 1 to 4. By around 1880 most countries in the northern and western Europe [...] already had low homicide levels. In contrast, countries in southern Europe – Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Austria – still recorded significantly more homicides. By 1950 these differences had mostly disappeared [...].

Looking at male victimization (1955–64) one can see a massive decline for all age groups, but by far the greatest decline amongst younger men. Amongst men at ages 20–29 the homicide rate was now a mere 0.4 per 100,000, which equals an astounding reduction by 94 percent over the period.

6.5.3. 1960 to 1993: The years of increase

*By around 1955 the double trend of decline and convergence comes to a halt and for about a decade homicide levels are very low across Europe before they start to rise again. From about 1960 onwards every series included in this analysis starts an upward trend that continues until the early 1990s. The **average increase during this period was in the order of 100–150 percent.***

*[T]he increase was an **increase in male victimization** rather than female victimization and particularly an increase amongst **younger people**. [...] Across Europe infanticide continued to decrease throughout the period; also, family homicides did not increase and probably were slightly decreasing; what soared dramatically, though, were killings that involved men, predominantly in public space. One may think of fights between youth gangs, armed robberies, conflicts between drug addicts ending in a knife being pulled, or simple pub brawls going wrong.*

6.5.4. 1993 to present – Back to the civilizing trend?

It is well known that in the United States the year 1992 constitutes a major turning-point as regards the frequency of homicide. In 1992, the United States experienced a peak rate of about 10 homicides per 100,000 including particularly high victimization rates among teens and young adults. Since then the United States have experienced a much-debated decline in violent crime including a drop in homicide rates by more than 40 percent and a current rate of about 5.6 per 100,000.

However, while the crime drop in the United States has received a lot of public and academic attention, few observers have noticed that a very similar change has occurred in Europe.

[I]n many European countries homicide rates also reached a peak in the late 1980s or early 1990s and the mean year of the upper turning point is precisely the same as in the United States, namely 1992.

Since 1992 homicide rates in most European countries have been falling dramatically.

- 62% in Austria: from 1.49 in 1992 to 0.55 in 2003
- 46% in Germany: from 1.18 in 1992 to 0.63 in 2003
- 60% in Italy: over 1,600 violent deaths in 1991 (homicide rate of 2.84 per 100,000) dropping to a mere 550 in 2001
- Declining trends can also be found in France, Switzerland, Portugal, and across Scandinavian countries
- **Major exceptions are UK, Ireland and the British Isles**

One can find highlighted in green in Eisner's table 3 below the countries whose homicide rate in 2000 was lower than in 1900, and countries highlighted in red had a higher homicide rate in the year 2000 as compared to the year 1950.

It is interesting that countries with the most gun restrictions are the ones where homicide rates increased until 2000: i.e. the UK and The Netherlands, whilst countries with higher gun ownership have decreasing homicide rates between 1990 and 2004: i.e. Sweden, France, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Germany and Finland.

Table 3: Average homicide rates in seventeen European countries, 1840-2004

Year	1840-49	1850-59	1860-69	1870-79	1880-89	1890-99	1900-09	1910-19	1920-29	1930-39	1940-49	1950-59	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-04
England	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.4	1.7
Scotland	2.9	2.4	2.0	1.8	1.5	1.4	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.6	1.2	1.6	1.8	2.2	2.1
Ireland	4.0	3.7	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.3	1.6	1.5	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.5
Sweden	2.1	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.3	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.0
Norway	--	--	--	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.7	1.2	1.0	0.9
Denmark	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.8	0.5	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.1
Belgium	--	--	--	1.8	1.7	1.7	2.0	2.5	2.2	1.6	1.6	0.7	0.7	1.1	1.6	1.7	--
Netherlands	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	1.3	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.2
France	2.2	2.2	1.7	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.1	1.3	0.9	1.0	0.8	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.0	0.8
Germany	2.8	2.3	1.7	1.9	1.5	1.5	1.9	2.4	2.1	1.6	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.0	0.7
Austria	--	--	2.4	2.6	2.2	--	--	--	1.8	2.0	1.6	1.2	1.0	1.4	1.4	1.2	0.8
Italy	--	--	--	6.8	6.2	5.1	3.9	3.3	4.3	1.8	2.0	1.7	1.0	1.2	1.8	1.8	1.2
Switzerland	--	--	--	3.7	3.0	2.8	2.6	1.9	1.5	1.5	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.8	1.2	1.4	1.1
Spain	--	--	--	--	9.1	6.8	8.2	5.3	--	--	1.4	0.5	0.2	0.6	1.0	0.9	1.0
Portugal	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	1.0	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.0
Finland	3.2	2.9	3.4	3.3	3.7	3.0	4.8	12.3	9.5	7.0	4.0	2.6	2.2	2.9	2.9	3.1	2.5
Hungary	--	--	--	--	7.6	--	--	--	3.1	4.9	--	--	--	--	2.6	3.5	2.3
Mean ¹	--	--	--	2.51	2.31	2.09	1.81	1.56	1.47	1.06	0.99	0.79	0.77	1.02	1.33	1.43	1.29
Std. dev.	--	--	--	1.78	1.58	1.27	1.00	0.88	1.16	0.46	0.50	0.40	0.25	0.27	0.34	0.40	0.45

1. Unweighted mean of England&Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, France, Italy, Switzerland.

*The years between 1990 and 1993 were a watershed as regards homicide rates across the Western world. They started declining in the United States, but they did the same across much of Europe with the notable exception of the United Kingdom and Ireland. Similarly, homicides rates have been declining since the late 1980s in **Australia** (from a peak of 2.3 in 1989 to 1.3 in 2005) and in **Canada** (from 2.6 in 1992 to 1.8 in 2004). The extent of decline differed and it is relevant to ask why these differences exist. But this does not detract from the main argument developed throughout this paper, namely that the primary unit of analysis for the kind of questions addressed in this paper must be the Western world.*

6.5.5. Explanation for the recent drop in homicide

The similarity of trends across the Western world, for example, makes discussions of how the merits or faults of American criminal policy caused the drop in violence look rather parochial.

Finally, the recent drop in homicide does not line up well with economic success or failure. Homicide rates continued to increase over the last fifteen years in England, Scotland and Ireland, where unemployment dropped significantly, while homicide went down in France and Germany where unemployment levels remained high.

*Wherever the decline occurred, **my guess is that it was primarily a decline in male-to-male homicides between strangers or acquaintances. And my favourite candidate for explaining the downturn would again be culture, the only phenomenon that travels fast enough to affect such vast areas roughly simultaneously.***

*More specifically, I would look out for a manifest shift in culturally embedded images of conducting life, for example, in changed ideas of how to bring up children well. Such change is visible, for example, in the resurgence of good parenting as a major domain of prevention research and policy, in a partial shift of parenting values towards re-emphasizing self-control and respect, it can be traced in changed attitudes towards drugs, which have lost their revolutionary aura, and it is manifest in a **greater emphasis on discipline, respect, and responsibility** as guiding principles in primary and secondary education.*

[T]he data presented in this paper suggests that some previous explanatory approaches may have significantly overestimated the importance of national-level endogenous forces such as national welfare and criminal justice policies or the national specificities of demographic change and migration patterns.

*[T]his paper hypothesizes that most of the long-term variation in overall homicide rates is due to **male-on-male conflicts in public space**. If confirmed by more data, this would suggest that a theoretical explanation of the increasing levels of criminal violence would need to focus on **how Western societies regulated the interaction between young men in public space**.*

7. Firearms and Homicide in Europe

7.1. Scandinavian Homicide ISEC-Study

I introduced this study in chapter 3.1. The scientists researched more than 1500 homicides in Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands. The following tables and figures and italic phrases are copies of this study.³⁰

7.1.1. Private gun ownership

All three countries have strict firearm legislation, and in all of them ownership of firearms is subject to licence. In spite of this, partly for historical reasons, firearm ownership prevalence differs substantially between the countries. The Finnish gun ownership rate is one of the highest in Europe, and the Dutch rate is one of the lowest. In Sweden, the ownership rate is higher than the European average, but considerably lower than in Finland (see table 1).³¹

Table 1. Some socio-demographic indices of the Dutch, Finnish and Swedish populations in 2010.
Source: Eurostat 2010.

Socio-demographic variable	The Netherlands	Sweden	Finland
Population (2010; million)	16.575	9.340	5.351
Women (percent)	50.5	50.3	51.0
0-14-year-olds (percent)	17.7	16.7	16.7
15-24-year-olds (percent)	12.2	13.2	12.4
25-64-year-olds (percent)	55.1	52.3	54.1
65+ years of age (percent)	15.0	17.7	16.8
Life expectancy at birth, women (years)	82.9	83.5	83.5
Life expectancy at birth, men (years)	78.7	79.4	76.6
Alcohol consumption (litres of pure alcohol per capita in adult population) *	9.6	6.9	10.7
Firearm prevalence (percentage of households owning a firearm/ handgun) **	5	19	38
Handgun prevalence (percent)**	1	2	6

* (2007; OECD Health Data 2010); ** (van Dijk et al. 2007)

Most of the guns owned by private persons in Finland and Sweden are shotguns or rifles used in hunting. The Finnish handgun ownership rate (6 per cent), although the second highest among the European Union member countries, is very low if compared, for example, with that in the United States. In the Netherlands and Sweden handgun ownership is even rarer (van Dijk et al. 2007).

There seems not to be any clear correlation between firearm ownership (at least legal firearm ownership) prevalence and homicide rates in Europe (Granath 2011; Kivivuori & Lehti 2010).

*According to the International Crime Victim Surveys, for example, in Finland, in spite of the high ownership prevalence and relatively high violent crime rates, **the use of guns in robberies, sexual offences, or assault crimes is almost non-existent** (van Dijk & van Kesteren & Smit 2007, 284).*

³⁰ [Homicide in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden, EHM, 2011](#)

7.1.2. Choice of weapon

The modus operandi of homicides differed clearly between the two Nordic countries and the Netherlands (see table 9). In the Nordic countries, sharp instruments (usually kitchen knives) were the most commonly used weapons while in the Netherlands firearms were the most common.

Table 9. Weapon use in homicides in Finland, the Netherlands, and Sweden in 2003–2006 (by victim).

Weapon	The Netherlands		Sweden		Finland	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hitting/ kicking*	76	10	40	12	85	18
Strangulation	63	9	31	9	45	9
Sharp instrument**	250	34	154	45	202	42
Blunt object	47	6	34	10	41	8
Firearm	256	35	56	17	77	16
Explosive	-	-	1	0.3	-	-
Poison	9	1	3	1	10	2
Drowning	7	1	5	1	4	1
Fire	10	1	8	2	10	2
Motor vehicle	7	1	3	1	2	0.4
Other	-	-	4	1	9	2
All valid cases	725	100	339	100	485	100
Unknown	95	13	16	5	6	1
All cases	820		355		491	

* Including pushing.

** Including axe.

This is interesting, considering that the Nordic countries in general, and in Finland in particular, have a much higher prevalence of firearm ownership than the Netherlands. The annual rate of firearm homicide deaths was the highest in the Netherlands (3.9 per million inhabitants) although the Finnish rate (3.7) was only slightly lower. The rate in Sweden (1.5) was by far the lowest.³²

In the EHM, data on the legality of the firearms used in homicides were available for Finland and Sweden. In both countries, the majority of weapons used in homicides were illegal; in Sweden 74 per cent and in Finland 64 per cent.

The Finnish data also provided information about the types of firearm used in homicides; 44 per cent were handguns, 47 per cent shotguns or hunting rifles and 8 per cent sawn-off shotguns.

The gender and age of the perpetrator was related to weapon use. *In all three countries, a sharp instrument was the most common weapon for both genders. In relative terms, women were more likely to use poison or suffocation as their method of killing, and less likely to use firearms or mere physical violence. In absolute terms, poisoning was the only method used where women surpassed the number of homicides committed by men – and only in Finland and Sweden. In the Netherlands, more men than*

³¹ [Homicide in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden, EHM, 2011](#)

women committed homicides through poisoning, although proportionally, poisoning was more commonly used by female perpetrators.

In table 10, we can also see that the main country level differences concerned both genders. *In the Netherlands, firearm homicides were much more common among both men and women than in the Nordic countries, while Nordic men and women more often committed their homicides using sharp instruments, compared with Dutch men or women.*³³

Table 10. Weapon use by the gender of the principal perpetrator in Finland, the Netherlands, and Sweden in 2003–2006 (by principal perpetrator; percent).

Weapon	The Netherlands		Sweden		Finland	
	Men (%)	Women (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
Firearm	31	16	17	0	17	4
Sharp instrument*	39	36	49	48	42	51
Blunt object	6	7	10	12	9	4
Poison	1	7	0,4	3	1	8
Strangulation	9	13	7	21	9	10
Hitting/ kicking**	12	9	12	3	19	8
Other	2	13	5	12	4	16
All valid cases	100	100	100	100	100	100
Unknown (N)	33	8	3	0	2	1
All cases (N)	566	53	274	33	413	52

* Including axe.

** Including pushing.

The figures in table 10 exclude homicides where the gender of the principal perpetrator was unknown. These excluded homicides do not affect the results for Finland (2 per cent) or Sweden (8 per cent), where the number of unknown cases was relatively small, but they do have some impact on the Dutch data. This is because of their higher percentage (19 per cent) and because the weapons used in homicides with an unknown perpetrator differed from those in homicides with a known perpetrator – 53 per cent of the missing data cases were firearm homicides and 17 per cent were committed using a sharp instrument.

These firearm homicides comprised 22 per cent of all firearm homicides in the Netherlands in 2003–2006. It is likely that most of them were committed by men.

Thus, the figures in table 10 probably do not give a correct picture of the weapons used by Dutch men – it is likely that firearms were their main method of killing during the period.

The large number of missing cases made it difficult to compare age category-related differences in killing methods between the Netherlands and the other two countries.

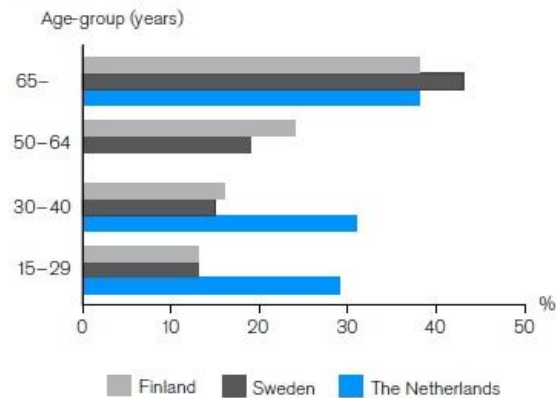
³² [Homicide in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden, EHM, 2011](#)

³³ [Homicide in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden, EHM, 2011](#)

It seems, however, that the difference in the number of firearm homicides (in both relative and absolute terms) between the Netherlands and the two Nordic countries was caused mainly by young and middle-aged male perpetrators (see figure 14).

In the Nordic homicides, firearms were clearly a weapon utilized by older men while differences between age categories and weapon choice in the Netherlands were much smaller.

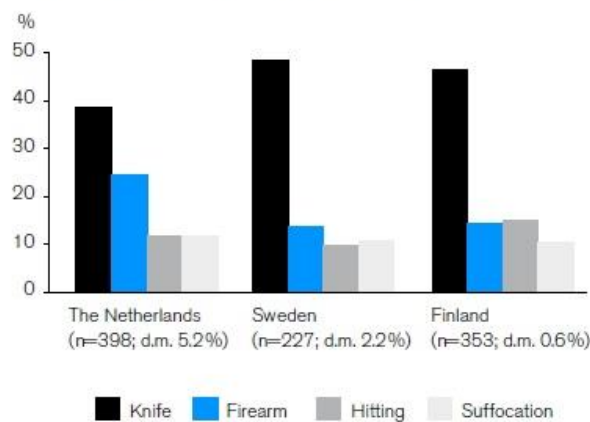
Figure 14. The percentage of firearm homicides committed by men, by age category, in Finland, the Netherlands, and Sweden in 2003–2006 (by principal victim).



Weapon use varied by crime location. In private homes sharp instruments were the most commonly used weapon in all three countries, making up the modus operandi in 39 per cent of homicides in the Netherlands, 47 per cent in Finland and 49 per cent in Sweden.³⁴

However, firearm homicides in private homes made up a substantially larger share in the Netherlands (24 per cent) than in Finland or Sweden (14 per cent each). The percentage of crimes committed using no instruments except the perpetrators own body (i.e. primarily using hands, arms and legs to hit, kick, push or suffocate) in private homes was more or less the same (20–25 per cent) in all three countries.

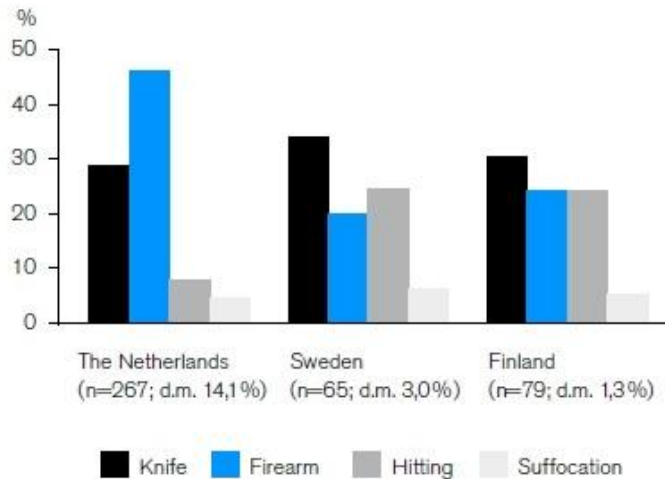
Figure 15. Weapon use in homicides in private homes in Finland, the Netherlands, and Sweden in 2003–2006 (by victim; cases with missing data excluded; d.m. = data missing: percentage of missing cases).



³⁴ [Homicide in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden, EHM, 2011](#)

Street violence-related homicides displayed greater differences in terms of methods used in. The clearest difference concerned firearm usage. **In the Netherlands, 46 per cent of street violence homicides were committed with a firearm**, while the proportion was much smaller in Finland and Sweden (24 and 20 per cent, respectively).³⁵

Figure 16. Weapon use in street violence-related homicides in Finland, the Netherlands, and Sweden in 2003–2006 (by victim; cases with missing data excluded; d.m. = data missing: percentage of missing cases).



In both Nordic countries the percentage of homicides committed using no instruments except the perpetrators own body was substantially larger (about 30 per cent) than in the Netherlands (12 per cent). The share of homicides perpetrated using sharp instruments was more or less the same in all three countries (29 per cent to 34 per cent), and clearly smaller than in crimes committed in private homes.

There seems to be a high correlation between firearms misuse, criminal offences and illicit gun ownership in the Netherlands.

One may suggest that criminals do not obey gun laws and no legislation will prevent these homicide.

I recommend to read the full study and criminologist may even ask for the database for further studies on the subject "gun crime". As I am not funded by the EU or other organisations and work therefore only during my free time I are not able to present computing age-standardized victimization rates. I can also not differ between licit or illicit gun ownership as these information is seldom shared in public.

The European Commission should research misuse of firearms, their legal status and the motives of the offenders before it opens the Firearms Directive.

One possibility could be to research all 4.600 deadly attacks of the year 2012 with the EHM.

³⁵ [Homicide in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden, EHM, 2011](#)

7.2. Firearms and Homicide in Switzerland

Martin Killias and Nora Markwalder compared homicides in Switzerland, the Netherlands and Finland. The following tables and figures and italic phrases are copies of this study. Comments by me in roman letters.³⁶

Among the cases recorded in the Swiss database, illegal guns were used in 30% of domestic homicides and in 86% of robbery homicides. Thus, guns used in street crime were almost always kept illegally.

The findings by Killias and Haas (2002) that 53% of the seriously violent gun owners had experienced police and court contacts during the preceding 12 months before the interview, when compared with only 8% among all other respondents, illustrates the feasibility of more careful screening of gun owners' backgrounds.

During 20 years (1995-2005) the Swiss national database listed reasons for 1276 out of 1464 homicide cases.

In 23 cases, the offender successfully claimed to have acted (killed the victim) in self-defence or duress. These 23 cases represent 1.6% of all homicide offenders whose "reasons" for killing have been recorded. In 15 of these cases, a firearm was used. In 8 cases, the homicide was committed with a knife. In 9 out of the 15 cases of legitimate firearm use, a police gun was used by a police officer on duty. In the remaining six cases, three were legally owned by the person who claimed having acted in self-defence – these were the only cases of legitimate gun use by a private citizen.

In other words, and considering that the database includes cases from over 20 years, it can fairly be said that guns kept in Swiss households were virtually never legitimately used to kill an assailant.

Killias, who is a known gun control advocate, mentions that in the Swiss crime victimization surveys of 1998 and 2000 only very few gun owners reported that they have used their guns for self defense. He also disparages the "reason" of justified killings and the "need" of ownership for self defense when he writes both words in quotation marks.

In this connection, it must be kept in mind that many of these instances likely concerned cases of illegitimate use of or threat with a firearm, as violent offenders regularly claim and self-report surveys confirm that they "need" (and occasionally use) their weapons in self-defence.

In other words, legitimate self-defence with a firearm is extremely rare in Switzerland and presumably in continental Europe in general. The main reason may be that burglars almost never enter private premises without having ascertained that the occupants are not at home.

³⁶ [Firearms and Homicide in Europe, Martin Killias et al, University of Zurich, 2012](#)

Given the far lower rates of (lethal and non-lethal) violence in Europe, it is plausible that self-defence situations are not as widespread in the general population as in America. In line with this state of affairs, a large majority of gun owners regularly respond, during crime victimization surveys, keeping one or several guns in their homes for reasons unrelated to self-protection, such as hunting, military duty, target shooting or other recreational activities.

If one would follow Killias arguments the low homicide rate in Switzerland is a counter argument for gun ownership. One could also conclude that some of legal gun owners are violent offenders who only pretend the "need" of self defence for gun ownership whilst the large majority of hunters, target shooter and military reservists never think about self defence as a "need" for ownership.

Switzerland has a "dream murder rate" of less than 0,8 homicides for 100.000 population, during the last three years even less than 0,6. Switzerland has also one of the highest rates of firearm related deaths in Europe and has the highest rate in gun ownership.

I assume that the high rate of gun ownership deters crime. Whilst in Switzerland only few burglars enter homes when the occupants are at home, the "hot burglaries" - with occupants at home - are increasing in England & Wales and Germany. Some very violent criminals even prefer "hot burglaries". They combine it with physical torture to discover hiding places. Both countries do not accept the need of self defence for gun ownership. Both countries often sentence defendants to imprisonment.

In my report "Gun Ownership in Europe"³⁷ I listed the pitfalls and limitations in self-reporting surveys. Registered gun owners are under governmental control. Governments often disparage self defence. Police in Europe, who controls the licences, the politicians, who make the laws, highlights the risk of gun ownership, but seldom praise any benefits.

Therefore most legitimate gun owners who cannot legally obtain firearms for the purpose of self defence will seldom admit considering using their firearm for this purpose. If a is deterred by calling to a criminal "*stay away, I have a gun*" it is unlikely a registered gun owner would report this to the police or a survey.

Conclusion

The high rate of legally gun ownership may deter crime in Switzerland. The low rate of firearms-related death which includes justified defence proves that law-abiding citizens do not become violent simply as a result of gun ownership.

There even seems to be no reason for registering all firearms as most of the legally held firearms in Switzerland have been bought and nowadays held without registers.

³⁷ Triebel, Katja (2015) "[Gun Ownership in Europe](#)," Report: Firearms in Europe

7.3. Gun control in England & Wales

7.3.1. History of England's gun control

In the Middle Ages England had a militia - at least since 690 a.D.³⁸ Apparently the carrying of arms was widespread at the time. The first documented restrictions on gun ownership come from a royal decree in 1279 to prevent misuse of weapons. The carrying of weapons for personal defence was permissible but owners should not scare people or threaten them.³⁹

In the period before the "*Glorious Revolution*" the kings of the house Stuarts tried to disarm their political rivals and the people's militia. With parliamentary decrees kings took the following measures: registration of weapons possession and ownership's change, restrictions on the weapons for the people's militia (1662 Act Militia), prohibition of hunting and possession of all hunting weapons for the middle and lower nobility and all citizens (1671 Game Act), house searches with confiscation without adoption. "*There are signs that the disarming of the people for good was an integral part of the Crown's measures for destroying Whig (anti-royalist) powers of resistance.*" James II. King of England's reign ended as a result of his pro-Catholic and absolutist policy against the Whigs with the "*Glorious Revolution*" in 1689.⁴⁰

The "*Glorious Revolution*" was important for the development of worldwide parliamentarism as it led to the adoption of the first "*Bill of Rights*". These *Bill of Rights* strengthened the rights of Parliament against the monarch, however they contained only two civil rights: petitions and gun ownership: „*By causing several good subjects being Protestants to be disarmed at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law.*“⁴¹The right to bear arms in the *Bill of Rights* was created under pressure by the Whigs. Their experience under the Stuarts had shown how vulnerable English freedom was when citizens were disarmed.

During the next two centuries, there were virtually no restrictions on possession or carrying of weapons, except for hunting. In the 20th century increasingly severe conditions for the lawful possession of firearms were introduced by legislative changes in 1920, 1953, 1968, 1988 and 1997.⁴² The basic need of self defence was no longer be accepted outside Northern Ireland. After the mass killing in Hungerford most semi-automatic long guns (rifles and shotguns) were banned in 1988. After the mass killing in Dunblane most semi-automatic short guns (handguns as pistols and revolvers) were banned in 1997. Each firearm is registered either on the Firearms Certificate (FAC) or Shotgun Certificate. FAC will only be granted if there is a good cause. (Hunting, sport shooting). The police can determine how many and what types may be possessed as well as where and how the firearms may be used. For shotguns no good cause is needed.⁴³

³⁸ David T. Hardy, Originally published as 9 Harv. J. L. & Pub. Pol'y 559-638: [Armed Citizens, Citizen Armies: Toward a Jurisprudence of the Second Amendment](#). 1986

³⁹ Joseph E. Olson und David B. Kopel, Hamline Law Review. Originally published as 22 Hamline L. Rev. 399-465: [All the Way Down the Slippery Slope: Gun Prohibition in England and Some Lessons for Civil Liberties in America](#), 1999.

⁴⁰ *ibid*

⁴¹ [English Bill of Rights of 1689](#), Yale Law School

⁴² [Firearms \(Amendment\) Act 1997](#), The National Archives

⁴³ [Firearms Licensing](#), Metropolitan Police

7.3.2. England's gun crime

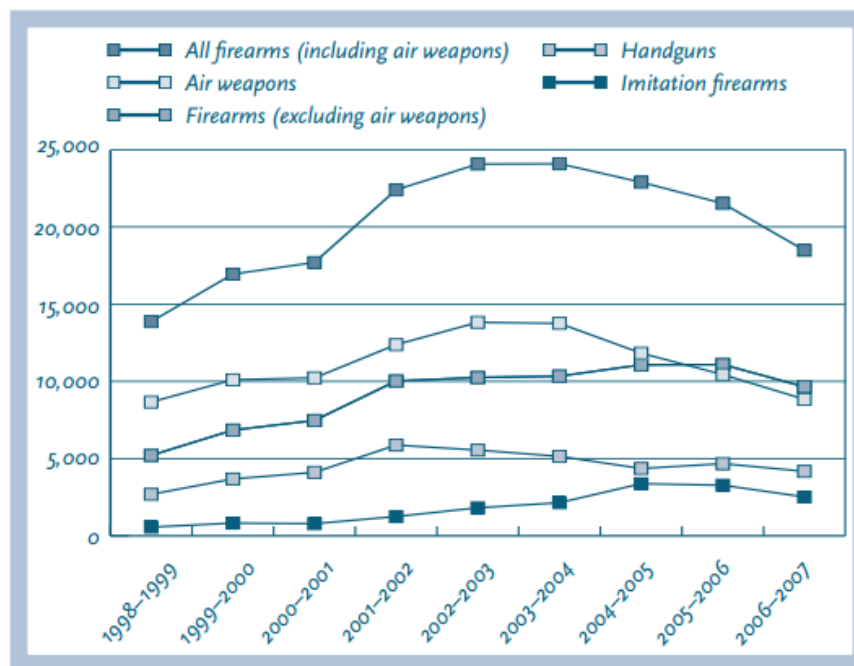
Peter Squires is Professor of Criminology and Public Policy at Brighton University and gun control advocate.⁴⁴ In 2008 he published the review on 'Gun crime'. All tables and figures and italic phrases in this chapter are copies of this report. Comments by me in roman letters.⁴⁵

Firearms, including air weapons, were reported to have been used in 18,489 police recorded crimes in England and Wales in 2006–2007, which amounted to 0.3 per cent or nearly one in every 300.

*In conclusion, two general observations can be made about the statistics presented in this section. On the one hand, there is no question that there have been some significant changes in the quantity and type of firearm-enabled crimes recorded in England and Wales over the past eight years. **Over the period considered as a whole, the total number of firearm offences has increased by a third, the number of firearm offences (excluding air weapons) causing serious or fatal injury has more than doubled and there has been a marked increase in the use of imitation weapons.***

Figure 1: Crime recorded by the police in England and Wales in which firearms were reported to have been used by principal weapon, 1998–1999 to 2006–2007

Source: Kaiza, 2008: 48



The biggest proportionate increases in types of firearms recorded as being misused between 1998–1999 and 2006–2007 (see Figure 1) have been:

Imitation firearms (up 345 per cent from 566 to 2,517)

Unidentified firearms (up 92 per cent from 665 to 1,277)

Handguns (up 55 per cent from 2,687 to 4,175).

⁴⁴ Gun control could have prevented Cumbria shootings, [Peter Squires 2010, The Guardian](#)

⁴⁵ ['Gun crime' - A review of evidence and policy](#), 2008, Peter Squires et al

Definition of gun crime

Firearms are taken to be involved in a crime if they are fired, used as a blunt instrument against a person, or used as a threat. (Kaiza 2008, 35). Although even here [...] are different definitions of what counts as 'use' of a firearm, depending on whether the firearm in question was an air weapon or not.

Misuse of air weapons: when they are fired and damage or injury results

Misuse of handguns: when they are brandished to intimidate a victim and when they are discharged.

Simple illegal firearm possession is not collated in a compilation of gun-enabled crime.

Crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales in which firearms (including air weapons) were reported to have been used, by offence group, 1998–1999 to 2006–2007

Source: Kaiza, 2008: Table 2.01

Type of offence	1998/99 Number	1998/99 %	2002/03 Number*	2002/03 %*	2006/07 Number	2006/07 %
Homicide	49	0,4	81	0,3	59	0,3
Attempted murder (and other acts endangering life)	724	5,2	1.285	5,3	759**	4,1
Other violence against person	2.910	21	5.767	24	5.159**	27,9
Robbery	2.973	21,4	4.776	19,8	3.979	21,5
Burglary	319	2,3	494	2,1	206	1,1
Other (excluding criminal damage)	433	3,1	711	3	636	3,4
Criminal damage	6.446	46,6	10.956	45,5	7.691	41,5
Total	13.874	100	24.070	100	18.489	100

* The National Crime Recording Standard was introduced on 1 April 2002. Figures for some categories may have been inflated by this

** N.B. from 2005–2006 'threat or conspiracy to murder' offences were moved from the 'attempted murder' to the 'other violence against the person' category, lowering slightly the numbers of offences in the former category and increasing those in the latter.

The next chapters about 'gun crime and illegal drugs', 'gangs and guns', 'gun culture' and strategies for 'tackling gun crime' led Squires to the following conclusions.

Squires conclusions

This report has sought to identify key lessons from the evidence relating to the use of firearms in crime.

Gun crime offenders and their victims are likely to be male, to be black and mainly come from economically deprived communities.

There are significant relationships between gun crime and illegal drugs markets

There are substantial gaps in knowledge of the facets and causes of 'gun crime' and its regulation.

Most of the problems associated with the illegal use of firearms require social and economic rather than criminal justice solutions.

There is no compelling evidence to suggest that the emphasis on punitive and mandatory sentencing is likely to prove a durable or effective way of dealing with firearm-related offending. In fact, some evidence seems to point quite the other way.

The most striking feature of the government's approach to addressing 'gun crime' is that ministers, including prime ministers, tend to respond to highly publicised murders by reassuring the public about the toughness of their intentions, rather than taking the opportunity to highlight the complexity of the issues at stake or even acknowledging that we do not, by any means, have all the answers when it comes to addressing firearm-related offending.

It might reasonably be stated, however, that we should not assess government policy on gun crime on the basis of the febrile aftermath of distressing events.

Furthermore, it is certainly true that the approach articulated in the recently published Violent Crime Action Plan (Home Office, 2008) is rather more multi-faceted than one might predict on the basis of ministerial statements alone. Nevertheless, even that document, which at the time of writing represents the most comprehensive current statement of the government's thinking in this area, is arguably as problematic as the more hard-line ministerial statements cited in Chapter 6.

*There are two main reasons for suggesting this. The first is that **nowhere in the catalogue of actions is there any mention of further research to enhance understanding of either the problems themselves or the effectiveness of possible measures to address them.** Despite the abundant evidence of the extensive gaps in the existing evidence base, it would appear that the government is content to commit substantial public resources to tackling this highly sensitive and distressing form of offending by means of a largely enforcement-led strategy on the basis of an at best partial understanding of the issues.*

*The second problem with the approach set out in the action plan is that nowhere within the plethora of social programmes and **proposals listed within the category of 'prevention' is there any recognition of the need to tackle income inequality and poverty.** While it is certainly true that programmes such as Neighbourhood Renewal and Connections are designed to address some of the consequences or symptoms of inequality, this is a very different thing to actually addressing inequality itself.*

I support above conclusions in regards to gaps in knowledge and tackling gun crime by concentrating on the likely "offenders" in deprived communities. However, I do not support Squires personal interpretation of gun crime and gun culture in his interviews and columns.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ [The curious case of public subsidy for Britain's gun culture elite](#), Peter Squires, May 2014

On the one hand, Squires rejects increasing the police's stop and search or five-year mandatory sentences for over-18s carrying guns as these strategies would only tackle "*black youths, which makes them even more hostile to the police.*" On the other hand he wants to lay the financial burden of gun ownership (firearms licensing costs) totally to the owners, criticize that too few licenses are revoked by the police, blames legal owners (who can practise on shooting ranges) for damaging road signs with bullets, blames collectors and dealers for illicit trafficking disguised as theft and discriminates hunters for "*casual cruelty' and killing for fun.*"⁴⁷

Whilst Squires understands that criminal youths need guns for self defence, he denies the same right from law-abiding citizens even at home, when he lobbies for more control, more revoking of licenses and prohibition of the storage of ammunition at home: "*[I]f gun owners are to keep their weapons at home, as they want to, then they should not be allowed to keep ammunition at home as well.*"⁴⁸ Keeping this in mind it is very interesting that he hates hypocrites and bullies.

7.3.3. Civilian firearm injury and death (1998 - 2007)

*In 2012 with the support of the National Institute of Health Research (NIHR) Matt Davies et al (including Squires) investigated misuse of firearms which resulted in injury or death in the period from 1998 to 2007.*⁴⁹

Results

Of 91 232 cases in the TARN database, 487 (0.53%) were due to firearm injury. There were 435 men and 52 women of median age 30 years. The median New Injury Severity Score in men was 18 with a mortality of 7.4%, compared with 15.5 and 3.8% for women. The highest rate of firearm injuries as a proportion of all injuries was submitted from London (1.4%), with the South East (0.23%) submitting the lowest rate. 90.5% resided in urban areas, 78% presented outside 'normal' hours and 90% were alleged assaults. As a proportion of all injuries submitted, a small upward trend in the prevalence of deaths due to firearms was demonstrated over the study period. An increase in homicides since 2000 was also noted with an increasingly younger population being involved. In contrast, data from the Office of National Statistics showed that the greatest number of deaths were self-inflicted rather than homicides (984 vs 527), with Wales having the highest number of such deaths and predominantly involving older men.

Conclusions

Deaths and serious injuries caused by firearms remain rare in the civilian population of England and Wales, although an upward trend can be described. Victims of assault and homicide are predominantly young men living in urban areas and the population involved is getting younger. However, of all deaths, self-inflicted wounds are nearly twice as common as assaults, affecting predominantly older men living in more rural areas.

Squires et al's reviews on gun crime have two important flaws. They did not include gun crime statistics of the years before the handgun ban of 1997 and do not differentiate between legal and illegal ownership.

⁴⁷ [Peter Squires: Straight shooter](#), The Guardian, 2007

⁴⁸ Gun control could have prevented Cumbria shootings, [Peter Squires 2010, The Guardian](#)

⁴⁹ [Civilian firearm injury and death in England and Wales](#) Emergency Medicine Journal, Volume 29, Issue 1 vom 27. Juni 2012

7.3.4. Gun crime

Fortunately the Parliament of UK published more informative statistics.⁵⁰

7 Appended tables

Table 1: Notifiable offences recorded by the police in which firearms were reported to have been used, by offence group, England & Wales

	All offences	Violence against the person			Robbery	Burglary	Criminal damage	Other offences ²
		Homicide	Attempted murder and other most serious offences ¹	Other				
1990	10,373	60	663	1,855	3,939	154	3,544	158
1991	12,129	55	861	1,795	5,296	176	3,777	169
1992	13,341	56	868	1,895	5,859	182	4,318	163
1993	14,067	74	1,058	1,743	6,012	237	4,685	258
1994	13,167	66	1,074	1,790	4,239	259	5,450	289
1995	13,434	70	894	1,779	4,206	279	5,857	349
1996	13,876	49	810	2,027	4,013	300	6,123	554
1997	12,410	59	628	2,148	3,029	316	5,906	324
1997/98	12,805	54	696	2,250	2,938	333	6,197	337
1998/99	13,874	49	724	2,910	2,973	319	6,466	433
1999/00	16,946	62	759	3,881	3,922	329	7,465	528
2000/01	17,698	73	831	3,869	4,128	390	7,923	484
2001/02	22,401	97	1,110	4,637	5,486	483	9,977	611
2002/03 ³	24,070	81	1,285	5,767	4,776	494	10,956	711
2003/04	24,094	68	1,350	6,434	4,117	533	10,948	644
2004/05	22,894	77	1,384	6,485	3,744	341	10,038	825
2005/06	21,527	50	893	6,359	4,121	298	8,979	827
2006/07	18,481	59	759	5,154	3,977	206	7,691	635
2007/08	17,343	53	869	5,163	4,014	172	6,506	566
2008/09	14,241	41	774	3,994	3,615	167	5,158	492
2009/10	12,976	41	854	3,678	3,637	205	4,085	476
2010/11	11,227	60	757	3,317	2,965	151	3,287	690

Note:

1. The offence classification 'more serious wounding or other act endangering life' was replaced with three new offence classifications in April 2008, including the 'inflicting GBH with intent' offences that are included in this table.

Blue line marks handgun ban in 1997, in every column the highest number is marked.

- In England and Wales violence against the person (37%) and robbery offences (26%) accounted for almost two-thirds of all firearm offences recorded by the police in 2010/11. Criminal damage offences represented 29% of all firearm offences recorded.
- Due to the different legal system in Scotland it is not possible to provide directly comparable data. 'Reckless conduct with firearms' accounted for 21% of alleged firearm offences in 2010/11, minor assault for 17% and robbery for 14%.
- **9.3% of all homicides committed during 2010/11 in England and Wales involved the use of a firearm**, the highest proportion since 2001/02. By contrast 2.2% of Scottish homicides involved the use of a firearm.
- **In England and Wales handguns were the most commonly used firearm, with the weapon accounting for 44% of non-air weapon firearm offences recorded.** Imitation weapons were used in 23%, shotguns in 9% and rifles in 1% of such offences.

⁵⁰ [Firearm crime statistics SN/SG/1940](#), Parliament of UK, 2012

7.4. Gun control in Germany

I have researched German and international gun laws for more than six years and have found a lot of similarities between the rapidly and poorly-made German legislation and the current European Commission draft for amending the Firearms Directive. This summary of German gun-control legislative history examines the details of this legislative process, especially for the first reform of 1998-2003..

7.4.1. History of Germany's gun control

In the middle ages brotherhoods were working on behalf of the princes, cities and towns as armed citizen militias. Their tasks were taken over by paid mercenaries during the 17th century, according to the motto, "*... that only the representatives of the state power could legally bear arms*".⁵¹

During the March Revolution of 1848, the arming of the people was deemed necessary. This "Volkswehr" (citizen militia) was similar to the ideas of the French Revolution and was based on the understanding that the people were sovereign. Article 26 of the draft for the Prussian Bill of Rights of July 1848 said: "*Every Prussian is entitled after the age of the twentieth year, to bear arms. The exceptional cases determined by law.*" Monarchs and the military fought successfully against this idea. Only for a very short time, after the First World War, the people's militia appeared in the context of the November revolution of 1918/19. The Treaty of Versailles demanded in 1920 complete civilian disarmament. This could not be enforced as guns were not registered.

In 1928 the general prohibition of the acquisition of firearms had been lifted and a firearms register had been implemented. For the first time certificates were needed for the acquisition of firearms and licenses became mandatory for carrying in public. It was also the first time that the terms "*reliability*" (for gun ownership) and "*good cause*" (for carrying permits) were used. From 1933 the Nazis misused the registers to disarm Jews, gypsies, homosexuals and others social groups which has been designated as "*enemies of the state*".⁵²

1946 - after the Second World War - the Allies banned every person and every authority from owning weapons.⁵³ In 1950 long guns for target shooting were no longer prohibited, unless their magazines could hold more than 5 rounds. Police and border guards were allowed to possess pistols and revolvers (handguns), but full automatic weapons remained forbidden for public servants.

In 1956 civilians were again allowed to possess firearms for private use.⁵⁴ The private gun ownership was regulated federally, which led to blunders. Whilst in Hamburg the purchase of blank firing weapons was subject not only to an acquisition certificate, but also needed the proof of a "*good cause*", hunters in Bavaria and Hesse were able to buy as many handguns as they wanted. Some manufacturers and mail order companies took advantage of these different schemes.⁵⁵

In 1970 the proposal for an uniform federal weapons law was drafted under the chair of Hamburg's senator Schiller. Schiller's aim was to "*possibly deny all citizens in all regions to arm themselves.*"

⁵¹ [Reinhard Scholzen: Mehr Sicherheit per Gesetz](#). Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Oktober 2003

⁵² Zweite RWaffG-Durchführungsverordnung, 11. November 1938 (RGBl. I S. 1573)

⁵³ [Kontrollratsbefehl Nr. 2 Einziehung und Ablieferung von Waffen und Munition](#) vom 7. Januar 1946

⁵⁴ [Psychologische Grundlagen der waffenrechtlichen Begutachtung](#), Armin S. Dobat, Universität Bremen, 2007

⁵⁵ [Der Spiegel 22/1969](#), Archive of German newspaper, 1969

He thought, "*the mere possession of arms could be a danger to society - even without ulterior motives - and the planned rigorous regulations were therefore justified.*"⁵⁶

Although offences with single-firing firearms and semi-automatic rifles, which were mainly used by hunters and marksmen, were not known, and the Federal Bureau of Crime (Bundeskriminalamt) had no statistics on firearms-related crime and the Ministry of Economics further doubted that violent crime could be prevented by a rigorous regimentation, the "*acquisition certificate*" for all firearms was introduced. The hunters and marksmen associations "sold" the people's right to keep arms to acquire privileges for their members. The rights of collectors and dealers (as minorities) and of ordinary citizens (without lobby) were not considered at all.⁵⁷

A consultation took place under the influence of a police killing in Oberhausen which is not remembered anymore.⁵⁸ **It turned out that the administrative authorities and the citizens were adversely affected by the law. Therefore a new amendment was adopted with less restrictions:**⁵⁹

- Abolition of the five-year time limit on gun ownership permits. (Only 300.000 weapons had been registered after 1972 due to the limit, more than 3 million after 1976 without the limit);
- Facilitating demands for sport shooters and collectors;
- Exemption of gun licences for ancient weapons ;
- Abolition of separate acquisition certificates for ammunition for registered gun owners;
- Facilitating demands of proof of "good cause" for marksmen;
- Elimination of a special import permit in addition to the acquisition certificate;
- Opening of a new registration period for former legal gun owners who did not register their guns under the very strict gun law of 1972.

In 1981 a third amendment bill was prepared. This happened also in 1984, 1987 and 1997. None of them were implemented.

In 2003, the socialist-green government repealed the law which had banned semiautomatic firearms which "looked like" war weapons. Such firearms had been banned from 1973 to 2003 by §37 of the Federal Arms Act. This section was repealed in 2003 because all Ministers of the Interior agreed that differentiations by outward appearance do not have any impact on security. In fact, everybody called these "Anscheinswaffen", which means "Illusion Firearms".⁶⁰

⁵⁶ [Der Spiegel 47/1971](#), archive of German newspaper, 1971

⁵⁷ [Zeit-Online April 1972](#), archive of German newspaper, 1972

⁵⁸ [Der Spiegel 8/1974](#), , archive of German newspaper, 1974

⁵⁹ Gerhard Potrykus: *Waffenrecht*, Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München 1977, ISBN 3-406-06619-4

⁶⁰ [Report of Oberland Arms](#), 2015

7.4.1.1. Reform process with stakeholders

In 1998 the then new government (red-green) began with a structural reform of the gun law - together with stakeholders from police, marksmen, hunters and collectors. **The aim was to simplify the legislative work and to increase security for society.**⁶¹

The police union welcomed the reached consensus in May 2001.⁶²

1. Registry of gas and alarm weapons (Justification: 60% of gun crime is committed with them)
2. License for carrying of gas and alarm weapons (Justification: see point 1)
3. No ban on the carrying of knives (Justification: impractical)
4. Classification of firearms according to EU standard (Justification: EEC Firearms Directive)
5. Minimum standards for storage (Justification: preventing theft)
6. Stricter requirements for reliability (Justification: preventing misuse)
7. Increasing the requirements for marksmen's good cause (Justification: preventing misuse)
8. Facilitating of marksmen's quotas (Justification: legal certainty)

In August 2001 the registry of gas and alarm weapons was deleted because the authorities feared that the costs of enforcement for 15 million legally purchased and possessed weapons would be too high.

During the next three months ruling political parties implemented 116 changes to the bill draft. The legislation text included 91 pages plus attachments. All stakeholders - even the police Union - and the opposition were disappointed by this legislation.

7.4.1.2. Conflicts between the draft and the reached consensus by all stakeholders

Criticism by police Union⁶³, opposition and gun-related associations⁶⁴

Wrong addressee: lawful gun owners were targeted instead of illegal owners and criminals

While the law would restrict the lawful gun ownership dramatically, the private possession of arms was not a problem at all from the police's perspective. In only 0.013% of all the crimes legal firearms were used. In firearms-related crimes only 3.4% were committed with legal firearms. (police Union GdP)

The law led to more bureaucracy and restrictions towards legal gun owners without improving the security of citizens. Lawful gun owners are not a threat to society, the big problem being illegal gun ownership. (opposition, FDP)

Lawful gun owners such as shooters, hunters and traditional riflemen pose no danger to citizens. The big problem is illegal gun ownership. (opposition, CDU)

The design follows the typical ideas of a bureaucracy, which postulates total control of the legal possession of firearms, without any impact on misuse or illegal possession. (umbrella organisation of all gun-related associations Forum Waffenrecht FWR)

The claim, that the new law focused exclusively on public safety, is doubtful. By eliminating the registration for gas and alarm weapons, the carry license for these arms would only have a costly

⁶¹ Deutsche Richterzeitung, German magazin for judges, 2002

⁶² [News 05/2001 by police Union GdP](#), Wolfgang Dicke, 2001

⁶³ [Magazin of police Union GdP](#), 02/2002

⁶⁴ [VISIER 09/2001](#) Extra Beilage zum Waffenrecht, print magazin

impact for authorities and serve as an symbolic effort, but would not have any impact on crime. (police Union GdP)

The draft bill lacks any approach to combat illegal weapons. (German gun dealers' association VdB)

"I wonder from which source this anti marksmen spirit of this design originates with all these aggravations when the marksmen of all organizations have behaved loyally to the state and within the law since 1972." (association of German sport shooters, BDS).

Goal not achieved : law does not simplify the legislative work

Transparency, understanding and clarity should be increased in the new law, but the bill draft is at least as incomprehensible as the law of 1972. (police Union GdP)

Safe storage

Safe storage is welcomed, but extending it from firearms to axes, sabers and daggers - even for museums -is questionable. The police has no recorded crimes with these tools hanging on walls. Also the raised demands for weapons cabinets were nonsensical. (police Union GdP)

"The draft is characterized by an obvious distrust of the legal gun owners. The only gain for the internal security is achieved through the new rules for storage" (German shooting federation DSB).

"The rules for safe storage may make any presentation in a museum and at any other exhibition impossible." (Board of Trustees for the promotion of historical weapons collections).

Reliability and temporary possession of arms by 'good cause'/need

Raised demands regarding personal reliability are welcomed. However, increased requirement of "good cause" is not understood.

"The hunter who abandons the actual hunting in old age is not a security risk, because he still has his hunting weapons, although the need has disappeared. The same goes for sport shooters; the vast majority sell anyway sell their sporting guns when they stop with this hobby."(police Union GdP)

"With this in no way justifiable exaggeration of the 'good cause' and the motto 'as few firearms as possible for the people' the public gets fooled by an unrealizable increase of security." (association of weapons manufacturers JSM).

"The future time limit of weapons' possession permit is totally unacceptable. By downright ridiculous prohibitions more weapons offenses will be artificially created." (federation of military and police shooters, BDMP)

Summary

"Gun legislation will become a laughing stock: Two years ago the Federal Interior Minister started hopefully the discussions with the top of all stakeholder organizations, including the police Union. Finally all agreed with "corner stones" for the gun legislation. But the draft bill has not much in common with the reached consensus." (police Union GdP)

"Therefore we are particularly disappointed by this change of direction by the federal government, " said the chairman of the German hunting association DJV who was involved in the consensus.

7.4.1.3. Answers of the Government⁶⁵

Safe storage

Without impact assessment and without recorded crime the government stated:

Cold weapon (e.g., sabers, daggers, axes) are weapons that should not be accessible to children. Therefore, the safe storage is necessary.

The same argument could be used for safe storage of kitchen knives, baseball bats, pillows, ropes and car keys. With all these objects people murdered in the past more often as with cold weapons or firearms (legally-held and illegally-held ones).

Temporary gun possession

There would be no permit for the temporary possession of arms. In case of necessity of temporarily abandon, the authorities may waive a revocation. This also applies for abolition for age-related reasons.

Of course no German authority waived a revocation, instead they revoked more and more permits - also for age-related reasons. Even though older people commit more suicides than average, they also commit less murders than average. Even when they may misuse, due to their physical inferiority, more often firearms than knives or bare hands, they will also need firearms, due to their physical limitations, to deter crime.

Misuse with legal firearms - loss of legal firearms

The question of how many legally inherited firearms, how many legitimate sporting and hunting firearms and how many cold weapons were involved in misuse, could not be answered by the Federal Government due to a lack of data. Only the question of the loss of legal weapons - separated with data for private and government owned firearms- could be answered statistically. The yearly loss was 6,000 firearms, including 350 thefts. About 5% of the thefts were military-related and about 2% came from other authorities. 51% of the thefts happened to law-abiding heirs and owners, who registered their firearms in 1972 to 1976. Both groups are not allowed to possess ammunition. An association between theft and misuse could not be identified due to the lack of statistical data.

"The loss of 6,000 firearms a year is a sufficient reason for the right of permanent control of storage, even if this restricts the fundamental right of home privacy", said the Federal Government.

I showed in my report "Gun Ownership in Europe" in chapter 2.2.3.3. that most of these losses are inventory losses and less than 0,01% of the stolen guns have been misused for crimes in the past.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ [Deutscher Bundestag Drucksache 14/8340](#), German Parliament, 2002

⁶⁶ [Gun Ownership in Europe](#) Report: Firearms in Europe, Katja Triebel, 2015

I was able to receive detailed answers by the Senate of Berlin in 2011. During 2003 to 2010 legally-held guns had been misused in six cases. During the same time the statistics recorded on average 15 firearms theft, 1000 firearms-related crimes and 20.000 violent crimes. 2,9% of all violent crimes had been committed with firearms, 0% statistically with legally-held ones.

Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Median
Misuse with legally-held firearms	2	2	0	2	0	0	0*		1
Firearms theft	4	4	10	23	22	24	14	17	15,5
Firearms-related crimes	1.443	1.071	1.023	1.245	1.178	994	985	986	1047
- with violence	795	632	587	670	696	577	537	518	609,5
Violent crime	21.464	21.501	20.414	21.232	21.075	19.069	18.899	17.811	20744,5
- with firearms	3,7%	2,9%	2,9%	3,2%	3,3%	3,0%	2,8%	2,9%	2,9%
- with legally-held firearms	0%	0,01%	0,01%	0%	0,01%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Evaluation of Gun Legislation in Berlin: Violent crime and gun crime in Berlin (Germany) 2003 - 2010⁶⁷

The rates of gun crime of 2003 to 2010 in Berlin are exactly the same rates mentioned by the police Union in 2002.

It seems that all three legislative acts in 2003, 2008 and 2009 for more control have had absolutely no impact on gun crime

The restriction on semi-automatic rifles which “resemble war weapons”, which had been in place since 1973 in Germany, was removed in 2003 since the Ministry of the Interior could not find any evidence of any security threat with such firearms. Recent police data on reported crime shows that this assessment remains correct.

Since 2003, registered B7 rifles have not been used for criminal acts. This is a strong argument against the claim by the EU Commission that B7 semi-automatic rifles are the “most dangerous.”⁶⁸

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⁶⁷ [Evaluation of Gun legislation in Berlin, 2003-2010](#), Katja Triebel, 2011

⁶⁸ [Report of Oberland Arms](#), 2015

Gas and alarm weapons.

"The feared enforcement costs, resistance from the arms trade and difficulties registering the millions of blank firing weapons already in private hands"

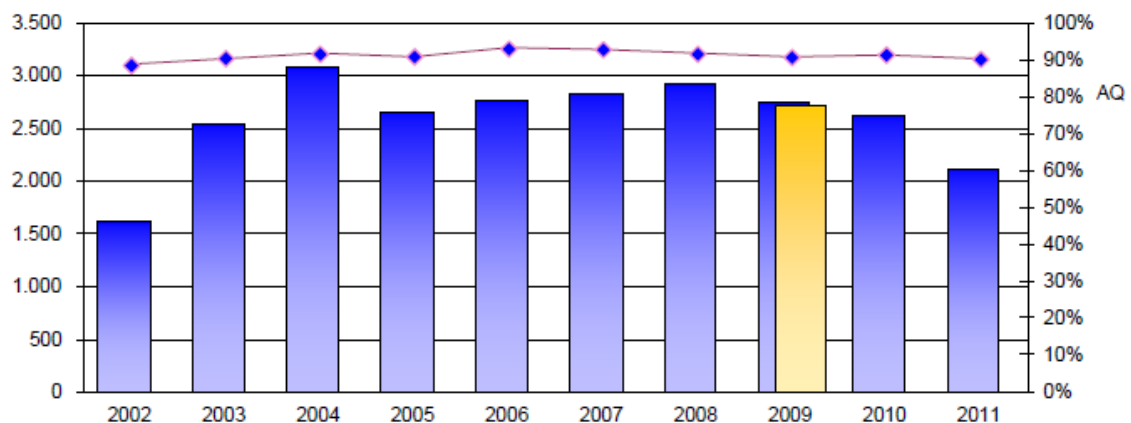
were the reasons why the government deleted the registration requirement of gas and alarm weapons.

This was a wise decision. The second wise one would be to delete the carry license for gas and alarm weapons and the prohibition of carrying some favourite knives.

The amendment in 2003 for a carry licence and in 2008 for the prohibition of carrying lots of legally sold knives doubled the "paper crime" against firearms legislation. Both legislative acts have had no impact on crime but led to costly lawsuits.

Until 2004 violations against the Arms Act doubled and remained until 2010 on a high level. The suspicion that these violations are primarily dealing with the unauthorized carrying of knives and gas/alarm weapons were substantiated by many press releases from the police. The statement of the Berlin Senate, that nearly half of defendants were first time offenders without a prior criminal record, supports this assumption.⁶⁹

Recorded crime against Firearms Act in Berlin (2011)



Criminal Statistic of Police Berlin 2011⁷⁰

⁶⁹ [Evaluation of Gun legislation in Berlin, 2003-2010](#), Katja Triebel, 2011

⁷⁰ [Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik Berlin 2011](#)

7.4.1.4. Legislative process⁷¹

On the day of the decision by the German Parliament the school shooting in Erfurt was committed. This provoked a public debate of the law under mainstream pressure and resulted in even stricter amendments. In the last month before the summer break and the subsequent general election all restrictions got the approval of both houses of the parliament. Three of these rules were dedicated to the singular incident of the school shooting in Erfurt.

- age limits were raised to acquire arms for hunting and target shooting (age of the offender)
- medical-psychological reports were required for centre-firing arms for target shooter under the age of 25 years (age and hobby of the offender)
- stricter regulations for storage
- carry license for gas and alarm guns was introduced
- very short pump-action shotguns were prohibited (offender carried, but not used this one)

The first amendment became effective in 2008. The intention of that amendment was to ban certain kind of weapons like airsoft-guns, imitation firearms and some types of knives from public places. They may still be carried in sealed wrappings and for professional or ceremonial purposes and used on private premises and in non-public places.

The second amendment became effective four months after the school shooting in 2009. Again a public debate was started with the pressure of the mainstream media, this time supported by gun control activists from England (Gun Control Network GCN and the International Action Network on Small Arms IANSA). In order to adopt the changes before the parliamentary summer break this amendment were appended to the amending of the Explosives Act which was already in legislative progress and had passed the first reading. Even lawyers considered this as unconstitutional. **Again the changes have been approved in the last week before the summer break and the subsequent general election by both houses of the parliament.**

It introduced routine verifications of safe firearms storage by local firearms control officers at the homes of licensees (the offender had misused his father's insecurely stored handgun). It also tightened the conditions for continuous good cause of ownership, raised again the age limits and implemented more costly control on gun owners.

Before this summer break in 2009 the Bundesrat (similar to Upper Chamber) asked the Federal Government for an impact assessment for further restrictions:

- a) improvement of safe storage of weapons and ammunition (e.g. separate storage, blocking mechanism)
- b) prohibition of so-called large-caliber handguns for target shooters (as in UK)
- c) prohibition of high capacity magazines
- d) prohibition of dynamic shooting disciplines like IPSC

⁷¹ [Deutsche Richterzeitung](#): Früh übt sich – Zugang zu Waffen neu geregelt Information – DRiZ 2002

The conservative-liberal government answered in 2010.⁷²

- a) An exact or detailed assessment for the theft of legally-held firearms and ammunition is impossible - due to lack of data. The strict separation of weapon and ammunition is an effective way to prevent misuse by unauthorized persons. Technical solutions for ammunition tracking from manufacturer to the end user are not yet ready for practical use.
- b) Bullets in small calibers and high speed can be more dangerous than large-caliber projectiles with low speed. The caliber of misused firearms is of subordinate importance with respect to the impact on victims.
- c) Ignoring the fact that several approved shooting sports would have serious limitations due to the new regulations and German shooters would be adversely affected at international competitions, the new rules for existing weapons and magazines would need testing. Against the background of many legally-held magazines and also in view of the desired result, the prohibition of high capacity magazines is hardly feasible.
- d) For the misuse of firearms, especially for mass shooting, no special skills are required which only IPSC shooters, but no other shooter could acquire. Reliable findings that IPSC shooters perform illegal firing exercises contrary to applicable regulations do not exist.

In 2013 the conference of all Ministers of Interior asked again for an impact assessment:.

1. If and to what extent certain firearms / ammunition should be prohibited for target shooters considering their relevance in crimes?
2. How can the private possession of firearms be further reduced and limited to the actually required need?

The conservative-socialist government answered in 2014.⁷³

To 1. The criteria for the classification of firearms offenses do not provide for differentiation according to the need for the possession of weapons (sport shooter, hunters, etc.). Data for this special issue can therefore not have been statistically evaluated. 4,7 percent of the seized weapons which had been misused in commission of a crime were legally-held firearms. Besides target shooters also representatives of other groups of permit holders are likely to have become delinquent and therefore target shooters account for only a subset of the above numbers.

An individual assessment of cases, in which it was known that marksmen were the owners, shows a mixed picture with respect to the misused weapons and calibers. Rifles and shotguns for hunting and sport were misused in different calibers, as well as pistols and revolvers. Pistols in 9 mm Luger and .22 lr and revolvers in .357 Magnum were slightly more common. However, this is not to be considered from the perspective of the Federal Crime Agency BKA in terms of tort relevance as appropriate calibers in Germany are used very often for the shooting sport.

The overall rating by the Federal Ministry of Interior BMI of relevance of the proposal is low for legally-held firearms, which (also) are used for sport shooting. From the available information on the tortious use of firearms the BMI cannot derive any concrete statements on offense relevance of certain types of weapons or ammunition.

⁷² [Beschluss zu Drucksache 577/09](#), 01.02.2010

⁷³ [Bericht Anlage 12 des Bundesministeriums des Innern](#), 13.10.2014

An identification of particularly dangerous weapons based on specific design features should be excluded in the expansion of existing restrictions because it is not possible.

It should be noted that almost all firearms are equipped with a lethal potential. In particular, the respected and typical caliber .22 lr for target shooters (note: used by Olympic athletes and by biathlon) with the bullet diameter of 5.68 mm reaches projectile energy values that permit the infliction of fatal injuries. This statement gets sad acknowledgment by the misused firearms in .22 caliber inter alia in the so-called mass shootings of Jokela (Finland, nine deaths) Kauhajoki (Finland, eleven deaths), Cumbria (United Kingdom, 13 deaths) and Lörrach (Germany, 4 deaths).

Small calibers are not simply less dangerous, as the prohibition according Appendix 2, Section 1 Paragraph 1.2.5 Firearms Act illustrates. The reason for this prohibition is that ammunition with certain features (eg in caliber 4,6 x 30 mm) is in particular suitable to penetrate ballistic body armor.

In addition BMI refers to the report of the Federal Government of 2010. The counter arguments regarding restrictions of large-caliber weapons for target shooting, in particular the restriction of the magazine capacity, hindering the magazine change and limit and against the excess energy of large-caliber ammunition are still valid today.

Against this background, the BMI sees no reason to extend the existing rules, which have proved themselves in principle, to target firearms by target shooters. A measurable increase in safety should be not to be expected of such a scheme.

To 2. The proof of a need is [...] one of the conditions for granting legal firearms permit. [E]vidence of a need is provided when - compared to the interests of national security or public order - this need is particularly recognized for personal or economic interests [...] and the appropriateness and necessity of the weapons or ammunition for the requested purpose are substantiated. Basically a credible proof of need in accordance with the foregoing, has to be made separately for each subject to authorization, [but for some.] cases where a proof of need is not necessary. These mainly relate to firearms with a very low projectile energy (note: e.g. airguns and airsofts with less than 7,5 Joule muzzle energy) and alarm, gas and signal arms.

As the comments show the Firearms Act provides for a differentiated system of needs test, which starts from the principle that a need must be made credible for dealing with any weapon requiring authorization. A further statutory definition, how many firearms may have for example a hunter or sport shooter is not reasonably possible, because the credible proof of need depends on individual circumstances.

By limiting the maximum number of firearms for a person serves no purpose for public safety.

7.4.2. Germany's gun crime

Unfortunately there is no homicide or gun crime study available from Germany, but I collected lots of official data from official answers in Parliament.

Germany recorded the legal status of confiscated weapons in criminal offences for more than 20 years. On average legally-held firearms have a percentage of 4%, illegally-held firearms of 35% and other firearms of 57%. Other firearms can be owned without licence, e.g. air weapons, blank firing, muzzle loaded, imitation, alarm or deactivated weapons.^{74 75}

Year	Criminal offences*	Weapons outside A,B,C,D		Legally-held firearms	Illegally-held firearms		legal status unknown		Total numbers	
2013	412	337	69,6	23	4,8	124	25,6	0	0,0	484
2012	413	295	68,4	17	3,9	119	27,6	0	0,0	431
2011	410	323	72,1	19	4,2	106	23,7	0	0,0	448
2010	496	346	67,1	28	5,4	142	27,5	0	0,0	516
2009	754	587	71,6	34	4,1	199	24,3	0	0,0	820
2008	787	625	73,9	39	4,6	182	21,5	0	0,0	846
2007	1010	825	74,1	77	6,9	212	19,0	0	0,0	1114
2006	1262	991	64,0	69	4,5	488	31,5	0	0,0	1548
2005	1423	1207	70,2	33	1,9	479	27,9	0	0,0	1719
2004	1391	861	56,1	53	3,5	585	38,1	35	2,3	1534
2003	1178	725	54,5	51	3,8	509	38,3	45	3,4	1330
2002	1538	912	52,4	46	2,6	738	42,4	46	2,6	1742
2001	1270	777	54,6	56	3,9	558	39,2	33	2,3	1424
2000	1577	962	55,2	60	3,4	683	39,2	39	2,2	1744
1999	1932	994	51,4	79	4,1	781	40,4	78	4,0	1932
1998	2370	1325	55,9	97	4,1	882	37,2	66	2,8	2370
1997	2251	1300	52,0	109	4,4	991	39,7	99	4,0	2499
1996	2447	1515	55,0	109	4,0	1052	38,2	81	2,9	2757
1995	2443	1452	51,6	131	4,7	1141	40,5	92	3,3	2816
1994	2354	1382	50,7	162	5,9	1069	39,2	114	4,2	2727
Total	27718	17741	57,6	1292	4,2	11040	35,8	728	2,4	30801

* Criminal offences against StGB (Criminal Code)

German gun law was thoroughly revised in 1972, partly as a reaction to the terror of the Red Army Faction.

It was developed in the Federal Weapons Act of **2003** (after the school shooting in Erfurt 2002), by amendments in 2008 (with public debate of youth violence) and **2009** (after the school shooting in Winnenden).

⁷⁴ 2000-2013: Official answer by Federal Government of Germany: [Drucksache 18/2213](#)

⁷⁵ 1994-1999: [Lawyers Becker & Becker](#), 2001

7.5. Impact of gun control on gun crime in England and Germany

Below one can find the coloured graph of the official statistic from England and Wales.⁷⁶ The red line marks the numbers of recorded offences in the year of 1997. The red coloured parts of the bars show the numbers of offences with handguns which have been banned in the year of 1997.

7.5.1. Impact of handgun ban of 1997 in England and Wales

Offences in total and also with banned handguns increased from 1997 until 2004. Whilst in all other Western countries homicide and violence decreased since 1990 (see chapter 6.5) the offences in England and Wales doubled and even tripled with banned handguns until 2004/05.

Chart 2: Type of firearm used in recorded offences, 1969 to 2010/11, England & Wales

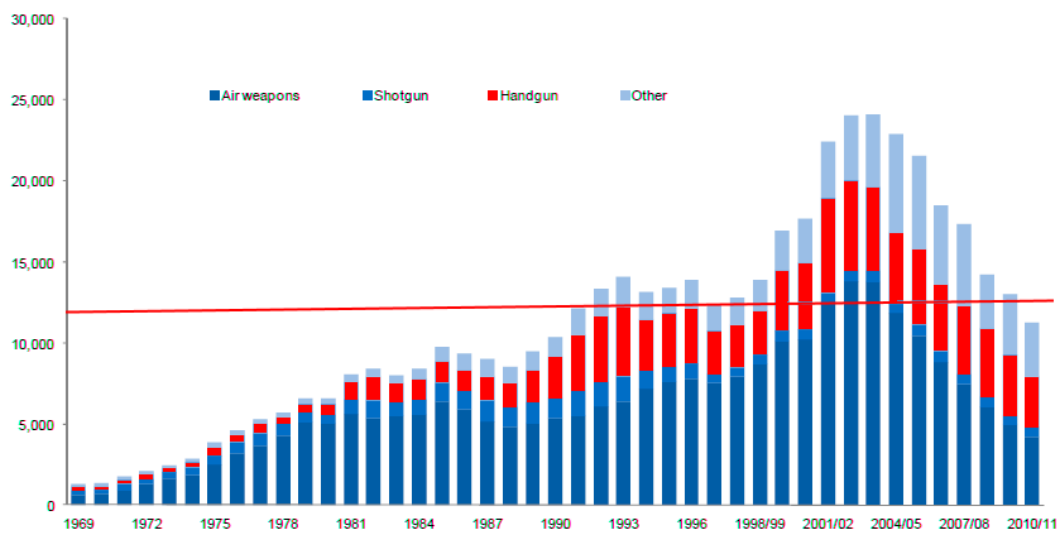


Table 2.05 of the attachments illustrates that nearly all fatalities committed and serious injuries inflicted have been done so with prohibit firearms (red marked), whereas "free weapons" (green marked) caused most cases of criminal damages. Of the 15 fatal injuries (blue marked), 13 deaths are from one spree shooting in Cumbria.

Numbers ¹ Principal weapon	Total	Fired					Total fired
		Fatal injury ²	Serious injury ³	Slight injury	Causing property damage only	No injury or property damage	
Long-barrelled shotgun	406	10	52	29	87	58	236
Sawn-off shotgun	202	10	18	9	22	20	79
Handgun	3.105	33	116	63	50	136	398
Rifle	74	5	5	0	10	9	29
Imitation firearm ⁴	1.610	0	10	742	184	213	1.149
Air weapon	4.203	0	33	403	2.637	474	3.547

⁷⁶ [Firearm crime statistics SN/SG/1940](#), Parliament of UK, 2012

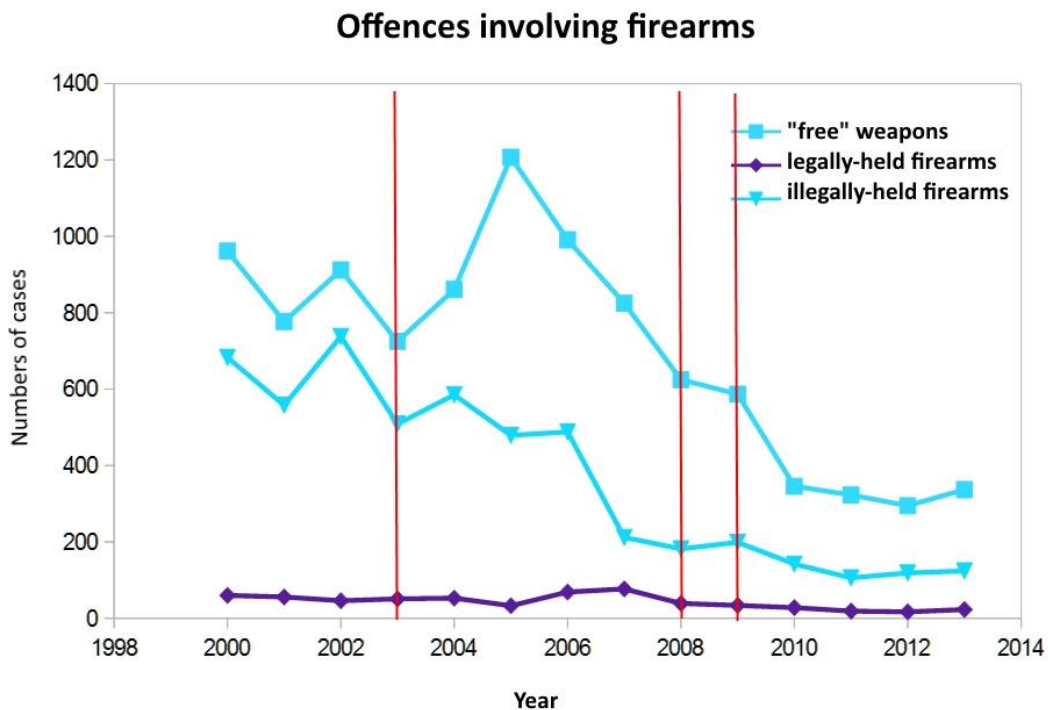
There is no information on the legal status of the misused weapons. So the cases of misuse of legally-held long barrelled shotguns and rifles may be less than the illustrated numbers. On the other hand some of the misused handguns could be legally-held rimfire handguns.

7.5.2. Impact of Firearms Acts in 2003, 2008 and 2009 in Germany

Germany's Federal Criminal Agency reported for 2014:⁷⁷

The number of recorded offences against the Firearms Act in Germany's Police Crime Statistics, the War Weapons Control Act and offenses misusing firearms have declined both compared to last year and in the long-term. Offenses in which firearms were misused, only make up around 0.2% of all cases reported in the police statistics.

The potential risk of gun crime for the population must therefore be considered as low, even when the misuse of a firearm may cause danger to life and limb.



From 2003 to 2005 offences with "free" weapons increased as ordinary citizens did not all know and did not follow the new Firearms Act. The prediction by BDMP became reality: *"By downright ridiculous prohibitions more weapons offenses will be artificially created."* (see chapter 7.4.)

Offences with legally and illegally-held firearms decrease following a worldwide trend - no matter how restrictive or permissive the national legislative for firearms is or when the Firearms Acts have been amended (see chapter 6.5).

⁷⁷ [Bundeslagebild Waffenkriminalität 2014](#)

7.5.3. Impact of converted and reactivated firearms

Table 2.01 of the attachments illustrates that converted and reactivated firearms are a minor problem, with a slight increase in 2010.

Offences recorded by the police in which firearms were reported to have been used by type of principal weapon, 2000/01 to 2010/11 - England and Wales, Recorded crime								
	2004/05 ³	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	Median
Converted/reactivated handguns	36	21	27	19	31	16	33	27
Handgun total	4.360	4.672	4.173	4.172	4.274	3.743	3.105	4173
Percentage of converted/reactivated handguns	0,83	0,45	0,65	0,46	0,73	0,43	1,06	0,65
Deactivated imitation firearm	1	4	2	2	2	2	6	2
Imitation firearm total	3.373	3.277	2.516	2.562	1.507	1.512	1.610	2516
Percentage of deactivated imitation firearms	0,03	0,12	0,08	0,08	0,13	0,13	0,37	0,08
Converted/reactivated other firearm	1	4	1	6	3	5	2	3
Other firearm total	1.185	1.064	999	1.133	759	779	670	999
Percentage of converted/reactivated other firearms	0,08	0,38	0,10	0,53	0,40	0,64	0,30	0,30

It seems that reactivated firearms became a minor problem especially during the last years.

Germany's Federal Criminal Agency reported for 2014:⁷⁸

In 2014 it was found in the context of police evaluation and investigative work that both in Europe and in Germany the illegal conversion of foreign-made deactivated and alarm weapons has increased. In Germany these weapons can be purchased without a license from many EU Member States according to the relevant regulations. These non-functional firearms became attractive to criminals as - if there are sufficient knowledge and tools - they can be reactivated to lethal firearms.

The firearms legislation for these non-shooting arms differ across Europe considerably, as well as the technical requirements for the conversion.

⁷⁸ [Bundeslagebild Waffenkriminalität 2014](#)

If the technical requirements are lower than the German standards they can be reactivated with comparatively little effort. An acquisition is also favoured by the possibilities of online commerce. Reactivated firearms are then available for illegal circulation, and can and have been misused in some serious crimes and terrorist attacks.

This emerging trend requires the observation, police operations and legal adjustments in Europe.

The topic of deactivated firearms was already covered by Directive 91/477/EEC on control of the acquisition and possession of weapons. Firearms that were permanently deactivated by the recognised official process do not count as firearms and are not bound by firearms regulation. It also noted that a firearm must have markings attached that bears name of the manufacturer, country or place of manufacture, serial number and year of manufacture (unless year is part of serial number), or similar marking.

However, there are problems caused by the vague language of the Directive. Therefore the European Commission was ordered in 2008 to issue common guidelines for deactivated firearms until 2010 by the DIRECTIVE 2008/51/EC, Article 1/13:⁷⁹

The Commission shall, acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 13a (2) of the Directive, issue common guidelines on deactivation standards and techniques to ensure that deactivated firearms are rendered irreversibly inoperable.

Member States shall, by 28 July 2010, bring into force the laws, regulations and administrative provisions necessary to comply with this Directive. They shall forthwith communicate to the Commission the text of those measures.

The Commission has been aware of this minor problem at least for seven years.

Some of the serious crimes and terrorist attacks of the last five years could have been prevented if the European Commission would have implemented the common standards for deactivated firearms as demanded in 2010, and not now in 2015.⁸⁰

The European Commission should also have checked whether the former rules have been enforced by all member states.

⁷⁹ [Directive 2008/51 EC of the European Parliament and of the Council](#)

⁸⁰ [Commission implementing regulation \(EU\) 2015/2403 of 15 December 2015](#)

8. Evaluation of the Firearms Directive

This extensive study of the relevant data and publications with respect to legally registered firearms has failed to find evidence of a significant link for any relationships between legally registered firearms and homicide, suicide and crime rates.

In fact there is evidence that legally registered firearms are hardly ever used in crime, with the exception of cases of domestic violence which involve firearms which are not in any way affected by the proposed changes (i.e. hunting shotguns).

Furthermore, legally registered semi-automatic firearms (B7) have never been used in any terrorist attack in Europe. The single exception is the terrorist attack in Norway in 2011, where a semi-automatic firearm which does not resemble a military automatic was used. As such, the only legally-owned semi-automatic rifle used in a terrorist attack in Europe would not have been banned had the new EU proposals been in force.⁸¹

There is also no evidence of museum or collection pieces being used for criminal acts.

Since the EU Commission is stating categorically that these new proposals for the Firearms Directive are urgently required to halt terrorist attacks, what evidence have they been able to obtain to support this statement? What evidence has been presented to them to support the need for change, and the impact of the proposed changes on terrorism in Europe?

The study which the European Commission DG GROW refers to as a strong basis for its proposals for amending the Firearms Directive 91/477/EEC, in fact presents its the main issues in terms of security on only 12 of 107 pages.^{82 83 84}

Data availability

*One of the key challenges of this study is the availability of data in relation to both market and security aspects. Also **regarding security a number of data gaps** presented challenges to the evaluation of the Firearms Directive. Specifically, the absence of disaggregated data on the types/categories of firearms circulating in the EU, and/or illegally used and trafficked and the lack of comparable and detailed data on trends in criminal offences and activities involving civilian firearms at EU level created limitations.*

Security concerns

The criminal use of firearms caused over 10,000 homicides in the EU over the last decade. MS with the highest incidence of homicides by firearms are (see Figure below): Italy where 7.1 inhabitants per 1 million are killed every year by means of firearms, Belgium with 6.8 inhabitants per 1 million Bulgaria with 6.7 inhabitants per 1 million.

*Within this context it is of major interest to understand the scale of criminal offences involving legally held firearms, as directly regulated by the Firearms Directive. **A recent UNODC study argues that “the majority of civilian firearms are not misused and are owned for legitimate purposes”.** The significant difference between global estimates on the number of civilian firearms owned (hundreds of millions) and annual firearm homicides (around 199,000 in 2010) supports this conclusion.*

⁸¹ [MEP Jussi Halla-Aho on Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs - IMCO meeting 14/01/2016](#)

⁸² Evaluation of the Firearms Directive - [Final Report](#)

⁸³ Evaluation of the Firearms Directive - [Annexes](#)

⁸⁴ Evaluation of the Firearms Directive - [Commented](#) by Katja Triebel

*Nonetheless, data reported by national Police Departments and Ministries of the Interior throughout the study, and cases described in secondary sources, also **point at episodes of misuse of legally owned firearms.***

*Data collected do not allow to design a comprehensive overview in terms of both geographical coverage (i.e. only some MS provided information and not in all countries do the data allow for disaggregation by legal or illegal ownership) and trends (i.e. when available, data were provided mainly for 2013/2014). Nevertheless, according to the information collected, there are **variations in the misuse of legally held weapons across MS.***

8.1. Flaws in the study "Evaluation of the Firearms Directive"

This evaluation study has been presented by the European Commission as an "*extensive analysis on the Directive's implementation as well as an analysis of the performance of the legislation. This evaluation has been linked to the Regulatory Fitness and Performance (REFIT) Programme of the Commission.*" I compare the study's analysis (left column) with my research (right column).

Evaluation of the Firearms Directive	Arguments
The criminal use of firearms caused over 10,000 homicides in the EU over the last decade.	As there is no correlation between gun crime and gun law this fact is of no concern for legislation (see chapter 7.5 and 9).
The UNODC study argues that "the majority of civilian firearms are not misused and are owned for legitimate purposes"	National statistics prove this sentence.
Data reported by national Police Departments and Ministries of the Interior and cases described in secondary sources, also point to episodes of misuse of legally owned firearms.	Human behaviour is not predictable. No law or control can reduce the risk to nil. Control by law should prevent significant danger. Episodes of misuse are statistically insignificant.
There are variations in the misuse of legally held weapons across MS	As long as these misuses do not cross the border the nations will handle them, not the EU. (Principle of subsidiarity)
In Finland, there are annually about 20-30 cases of homicides committed with firearms, in less than 10 cases was the firearm legal.	Chapter 7.1. shows that there is no correlation between legal gun ownership and crime. The weapon of choice is the knife, not the firearm, in Finland.
The UK reports that legally held firearms are "rarely" used in crime	UK' statistics shows that the handgun ban did not reduce crime with handguns. Legally held firearms have all the time rarely been used in crime. (see chapter 7.3. and table B)
Slovenia ⁷⁵ reports no offences by legally held firearms	
In Portugal ⁷⁶ , between 95-98% of weapons used in crime ⁷⁷ are civilian firearms, either legally owned or legally owned but stolen and/or converted.	This means that 2-5% misused weapons were already prohibited war weapons. Nothing is said about the percentage of legally owned, stolen, smuggled or converted weapons.

<p>In the Czech Republic in 2013, of the identified weapons used in crime, legal firearms were used almost four times as often as illegal weapons (182 compared to 47), the majority being category D weapons (135 cases). In addition, the Czech Republic also reported 132 cases where the firearm was never identified.</p>	<p>Unidentified firearms hint (see chapter 7.1.) to illegal ownership. This would mean 182:179. Nothing is said about the crime. In 2014, there were 6 murders with legally owned firearms and 13 with illegally owned in CZ. 95% of all homicides were committed without legal firearms.</p>
<p>In Romania in 2013 legal ownership of firearms was reported in 160 cases, against illicit ownership in 44, illicit trafficking in 101 and homicides in 8 cases. .</p>	<p>99% of all homicides have been committed without firearms. There is no difference in the legal status for the 8 homicide cases and no detail for the misuses in 160 cases.</p>
<p>Between 1991 and 2014, Malta had 57 homicides involving civilian firearms: out of the 39 solved cases, the majority referred to legally owned firearms.</p>	<p>Unsolved cases hint (see chapter 7.1) to illicit ownership. All misused legal firearms were shotguns which are referred as "less dangerous". Malta has already a "dream" murder rate of 1,0 per 100.000 population.</p>
<p>In the Netherlands, the National Police reported that a very low number of crimes is committed with legally owned firearms, but the most shocking incident(6 people killed, 17 injured) was committed with two legally owned firearms.</p>	<p>The shocking incident in 2011 is statistically insignificant (see table A). The policeman who registered the firearms was corrupt. There is a high correlation between firearms misuse, criminal offences and illicit gun ownership in the Netherlands. (see chapter 7.1)</p>
<p>In Germany, considering only the number of weapons seized on crime scenes, weapons requiring a license represented around 30% of all firearms in 2013, and approximately 5% of them were legally owned.</p>	<p>German Ministry of Interior said 2014: The potential risk of gun crime for the population must therefore be considered as low, even when the misuse of a firearm may cause danger to life and limb for an individual. (see chapter 7.4.2.)</p>
<p>In Sweden most reported crimes between 2000 and 2010 (i.e. murder, manslaughter. and armed bank robbery) involving weapons and went to prosecution were committed with illegally held firearms .</p>	<p>Homicides in Finland and Sweden are often characterized by acquainted men killing each other in situations where alcohol is an important factor. (see chapter 6.3.) <i>The rate of firearm-related homicide is with 0,15 per 100.000 population one of the lowest (see chapter 7.1.2).</i></p>
<p>In Luxembourg the Police Grand-Ducale reported that all firearms used in homicides where illegally held.</p>	<p>Luxembourg has one of the highest rates of legal gun ownership in Europe (15,7 per 100 population (see chapter 8.2.)</p>
<p>In some MS (DE, EE, LU, NL, IT, SE, UK) a significant share of civilian firearms used in crimes are illegally held.</p>	<p>There seems not to be any clear correlation between firearm ownership (at least legal firearm ownership) prevalence and homicide rates in Europe (see study of chapter 7.1). The legal gun ownership of these member states are totally different (1,0 to 15,7 per 100 population. (see chapter 8.2.)</p>

8.2. Flaws in EC's Action Plan on Firearms COM (2013) 716

The 2014 study *Evaluation of the Firearms Directive*, which is used to prove the arguments of the proposal, uses as its only reference for firearms-related homicide the data of COM (2013) 716. This paper had been presented in October 2013. There are great differences in the rates reported for gun ownership between the study "*Evaluation of the Firearms Directive*" and COM (2013) 716. The numbers differ for half of all countries by more than 40% and for six countries even by 200 to 585%.

Country	Legally held firearms per 100 population		
	COM (2013) 716	EC's study 2014	Difference COM to Study
Austria	21,9	4,2	420%
Belgium	17,2	5,8	200%
Bulgaria	6,2	5	20%
Croatia	21,7		
Cyprus	36,4	18,7	90%
Czech Republic	16,3	7,2	130%
Denmark	12		
Estonia	9,2	4,7	100%
Finland	45,3	29,4	50%
France	31,2	5,9	430%
Germany	30,3	6,6	360%
Greece	22,5		
Hungary	5,5	2,1	160%
Ireland	8,6	3,9	120%
Italy	11,9		
Latvia	19	3,3	480%
Lithuania	0,7	4,8	-585%
Luxembourg	15,3	15,7	0%
Malta	11,9	19	-40%
Netherlands	3,9	1	190%
Poland	1,3	1,3	0%
Portugal	8,5	14,4	-40%
Romania	0,7	1,1	-35%
Slovakia	8,3	4,7	80%
Slovenia	13,5		
Spain	10,4	7,5	40%
Sweden	31,6	20,2	60%
United Kingdom	6,5	3,4	90%

These huge gaps give one reason to doubt the correctness of the 1,000 firearms homicides per year (see chapter 9).

EC's plan and its arguments have been criticized in regards other details by both FACE and me.^{85 86}

I compare EC's Action Plan COM (2013) 716 (left column) with my research which is based on data by Eurostat, SOCTA, Firearms Directive of 2008, the study " Evaluation of the Firearms Directive" and some stakeholder's responses.

COM (2013) 716	Arguments
In the first decade of the 21st century there were over 10 000 victims of murder or manslaughter, killed by firearms.	As there is no correlation between gun crime and gun law this fact is of no concern for legislation (see chapter 7.5 and 9).
On average, there are 0.24 homicides by firearm per 100 000 population per year in the EU.	On average there are 1,4 homicides per 100.000 population per year in the EU. (75.590 reported homicide by Eurostat for 28 MS from 2000 to 2009). If the data of the firearms-related death per year is real, this would mean 0.18. ⁸⁷
E very year there are over 4 000 suicides by firearm. On average, there are 0.9 suicides by firearm per 100 000 population per year in the EU.	There is no correlation found between firearms and total suicide rate (see chapter 5.2)
The presence of powerful and often illegally-held firearms in particular in deprived urban areas can create a sense of insecurity among citizens.	Non- registered firearms are often used for murder (70% - 97%). Police work could disarm illicit gun owners with already existing laws.
The gunmen in Tuusula (2007) and Kauhajoki (2008), and in Cumbria (2010) and Alphen aan den Rijn (2011), were mentally unstable adults and yet were licensed to possess a firearm. In Winnenden (2009) an adolescent used a pistol which had been insecurely stored in his parents' bedroom.	A nullification of risk is not possible by law or medical attest. Murder is prohibited and no sane person plans a mass killing. It is rational to prohibit firearms for drug addicts and violent persons. But nobody, not even psychologists, can predict the risk of a mass killing. However, people who ran amok without firearms use fire, bombs or bladed weapons.
In the attacks in Liège in 2011, the gunman used converted guns	The gunman in Liege was convicted of murder, kidnapping and rape. He also used grenades which are prohibited for civilians. ⁸⁸
Illegally-held firearms, meanwhile, are often used to coerce and to intimidate victims of organised crime groups (OCG).	The use of violence is often counterproductive and almost always attracts unwanted law enforcement attention. Violence is used by most OCGs only in a measured, deliberate and

⁸⁵ [FACE.eu response to the Action Plan on Firearms](#) - February 2014

⁸⁶ [History of the EC's Action Plan on Firearms](#) - November 2015

⁸⁷ [Eurostat](#)

⁸⁸ [Wikipedia](#)

	premeditated manner. However, some OCGs use violence as an integral part of their strategy. ⁸⁹
The illegal import, sale and production provide lucrative business for the EU's estimated 3600 organised crime groups (OCG).	There are only 39 organised crime groups which smuggle weapons for income. Weapons trafficking is almost exclusively a supplementary rather than primary source of income. ⁹⁰
Terrorists and extremists have used firearms to instil fear and to kill: seven died in the Toulouse and Montauban attacks in 2012, and two in the 2011 Frankfurt airport incident.	Explosives are terrorists' weapon of choice worldwide (more than 50%) for destruction and high numbers of injured persons (500% more than with firearms). ⁹¹
There are an estimated 80 million legally-held civilian firearms in the EU.	There are an estimated 35 to 45 million legally held civilian firearms in the EU. ^{92 93}
Almost half a million firearms lost or stolen in the EU remain unaccounted for, the overwhelming majority of which are civilian firearms, according to the Schengen Information System (SIS II)	Most SIS II alerts are inventory losses. A Swedish study shows 9 firearms in 10 years had been misused in gun crimes. Sweden has more than 17.000 alerts in SISII, most are unaccounted for inventory losses. Same is valid for Germany. ⁹⁴
France reported a 40% increase in seizures of stolen civilian and military weapons between 2010 and 2011	France reported that in the years 2004-2008 4,400 to 4,000 weapons were seized. The year 2010 was statistically abnormal. In 2011 the usual amount of 3910 firearms were seized. ^{95 96}
Large amounts of powerful military grade weapons have since the mid-1990s reached the EU from the Western Balkans and former Soviet Bloc countries, often trafficked in small quantities and hidden in vehicles like long distance coaches to avoid detection.	<p>The illicit trade in firearms in the EU remains limited in size and is not a high priority threat. Trafficking occurs on a small scale and the weapons trafficked are intended for either personal use or to meet specific orders. The relatively high risks associated with weapons trafficking acts as a disincentive for OCGs.</p> <p>The merging of or sustained contact between OCGs and terrorist groups is currently only a very marginal phenomenon in the EU.⁹⁷</p>

⁸⁹ [SOCTA 2013](#)

⁹⁰ [SOCTA 2013](#)

⁹¹ [ANALYSIS OF TERRORIST ATTACKS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES – INJURIES, CASUALTIES AND WEAPONS](#), 2015

⁹² Evaluation of the Firearms Directive - [Final Report](#), 2014

⁹³ ["Gun Ownership in Europe,"](#) Report: Firearms in Europe, 2015

⁹⁴ ["Gun Ownership in Europe,"](#) Report: Firearms in Europe, 2015

⁹⁵ [Yves Gollety's speech at ERA Seminar](#), April 2013

⁹⁶ [History of EC's Action Plan on Firearms](#), Report: Firearms in Europe, 2015

⁹⁷ [SOCTA 2013](#)

<p>Firearms, parts and components are also, to an increasing extent, traded online and delivered through mail order, postal or express delivery services.</p>	<p>3 member states (ES, PL, SE) of 28 interviewed MS highlighted a threat related to weapons (or weapon parts) being purchased via the Internet and delivered by post for assembly at a later stage.</p> <p>No comprehensive statistics are available on this issue.⁹⁸</p>
<p>Law enforcement authorities in the EU are concerned that firearms which have been deactivated are being illegally reactivated and sold for criminal purposes.</p>	<p>Manufacturers, dealers, gun owners and EU Parliament see this problem for 20 years. Therefore EC was ordered in 2008 to implement rules in June 2010, but EC did not implement them.⁹⁹</p>
<p>Criminals may very soon exploit 3D printing technologies for assembling home-made weapons or making components to be used for reactivating firearms.</p>	<p>At the moment, available technologies seem to be too expensive and not precise enough to represent a real alternative source of supply for the illegal market. This may change in the near future.¹⁰⁰</p>

Hopefully the EFFECT study, which will be concluded by the University Coventry in February 2016 and is funded with 600.000 Euros by DG HOME, will evaluate all available data.

If not, a new ISEC should evaluate this topic with the homicide monitor of chapter 3.1.

⁹⁸ Evaluation of the Firearms Directive - [Final Report](#), 2014

⁹⁹ [Directive 2008/51/EC](#) of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21 May 2008

¹⁰⁰ Evaluation of the Firearms Directive - [Final Report](#), 2014

9. Conclusion

The evaluation weights 10.000 firearm related homicides in the EU over the last decade as a risk for security. It highlights:

"Italy where 7.1 inhabitants per 1 million are killed every year by means of firearms, Belgium with 6.8 inhabitants per 1 million Bulgaria with 6.7 inhabitants per 1 million.

The evaluation did not compare firearms related homicides to the total number of homicides. It also did not compare registered gun ownership with firearms related deaths and it did not differentiate between legally held and illegally held firearms.

As one can see in chapter 6 homicide rates decreased during the last decade by more than 30%. As one can see in table D of the attachment firearms related homicide also decreased by more than 30%.

The "magic" number of 1.000 annual firearm related deaths is not up to date anymore.

Table D also shows that high and/or low rates of firearms related deaths have no correlation at all with homicide rates. Italy where 38% of the homicides are committed with firearms has an average murder rate of 1,12. England where only 4% of all homicides have been committed with firearms has an average murder rate of 1,37.

Austria, Netherlands, Slovenia, Switzerland and Norway have "dream murder rates" which are lower than 1,0. In all five countries more than 24% of these homicides are firearms related.

Slovenia and Luxembourg reported no misuse of legally held firearms. The Scandinavian study shows that the Netherlands has a problem with gang-related crimes (chapter 7.1). Switzerland has murder rates of less than 0,6 during the last years, even when 21 to 35% had been committed with firearms (chapter 7.2).

Only two countries, Croatia and Cyprus, have high murder rates and high rates of firearms related deaths. Cyprus is on the other hand the country with the lowest suicide rate (see chapter 5).

Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia have high murder rates, but less than 10% have been committed with firearms.

Of 28 member states plus four Schengen states only one country has a low homicide rate, low gun ownership and low rates of firearms related deaths: Germany. In the United Kingdom gun crime with handguns doubled after the handgun ban in 1997. In Germany gun crime increased by 50% after the amendment of the law in 2003 (see chapter 7.5).

I repeat what Eisner said in chapter 6.5:

The similarity in the variation of homicide rates suggests that we significantly overestimates the importance of national-level forces such as national welfare and criminal justice policies (and regulations by guidelines for gun ownership).

Attachments

Table A: Homicide Rates in Europe (2003 - 2012)

I combined the data by Eurostat for reported crime (homicide) and population and calculated the rates of homicide for the years 2003 to 2012 and their median.¹⁰¹

Homicide per 100.000 population											
GEO/TIME	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Median
Austria	0,62	0,72	0,66	0,73	0,54	0,55	0,52	0,67	0,85	0,99	0,68
Belgium	2,21	2,57	2,12	2,12	1,99	1,9	1,76	1,73	1,87	1,64	1,99
Bulgaria	3,16	3,1	2,55	2,4	2,23	2,29	2,01	1,98	1,74	1,92	2,34
Czech Republic	1,58	1,31	1,06	1,27	1,23	1,1	1,07	0,98	0,79	0,9	1,13
Denmark	1,52	1,11	1,29	0,83	1,4	1,44	1,43	1,12	1,11	0,99	1,22
Germany	1,04	1,05	1,05	0,98	0,92	0,88	0,86	0,84	0,81	0,72	0,92
Estonia	10,69	6,66	8,32	6,74	6,93	6,28	5,24	5,25	6,24	5,51	6,78
Ireland	1,31	1,12	1,58	1,66	1,96	1,23	1,33	1,27	0,98	1,31	1,38
Greece	1,06	1,01	1,2	1	1,16	1,26	1,3	1,58	1,65	1,49	1,27
Spain	1,4	1,22	1,2	1,08	1,08	0,91	0,89	0,86	0,82	0,78	1,02
France	1,6	1,59	1,55	1,39	1,3	1,31	1,06	1,04	1,14	0,66	1,26
Croatia	1,77	2,07	1,76	1,74	1,53	1,72	1,3	1,7	1,19	1,29	1,61
Italy	1,34	1,33	1,12	1,14	1,18	1,12	1,06	0,96	0,98	0,95	1,12
Cyprus	2,1	2,07	2,05	1,61	1,45	1,16	2,01	0,85	0,95	2,2	1,65
Latvia	9,57	8,74	5,65	6,64	5,3	5,43	5,04	3,87	4,39	5,58	6,02
Lithuania	11,22	10,47	12,04	9,18	8,74	9,46	7,91	6,91	6,68	6,56	8,92
Luxembourg	0,67	0,44	0,87	1,92	1,47	1,45	1,01	1,59	0,78	0,57	1,08
Hungary	2,25	2,07	1,62	1,74	1,36	1,46	1,39	1,32	1,42	1,14	1,58
Malta	0	1,75	0,99	0	0,99	1,47	0,97	0,97	0,72	2,16	1
Netherlands	1,25	1,17	1,07	0,78	0,87	0,91	0,93	0,87	0,86	0,87	0,96
Austria	0,62	0,72	0,66	0,73	0,54	0,55	0,52	0,67	0,85	0,99	0,68
Poland	1,73	1,66	1,45	1,28	1,38	1,21	1,29	1,15	1,18	0,99	1,33
Portugal	1,43	1,37	1,29	1,47	1,76	1,17	1,23	1,17	1,08	1,16	1,31
Romania	2,55	2,4	2,12	2,06	1,97	2,28	1,94	1,99	1,66	1,88	2,08
Slovenia	1,05	1,45	1	0,6	1,19	0,55	0,64	0,49	0,78	0,68	0,84
Slovakia	2,72	2,27	1,97	1,66	1,66	1,75	1,56	1,65	1,78	1,39	1,84
Finland	1,98	2,76	2,16	2,13	2,43	2,49	2,18	2,09	2,16	1,65	2,2
Sweden	0,91	1,14	0,92	1,01	1,22	0,89	1	0,97	0,86	0,72	0,96
United Kingdom	1,76	1,75	1,49	1,49	1,5	1,28	1,17	1,22	1,06	1,01	1,37
Total no. EU28	9.158	8.948	8.274	7.758	7.672	7.336	6.760	5.890	5.758	5.211	

¹⁰¹ [Eurostat](#)

Table B: Gun Crime in UK

Table 2.05 and table 2.01. are coloured copies of the National Statistics UK:

[Homicides, firearm offences and intimate violence 2010 to 2011: supplementary volume 2 to crime in England and Wales 2010 to 2011¹⁰²](#)

Please note: the killing spree that occurred on 2 June 2010 with 12 fatal injuries and 11 injured persons is included in the numbers of table 2.05 and is statistically insignificant in the table 2.01.

Table 2.05: Offences recorded by the police in which firearms were reported to have been used, by principal weapon, how they were used and injury sustained.

Numbers ¹							
Principal weapon	Total	Fired					
		Fatal injury ²	Serious injury ³	Slight injury	Causing property damage only	No injury or property damage	Total fired
Long-barrelled shotgun	406	10	52	29	87	58	236
Sawn-off shotgun	202	10	18	9	22	20	79
Handgun	3.105	33	116	63	50	136	398
Rifle	74	5	5	0	10	9	29
Imitation firearm ⁴	1.610	0	10	742	184	213	1.149
Unidentified firearm	957	0	50	48	90	71	259
Other firearm	670	0	10	373	10	70	463
All firearms excluding air weapons	7.024	58	261	1.264	453	577	2.613
Air weapon	4.203	0	33	403	2.637	474	3.547
Total	11.227	58	294	1.667	3.090	1.051	6.160

1. Figures may have been inflated by police forces implementing the National Crime Recording Standard on 1 April 2002.

2. Fatal injury includes the 12 people killed by Derrick Bird on 2 June 2010.

3. A serious injury is one which requires a stay in hospital or involves fractures, concussion, severe general shock, penetration by a bullet or multiple shot wounds.

4. Imitation firearm includes weapons such as BB guns and soft air weapons, which can fire small plastic pellets at low velocity.

red = prohibited weapon, blue = mainly registered weapons, green = weapons available for adults

Table 2.01 Offences recorded by the police in which firearms were reported to have been used by type of principal weapon, 2000/01 to 2010/11 - England and Wales, Recorded crime

Principal weapon	2000 /01	2001 /02 ¹	2002 /03 ²	2003 /04	2004 /05 ³	2005 /06	2006 /07	2007 /08	2008 /09	2009 /10	2010 /11
Shotguns											
Long-barrelled shotgun	303	380	361	424	306	375	360	365	381	330	406
Sawn-off shotgun	305	332	311	294	291	267	252	237	237	254	202
Shotgun total	608	712	672	718	597	642	612	602	618	584	608
Handguns⁴											
Converted imitation	..	..	..	..	20	7	12	7	9	8	11
Reactivated	..	..	..	..	2	2	2	1	5	0	13
Converted air pistol	..	..	..	..	14	12	13	11	17	8	9
Other	..	..	..	..	866	1.022	908	895	894	871	668
Type unknown	..	..	..	..	3.458	3.629	3.238	3.258	3.349	2.856	2.404
Handgun total	4.110	5.874	5.549	5.144	4.360	4.672	4.173	4.172	4.274	3.743	3.105
Rifle	36	64	52	48	54	71	69	71	89	66	74
Imitation firearms^{4,5}											
Imitation handgun	..	..	..	..	355	368	299	322	242	189	232
BB gun/soft air weapon	..	..	..	..	2.863	2.755	2.094	2.124	1.192	1.259	1.290
Deactivated firearm	..	..	..	..	1	4	2	2	2	2	6
Blank firer	..	..	..	..	27	17	21	21	11	10	10
Other imitation	..	..	..	..	127	133	100	93	60	52	72
Imitation firearm total	787	1.246	1.814	2.146	3.373	3.277	2.516	2.562	1.507	1.512	1.610
Unidentified firearm	950	1.176	1.431	1.356	1.500	1.362	1.276	1.325	953	1.367	957

¹⁰² [National Statistics UK](http://www.nationalstatistics.gov.uk)

Other firearms⁴												
Unconverted starting gun	..	..	..	..	9	9	3	6	11	11	5	
CS gas	..	..	..	..	516	461	436	552	288	239	223	
Pepper spray	..	..	..	..	141	154	179	228	137	104	118	
Machine gun	..	..	..	..	25	34	39	18	31	30	14	
Stun gun	..	..	..	..	143	133	108	118	96	128	149	
Other converted imitation weapon	..	..	..	..	1	2	0	4	2	4	0	
Other reactivated weapon	..	..	..	..	0	2	1	2	1	1	2	
Disguised firearm	..	..	..	..	14	19	57	87	71	156	101	
Other firearm (specified)	..	..	..	..	336	250	176	118	122	106	58	
Other firearm total	980	952	730	926	1.185	1.064	999	1.133	759	779	670	
All firearms excluding air weapons	7.471	10.024	10.248	10.338	11.069	11.088	9.645	9.865	8.200	8.051	7.024	
Air weapon	10.227	12.377	13.822	13.756	11.824	10.438	8.836	7.478	6.041	4.925	4.203	
All firearms	17.698	22.401	24.070	24.094	22.893	21.526	18.481	17.343	14.241	12.976	11.227	

1. Figures may have been inflated by some police forces implementing the principles of the National Crime Recording Standard before 1 April 2002.

2. The introduction of the NCRS in April 2002 means that data prior to this date are not directly comparable with later figures. See Box 2.1 for more details.

3. More explicit guidelines for the classification of weapons introduced on 1 April 2004 may have increased the recording of firearm offences, particularly those committed by imitation weapons.

4. Further weapon breakdowns were available for the first time on 1 April 2004.

5. Imitation firearm includes weapons such as BB guns and soft air weapons, which can fire small plastic pellets at low velocity.

red = prohibited weapon

blue = mainly registered weapons

green = weapons available for adults

Table C: Gun Crime in Germany¹⁰³

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
X60-X84 Suicides	11.065	11.156	11.163	11.150	10.733	10.260	9.765	9.402	9.451	9.616	10.021	10.144	9.890
X72 - with handgun	246	258	245	263	248	241	246	242	217	253	238	237	216
X73 - with rifle/shotgun	67	71	60	80	76	90	88	56	77	67	64	72	51
X74- with type other or not known	523	537	510	572	583	537	465	507	506	448	470	444	423
X72-X74	836	866	815	915	907	868	799	805	800	768	772	753	690
Percentage	7,5%	7,8%	7,3%	8,2%	8,5%	8,5%	8,1%	8,6%	8,5%	8,0%	7,7%	7,4%	7,0%
V01-X59 All accidents	19.680	19.373	19.141	19.651	18.565	19.121	18.596	17.822	18.146	17.876	18.452	19.065	19.528
W32 - with handgun	4	2	3	3	1		2	2	5	2	2	1	1
W33 - with rifle/shotgun	3	6	2	3	5	3	3	1	1	6	4	2	2
W34 -with type other or not known	16	12	13	11	7	5	9	5	9	6	7	8	3
W32-W34	23	20	18	17	13	8	14	8	15	14	13	11	6
X85-Y09 Assault	719	602	564	604	553	526	453	484	451	443	447	478	403
X93 - with handgun	52	32	27	38	26	32	34	27	21	21	37	15	20
X94- with rifle/shotgun	10	8	4	11	5	7	4	5	3	2	3	1	6
X95- with type other or not known	93	61	53	57	54	59	51	33	35	34	35	35	35
X93-X95	155	101	84	106	85	98	89	65	59	57	75	51	61
Y10-Y34 Unknown cause	2.453	2.389	2.628	2.427	2.511	2.224	2.392	2.191	2.454	2.466	2.468	1.912	1.723
Y22 - with handgun	76	47	45	28	59	34	32	25	24	23	26	11	20
Y23 - with rifle/shotgun	7	7	7	8	5	4	9	5	1	3	4	2	6
Y24- with firearm, type other or not known	69	78	70	69	63	41	34	57	56	53	37	47	36
Y22-Y24	152	132	122	105	127	79	75	87	81	79	67	60	62
V01-Y34	33.917	33.520	33.496	33.832	32.362	32.131	31.206	29.899	30.502	30.401	31.388	31.599	31.544
Firearms related death	1112	1102	1061	1122	1145	1044	953	959	953	936	903	878	819
Percentage	3,30%	3,30%	3,20%	3,30%	3,50%	3,30%	3,10%	3,20%	3,10%	3,10%	2,90%	2,80%	2,60%
Death without suicide	22.852	22.364	22.333	22.682	21.629	21.871	21.441	20.497	21.051	20.785	21.367	21.455	21.654
Firearms related death without suicide	330	253	224	228	225	185	178	160	155	150	155	122	129
Percentage	1,4%	1,1%	1,0%	1,0%	1,0%	0,9%	0,8%	0,8%	0,7%	0,7%	0,7%	0,6%	0,6%

¹⁰³ [The Federal Health Monitoring System](#) : Premature mortality

Table D: Intentional homicide and death by assault with firearms 2003 to 2012

EU 28 MS/TIME	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Medium	Total
Total homicide EU28	8.171	7.958	7.298	6.879	6.846	6.497	6.061	5.890	5.758	5.211		66.569
Population EU28	490.691.578	492.555.798	494.598.322	496.436.597	498.300.775	500.297.033	502.090.235	503.170.618	504.494.374	504.060.345		
Murder rate EU28	1,67	1,62	1,48	1,39	1,37	1,30	1,21	1,17	1,14	1,03	1,34	
Total deaths by assaults with firearm EU28	1.112	745	677	863	868	909	888	803	765	639		8.269
Percentage of firearm related deaths of all homicides	14%	9%	9%	13%	13%	14%	15%	14%	13%	12%	12%	

Due to missing data of all deaths by assaults with firearms in the WHO database, the total numbers and also the percentages of the table show only the minimum. Greece with annual homicides of 110 to 184 did not send any data, France's data are missing for 2012, Italy's for 2004 and 2005. Some smaller countries's data are missing for 2003 to 2005. The total number of deaths by assault with firearms is assumed to be 9.300 to 9.900. During 2006 and 2011 only Greece' data are missing.

The percentage of 14 to 15% is therefore more plausible. I highlighted in red the average percentages of "death by assaults with firearm" higher than 20%, with green percentages lower than 10%.

The average murder rate for 100.000 population is 1,34. I highlighted in red murder rates higher than 1,9 and in green rates lower than 0,96.

Source:

Intentional homicide - Crimes recorded by the police [crim_gen] Eurostat

Population on 1 January - total Population change - Demographic balance and crude rates at national level [demo_gind] Eurostat

Homicide by 100.000 inhabitants - own calculation

Death by assault with a firearm by WHO database IDC X93-X95

Percentage death by assault with a firearm of all homicides - own calculation

GEO/TIME	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Medium	Sum
Austria	50	59	54	60	45	46	43	56	71	83		567
Austria	8.100.273	8.142.573	8.201.359	8.254.298	8.282.984	8.307.989	8.335.003	8.351.643	8.375.164	8.408.121		
Austria	0.62	0.72	0.66	0.73	0.54	0.55	0.52	0.67	0.85	0.99	0.68	
Austria	16	13	13	10	13	14	20	15	8	5		127
Austria	32%	22%	24%	17%	29%	30%	47%	27%	11%	6%	24%	
Belgium	229	267	221	223	211	203	189	187	206	182		2.118
Belgium	10.355.844	10.396.421	10.445.852	10.511.382	10.584.534	10.666.866	10.753.080	10.839.905	11.000.638	11.094.850		
Belgium	2.21	2.57	2.12	2.12	1.99	1.90	1.76	1.73	1.87	1.64	1.99	
Belgium		59	46	31	35	29	33	36	34	25		328
Belgium		22%	21%	14%	17%	14%	17%	19%	17%	14%	17%	
Bulgaria	247	240	196	183	169	172	150	147	128	141		1.773
Bulgaria	7.805.506	7.745.147	7.688.573	7.629.371	7.572.673	7.518.002	7.467.119	7.421.766	7.369.431	7.327.224		
Bulgaria	3.16	3.10	2.55	2.40	2.23	2.29	2.01	1.98	1.74	1.92	2.34	
Bulgaria			49	27	33	28	47	31	17	25		257
Bulgaria			25%	15%	20%	16%	31%	21%	13%	18%	20%	
Croatia	76	89	76	75	66	74	56	73	51	55		691
Croatia	4.305.384	4.305.725	4.310.861	4.312.487	4.313.530	4.311.967	4.309.796	4.302.847	4.289.857	4.275.984		
Croatia	1.77	2.07	1.76	1.74	1.53	1.72	1.30	1.70	1.19	1.29	1.61	
Croatia	27	37	27	41	33	30	23	25	12	17		272
Croatia	36%	42%	36%	55%	50%	41%	41%	34%	24%	31%	39%	
Cyprus	15	15	15	12	11	9	16	7	8	19		127
Cyprus	713.720	722.893	733.067	744.013	757.916	776.333	796.930	819.140	839.751	862.011		
Cyprus	2.10	2.07	2.05	1.61	1.45	1.16	2.01	0.85	0.95	2.20	1.65	
Cyprus		1	7	6	3	5	5	2	2	12		43
Cyprus		7%	47%	50%	27%	56%	31%	29%	25%	63%	37%	
Czech Republic	161	134	108	130	126	114	112	103	83	95		1.166
Czech Republic	10.192.649	10.195.347	10.198.855	10.223.577	10.254.233	10.343.422	10.425.783	10.462.088	10.486.731	10.505.445		
Czech Republic	1.58	1.31	1.06	1.27	1.23	1.10	1.07	0.98	0.79	0.90	1.13	
Czech Republic	37	18	16	19	20	16	18	13	17	16		190
Czech Republic	23%	13%	15%	15%	16%	14%	16%	13%	20%	17%	16%	

GEO/TIME	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Medium	Sum
Denmark	82	60	70	45	76	79	79	62	62	55		670
Denmark	5.383.507	5.397.640	5.411.405	5.427.459	5.447.084	5.475.791	5.511.451	5.534.738	5.560.628	5.580.516		
Denmark	1,52	1,11	1,29	0,83	1,40	1,44	1,43	1,12	1,11	0,99	1,22	
Denmark	6	10	9	12	6	6	9	11	12	3		84
Denmark	7%	17%	13%	27%	8%	8%	11%	18%	19%	5%	13%	
Estonia	147	91	113	91	93	84	70	70	83	73		915
Estonia	1.375.190	1.366.250	1.358.850	1.350.700	1.342.920	1.338.440	1.335.740	1.333.290	1.329.660	1.325.217		
Estonia	10,69	6,66	8,32	6,74	6,93	6,28	5,24	5,25	6,24	5,51	6,78	
Estonia	14	5	5	9	5	3	7	4	9	2		63
Estonia	10%	5%	4%	10%	5%	4%	10%	6%	11%	3%	7%	
Finland	103	144	113	112	128	132	116	112	116	89		1.165
Finland	5.206.295	5.219.732	5.236.611	5.255.580	5.276.955	5.300.484	5.326.314	5.351.427	5.375.276	5.401.267		
Finland	1,98	2,76	2,16	2,13	2,43	2,49	2,18	2,09	2,16	1,65	2,20	
Finland	18	30	11	17	23	30	22	14	18	16		199
Finland	17%	21%	10%	15%	18%	23%	19%	13%	16%	18%	17%	
France	987	990	976	879	826	839	682	675	743	430		8.027
France	61.864.088	62.292.241	62.772.870	63.229.635	63.645.065	64.007.193	64.350.226	64.658.856	64.978.721	65.276.983		
France	1,60	1,59	1,55	1,39	1,30	1,31	1,06	1,04	1,14	0,66	1,26	
France	123	132	124	111	99	142	134	127	146			1.138
France	12%	13%	13%	13%	12%	17%	20%	19%	20%		15%	
Germany	859	868	869	808	757	722	706	690	662	578		7.519
Germany	82.536.680	82.531.671	82.500.849	82.437.995	82.314.906	82.217.837	82.002.356	81.802.257	81.751.602	80.327.900		
Germany	1,04	1,05	1,05	0,98	0,92	0,88	0,86	0,84	0,81	0,72	0,92	
Germany	85	98	89	65	59	57	75	51	54	61		694
Germany	10%	11%	10%	8%	8%	8%	11%	7%	8%	11%	9%	

GEO/TIME	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Medium	Sum
Greece	116	111	132	110	128	139	144	176	184	165		1.405
Greece	10.915.770	10.940.369	10.969.912	11.004.716	11.036.008	11.060.937	11.094.745	11.119.289	11.123.392	11.086.406		
Greece	1.06	1.01	1.20	1.00	1.16	1.26	1.30	1.58	1.65	1.49	1.27	
Greece												
Greece												
Hungary	228	209	164	175	137	147	139	132	142	113		1.586
Hungary	10.142.362	10.116.742	10.097.549	10.076.581	10.066.158	10.045.401	10.030.975	10.014.324	9.985.722	9.931.925		
Hungary	2.25	2.07	1.62	1.74	1.36	1.46	1.39	1.32	1.42	1.14	1.58	
Hungary	15	19	10	9	6	16	13	10	6	11		115
Hungary	7%	9%	6%	5%	4%	11%	9%	8%	4%	10%	7%	
Ireland	52	45	65	70	85	55	60	58	45	60		595
Ireland	3.964.191	4.028.851	4.111.672	4.208.156	4.340.118	4.457.765	4.521.322	4.549.428	4.570.881	4.582.707		
Ireland	1.31	1.12	1.58	1.66	1.96	1.23	1.33	1.27	0.98	1.31	1.38	
Ireland					14	17	24	16	11	14		96
Ireland					16%	31%	40%	28%	24%	23%	27%	
Italy	765	767	648	663	685	654	626	567	583	563		6.521
Italy	57.130.506	57.495.900	57.874.753	58.064.214	58.223.744	58.652.875	59.000.586	59.190.143	59.364.690	59.394.207		
Italy	1.34	1.33	1.12	1.14	1.18	1.12	1.06	0.96	0.98	0.95	1.12	
Italy	347			262	269	246	218	209	202	219		1.972
Italy	45%			40%	39%	38%	35%	37%	35%	39%	38%	
Latvia	220	199	127	148	117	119	109	82	91	114		1.326
Latvia	2.299.390	2.276.520	2.249.724	2.227.874	2.208.840	2.191.810	2.162.834	2.120.504	2.074.605	2.044.813		
Latvia	9.57	8.74	5.65	6.64	5.30	5.43	5.04	3.87	4.39	5.58	6.02	
Latvia	21	9	13	15	7	9	3	4	7	5		93
Latvia	10%	5%	10%	10%	6%	8%	3%	5%	8%	4%	7%	
Lithuania	385	356	404	302	284	304	252	217	204	197		2.905
Lithuania	3.431.497	3.398.929	3.355.220	3.289.835	3.249.983	3.212.605	3.183.856	3.141.976	3.052.588	3.003.641		
Lithuania	11.22	10.47	12.04	9.18	8.74	9.46	7.91	6.91	6.68	6.56	8.92	
Lithuania	20	19	14	13	12	12	14	8	7	3		122
Lithuania	5%	5%	3%	4%	4%	4%	6%	4%	3%	2%	4%	

GEO/TIME	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Medium	Sum
Luxembourg	3	2	4	9	7	7	5	8	4	3		52
Luxembourg	448.300	454.960	461.230	469.086	476.187	483.799	493.500	502.066	511.840	524.853		
Luxembourg	0.67	0.44	0.87	1.92	1.47	1.45	1.01	1.59	0.78	0.57	1.08	
Luxembourg	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0		6
Luxembourg	33%	0%	25%	0%	14%	29%	20%	0%	0%	0%	12%	
Malta	0	7	4	0	4	6	4	4	3	9		41
Malta	397.296	399.867	402.668	404.999	405.616	407.832	410.926	414.027	414.989	417.546		
Malta	0.00	1.75	0.99	0.00	0.99	1.47	0.97	0.97	0.72	2.16	1.00	
Malta	0	4	0	0	2	5	0	2	0	0		13
Malta	0%	57%	0%	0%	50%	83%	0%	50%	0%	0%	24%	
Netherlands	202	191	174	128	143	150	154	144	143	145		1.574
Netherlands	16.192.572	16.258.032	16.305.526	16.334.210	16.357.992	16.405.399	16.485.787	16.574.989	16.655.799	16.730.348		
Netherlands	1.25	1.17	1.07	0.78	0.87	0.91	0.93	0.87	0.86	0.87	0.96	
Netherlands	56	53	54	31	39	37	41	33	49	49		442
Netherlands	28%	28%	31%	24%	27%	25%	27%	23%	34%	34%	28%	
Poland	663	633	555	490	525	460	493	436	449	377		5.081
Poland	38.218.531	38.190.608	38.173.835	38.157.055	38.125.479	38.115.641	38.135.876	38.022.869	38.062.718	38.063.792		
Poland	1.73	1.66	1.45	1.28	1.38	1.21	1.29	1.15	1.18	0.99	1.33	
Poland	47	26	24	25	34	19	15	9	16	20		235
Poland	7%	4%	4%	5%	6%	4%	3%	2%	4%	5%	5%	
Portugal	149	144	135	155	185	124	130	124	114	122		1.382
Portugal	10.444.592	10.473.050	10.494.672	10.511.988	10.532.588	10.553.339	10.563.014	10.573.479	10.572.721	10.542.398		
Portugal	1.43	1.37	1.29	1.47	1.76	1.17	1.23	1.17	1.08	1.16	1.31	
Portugal	57				35	44	30	51	19	28		
Portugal	38%	1%	1%	1%	19%	35%	23%	41%	17%	23%	20%	
Romania	551	516	453	438	416	470	397	404	335	378		4.358
Romania	21.627.509	21.521.142	21.382.354	21.257.016	21.130.503	20.635.460	20.440.290	20.294.683	20.199.059	20.095.996		
Romania	2.55	2.40	2.12	2.06	1.97	2.28	1.94	1.99	1.66	1.88	2.08	
Romania	17	19	16	11	11	6	12	9	11	10		122
Romania	3%	4%	4%	3%	3%	1%	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%	

GEO/TIME	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Medium	Sum
Slovakia	146	122	106	89	89	94	84	89	96	75		990
Slovakia	5.374.873	5.371.875	5.372.685	5.372.928	5.373.180	5.376.064	5.382.401	5.390.410	5.392.446	5.404.322		
Slovakia	2.72	2.27	1.97	1.66	1.66	1.75	1.56	1.65	1.78	1.39	1.84	
Slovakia	23	26	13	0	0	6	3	10	0	9		90
Slovakia	16%	21%	12%	0%	0%	6%	4%	11%	0%	12%	8%	
Slovenia	21	29	20	12	24	11	13	10	16	14		170
Slovenia	1.995.033	1.996.433	1.997.590	2.003.358	2.010.377	2.010.269	2.032.362	2.046.976	2.050.189	2.055.496		
Slovenia	1.05	1.45	1.00	0.60	1.19	0.55	0.64	0.49	0.78	0.68	0.84	
Slovenia	8	14	10	3	9	4	3	1				52
Slovenia	38%	48%	50%	25%	38%	36%	23%	10%			34%	
Spain	587	520	518	476	482	414	412	401	385	364		4.559
Spain	41.827.838	42.547.451	43.296.338	44.009.971	44.784.666	45.668.939	46.239.273	46.486.619	46.667.174	46.818.219		
Spain	1.40	1.22	1.20	1.08	1.08	0.91	0.89	0.86	0.82	0.78	1.02	
Spain	115	86	74	82	57	80	78	67	57	61		757
Spain	20%	17%	14%	17%	12%	19%	19%	17%	15%	17%	17%	
Sweden	81	102	83	91	111	82	93	91	81	68		883
Sweden	8.940.788	8.975.670	9.011.392	9.047.752	9.113.257	9.182.927	9.256.347	9.340.682	9.415.570	9.482.855		
Sweden	0.91	1.14	0.92	1.01	1.22	0.89	1.00	0.97	0.86	0.72	0.96	
Sweden	18	15	11	13	21	14	22	18	19	16		167
Sweden	22%	15%	13%	14%	19%	17%	24%	20%	23%	24%	19%	
England and Wales	904	868	764	758	775	664	620	639	553	552		
Scotland	109	139	102	123	111	97	85	98	93	72		
Northern Ireland (UK)	33	41	29	24	30	26	22	28	24	20		
United Kingdom	1.046	1.048	895	905	916	787	727	765	670	644		8.403
United Kingdom	59.501.394	59.793.759	60.182.050	60.620.361	61.073.279	61.571.647	62.042.343	62.510.197	63.022.532	63.495.303		
United Kingdom	1.76	1.75	1.49	1.49	1.50	1.28	1.17	1.22	1.06	1.01	1.37	
United Kingdom	41	52	41	51	22	32	18	27	32	12		328
United Kingdom	4%	5%	5%	6%	2%	4%	2%	4%	5%	2%	4%	

GEO/TIME	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Medium	Sum
Iceland	0	3	3	0	2	0	1	2	3	1		15
Iceland	288.471	290.570	293.577	299.891	307.672	315.459	319.368	317.630	318.452	319.575		
Iceland	0.00	1.03	1.02	0.00	0.65	0.00	0.31	0.63	0.94	0.31	0.49	
Iceland	0	0	1	1	1	0	0					3
Iceland	0%	0%	33%	0%	50%	0%	0%				12%	7%
Liechtenstein	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	0		7
Liechtenstein	33.863	34.294	34.600	34.905	35.168	35.356	35.589	35.894	36.149	36.475		
Liechtenstein	0.00	2.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.83	2.81	2.79	8.30	0.00	1.96	
Liechtenstein												
Liechtenstein												
Norway	51	36	33	33	30	34	29	29	111	27		413
Norway	4.552.252	4.577.457	4.606.363	4.640.219	4.681.134	4.737.171	4.799.252	4.858.199	4.920.305	4.985.870		
Norway	1.12	0.79	0.72	0.71	0.64	0.72	0.60	0.60	2.26	0.54	0.87	
Norway	12	12	5	10	2	3	9	2	71	5		131
Norway	24%	33%	15%	30%	7%	9%	31%	7%	64%	19%	24%	
Switzerland	73	79	75	60	51	54	51	53	46	45		587
Switzerland	7.313.853	7.364.148	7.415.102	7.459.128	7.508.739	7.593.494	7.701.856	7.785.806	7.870.134	7.954.662		
Switzerland	1.00	1.07	1.01	0.80	0.68	0.71	0.66	0.68	0.58	0.57	0.78	
Switzerland	20	35	23	14	15	16	21	11	16	14		185
Switzerland	27%	44%	31%	23%	29%	30%	41%	21%	35%	31%	31%	