Observations on Underground Gun Markets

Philip J. Cook, Duke University ACE Annual Meeting September 29, 2015

Multi-City Gun Project

How do the dangerous offenders obtain their guns? What regulations and enforcement practices are effective in reducing their access?

Research Methods:

- ATF gun trace data and other administrative data
- Inmate surveys
- Ethnography
- Cities: Chicago, LA, Boston, NYC, Baltimore, NO

Cook County Jail Survey

- Fall 2013
- Inmates awaiting trial, most with long records
- Selected by sheriff for gun and gang involvement
- 99 are interviewed
- Guarantee of anonymity
- Structured conversation with pro interviewer
- Asked about gun transactions in various ways

Offenders do not shop at gun stores

Proximate sources of guns to adults:

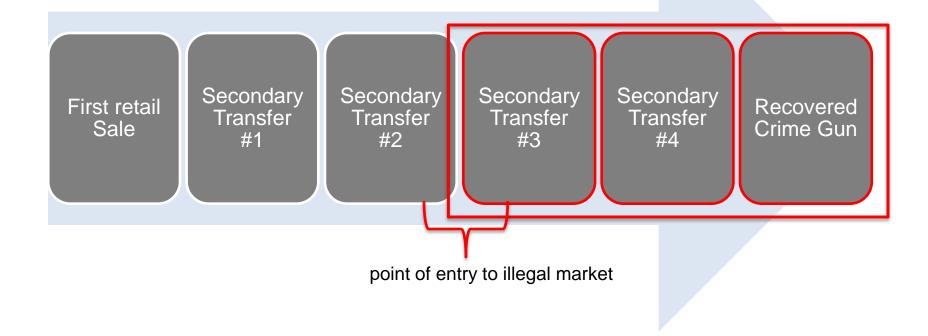
American public: 60% from gun stores
National prison survey: 10%
Gang members in Chicago (trace): 3%
Cook County Jail Survey: 3%

Gang guns are old

Chicago's recovered guns (trace data): median age for gang members = 11.6 years less than 2 years old: 10%

But time to crime is short: only a few months from acquisition to use

Usually there are multiple transactions from first sale to recovery



CONFIDENTIAL - FOR CPD USE ONLY

Supply chain to criminal use

Transaction	Data Source
First sale by dealer (FFL) (Possible straw purchase)	ATF Trace Data
Intermediate: Private and FFL sales Trafficking	Data not usually available Theft data (NCIC) Special investigation ATF Trace Data ATF investigations
Final transaction that arms offender	Offender interviews Social network analysis

Trafficking into Chicago

Guns tend to flow from unregulated jurisdictions to regulated jurisdictions.

Chicago gang guns (from trace data): Cook County 22.5% Rest of Illinois 12% Indiana 24% Other states 42%

Intermediaries

Straw purchasers (ATF trace data)

15% of new guns in Chicago are first purchased by woman and then recovered from a man

Brokers (ethography)

Small operators that are able to connect certain buyers with particular sources – for a price

Types of final transactions

Cook County Jail inmate survey:

60% of transactions were cash sale or trade

Other transactions: sharing, "holding," gifts

Theft is rare as proximate source

CONFIDENTIAL - FOR CPD USE ONLY

Sources for final transactions

Cook County Jail inmate survey

Three-Quarters (3/4) of guns that inmates had access to before arrest were obtained from social network

Respondents who **sold** guns discussed riskreduction strategies – "know your customer"

High/variable transactions costs

underground market for guns differs from drug markets:

- Far fewer transactions
- Little profit
- In Chicago, greater legal threat to sellers

Result: Most transactions are within the sellers' social network to minimize risk

Hence access is highly variable

Some lessons

Regulations have far-reaching effects in Chicago

- Prevent offenders from buying in gun stores
- Underground gun sellers are keenly aware of legal risks, and adapt to them

Possible lessons for enforcement – do more

- Conduct undercover buys and ballistics
- Investigate sources of guns and prosecute