

Firearm trends in WA

October 2023

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Executive Summary

The WA Police Union has collected a significant amount of data relating to firearm ownership in WA as well as firearm-related deaths and crime. This research paper presents some of the major trends to emerge from the data.

The rate of firearm licenses compared to WA's population has been declining over the last 60 years. More than 1-in-10 people in WA had a firearm license in 1961/62 compared to 1-in-30 in 2021/22.

Data about the number of licensed firearms in WA has proven to be less than reliable. It nonetheless indicates that the number of licensed firearms has been declining in real terms. There was about one licensed firearm for every 5 people in WA in 1985/86 compared to one for every 8 people in 2021/22.

The average number of firearms per licensed owner increased from two in 2007/08 to four in 2021-22. Although this number is heavily skewed by a small number of license holders each owning more than 50 licensed firearms.

The total amount of revenue from firearm fees in 2021-22 dollars increased from \$842,000 in 1957/58 to \$9.52 million in 2021/22. The average amount of fees paid by licensed owners also increased \$12.10 to \$106.94 over the same period.

WA's rate of firearm-related homicides and suicides have both declined significantly since the 1920s. The rate of victims of firearm-related assault (including threatening behaviour) and robbery have also sharply fallen since 2008.

Rates of Regulated Weapons Offences in WA had been climbing sharply prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Offence rates remain notably higher in Regional WA compared to the Metropolitan area.

Some 19 people were fatally shot by WA Police officers over 1960 to 2022. Eight deaths or **42 per cent** occurred during 2017 to 2022.

At least **30.7 per cent** of WA firearm homicide victims from 2010 to 2022 were killed by a licensed firearm owner.

Simple regression analysis reveals a **73.8 per cent** positive correlation between WA's rate of firearm-related homicides and firearm-related suicides from 1922 to 2022.

An **83.4 per cent** positive correlation exists between WA's rate of firearm licenses and rate of licensed firearms from 1985 to 2022.

A **72.2 per cent** negative correlation exists between WA's rate of firearm licenses and the average amount of firearm fees paid by licensed owners from 1985 to 2022.

A **46.5 per cent** positive correlation exists between WA's rate of firearm licenses and rate of firearm-related homicides from 1985 to 2022.

A **95.2 per cent** positive correlation exists between WA's rate of firearm licenses and rate of firearm-related suicides from 1985 to 2022.

An **86.9 per cent** positive correlation exists between WA's rate of firearm licences and rate of victims of firearm-related assaults from 2008 to 2022.

Introduction

This research paper has been produced by the WA Police Union (WAPU). Founded in 1912, WAPU has been at the forefront of representing the rights, interests, and welfare of police officers throughout the State. WAPU currently has more than 7,000 Members – **98 per cent** of all police officers and police auxiliary officers in the WA Police Force.

WA Police Force ("WA Police") is currently undertaking a major review of the WA *Firearms Act 1973*¹ ("Firearms Act"). The review is likely to culminate in the most significant changes to WA firearms legislation in 50 years. No date has been set for when the findings of the review will be publicly released.

The objective of this research paper is to provide an overview of firearm-related statistics in WA for WAPU's consideration prior to the review's release.

Methodology

This research paper wanted to develop as historically complete collection of firearm-related statistics for WA as possible. The publications used to build this collection are listed on page 21.

The main topics contained in this research paper are:

- The number and rate of firearm licenses
- The number and rate of licensed firearms
- The total and average amount of firearm license fees
- The average number of licensed firearms per license holder
- The number and rate of firearm-related homicides and suicides
- The rate of lost and / or stolen licensed firearms

There was more historical data for some of the above topics compared to others. This is discussed in the individual sections of this research paper.

Further information

Matthew Payne WAPU Research Officer Phone: (08) 9321 2155

Email: matthew.payne@wapu.org.au

 $^{^{1}\,\}underline{\text{https://www.abc.net.au/news/rural/2023-04-21/special-gun-licence-for-wa-farmers-firearms-act-reform/102251644}}$

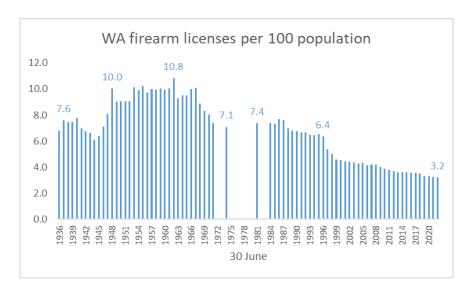
Firearm ownership

The *Firearms and Guns Act 1931* granted WA Police exclusive power for the licensing of firearms within WA. Prior to this, licensing was administered by the WA Treasury Department. WAPU was a major driver behind this legislative change. Its 1928 Annual Conference called for WA Police to takeover firearm licensing following the shooting murders of Inspector John Walsh and Sergeant Alexander Pittman in 1926 and Sergeant Alexander Mark in 1928.

Licenses

Most WA Police Annual Reports over the last 90 years have included the number of firearm licenses in the State. The 1935/36 Annual Report was the first time that the number was published. There were 30,902 firearm licenses in WA compared to about 89,000 in 2021-22². The highest number of firearm licenses that WAPU can find was 113,480 in 1986/87. A notable data gap exists for the period 1971/72 to 1982/83.

The rate of firearm licenses in WA has historically been declining. The highest was **10.8 licenses** per 100 population in 1961/62. This had fallen to **6.4 licenses** by 1995/96 just prior to the implementation of the National Firearms Agreement (NFA). The 2021/22 rate of **3.2 licenses** was the lowest on record.



Licensed firearms

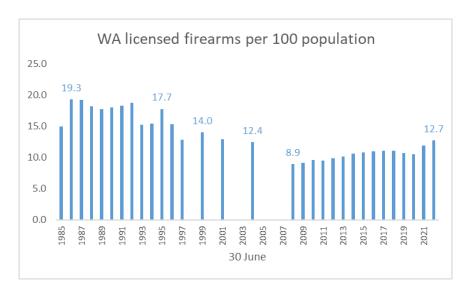
The WA Office of the Auditor-General conducted performance audits on the management and regulation of firearms in 2000, 2004, and 2009. The 2009 audit specifically focused on the Firearms Register and related system. The Auditor-General found that WA Police could not rely on the accuracy of the information held in the register³. The corollary being that any

² https://www.gunpolicy.org/firearms/region/western-australia

³ https://audit.wa.gov.au/reports-and-publications/reports/information-systems-application-controls-audits/firearms-management-system-western-australia-police/

official statistics of licensed firearms published prior to 2009 should be treated with a degree of caution.

There are fewer statistics about the number of licensed firearms in WA compared to firearm licenses. The earliest that WAPU can find was 149,192 licensed firearms in 1962/63 from WA Legislative Assembly Hansard⁴. WAPU was able to find licensed firearm numbers for all but six financial years for the period 1984/85 to 2021/22. There was almost one licensed firearm for every 5 people in WA in 1985/86. This had fallen to **8.9 firearms** per 100 people by 2007/08 before increasing to **12.7 firearms** by the end of the period.



One main weakness of the above statistics is the scarcity of data about the types of firearms held by licensed owners. WA Auditor-General reports in 2000, 2004, and 2009 revealed that **81** to **85 per cent** of registered firearms were either Category A (Air and rim rifles and single shot and repeating) or Category B (Centre fire rifles and muzzle loading longarms). But WAPU has been unable to find any comparable data prior to the implementation of the NFA.

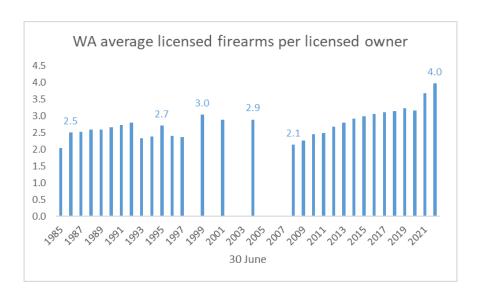
Number of firearms per licensed owner

The Auditor-General's concerns about the accuracy of licensed firearm numbers also complicates any attempt to calculate the average number of firearms per owner. The only numbers in the chart below that can be considered relatively accurate are those from 2007/08 onward.

Licensed firearm owners owned an average of **2.4 firearms** just prior to the implementation of the NFA. Though perhaps the most striking trend is how the average number of firearms has almost doubled from 2007/08 from **2.1 firearms** to **4 firearms**.

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⁴ WA Legislative Assembly, 1963, p. 392

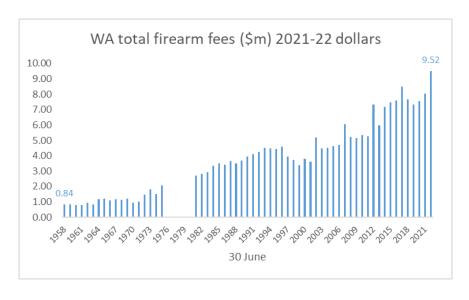


WA Government figures for 2021/22 revealed that 26 license holders (most likely collectors) each owned more than 100 firearms while a further 34 owned more than 50 firearms⁵. Like the rate of licensed firearms, the figures did not contain any information about the types of firearms owned by license holders.

Firearm license fees

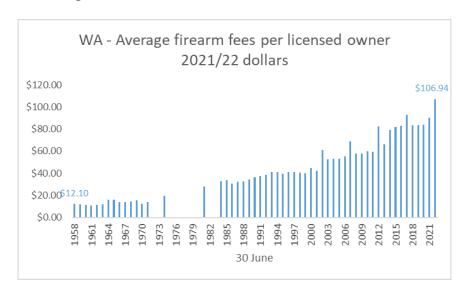
Firearm license fees in WA are governed under Schedule 1A of the *Firearms Regulations 1974*. The total amount of revenue collected from firearm fees is usually published in WA Police Annual Reports. Although no data could be found for 1975/76 to 1979/80. This paper has converted total annual revenue into 2021-22 dollars to better assess trends in real terms.

Total firearm licence revenue has increased significantly over the last 64 years. WA Police collected just over \$842,000 in firearm licence fees in 1957/58 compared to \$9.52 million in 2021/22.



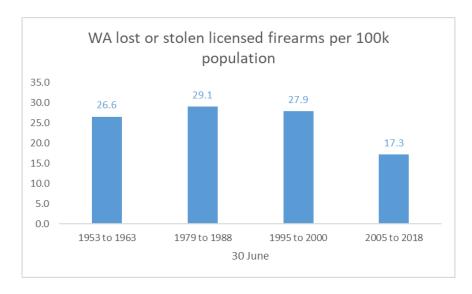
⁵ https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-08-12/wa-guns-firearms-licence-reform-sporting-shooters-wa/101329812

The increase in total revenue has also coincided with declining numbers of licensed firearm owners. WA licensed owners in 1957/58 paid an average of \$12.10 in firearm fees. This compares to an average of \$106.94 in 2021/22.



Lost or stolen firearms

Many WA Police Annual Reports recorded the number of lost or stolen firearms for that financial year. The available data reveals the rate of lost or stolen firearms has fallen noticeably since 2005.



Incidents involving stolen firearms in WA often attract media attention⁶. The prospect of stolen firearms being used in the commissioning of various criminal offences being a major concern. However, little data exists supporting or refuting this concern:

⁶ <u>https://www.watoday.com.au/national/western-australia/police-hunt-thieves-after-about-100-guns-stolen-from-perth-store-20191122-p53d4x.html</u>

- A 2022 Question on Notice in the WA Legislative Council revealed that WA Police does not distinguish between crimes involving registered and unregistered firearms⁷.
- An Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) report into firearm homicides in Australia from July 1997 to June 1999 found just 9.4 per cent were committed by a licensed owner with a licensed weapon⁸. Unfortunately, the report did not provide a State or Territory breakdown.
- The AIC has also published several reports relating to firearm theft, the latest being in 2018. Of the 232 firearms lost or stolen in WA in 2006/07, only one was recorded as being used in a crime (alteration of a firearm).

Not enough data could be found to discern any trends in relation to the recovery of lost or stolen firearms in WA.

⁷ WA Legislative Council, 2022, p. 4386

⁸ Mouzos J 2000. The licensing and registration status of firearms used in homicide. *Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice* no. 151. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Firearm-related deaths and crime

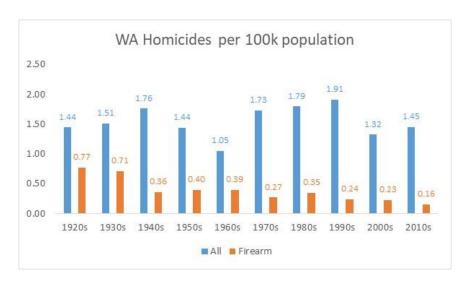
WAPU has used Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) *Causes of Death* to determine the rate of firearm-related homicides and suicides in WA for each full decade since the 1920s. These rates come with two main caveats though:

- "Homicide" only refers to deaths due to murder or manslaughter. It does not include deaths due to dangerous driving.
- It is crucial to note that many Aboriginal deaths were not counted by the ABS prior to 1968. It is almost certain that the actual number of homicides and suicides in WA before 1968 were higher than the official figures indicate.

This section also includes statistics about victims of firearm-related assaults and robbery in WA, regulated weapons offences, and WA Police fatal shootings.

Homicides

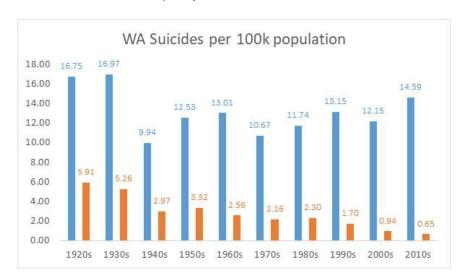
WA's general homicide rate has fluctuated over the last 100 years. By contrast, the rate of firearm homicides has historically been declining. The rate of firearm homicides in the 2010s was almost one-fifth that of the 1920s.



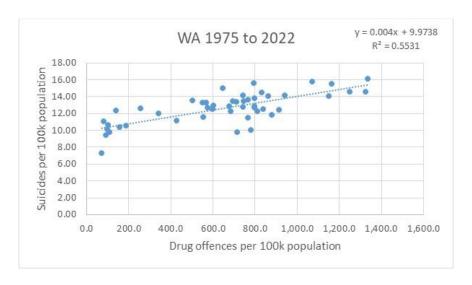
The year with the highest number of firearm homicides was 1931 with 11. No firearm homicides were recorded in at least seven years, six of them occurring before 1945. The last firearm homicide-free year was 1970.

Suicides

WAPU Members are invariably required to attend suicide incidents, including those involving firearms. WA's overall rate of suicide has been increasing since the 1970's. However, the rate of firearm suicides has fallen by **89 per cent** since the 1920s.



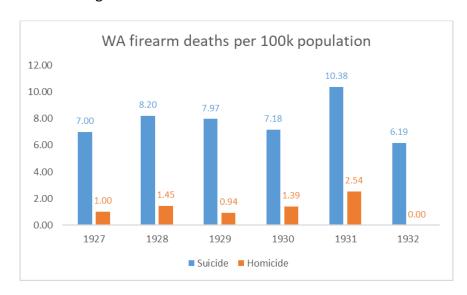
There is no tangible evidence that restricting firearms in Australia simply resulted in victims using alternative methods of suicide⁹. WA's general suicide rate and firearm suicide rate have been trending in different directions since the 1980s, well before the NFA was implemented. While researching his paper, WAPU found WA's rising suicide rate over the last 50 years might reflect increasing levels of illicit drug use in the community. Illicit drug use is a proven risk factor for suicidal behaviour¹⁰. Simple regression analysis reveals a **55.3 per cent** positive correlation between WA's rate of drug offences and general suicide rate since 1975.



 $^{^{9} \ \}underline{\text{https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/australian-firearms-buyback-and-its-effect-gun-deaths}\\$

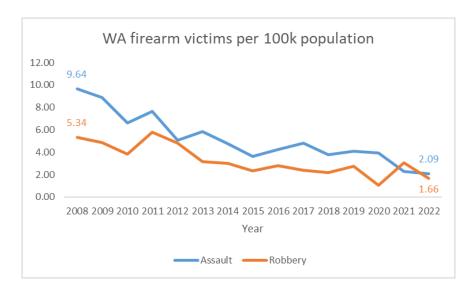
 $^{^{10} \}underline{\text{https://www.sydney.edu.au/content/dam/corporate/documents/matilda-centre/resources/reports/aod-and-suicidal-behaviour-.pdf}$

The year with the highest number of firearm suicides was 1931 with 45. WA's highest rates of firearm suicide for the period occurred from 1927 to 1932. It is not surprising that most of this period coincided with the Great Depression. Further, many of WA's highest rates of firearm homicides also occurred during the Great Depression, suggesting a high number of murder-suicides involving firearms.



Assault and Robbery victims

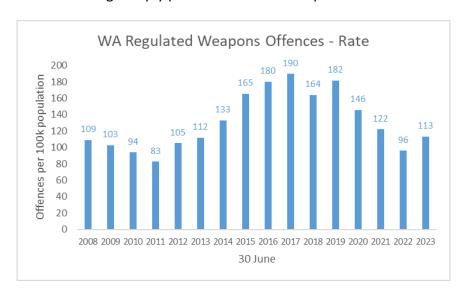
The ABS *Recorded Crime in Australia, Victims* includes data on the number of victims of crime where a weapon was involved. These statistics show that firearm-related crime is not just limited to homicide. The rate of assault (including threatening behaviour) and robbery victims involving a firearm in WA has declined significantly since 2008.



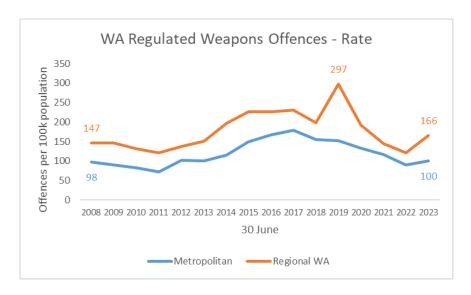
Regulated Weapons Offences

WA Police recorded offence statistics include the category "Regulated Weapons Offences". Regulated Weapons Offences relate to possessing weapons/explosives, or items intended to be used as weapons, in circumstances that contravene legislative and regulatory requirements. This includes contraventions of the Firearms Act.

WA Police have previously expressed concern about WA license holders failing to comply with legislative requirements relating to firearm storage¹¹. The rate of Regulated Weapons Offences had been climbing sharply prior to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.



Likely reflecting the presence of the agricultural sector, rates in Regional WA have always been noticeably higher compared to the Metropolitan area.

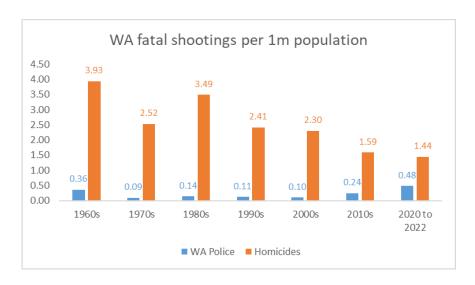


WA Police fatal shootings

Some 19 people were fatally shot by WA Police officers over the 1960 to 2022 period. Eight or **42 per cent** of these deaths occurred over 2017 to 2022. All 19 WA Police shootings were later upheld as justifiable use of force.

WA's rate of police fatal shootings since the 1960s has generally been well below its rate of firearm homicides. However, the number of shootings since 2017 has seen this gap narrow.

 $^{^{11}}$ https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-01-03/gun-storage-warning-after-firearms-found-under-mattresses/10683316



Eighteen of the deceased were male and two were Aboriginal. The average age of the deceased was 34 years old. Nine of the deceased were armed with a knife and six were armed with a firearm.

WAPU estimates that at least seven of the 15 deceased since 1987 had a history of mental illness while six had a history of substance abuse.

Potential firearm-related correlations in WA

The final section of this paper considers some potential correlations involving firearms in WA. Apart from comparing rates of homicide and suicide, this paper only uses data from 1985 onwards for the purposes of regression analysis. This paper also uses firearm licenses as the independent variable given it is both more plentiful and accurate than data for licensed firearms.

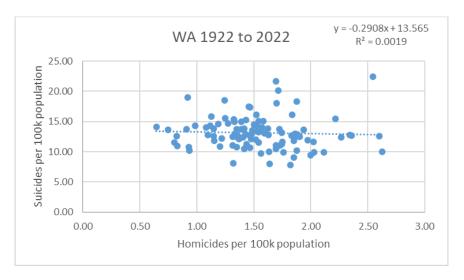
WA's annual number of firearm-related homicides and suicides are still relatively small compared to deaths from other causes. Even a small change in number can cause annual rates – particularly for homicide – to fluctuate significantly. Annual rates for both homicide and suicide have therefore been adjusted with a three-year weighted moving average to minimise the level of statistical distortion.

A breakdown of the 1985 to 2022 data used in regression analysis can be found in this paper's Appendices.

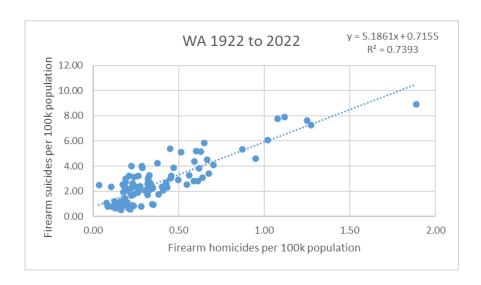
Homicide and suicide rates

This paper noted that the number of homicides and suicides officially recorded in WA prior to 1968 are likely understated. Comparing homicide and suicide rates over the last 100 years nonetheless reveal that firearm-related deaths are somewhat unique in this regard.

Simple regression analysis indicates that WA's general rate of homicide and suicide since 1922 share no statistical significance.



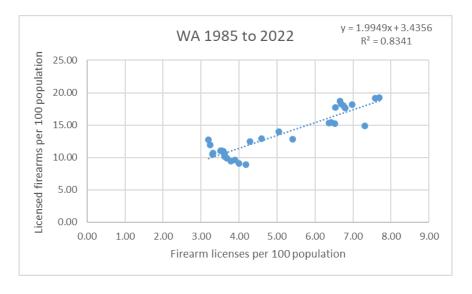
The statistical relationship between WA's rate of firearm-related homicide and suicide appears significant though. Simple regression analysis reveals a **73.8 per cent** positive correlation between both rates.



Rates of firearm-related homicide and suicide have been strongly related in WA over the last 100 years. As noted on page 13, this could reflect incidents of murder-suicide involving firearms.

Firearm licenses and licensed firearms

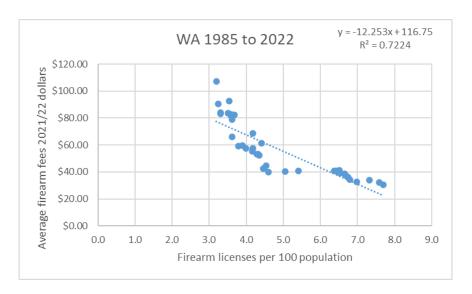
The rate of firearm licenses and licensed firearms in WA have experienced diverging trends since 2007/08 (see pages 6 to 7). Historical data nonetheless indicates that high rates of licensed firearms are very strongly associated with high rates of firearm licenses. Simple regression analysis reveals an **83.4 per cent** positive correlation between both rates.



It remains to be seen whether existing trends continue in WA with a shrinking number of license holders owning an increasing number of weapons.

Firearm licenses and average license fees

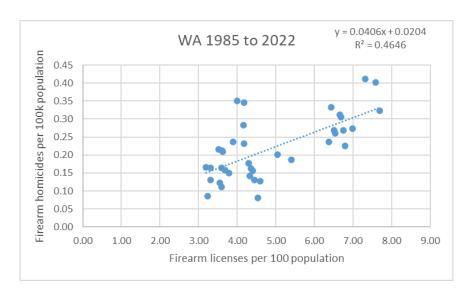
WA's declining rate of firearm licenses has coincided with licensed firearm owners paying an increasing amount of average fees. Simple regression analysis suggests higher fees have significantly influenced the fall in the rate of licenses with a negative **72.2 per cent** correlation between the two variables.



Firearm licenses and related deaths

A 1997 AIC paper found that restricting the availability of firearms very strongly reduces firearm-related death rates¹². The situation in WA appears to be more nuanced in this regard.

Simple regression analysis reveals a **46.5 per cent** positive correlation between the rates of firearm licenses and firearm-related homicides in WA.



This is a moderate correlation. It lends some support to earlier AIC research indicating that licensed firearm owners are only responsible for a small minority of homicides (see page 10).

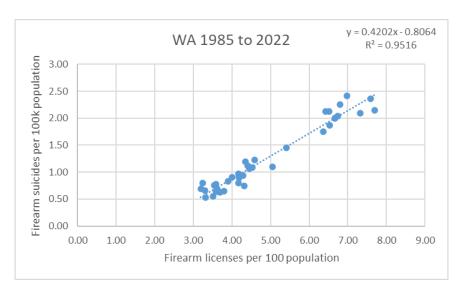
¹² Mukherjee S 1997. Firearm-related violence in Australia. *Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice* no. 70. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

However, the rate of homicides by licensed owners in WA appears to be higher than the rate published in the AIC research.

There were 52 firearm-related homicide deaths in WA from 2010 to 2022. WAPU has been able to identify that at least 16 or **30.7 per cent** were shot and killed by a licensed firearm owner. Although it should be acknowledged that this figure is heavily influenced by the Osmington incident in May 2018¹³.

Seven WA Police officers have been shot and murdered in the line of duty since the end of the Second World War, the last death occurring in 1979. Five of these murders were perpetrated by a licensed firearm owner. The historical experience indicates that WAPU Members are more likely to be shot and killed by a licensed firearm owner compared to the general population.

The relationship between the rates of firearm licenses and firearm-related suicides is far less ambiguous.



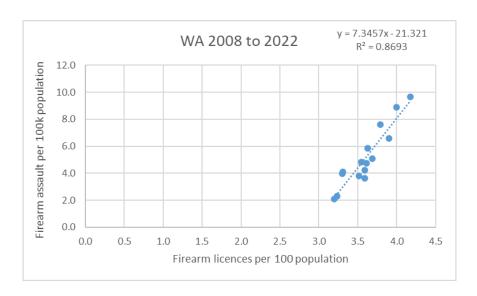
Simple regression reveals a **95.2 per cent** positive correlation between both rates in WA. This is close to a perfect correlation, suggesting that levels of firearm-related suicide are inextricably linked to levels of firearm ownership.

Firearm licenses and victims of assault and robbery

Statistics about WA victims of firearm-related assaults and robberies only date back to 2008. Any correlations should therefore be considered less robust than for statistics dating back to 1985. However, the correlations that exist still merit consideration.

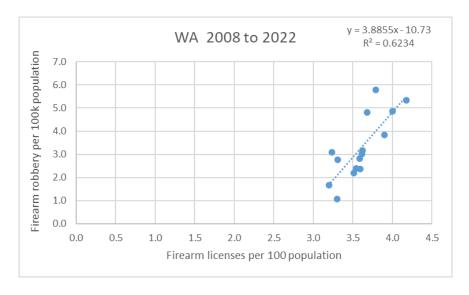
A very strong **86.9 per cent** positive correlation exists between the rates of firearm licences and victims of assault and threatening behaviour involving firearms in WA.

¹³ https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-0<u>5-12/margaret-river-osmington-murder-suicide-saturday/9754446</u>



The rate of firearm assault victims in WA has been declining in WA since 2008 (see page 13). However, WA Police statistics in August 2022 revealed that police officers were responding to at least one FDV incident per month involving a firearm¹⁴. FDV victims also reported that abusers who held a firearm license had threatened to shoot the victim and their children should they attempt to leave the abuser.

There was a less noticeable positive correlation between the rates of firearm licenses and firearm robbery victims in WA. But at **62.3 per cent**, it can still be considered strong.



Firearm-related homicides tend to attract significant attention given the serious nature of the offence. But firearm-related assaults and robberies are significantly more prevalent. The above correlations indicate these offences need to be considered when developing firearm legislation for WA.

¹⁴ https://thewest.com.au/news/crime/wa-police-figures-reveal-alarming-increase-in-gun-related-domestic-violence-attacks-c-7740052

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Appendix 1. WA Firearm Ownership – Number

30 June	Firearm licenses	Licensed Firearms	Firearms lost or stolen
1985	103,769	211,540	357
1986	112,265	281,441	513
1987	113,480	286,712	464
1988	107,794	280,166	477
1989	108,180	281,123	
1990	108,819	290,753	
1991	109,382	298,085	
1992	110,427	309,880	
1993	109,349	255,188	515
1994	109,624	261,923	
1995	113,453	308,000	574
1996	112,620	270,371	544
1997	97,191	231,000*	617
1998	92,147		531
1999	85,136	259,540	429
2000	85,122*		335
2001	84,829	245,322	
2002	85,000*		
2003	85,000*		
2004	85,000	246,106	
2005	86,923		207
2006	85,385		191
2007	88,023*		232
2008	90,661	193,753	323
2009	89,553	203,329	328
2010	89,285	219,259	289
2011	89,192	222,898	318
2012	89,342	240,098	381
2013	90,117	252,462	477
2014	90,968	265,627	429
2015	91,221	273,135	899
2016	91,657	280,124	364
2017	91,720	285,636	694
2018	92,082	290,327	559
2019	88,141	284,856	
2020	89,800	285,000	
2021	89,000	328,000	
2022	89,000	353,653	

^{*:} Estimate

Appendix 2. WA Firearm Ownership – Rate

30 June	Firearm licenses per 100 population	Licensed Firearms per 100 population	Firearms lost or stolen per 100k population
1985	7.31	14.91	25.2
1986	7.69	19.29	35.2
1987	7.58	19.16	31.0
1988	6.98	18.14	30.9
1989	6.80	17.67	
1990	6.75	18.03	
1991	6.69	18.22	
1992	6.66	18.68	
1993	6.51	15.20	30.7
1994	6.43	15.37	
1995	6.54	17.74	33.1
1996	6.37	15.29	30.8
1997	5.40	12.85*	34.3
1998	5.04		29.1
1999	4.59	14.00	23.1
2000	4.53*		17.8
2001	4.45	12.87	
2002	4.41*		
2003	4.35*		
2004	4.29	12.43	
2005	4.32		10.3
2006	4.16		9.3
2007	4.18*		11.0
2008	4.17	8.92	14.9
2009	4.00	9.08	14.6
2010	3.90	9.57	12.6
2011	3.79	9.47	13.5
2012	3.68	9.90	15.7
2013	3.62	10.15	19.2
2014	3.61	10.55	17.0
2015	3.59	10.75	35.4
2016	3.59	10.96	14.2
2017	3.54	11.04	26.8
2018	3.51	11.08	21.3
2019	3.31	10.69	
2020	3.30	10.48	
2021	3.24	11.93	
2022	3.20	12.70	

^{*:} Estimate

Appendix 3. WA Firearm license fees in 2021-22 Dollars

30 June	Total license fees	Average fees paid per licensed owner
1985	\$3,515,501	\$33.88
1986	\$3,413,719	\$30.41
1987	\$3,641,063	\$32.09
1988	\$3,511,095	\$32.57
1989	\$3,703,160	\$34.23
1990	\$3,942,227	\$36.23
1991	\$4,081,169	\$37.31
1992	\$4,242,816	\$38.42
1993	\$4,496,103	\$41.12
1994	\$4,473,276	\$40.81
1995	\$4,455,318	\$39.27
1996	\$4,601,064	\$40.85
1997	\$3,966,076	\$40.81
1998	\$3,719,142	\$40.37
1999	\$3,400,561	\$39.94
2000	\$3,813,781	\$44.80
2001	\$3,594,107	\$42.37
2002	\$5,200,254	\$61.18
2003	\$4,459,772	\$52.47
2004	\$4,521,074	\$53.19
2005	\$4,623,296	\$53.19
2006	\$4,716,567	\$55.24
2007	\$6,035,797	\$68.57
2008	\$5,227,039	\$57.65
2009	\$5,152,518	\$57.54
2010	\$5,329,636	\$59.69
2011	\$5,274,262	\$59.13
2012	\$7,339,830	\$82.15
2013	\$5,964,029	\$66.18
2014	\$7,187,931	\$79.02
2015	\$7,464,395	\$81.83
2016	\$7,586,018	\$82.77
2017	\$8,505,020	\$92.73
2018	\$7,683,696	\$83.44
2019	\$7,331,119	\$83.17
2020	\$7,546,498	\$84.04
2021	\$8,043,376	\$90.38
2022	\$9,518,000	\$106.94

Appendix 4. WA Firearm-related Deaths – Number

Year	Homicides	Suicides
1985	6	28
1986	3	33
1987	8	39
1988	2	37
1989	3	33
1990	6	31
1991	5	34
1992	5	33
1993	4	38
1994	7	36
1995	3	28
1996	4	31
1997	3	22
1998	4	15
1999	1	28
2000	1	17
2001	4	20
2002	3	24
2003	3	24
2004	4	13
2005	2	13
2006	9	20
2007	3	20
2008	10	22
2009	8	19
2010	2	18
2011	3	12
2012	5	16
2013	6	17
2014	5	18
2015	3	15
2016	2	24
2017	4	18
2018	8	9
2019	2	16
2020	3	22
2021	2	24
2022	7	15

Appendix 5. WA Firearm-related Deaths – Rate

Year	Homicides per 100k population	Suicides per 100k population
1985	0.42	1.95
1986	0.20	2.23
1987	0.53	2.58
1988	0.13	2.37
1989	0.19	2.07
1990	0.37	1.91
1991	0.30	2.06
1992	0.30	1.98
1993	0.24	2.25
1994	0.41	2.10
1995	0.17	1.60
1996	0.22	1.74
1997	0.17	1.21
1998	0.22	0.82
1999	0.05	1.50
2000	0.05	0.90
2001	0.21	1.04
2002	0.15	1.24
2003	0.15	1.22
2004	0.20	0.65
2005	0.10	0.64
2006	0.43	0.96
2007	0.14	0.94
2008	0.45	1.00
2009	0.35	0.84
2010	0.09	0.78
2011	0.13	0.50
2012	0.20	0.65
2013	0.24	0.68
2014	0.20	0.71
2015	0.12	0.59
2016	0.08	0.93
2017	0.15	0.69
2018	0.30	0.34
2019	0.07	0.60
2020	0.11	0.81
2021	0.07	0.87
2022	0.25	0.53