

The Impacts of Stand Your Ground Laws on Crime Rates

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### **Abstract**

This study examines the impact on crime rates that occur when Stand Your Ground (SYG) laws are implemented in a state that previously had a Castle Doctrine in place. Specifically, violent crime and homicide crime rates in states with SYG laws are analyzed using Regression with Difference Scores models. Currently there is limited research on how SYG affects crime rates at the state level and most of the research focuses on Florida, so this study expands the knowledge that currently exists to include other states that have implemented SYG. The Regression with Difference Scores models showed that, controlling for changes in the control variables, the shift from just Castle Doctrine to SYG did not have a statistically significant effect on either the changes in the violent crime rates or homicide rates between the time periods measured. These results open up additional questions and avenues of research that needs to be done in order to properly evaluate the effectiveness of SYG laws and to make an informed decision regarding how SYG should be addressed by lawmakers in the future.

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### Introduction

Ever since the United States was first founded and our Constitution was written, having the ability to defend oneself has been one of the fundamental rights granted to citizens, as seen in the Second Amendment which grants the right to bear arms. Over the years a number of other self-defense laws have been added to American law books. In more recent years though, there has been more scrutiny placed on the self-defense laws currently on the books in the United States. The two primary self-defense laws this applies to are the Castle Doctrine and Stand Your Ground (SYG) laws.

The Castle Doctrine has a long history in common law tradition that dates back to early British history and is based on the principle that one's home is one's castle and therefore, one has the right to defend it using lethal force without having the duty to retreat (Ferraro & Ghatak, 2019). SYG laws are more recent pieces of legislation that expand the rights granted in the Castle Doctrine, giving individuals the right to use lethal force to defend themselves in any space they are legally allowed to be, not just their home, without having the duty to retreat, so long as they have reasonable belief that an individual poses an imminent deadly threat to their life (Ferraro & Ghatak, 2019). Florida was the first state to pass a SYG law in 2005, and 24 more states passed similar laws in recent years, bringing the current total number of states with some form of SYG to 25 states. Most supporters of SYG laws cite their usefulness in combatting the threat of crime (Ferraro & Ghatak, 2019).

Despite much of the support for SYG laws being due to their contribution to combatting violent crime, there has been some question as to whether these laws actually achieve that goal. There have been a handful of studies that examine the effects of SYG laws on various types of

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crime, and the results have been mixed. Despite this, there does seem to be a general trend of SYG actually increasing crime rather than decreasing it.

This paper is an exploration of the effects of SYG laws on crime rates in states that previously had only a Castle Doctrine and attempts to answer the research question, what is the impact of Castle Doctrine and SYG laws on violent crime and homicides and how do crime rates in states with just Castle Doctrine compare to states that have both Castle Doctrine and SYG laws? It first begins with an overview and history of the Castle Doctrine and SYG laws. Next, there is a more in depth look at other studies that have examined the impacts of Castle Doctrine and SYG and the results those studies produced. After that is an explanation of the statistical method that was used to conduct this study, a Regression with Difference Scores model that examines the statistical significance of implementation of SYG laws on changes in violent crime rates and homicide rates. Finally, there is a discussion of the findings of this study, including what the statistical model showed, what that means, the implications of these findings, how these findings could affect policy, and the limitations present in this particular study.

### **Policy Summary**

This paper deals with two policies, the Castle Doctrine and Stand Your Ground (SYG) laws. Castle Doctrine has been in place much longer in the United States than SYG. The origins of Castle Doctrine stem from common law tradition, specifically during early British history. The principle of the Castle Doctrine is that one's home is one's castle and therefore, one has the right to defend it using lethal force without having the duty to retreat (Ferraro & Ghatak, 2019). There are close ties between the principle of the Castle Doctrine and U.S. citizens' Second Amendment rights (Boots, Hilhari & Elliot, 2009). Up until recently, there has been little to no application of, or controversy surrounding the Castle Doctrine (Ferraro & Ghatak, 2019). It was

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not until the Castle Doctrine was expanded to include spaces outside of the home with the creation of SYG laws that these pieces of legislation became more controversial.

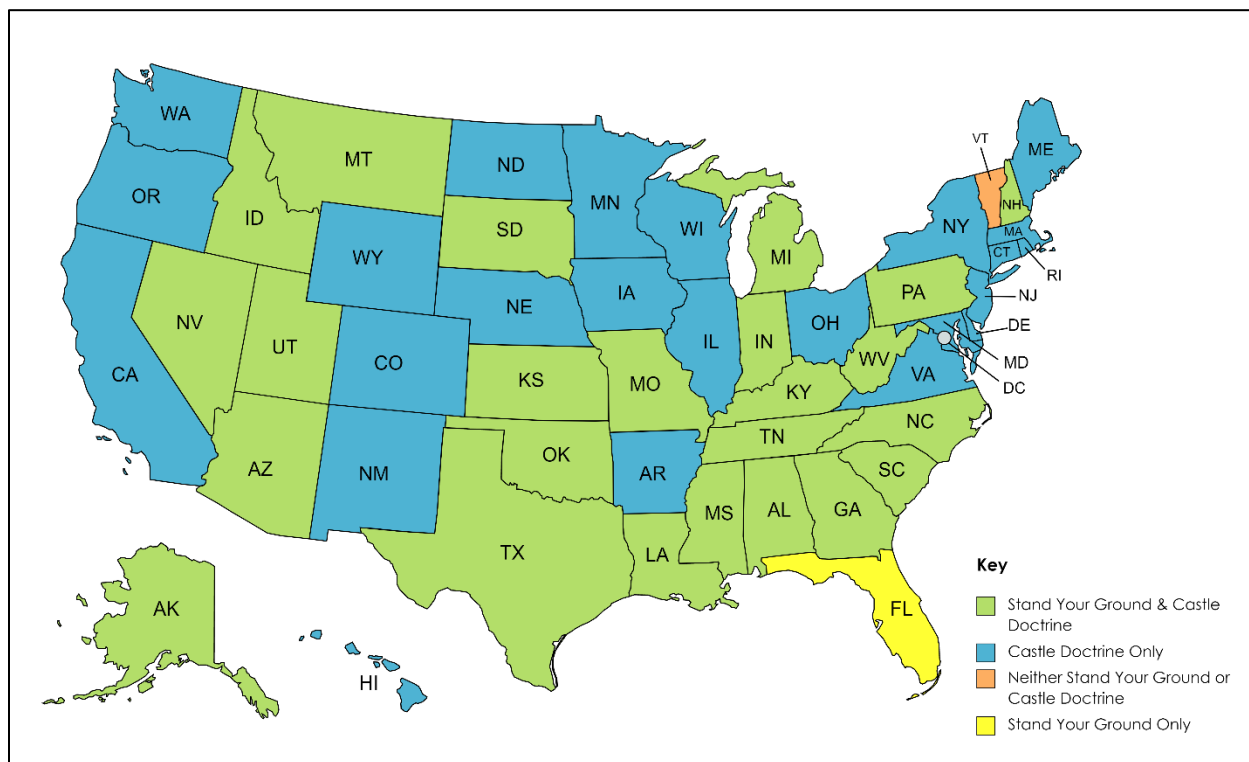


Figure 1: Map of Self Defense Laws in the United States as of 2020<sup>1</sup>

Stand Your Ground are self-defense laws that expand the rights granted by the Castle Doctrine. They do this by giving individuals the right to use lethal force to defend themselves in any space they are legally allowed to be, not just their home, without having the duty to retreat. Once can exercise the right granted by SYG so long as one has reasonable belief that an individual poses an imminent deadly threat to their life. Florida was the first state to pass a SYG law in 2005. Over the course of the next few years twenty-four more states passed their own version of the SYG law, bringing the total number of states with SYG to 25 (Ferraro & Ghatak,

<sup>1</sup> Data Compiled From (State of Mississippi Judiciary, 2018; Faulk, 2019; Filip, 2013; Gehrke, 2012; Hawkins, 2019; USA Carry, 2021; Justia, 2005; Justia, 2005; Justia, 2011; Justia, 2013; Justia, 2014; Lefler, 2018; Nevada Legislature, 2011; Michigan Legislature, 2006; *Kentucky's Stand Your Ground*; McCoy, 2018; Natz, 2014; Pennsylvania General Assembly, 1972; Roberts Law Group, PLLC, 2021; Scripps Media, Inc, 2018; South Dakota Legislature, 2006; Staff & Pantekoek, 2020; Stephens, 2018; Tulsa World, 2019; World Population Review, 2020)

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2019). Most supporters of SYG point to its usefulness in allowing individuals to protect themselves from violent, predatory criminals, suggesting that the motivation for SYG legislation was to combat the threat of crime. That being said, the perceived threat of violent crime may have not been entirely founded, as these pieces of SYG legislation were passed at a time when violent crime rates were declining and had been doing so for over a decade already (Ferraro & Ghatak, 2019). Despite declining violent crime rates, the passage of SYG laws in most cases received widespread public support. The effects of SYG legislation, especially in regard to the laws' deterrent effects, are mixed. Some studies show that these laws have no deterrent effect, and some go so far as to suggest that SYG leads to an increase in certain types of crime (Ferraro & Ghatak, 2019).

### **Literature Review**

Nearly all states have some form of Castle Doctrine, but only half of them have a SYG law. Given the interest in these types of laws, there have been a number of studies regarding their impacts. The literature that studies the impacts of these types of laws can be grouped into two general categories; the effect these laws have on the outcomes of self-defense cases in court and the effect these laws have on the rates of various types of crime. While not the primary focus of this paper, the literature surrounding the impact of Castle Doctrine and especially SYG laws on the outcomes of self-defense cases in court focuses largely on the disparate ways certain races and genders are affected by these types of laws (Benz, 2020; Roman 2021). In terms of the impact on crime, there have been a handful of studies done examining the effect of each of these types of laws individually.

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### *Castle Doctrine Studies*

In the literature examining the effects of Castle Doctrine, there has only been one empirical study done. This study examined Texas, specifically comparing the cities of Houston and Dallas just after its new Castle Doctrine was enacted, expanding Texas's Castle Doctrine protections to include an individual's business and automobile as areas where an individual has the right to defend without having the duty to retreat, and the Horn shooting incident in November of 2007 (Ren, 2015). In Houston, the Horn shooting took place shortly after the enactment of Texas' Castle Doctrine, so both the new law and the shooting were heavily publicized while in comparison, in Dallas, there was no shooting and the new law was not highly publicized, (Ren, 2015). Ren's study used data on residential and business burglaries from the Houston and Dallas Police Departments covering 243 days or roughly 8 months prior to the enactment of Texas's new Castle Doctrine on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007, and 366 days or roughly 1 year after the fact. The study found that the implementation of Texas's new Castle Doctrine had a significant deterrent effect on both residential and business burglaries in Houston after the Horn shooting incident, but not in Dallas, indicating that it was not the new law itself that had a deterrent effect, but rather the publicity about the new law resulting from the Horn shooting incident (Ren, 2015). Unfortunately, this rather narrow study is the only empirical study that specifically examines the effects of Castle Doctrine. The wording in the literature on this topic can be misleading because there are a couple of other studies that discuss the expanded Castle Doctrine laws, but these studies actually use this term to refer to SYG laws, not the traditional Castle Doctrine that is limited to the protection of one's home without having a duty to retreat. With so little data, it is impossible to know exactly what type of an impact just the Castle Doctrine has on crime.

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### *Stand Your Ground Studies*

In the literature, there are a handful of studies that examine the effects of SYG laws. One such study was done on 20 states that had expanded their Castle Doctrines, meaning they had enacted a SYG law, between 2000 and 2010 (Cheng, 2013). Cheng (2013), using state-wide data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports examined whether these laws deterred burglary, robbery, assault and whether they lowered additional homicides, which was defined as the sum of murders and nonnegligent manslaughter. Cheng compared those states that had enacted a SYG law to states that had not and found that there was no evidence of SYG deterring burglary, robbery, or assault. In addition, Cheng found that homicides actually increased by 8%, which was an increase of 600 homicides between the 20 states that enacted SYG.

Another such study from 2017 examined eighteen states that had enacted a SYG law between 2000 and 2010 and compared them to non-SYG states (McClellan, 2017). In the study, McClellan compared the rate of firearm-related homicide deaths committed by private citizens between the eighteen months prior to the date the law was enacted and the 18 months that followed. This data was drawn from the U.S. Vital Statistics available from the National Center for Health Statistics and the homicide rates were constructed using data from the U.S. Census' Intercensus County Population Estimates for each state and year. From this data, McClellan found that in states with SYG, the average monthly homicide count was 24.2, while it was only 16.8 in non-SYG states. McClellan also found that the monthly homicide rate was higher in SYG states at 0.375 deaths per 100,000 residents compared to 0.292 deaths per 100,000 residents in non-SYG states. Overall, McClellan argues that, based on the data, states with SYG see an increase in monthly homicides and rather than make the public safer, SYG laws cause more violence and an increased number of homicides and injuries.



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A study by Yu (2014) examined the effect of SYG on violent crime in eastern states at the county level between 1995 and 2010. Yu found that SYG laws decreased violent crime by 3.5%. Another study examined Florida, specifically examining the state level rates of homicide between 1999 and 2014 (Humphreys, Gasparri, & Wiebe, 2016). These authors found that prior to Florida's enactment of SYG in 2005, the average monthly homicide rate was 0.49 per 100,000 with a trend of 0.1% decrease per month. After SYG was enacted in 2005, they found that the monthly homicide rate increased 24.7%, resulting in an additional 20 homicides per month. Chamlin and Krajewski (2016) looked at the effect of SYG on the rates of residential and non-residential burglaries in Tulsa, Oklahoma using monthly burglary counts from January 2001 through December 2011. They found that after the final version of Oklahoma's SYG went into effect on November 1, 2006, residential burglaries decreased, but non-residential burglaries actually increased. Another study examined the effects of Arizona's enactment of SYG on April 24, 2006, and sought to determine whether it achieved its goal of reducing violent crime using the Arizona Department of Public Safety's annual report *Crime in Arizona* from 2002 to 2011 (Chamlin, 2014). Chamlin found that the enactment of SYG resulted in an immediate and lasting increase of around 72 armed robberies per month and a gradual, but permanent increase of 20 strong arm robberies per month. As seen here, there have been a number of empirical studies examining the impacts of SYG on crime rates over different time periods, using different data sets, and looking at different types of crime. The results between these studies seem to vary, but there does seem to be a general trend that, more often than not, enactment of SYG is followed by an increase in crime.

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### *Gap in the Literature and Purpose of This Paper*

Looking at the Castle Doctrine and the SYG laws individually, there does not seem to be one clear consensus on what their impact on crime is. In addition, an area where the literature surrounding Stand Your Ground Laws and the Castle Doctrine is lacking is in regard to what the consequences are when a state adds a SYG law in addition to its existing Castle Doctrine and comparing the two pieces of legislation directly. As has been mentioned previously, there have been separate studies done that examine the impacts of SYG laws and Castle Doctrine independently, but there has not yet been an examination that compares the effects of the two pieces of legislation to each other. This paper seeks to begin filling this gap in the literature by answering the following research question, what is the impact of Castle Doctrine and Stand Your Ground laws on violent crime and how do crime rates in states with just Castle Doctrine compare to states that have both Castle Doctrine and Stand Your Ground laws?

### **Methods**

The goal of this paper is to answer the question: what is the impact of Castle Doctrine and Stand Your Ground (SYG) laws on violent crime and homicides, and how do crime rates in states with just Castle Doctrine compare to states that have both Castle Doctrine and Stand Your Ground laws? To answer this question using statistical means, two regression models using difference scores were run, one examining the effect of shifting from Castle Doctrine to SYG laws on overall violent crime rates and one examining the effect of shifting from Castle Doctrine to SYG laws on homicide rates. Each model included measures of changes in five control variables and a primary independent variable that indicated whether or not a state had made the shift from Castle Doctrine to adding a SYG law, predicting changes in one of the two crime rate outcomes. This study compared states that made the shift from just Castle Doctrine to a SYG law

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between the years of 2006 and 2010 to states that remained Castle Doctrine-only through 2015.

There were 36 states total that fit these parameters, 11 that added a SYG law and 25 that stayed with only Castle Doctrine.

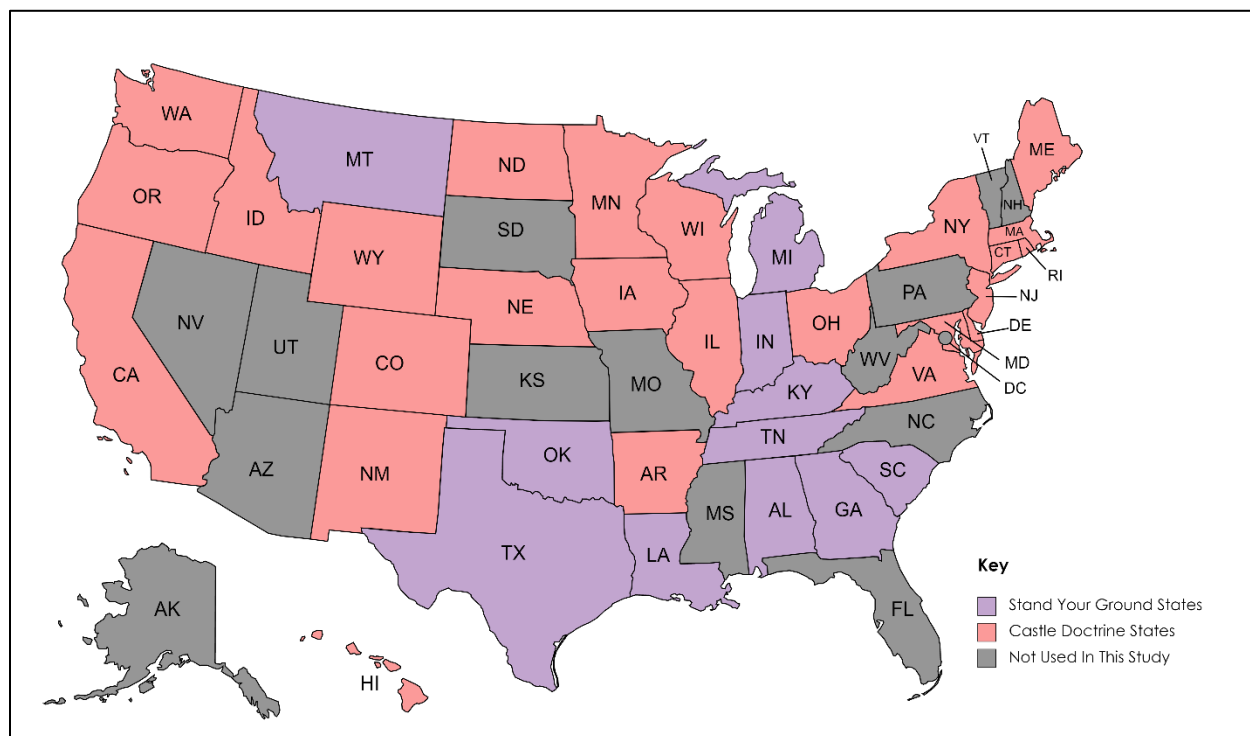


Figure 2: Map of Stand Your Ground and Castle Doctrine States Used in Study

For the dependent variables, violent crime and homicide rates were calculated for each state in the study as two five-year averages. The first five-year period covered 2001 to 2005, a time when all states in the study had only Castle Doctrine. The second period covered 2011 to 2015, representing a time after some of the states had added a SYG law. The difference in these rates between the two time periods was then calculated, with positive values indicating that crime rates had gone up and negative values indicating rates had gone down. The data for these averages was obtained from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program, using their online Crime Data Explorer.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Data tables containing annual crime rates, 5-year average, and differences can be found in Appendix A

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There were five control variables included in the regression model, with data collected on a state-by-state basis, including: percent of the population between ages 15 and 24, percent of the workforce unemployed, percent of individuals below the poverty line, percent of the population 25 years and older who have graduated from high school, and median household income. This data was pulled from the United States Census Bureau online tables in 2000 and 2010, 2000 representing the pre-SYG shift and 2010 representing the post-SYG shift. The difference in these measures between 2000 and 2010 were calculated for each state, with positive values indicating increases and negative values indicating decreases.<sup>3</sup>

The final variable included in the regression model was simply called SYG and indicated whether or not a state added a SYG law in the study's time frame. For this variable, if a state added a SYG law between 2006 and 2010, that state was assigned a value of 1. If a state had not added any sort of SYG law and was still a Castle Doctrine State as of 2015, it was assigned a value of 0.

Once all data had been collected it was compiled in an Excel spreadsheet. Differences in the crime rates and the five control variables were calculated as described above, representing changes between the (potential) pre-SYG shift and the post-SYG shift value. These difference values and the SYG variable were then included in an OLS regression model, referred to as a regression with difference scores (Allison, 2005) using SPSS software. Controlling for changes in the control variables, the model indicated whether the shift from Castle Doctrine to a SYG law had a statistically significant effect on the changes in the crime rates between the time periods measured.

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<sup>3</sup> Data table containing control variable data for each year and differences can be found in Appendix A

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<b>States in Study</b>	<b>Stand Your Ground (SYG) or Castle Doctrine (CD) State</b>
Alabama	SYG
Arkansas	CD
California	CD
Colorado	CD
Connecticut	CD
Delaware	CD
Georgia	SYG
Hawaii	CD
Idaho	CD
Illinois	CD
Indiana	SYG
Iowa	CD
Kentucky	SYG
Louisiana	SYG
Maine	CD
Maryland	CD
Massachusetts	CD
Michigan	SYG
Minnesota	CD
Montana	SYG
Nebraska	CD
New Jersey	CD
New Mexico	CD
New York	CD
North Dakota	CD
Ohio	CD
Oklahoma	SYG
Oregon	CD
Rhode Island	CD
South Carolina	SYG
Tennessee	SYG
Texas	SYG
Virginia	CD
Washington	CD
Wisconsin	CD
Wyoming	CD

*Table 1: List of States and Stand Your Ground or Castle Doctrine Designation in Study*

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**Results and Findings***Violent Crime Rates*

<b>Regression with Difference Scores Model - Violent Crime Rates</b>				
	<b>B</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
Constant	131.138	120.740	1.086	0.286
Population Difference	28.410	25.944	1.095	0.283
Unemployment Difference	-85.484	31.668	-2.699	0.011
Poverty Difference	21.882	23.593	0.927	0.361
High School Graduation Difference	-18.307	19.117	-0.958	0.346
Median Household Income Difference	-0.011	0.009	-1.207	0.237
Stand Your Ground	-19.700	34.654	-0.568	0.574
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>0.377</b>			

*Table 2: Data from Regression with Difference Scores Model for Violent Crime Rates*

Table 2 above shows the data outputs generated in SPSS for the Regression with Difference Scores model examining the effect of SYG on violent crime rates. As shown by the data, controlling for changes in the control variables, the shift from just Castle Doctrine to SYG as well did not have a statistically significant effect on the changes in the violent crime rates between the time periods measured. The significance value of the SYG variable is 0.574 which is greater than 0.05, meaning it is not considered statistically significant. In addition, the R squared value of 0.377 indicates that the changes in all five control variables and the change to SYG only account for 37.7% of the change in violent crime rates.

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*Homicide Rates*

<b>Regression with Difference Scores Model - Homicide Rates</b>				
	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.
Constant	0.935	1.464	0.639	0.528
Population Difference	0.401	0.315	1.276	0.212
Unemployment Difference	-0.969	0.384	-2.525	0.017
Poverty Difference	0.419	0.286	1.465	0.154
High School Graduation Difference	-0.065	0.322	-0.282	0.780
Median Household Income Difference	-6.75E-05	0.000	-0.637	0.529
Stand Your Ground	-0.241	0.420	-0.574	0.570
R <sup>2</sup>	0.290			

*Table 3: Data from Regression with Difference Scores Model for Homicide Rates*

Table 3 above shows the data outputs generated in SPSS for the Regression with Difference Scores model examining the effect of SYG on homicide rates. As shown by the data, controlling for changes in the control variables, the shift from just Castle Doctrine to SYG as well did not have a statistically significant effect on the changes in the homicide rates between the time periods measured. The significance value of the SYG variable is 0.570 which is greater than 0.05, meaning it is not considered statistically significant. In addition, the R squared value of 0.290 indicates that the changes in all five control variables and the change to SYG only account for 29.0% of the change in homicide rates.

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### Discussion

This study examined how the shift from just a Castle Doctrine to a SYG law as well effects the violent crime and homicide rates in states. Data from 11 states that added at SYG law between 2006 and 2011 and 25 states that remained with just a Castle Doctrine was run through 2 Regression with Difference Scores models, one examining the effects on violent crime rates and one examining the effects on homicides rates. The result was, controlling for changes in the control variables, the shift from just Castle Doctrine to SYG as well did not have a statistically significant effect on the changes in the violent crime rates or the homicide rates between the time periods measured.

Despite SYG not having a statistically significant effect on either violent crime or homicide rates, this result is still very interesting. The biggest reason this is such an interesting result is because, as mentioned previously, one of the main reasons supporters of SYG laws give for their support is its usefulness in combatting the threat of violent crime. That being said, this perceived impact on violent crime is not reflected in the data. SYG laws were passed at a time when violent crime was already on the decline and had been that way for over a decade (Ferraro & Ghatak, 2019). The results of this study also indicate that SYG laws are not the cause of the declining violent crime rates. Of course, the actual crime rates and the public's perception of crime rates do not always line up. So, it is entirely possible that, while SYG statistically does not appear to have an effect on crime rates, having a SYG law in place could give people the perception of an increase in security and safety from violent crimes.

The results of this study also raise the question as to what should be done in regard to SYG laws in the future. Is it a law that the states that do not have a SYG law in place should look to put into place? Or should the states that have SYG consider removing it from their



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books? Neither of these are simple questions and this study only really scratches the surface in terms of things to consider when trying to answer them. A lot more research is needed before a policy recommendation can be made.

The first area where more research can be done is where this study started, looking at the empirical impact of SYG on crime rates. Part of the reason that this study was not as conclusive as it could have been was because the data simply is not available yet. While SYG laws first started being passed in 2005, they are still relatively new pieces of legislation. For states like Idaho that did not pass a SYG law until 2018, there is not enough data to calculate accurately what sort of an effect, if any, SYG had, and the Census data is not yet available either to allow for appropriate control variables. In a few more years there will be more data available that will provide a more robust and inclusive data set that will paint a more accurate picture of what sort of an effect SYG has on crime rates.

The other aspect of SYG that should be considered, in addition to its impact on crime rates, is how the law is applied in self-defense cases that are brought to court. In a perfect world, when this law is applied to self-defense cases, it would be a purely legal analysis of the facts of the case and whether the actions taken fell under the parameters of SYG. The law would not disproportionately favor certain individuals over others. Unfortunately, we do not live in a perfect world, and this does not appear to be the case, since the research that has been done so far in this area seems to indicate that the application of SYG disparately affects certain races and genders (Benz, 2020; Roman 2021). In light of this fact, more research needs to be done examining these effects before drawing a conclusion as to what actions should be taken regarding SYG laws in the future.

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### **Limitations**

As with any study, this study was not without its limitations. Perhaps the biggest limitation of this study was the sample size. Because there are 50 states total, the best statistical model would have used all 50 states; however, this was not possible due to the time frame being studied. Of the 14 states that were not included, 8 states could not be used because they added a Stand Your Ground (SYG) law between 2011 and 2015. This time period was used for the post-SYG crime averages, so having a shift during that time could have affected the data. Similarly, 4 states added a SYG law prior to the 2006 to 2010 time period of this study that could have potentially affected the data for the pre-SYG crime rates. The last two states that were not used in this study did not meet the necessary condition of a potential shift from Castle Doctrine to SYG. Florida added a SYG law in 2005 but did not have a Castle Doctrine prior to that, and Vermont does not have either a Castle Doctrine or SYG law.

Another possible limitation of this study was that it was only able to examine homicides and not narrow the definition down to justifiable homicides, which could have shown a more significant effect of SYG laws. Unfortunately, because this study looked at crime rates at the state level, this data was simply not available. While the FBI's UCR Supplementary Homicide Report includes statistics on justifiable homicides, it only has the national justifiable homicide rate by year and does not break the numbers down by state.

The other potential limitation to this study was the control variables used in the regression model. While five different control variables were used to account for other factors that may have been the cause for a change in the crime rates rather than the addition of a SYG law, other studies have used more or different control variables. This study was limited in its choice of control variables by the data available from the U.S Census Bureau.

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Despite these limitations, this study sets a strong foundation indicating that the shift from just Castle Doctrine to a SYG law does not appear to have a statistically significant impact on changes in violent crime and homicide rates pre- and post-SYG in the time periods measured.

### **Conclusion**

There is an interesting combination of self-defense laws on the books across the United States. The two most well-known being the Castle Doctrine and Stand Your Ground (SYG) laws. As of 2020, all but two states have some form of Castle Doctrine on their books and 25 states have a SYG law on their books. There have been a handful of other studies that have examined the impact of SYG laws on crime rates, but no two studies seem to exactly agree on what exactly that impact is. This study was an examination of the effects of adding a SYG law on top of an already existing Castle Doctrine on crime rates. Using 11 states that added a SYG law between 2006 and 2011 and 25 states that had only a Castle Doctrine on their books as of 2015, one Regression with Difference Scores model was used to determine the impact of SYG on violent crime rates and a second Regression with Difference Scores model was used to determine the impact of SYG on homicide rates.

The two models showed that, controlling for changes in the control variables, the shift from just Castle Doctrine to SYG as well did not have a statistically significant effect on either the changes in the violent crime rates or the changes in homicide rates between the time periods measured. This was an interesting result as much of the support for SYG laws is drawn from its supposed usefulness in combating the threat of violent crime, though it is also not an entirely surprising result, given that SYG laws started getting passed when violent crime was already on the decline and had been doing so for over a decade. While these results are a great starting point in examining the effects of SYG laws, it opens up quite a number of other questions to be

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answered and additional research to be done, before a solid conclusion about the effects of SYG on both crime rates and court decisions can be reached and an informed decision regarding the future of SYG laws can be made.

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## Appendix A

State	% of Population Ages 15-24		% Unemployment		% of Individuals Below Poverty Line		% High School Graduation Rate		Median Household Income				
	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change	2000	2010	Change	
Alabama	14.2	14.2	0.0	3.7	5.2	1.5	16.1	30.4	31.8	1.4	\$34,135.00	\$42,081.00	\$7,946.00
Arkansas	14.2	13.8	-0.4	3.7	4.8	1.1	15.8	18.0	35.3	1.2	\$32,182.00	\$39,267.00	\$7,085.00
California	14.2	15.0	0.8	4.3	5.8	1.5	14.2	13.7	21.5	1.4	\$47,493.00	\$60,883.00	\$13,390.00
Colorado	14.2	13.7	-0.5	3.0	4.7	1.7	9.3	12.2	23.3	0.1	\$47,493.00	\$56,456.00	\$8,963.00
Connecticut	11.9	13.4	1.5	3.5	5.2	1.7	7.9	9.2	28.6	0.1	\$53,935.00	\$67,740.00	\$13,805.00
Delaware	13.7	14.2	0.5	3.4	4.6	1.2	9.2	11.0	32.2	0.8	\$47,381.00	\$57,599.00	\$10,218.00
Georgia	14.5	14.3	-0.2	3.6	5.7	2.1	13.0	15.7	29.6	0.9	\$42,433.00	\$49,347.00	\$6,914.00
Hawaii	13.6	13.3	-0.3	3.8	3.6	-0.2	10.7	9.6	28.5	0.5	\$49,820.00	\$66,420.00	\$16,600.00
Idaho	15.9	14.3	-1.6	3.8	4.6	0.8	11.8	13.6	28.5	0.3	\$37,572.00	\$46,423.00	\$8,851.00
Illinois	14.1	14.1	0.0	3.9	5.7	1.8	10.7	12.6	27.9	0.2	\$46,590.00	\$55,735.00	\$9,145.00
Indiana	14.5	14.3	-0.2	3.3	5.5	2.2	9.5	13.5	36.2	-1.0	\$41,567.00	\$47,697.00	\$6,130.00
Iowa	14.7	14.1	-0.6	2.8	3.6	0.8	9.1	11.6	34.4	-1.7	\$39,469.00	\$48,872.00	\$9,403.00
Kentucky	14.2	13.5	-0.7	3.5	4.9	1.4	15.8	17.7	34.4	0.8	\$33,672.00	\$41,576.00	\$7,904.00
Louisiana	15.5	14.7	-0.8	4.3	4.7	0.4	19.6	18.1	34.8	2.4	\$32,566.00	\$43,445.00	\$10,879.00
Maine	12.5	12.6	0.1	3.1	4.2	1.1	10.9	12.6	35.2	-1.0	\$37,240.00	\$46,933.00	\$9,693.00
Maryland	12.6	13.8	1.2	3.2	4.5	1.3	8.5	8.6	26.4	-0.3	\$52,868.00	\$70,647.00	\$17,779.00
Massachusetts	12.9	14.4	1.5	3.0	5.0	2.0	9.3	10.5	27.3	-0.6	\$50,502.00	\$64,509.00	\$14,007.00
Michigan	13.7	14.3	0.6	3.7	7.3	3.6	10.5	14.8	31.3	0.2	\$44,667.00	\$48,432.00	\$3,765.00
Minnesota	14.2	13.6	-0.6	2.9	4.5	1.6	7.9	10.6	28.8	-1.0	\$47,111.00	\$57,243.00	\$10,132.00
Montana	14.4	13.5	-0.9	4.1	3.7	-0.4	14.6	14.5	31.3	-0.1	\$33,024.00	\$43,872.00	\$10,848.00
Nebraska	14.9	14.2	-0.7	2.5	3.6	1.1	9.7	11.8	29.6	-1.7	\$39,250.00	\$49,342.00	\$10,092.00
New Jersey	11.9	13.0	1.1	3.7	5.2	1.5	8.5	9.1	29.4	0.4	\$55,146.00	\$69,811.00	\$14,665.00
New Mexico	14.7	14.2	-0.5	4.4	4.4	0.0	18.4	18.4	26.6	0.4	\$34,133.00	\$43,820.00	\$9,687.00
New York	13.4	14.4	1.0	4.3	4.8	0.5	14.6	14.2	27.8	0.4	\$43,393.00	\$55,603.00	\$12,210.00
North Dakota	16.2	15.9	-0.3	3.0	2.5	-0.5	11.9	12.3	27.9	0.2	\$34,604.00	\$46,781.00	\$12,177.00
Ohio	13.6	13.7	0.1	3.2	5.6	2.4	10.6	14.2	36.1	-0.3	\$40,956.00	\$47,358.00	\$6,402.00
Oklahoma	15.0	14.3	-0.7	3.3	3.9	0.6	14.7	16.2	31.5	1.1	\$33,400.00	\$42,979.00	\$9,579.00
Oregon	13.8	13.3	-0.5	4.2	5.6	1.4	11.6	14.0	26.3	-0.7	\$40,916.00	\$49,260.00	\$8,344.00
Rhode Island	14.1	15.4	1.3	3.6	5.2	1.6	11.9	12.2	27.8	0.4	\$42,090.00	\$54,902.00	\$12,812.00
South Carolina	14.4	14.3	-0.1	3.6	5.7	2.1	14.1	16.4	30.0	1.2	\$37,082.00	\$43,939.00	\$6,857.00
Tennessee	13.7	13.6	-0.1	3.5	5.4	1.9	13.5	16.5	31.6	1.8	\$36,360.00	\$43,314.00	\$6,954.00
Texas	15.2	14.7	-0.5	3.8	4.6	0.8	15.4	16.8	24.8	1.2	\$39,927.00	\$49,646.00	\$9,719.00
Texas	15.2	14.7	-0.5	3.8	4.6	0.8	15.4	16.8	24.8	1.2	\$39,927.00	\$49,646.00	\$9,719.00
Virginia	13.6	14.1	0.5	2.7	3.9	1.2	9.6	10.3	26.0	0.0	\$46,677.00	\$61,406.00	\$14,729.00
Washington	13.9	13.8	-0.1	4.1	4.9	0.8	10.6	12.1	24.9	-0.6	\$45,776.00	\$57,244.00	\$11,468.00
Wisconsin	14.3	13.8	-0.5	3.2	4.6	1.4	8.7	11.6	34.6	-0.6	\$43,791.00	\$51,598.00	\$7,807.00
Wyoming	15.3	14.0	-1.3	3.5	3.1	-0.4	11.4	9.8	31.0	0.3	\$37,892.00	\$53,802.00	\$15,910.00

Table A.1: Control Variables Data and Changes by State

<sup>4</sup> Data Compiled From (United States Census Bureau, 2000; United States Census Bureau, 2010)

THE IMPACTS OF STAND YOUR GROUND LAWS ON CRIME RATES

State	Time 1					Time 2					Average Difference		
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Average	2011	2012	2013	2014		2015	Average
Alabama	438.2	445	429.2	427	432.6	434.4	419.8	450.3	431	427.7	473	440.36	5.96
Arkansas	452.4	425	456.4	502.3	528.5	472.92	482.3	469.6	463.2	480.2	529.5	484.96	12.04
California	615.2	595.4	579.6	527.8	526	568.8	411.2	423.5	402.6	396.4	428	412.34	-156.46
Colorado	349.6	352.9	346.5	372	396.7	363.54	314.4	307.4	305.4	307.8	318.4	310.68	-52.86
Connecticut	334.6	312.5	316.8	289	272.6	305.1	275.7	283.5	262.2	238.5	221.4	256.26	-48.84
Delaware	611.1	600	675.3	615	633.4	626.96	566.4	550.5	500.7	488.1	504.2	521.98	-104.98
Georgia	495.7	459.6	454.5	451	445.9	461.34	374.6	380	375.4	385.8	381.3	379.42	-81.92
Hawaii	254	262.9	272.3	254.6	255.5	259.86	251.4	243	254.4	236.7	293.4	255.78	-4.08
Idaho	243.1	254.6	245.9	247.4	256.8	249.56	202.2	209.8	215.2	210.4	217.4	211	-38.56
Illinois	633.1	601.9	556.4	545.7	552.2	577.86	424	416.2	403.1	370.9	387.5	400.34	-177.52
Indiana	371.1	357.3	352.3	325.9	324	346.12	331.8	344.8	359.6	365.3	383.7	357.04	10.92
Iowa	268.2	285.7	277.9	287.8	293.3	282.58	257.3	265.6	273	272.8	276.1	268.96	-13.62
Kentucky	258.3	271.4	248.5	245.1	266.8	258.02	239.6	224.9	210.9	215.2	223.5	222.82	-35.2
Louisiana	686.3	663.3	636.9	640	596.6	644.62	554.6	496.3	521.2	515.9	539.8	525.56	-119.06
Maine	111.7	107.8	108.6	103.7	112.5	108.86	123.3	122.4	132.5	127.6	129.8	127.12	18.26
Maryland	781.4	770.8	703.5	700.6	704.3	732.12	493.5	477.3	475.4	448	470.1	472.86	-259.26
Massachusetts	477.8	484.9	473.1	460.2	460.8	471.36	427.3	407	406.4	395.1	389.9	405.14	-66.22
Michigan	553.9	540.7	511.3	492.2	553.8	530.38	442.8	455	452.2	429.1	420.6	439.94	-90.44
Minnesota	263.7	267.2	262.9	269.8	297.3	272.18	230.5	230.9	234.4	229.1	242.9	233.56	-38.62
Montana	352	351.2	365	293.8	281.8	328.76	276.1	278.8	288.1	328.5	353.4	304.98	-23.78
Nebraska	303.1	314.2	293.8	308.6	287.3	301.4	253.6	258.8	264.8	276.2	272.8	265.24	-36.16
New Jersey	388.8	376.1	364.3	356.3	355.3	368.16	307.9	290.1	288.9	260.9	256	280.76	-87.4
New Mexico	780.4	740.7	667.3	687.4	646.3	704.42	572.7	559.6	622.5	597.7	657.2	601.94	-102.48
New York	513.6	496.6	465.8	440.4	444.4	472.16	397.2	406.3	393.8	384.7	380.4	392.48	-79.68
North Dakota	79.3	78.2	80.2	87.7	111.3	87.34	248.1	245.7	273.4	270.4	257.5	259.02	171.68
Ohio	351.4	351.7	333.9	338.7	350.1	345.16	305.2	301.5	291.4	285.7	296.2	296	-49.16
Oklahoma	510.9	504	506.4	500.5	509.2	506.2	457.5	474.4	446.1	413.8	428.6	444.08	-62.12
Oregon	306.6	292.5	294.8	298.6	287	295.9	249.3	247.1	242.8	259.2	265.4	252.76	-43.14
Rhode Island	309.3	285.6	285.7	247.5	252.4	276.1	246.1	253	257.3	219.9	243	243.86	-32.24
South Carolina	815.2	822.7	806.4	789.9	767.4	800.32	596.9	560.5	508.5	497.8	499.5	532.64	-267.68
Tennessee	744	717.8	691.3	697.6	757.3	721.6	607.8	638.5	585.8	610.7	618.9	612.34	-109.26
Texas	571.6	579.7	553.1	540.9	528.1	554.68	408.6	408.6	410.3	406.7	412.7	409.38	-145.3
Virginia	291	291.7	278.2	275.5	283.4	283.96	197.6	191.5	197.8	198.4	199.6	196.98	-86.98
Washington	354.7	345.5	346.9	343.6	345.6	347.26	295.3	298.1	290	285.8	286.4	291.12	-56.14
Wisconsin	231	225	221.1	209.8	241.8	225.74	249.9	283.9	280.7	291.1	304.3	281.98	56.24
Wyoming	257.6	273.4	261.7	229.9	230.3	250.58	219.4	201.3	207.8	195.4	221.6	209.1	-41.48

Table A.2: Violent Crime Rates, Averages, & Differences by State \*Rate per 100,000 people, per year

<sup>5</sup> Data Compiled From (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2020)

THE IMPACTS OF STAND YOUR GROUND LAWS ON CRIME RATES

State	Time 1					Time 2					Average Difference		
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Average	2011	2012	2013	2014		2015	
Alabama	8.5	6.8	6.6	5.6	8.2	7.14	6.2	7.1	7.2	5.7	7.2	6.68	-0.46
Arkansas	5.5	5.2	6.6	6.4	6.8	6.1	5.4	5.9	5.3	5.9	6.3	5.76	-0.34
California	6.4	6.8	6.8	6.7	6.9	6.72	4.8	5	4.5	4.4	4.8	4.7	-2.02
Colorado	3.6	4	4.1	4.4	3.7	3.96	3	2.9	3.3	2.8	3.2	3.04	-0.92
Connecticut	3.1	2.4	3.2	2.9	3	2.92	3.6	3.3	2.5	2.5	3.2	3.02	0.1
Delaware	2.9	3.2	2.6	3.4	4.4	3.3	5.3	6.1	4.4	5.3	6.6	5.54	2.24
Georgia	7.1	7.1	7.6	6.9	6.2	6.98	5.6	5.9	5.6	6	6.1	5.84	-1.14
Hawaii	2.6	1.9	1.8	2.6	1.9	2.16	1.5	1.5	2.3	1.4	1.3	1.6	-0.56
Idaho	2.3	2.7	1.9	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.2	1.9	1.8	2	1.9	1.96	-0.34
Illinois	7.8	7.6	7.1	6.1	6	6.92	6.1	6	5.6	5.4	5.9	5.8	-1.12
Indiana	6.7	5.9	5.5	5.1	5.7	5.78	4.7	4.7	5.4	5	5.6	5.08	-0.7
Iowa	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.54	1.4	1.6	1.3	1.9	2.3	1.7	0.16
Kentucky	4.4	4.7	4.4	5.7	4.6	4.76	3.5	4.6	3.9	3.7	4.9	4.12	-0.64
Louisiana	11.2	13.2	13	12.7	10	12.02	11.1	10.6	10.7	10.2	10.5	10.62	-1.4
Maine	1.5	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.32	2	2	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.82	0.5
Maryland	8.3	9.4	9.5	9.4	9.9	9.3	6.8	6.3	6.5	6.1	9	6.94	-2.36
Massachusetts	2.2	2.7	2.2	2.7	2.8	2.52	2.8	1.8	2.1	2	1.9	2.12	-0.4
Michigan	6.7	6.8	6.1	6.4	6.2	6.44	6.2	7.1	6.3	5.5	5.9	6.2	-0.24
Minnesota	2.4	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.3	1.4	1.8	2.1	1.6	2.4	1.86	-0.44
Montana	3.8	1.8	3.3	3.2	1.9	2.8	2	2.9	2.3	3.7	3.7	2.92	0.12
Nebraska	2.5	2.8	3.2	2.3	2.5	2.66	3.7	2.8	3	2.8	3.3	3.12	0.46
New Jersey	3.9	4	4.7	4.5	4.8	4.38	4.3	4.4	4.5	3.9	4.1	4.24	-0.14
New Mexico	5.4	8.2	6.2	8.9	7.5	7.24	7.6	5.6	5.9	4.8	5.6	5.9	-1.34
New York	5	4.8	4.9	4.6	4.5	4.76	3.9	3.5	3.3	3.1	3.1	3.38	-1.38
North Dakota	1.1	0.8	1.4	1.3	1.9	1.3	3.5	3.6	2.2	3.1	2.8	3.04	1.74
Ohio	4	4.6	4.6	4.4	5.1	4.54	4.3	4.1	4.1	4	4.5	4.2	-0.34
Oklahoma	5.3	4.7	5.9	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.6	5.8	5.1	4.6	6.1	5.44	0.14
Oregon	2.4	2	1.9	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.7	2.28	0.08
Rhode Island	3.7	3.8	2.3	2.4	3.2	3.08	1.9	2.5	2.9	2.5	2.9	2.54	-0.54
South Carolina	8.1	7.3	7.3	6.8	7.4	7.38	6.8	7	6.4	6.7	8.3	7.04	-0.34
Tennessee	7.4	7.3	6.8	6.1	7.2	6.96	5.9	6.2	5.2	5.6	6.3	5.84	-1.12
Texas	6.2	6	6.4	6.1	6.1	6.16	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.8	4.46	-1.7
Virginia	5.1	5.3	5.6	5.2	6.1	5.46	3.8	3.9	3.9	4.2	4.7	4.1	-1.36
Washington	3	3	3	3.1	3.3	3.08	2.4	3.1	2.4	2.5	3	2.68	-0.4
Wisconsin	3.6	2.8	3.3	2.8	3.7	3.24	2.4	3	2.8	2.8	4.2	3.04	-0.2
Wyoming	1.8	3	2.8	2.2	2.8	2.52	3.2	2.4	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.78	0.26

\*Rate per 100,000 people, per year

Table A.3: Homicide Crime Rates, Averages, & Differences by State

<sup>6</sup> Data Compiled From (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2020)

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