Firearm Legislation and Fatal Police Shootings in the United States

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Objectives. To examine whether stricter firearm legislation is associated with rates of fatal police shootings.

Methods. We used a cross-sectional, state-level design to evaluate the effect of state-level firearm legislation on rates of fatal police shootings from January 1, 2015, through October 31, 2016. We measured state-level variation in firearm laws with legislative scorecards from the Brady Center, and for fatal police shootings we used The Counted, an online database maintained by *The Guardian*.

Results. State-level firearm legislation was significantly associated with lower rates of fatal police shootings (incidence rate ratio = 0.961; 95% confidence interval = 0.939, 0.984). When we control over incidence rate than did states in the top quartile of legislative strength had a lower incidence rate than did states in the lowest quartile.

trafficking were associated with fewer fatal police shootings.

pnclusions. Legislative restrictions on firearms are associated with reductions in fatal

04 The shootings.

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Public Health Implications. Although further research is necessary to determine ality and potential mechanisms, firearm legislation is a potential policy solution for comparing fatal police shootings in the United States January 19 Jublic Health. 2017;107:1068—

² notes 1075. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2017.303770)

a greater number of fatal police shootings than do existing data systems. 14

We used data from The Counted to examine fatal police shootings and firearm legislation at the state level. To measure firearm legislation, we used data from the Brady Center's state legislative scorecards, which track legislation across 7 categories: strengthening background checks, restricting guns in public places, enhancing child and consumer safety, curbing gun trafficking, restricting dangerous weapons, restricting erous persons, and maintaining a duty vielreat. 15 Our purpose was thus to examine whether stricter firearm legislation is associated with fewer fatal police shootings, and also which specific categories of firearm legislation are most effective.



See also Galea and Vaughan, p. 1030.

firearms than any other country in the world, but also some of the most relaxed firearm laws. However, with an estimated 90 deaths per day from firearms and an epidohn Quijanelemic of mass shootings, there have been shifts in public opinion indicating greater support for firearm legislation. Additionally, several recent high-profile police Shootings have resulted in controversy and 9-10 civil unrest. Responses to these events often

than on legislative changes. Although studies have examined the relationship between firearm legislation and mortality, ^{1,7–10} little research has assessed whether firearm legislation has an effect on the rate of people killed by law enforcement agencies, often referred to as fatal police shootings. Part of the reason for this gap in the literature is that it is difficult to examine patterns in fatal police shootings because there is no reliable national

data system. Although 2 long-standing national data systems capture fatal injuries, both have been shown to underreport fatal police shootings. 11,12

In response to this data shortage, *The Guardian*, an independent newspaper from nited Kingdom, launched The Counted is a Web site that provides publicly available, real-time n people killed by police and other law cement agencies. It does so by monities news and open-source reporting the counted data have been shown to capture

METHODS

We used a cross-sectional, state-level design to evaluate the effect of state-level firearm legislation on rates of fatal police ings from January 1, 2015, through ber 31, 2016, accounting for pertinent sociodemographic variables. In doing so, we merged several sources of data at the state level for this study. We measured the outcome variable, fatal police shootings, using data from The Counted, which provides a comprehensive list of all people killed by police and other law enforcement agencies in the United States. ¹³ Data are collected via *The Guardian* reporting and verified crowd-sourced information, addressing the

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limitations of incomplete reporting of fatal police encounters in current Federal Bureau John Quijan of Investigation (FBI) statistics. 12–14 The Counted provides the date and location (latitude, longitude, city, state) of the encounter, the deceased's race/ethnicity and gender, whether the deceased was armed and with what, and the mechanism of death 12-13 firearm, struck by vehicle, Taser, death in 2 notes sustody, and "other").

The key independent variable was firearm legislation, which we measured using state-level firearm legislative strength scores

14-15 Iterived from 2015 data from the Brady

2 notes Campaign. 15 Since 2010, the Brady Campaign has monitored state-level firearm legislation in

16 the United States and issued annual report cards (except in 2011) on states' firearm legislative strength. Finally, we controlled for state-level covariates using data from the US Census, the FBI's 2015 Uniform Crime Report, and the Centers for Disease Control

17 Lics Query and Reporting System. 2,16

Measures

The 50 states made up the primary study population, and within each state we used The Counted database to identity all fatal encounters with law enforcement during the 22-month study period. Thus, the annualized rate of fatal police shootings per 1 000 000 served as our primary outcome measure.

Prevention's (CDC's) Web-based Injury

Our primary independent variable of inwas state-level firearm legislative gth scores. The scoring system employed (18) by the Brady Campaign uses a rationally John Quijan derived weighting system, such that some categories of firearm laws-thought to be more effective at reducing gun violence—are hted more heavily than are oth 19-20 bly less effective types of laws. 2 notestance, universal background check laws receive 11 points, whereas laws prohibiting open carry of firearms receive only 1 point. Because of the somewhat arbitrary nature of the weighting, and consistent with preresearch, we removed all weighting in of a 1 law = 1 point scoring system. (21) As shown in Table A (available as a supple-^{ohn Quijano}ment to the online version of this article at

based on the laws' intended purpose, including strengthening background checks, restricting guns in public places, enhancing child and consumer safety, curbing gun trafficking, restricting dangerous weapons, restricting dangerous persons, and maintaining a duty to retreat. State gun laws varied considerably across states, with overall Brade titive strength scores ranging from 4 to the diam = 10; SD = 7.63). Descriptive statistics of states' scores in each firearm legislative category are shown in Table B (available as a supplement to the online version of this article at http://www.ajph.org).

Finally, we considered possible covariates that extant research suggests are prtant when predicting gun violence: centage of study population that was male, White, Black, Hispanic, unemployed, and college educated; and population density at the state level.^{7,8} The median age across states was 38.0 years (range = 30.7-44.5). There was considerable variation across states in the proportion of White (range = 26.74%-94.92%), Black (range = 0.61%-43.30%), and Hispanic (range = 1.46%-47.68%) residents. Unemployment rates averaged 5.04% (SD = 1.09; range = 2.7%-6.9%), and more than 1 in 5 of the study population had completed a college degree (mean = 21.81%; SD = 5.16%; range = 14.96%-45.09%). Because the most recent state-level data on college completion rates from the US Census were collected in 2010, we used Frank's updated 2015 estimates, which were derived from 2010 US Census Current Population Survey data and projected on the basis of net migration and mortality. 17 There was marked variation in population density across states, ranging from 1.29 to 11 020.13 residents per square mile (mean = 412.66; SD = 1537.79). We used the FBI's 2015 Uniform Crime Report to measure state-level violent crime rates per $100\,000$ (mean = 379.86; SD = 186.69; range = 118.0–1269.1). We used the Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System to derive a widely used proxy measure of household firearm ownership rates, represented as the percentage of firearm suicides to all suicides.

Statistical Analysis

e calculated annualized rates of fatal

we calculated descriptive statistics for the proportion of victims that were male, armed, and non-White. To test the overall impact of firearm legislative strength on rates of fatal police shootings, and consistent with previous research examining the impact of firearm legislative strength on rates of firearm morality, 8 we constructed a series of regression models. A goodness-of-fit χ^2 test did not suggest statistically significant departures from a Poisson distribution; therefore, we used the primary analyses.

First, we tested the influence of firearm legislative strength on fatal police shootings without adjustment and then constructed a multivariable model that accounted for state-level sociodemographic characteristics. We then grouped states by quartiles of firearm legislative strength and calculated absolute rate differences and standard deviations. We compared incidence rate ratios across 2 models, referenced to states in the lowest quartile of firearm legislative strength. In model 1, we referenced incidence rate ratios for states in the second, third, and fourth quartiles to states in the first quartile without adjustment. We entered sociodemographic characteristics in the multivariable model 2. Finally, we conducted a series of analyses to test whether specific types of firearm legislation were associated with rates of fatal police shootings.

We calculated absolute rate differences, comparing states with the strongest firearm laws in each category to states with the weakest. Then, across 3 models employing Poisson regression with robust standard errors, we calculated incidence rate ratios comparing states with the fewest laws in a given legislative category to states with the most laws in that category. We calculated model 1 without adjustment, and model 2 tested a multivariable model with the sociodemographic covariates of age, education, and violent crime rate.

Because previous research has found that gun ownership rates might serve as both a mediating and confounding variable on the association between firearm legislative strength and firearm fatalities⁸ we conducted a series of Sobel–Goodman mediation analyses. Before entering firearm ownership into model 3, we entered each category of firearm legislation shown to be associated with police

http://www.ajph.org), we organized the

22-24 12 possible laws according to 7 categories

shootings in model 2 as an independent variable, with police shootings as the outcome and firearm ownership as a mediator. Model 3 retained all sociodemographic covariates and added household firearm ownership rates. We carried out sensitivity analyses with weighted Brady scores. We analyzed all data using Stata version 14.2 (StataCorp LP,

25-26 College Station, TX).

Covariate Selection

Given the lack of research on state-level risk factors for fatal police shootings, we considered possible covariates from the literature on overall state-level firearm fatality rates.9 We employed a 2-step approach used in previous firearm research to select covariates for the adjusted regression models.¹⁸ First, we identified variables correlated (Spearman's ρ) with the outcome at 0.300 or greater. Then, to address concerns with collinearity, we excluded those covariates that were highly correlated with other covariates. We retained as covariates age, education, violent crime rate, and household gun ownership rate. Table C (available as a supplement to the online version of this article at http://www.ajph.org) shows the association between all possible covariates with the outcome; the full covariate correlation matrix is available in Table D (available as a supplement to the online version of this article at http://www.ajph.org).

RESULTS

As shown in Table 1, there were 2021 fatal police encounters during the 22-month study period. Firearms were the most common cause of death (n = 1835; 90.80%), and because we were concerned with predicting gun violence, we excluded cases in which death might have been accidental, such as killings with motor vehicles (n = 46; 2.28%), Tasers (n = 67; 3.32%), other instruments (n = 2;eaths in custody (n = 73;

27-28 l 2 notes: States ranged from a low of 2 fatal police shootings (RI, ND) to a high of 312 (CA), with an average annualized rate per 1 000 000 of 3.53 (SD = 2.03; range = 1.03-10.73). On average, approximately 96% of all victims

2 notes:

29-30 were male, 53% were armed with a firearm,

and 10% were unarmed at the time of the fatal police shooting. Other victims were armed with a variety of potentially deadly objects, including knives, nonlethal firearms, and motor vehicles. The weapon status of victims was unknown in 7% of all cases and disputed in less than 1%. Individuals from racial/ethnic rity groups made up itly more than hird of all victims.

Figure 1, shows the significant effect of firearm legislative strength on per capita rates of fatal police shootings (incidence rate ratio [IRR] = 0.961; 95% confidence interval [CI] = 0.939, 0.984, such that each 1-point increase in firearm legislative strength was associated with a 4% reduction in mortality. As shown in Table 2, states with the strongest firearm laws evidenced a 56% lower incidence rate of fatal police shootings relative to states with the weakest firearm laws (IRR = 0.436; 95% CI = 0.302, 0.628). Similarly, in the multivariable model accounting for a range of sociodemographic characteristics, states with the strongest firearm laws continued to evidence rates of fatal police shootings more than 50% lower than in states with the weakest firearm legislation (IRR = 0.488; 95% CI = 0.287, 0.828). States in the second and third quartiles of legislative strength did not exhibit significantly different rates of fatal police shootings than did states in the first quartile. Incidence rate ratios and confidence intervals are presented for all covariates in Table E (available as a supplement to the online version of this article at http://www. ajph.org). Sensitivity analyses using weighted firearm legislative strength scores revealed generally similar incidence rate ratios across the unadjusted and adjusted models, although effects in the adjusted model were rendered nonsignificant. Full results of the sensitivity analysis are available in Table F (available as a supplement to the online version of this article at http://www.ajph.org).

Given that there were 7 categories of firearm legislation containing a total of 42 possible laws, we next examined the relationship between specific categories of firearm legislation and rates of fatal police shootings. As shown in Table 3, increased legislative strength scores in 5 of the 7 categories were associated with lower rates of fatal police shootings in the unadjusted models, with incidence rate ratios ranging from 0.471 (guns in public places) to 0.838 (duty to

retreat). After we controlled for age, education, and violent crime rates in model 2, laws strengthening background checks (IRR = 0.715; 95% CI = 0.558, 0.916),promoting safe storage via child and consumer safety laws (IRR = 0.679; 95% CI = 0.490, 0.942), and curbing gun trafficking (IRR = 0.657; 95% CI = 0.505, 0.856) remained significantly associated with rates of fatal police shootings. Although laws strengthening background checks were rendered nonsignificant after we included household firearm ownership rates in model 3, laws targeting child and consumer safety (IRR = 0.707; 95% CI = 0.509, 0.983)and gun trafficking (IRR = 0.708; 95% CI = 0.546, 0.918) continued to predict rates of fatal police shootings. Incidence rate ratios and confidence intervals are presented for all covariates in Table G (available as a supplement to the online version of this article at http://www.ajph.org). Sobel-Goodman tests showed a significant indirect effect of household firearm ownership rates on the association between background check laws and police shootings (P = .03), whereas gun ownership rates showed marginal but nonsignificant indirect effects on the association between trafficking (P = .06) and child and consumer safety (P = .05) laws on rates of police shootings.

DISCUSSION

This study found that stricter state-level firearm legislation was associated with lower rates of fatal police shootings. For states with the strongest firearm laws, the incidence rate of fatal police shootings was more than 50% lower than for states with the weakest firearm laws. We used data from The Counted to assess rates of fatal police shootings; following existing research that looks at firearm homicide and suicide rates,8 we used data from the Brady Center, which calculates firearm legislative scores by state. Consistent with previous research on fatal police shootings, we found that the majority of fatalities were caused by firearms and that in slightly more than half of these cases the victim was also armed. 6,19,20 Victims were whelmingly male and disproportionally 🗜 a racial/ethnic minority group.

TABLE 1—State Firearm Legislative Strength, Fatal Law Enforcement Encounter Rates, and Victim Characteristics: United States, January 1, 2015–October 31, 2016

				Fatal Police End	counters (n = 20	21)	Victim Characteristics, % ^a			
:	State Firearm Le	gislation	Total Fatal	Annualized Fatal Encounter Rate per	Total Fatal Police	Annualized Fatal Police Shooting Rate per		Armed With		Non-White Racial/ Ethni
Rank	State	Brady Score ^b	Encounters ^c	Million ^d	Shootings ^c	Million ^e	Male	Firearm	Unarmed	Status
1	California	31	340	4.74	312	4.35	95	36	14	63
2	Maryland	30	31	2.82	28	2.54	86	32	18	71
	New Jersey	30	36	2.19	29	1.77	93	38	10	48
4	Connecticut	28	9	1.37	7	1.06	100	29	0	14
5	New York	26	48	1.32	38	1.05	92	58	18	47
6	Hawaii	25	11	4.19	7	2.67	100	57	0	71
	Massachusetts	25	21	1.69	19	1.53	100	37	0	58
8	Illinois	23	44	1.87	43	1.82	97	70	7	63
9	Rhode Island	19	3	1.55	2	1.03	100	50	0	100
10	Delaware	18	5	2.88	4	2.31	100	50	25	25
. •	Minnesota	18	26	2.58	25	2.48	96	40	16	36
12	Washington	17	45	3.42	38	2.89	92	47	5	34
13	lowa	15	9	1.57	9	1.57	89	56	22	33
13	Pennsylvania	15	39	1.66	34	1.45	97	50	9	47
15	Michigan	14	35	1.92	29	1.59	93	62	10	41
16	Florida	12	129	3.47	117	3.15	96	51	16	50
10	Oregon	12	30	4.06	27	3.66	96	52	4	7
	Virginia	12	41	2.67	36	2.34	94	58	14	53
19	Colorado	11	61	6.10	57	5.70	98	61	7	41
	Tennessee	11	41	3.39	40	3.31	98	60	8	30
	Wisconsin	11	30	2.84	29	2.74	97	48	10	38
22	Indiana	10	34	2.80	29	2.39	97	48	14	38
	Maine	10	3	1.23	3	1.23	100	67	0	0
	North	10	53	2.88	49	2.66	94	69	4	35
	Carolina									
	Oklahoma	10	60	8.37	53	7.39	100	51	13	32
	South Carolina	10	35	3.90	34	3.79	94	65	6	35
27	Nebraska	9	16	4.60	14	4.03	93	50	7	21
	Nevada	9	31	5.85	31	5.85	94	65	10	42
	Ohio	9	59	2.77	53	2.49	98	55	13	45
	Utah	9	17	3.10	16	2.91	100	50	0	6
	West Virginia	9	21	6.21	19	5.62	95	68	5	16
32	New Hampshire	8	5	2.05	5	2.05	100	40	0	0
	North Dakota	8	2	1.44	2	1.44	100	50	50	50
	Texas	8	188	3.73	171	3.40	96	60	9	54
35	Alaska	7	11	8.13	10	7.39	90	60	0	60
	Louisiana	7	44	5.14	42	4.90	98	48	10	57
	Missouri	7	40	3.59	39	3.50	95	56	8	36
	South Dakota	7	7	4.45	7	4.45	100	43	14	43

Continued

TABLE 1—Continued

				Fatal Police End	counters (n = 20	21)		Victim Chara		acteristics, %ª
State Firearm Legislation		Total Fatal	Annualized Fatal Encounter Rate per	Total Fatal Police	Annualized Fatal Police Shooting Rate per		Armed With		Non-White Racial/ Ethnic	
Rank	State	Brady Score ^b	Encounters ^c	Million ^d	Shootings ^c	Million ^e	Male	Firearm	Unarmed	Status
39	Alabama	6	41	4.60	38	4.27	89	58	5	32
	Arizona	6	85	6.79	83	6.63	92	51	10	41
	Georgia	6	63	3.36	52	2.78	96	60	10	44
	Montana	6	9	4.75	9	4.75	100	56	11	0
	New Mexico	6	42	10.99	41	10.73	95	76	5	56
	Vermont	6	3	2.61	3	2.61	100	33	33	0
45	Kentucky	5	37	4.56	33	4.07	100	61	9	24
	Mississippi	5	20	3.65	16	2.92	100	56	13	25
	Wyoming	5	8	7.45	8	7.45	88	25	0	0
48	Arkansas	4	23	4.21	19	3.48	100	58	16	16
	Idaho	4	12	3.96	11	3.63	100	91	0	18
	Kansas	4	18	3.37	15	2.81	93	60	20	20
State	mean ±SD	12.14 ±7.61	39.84 ±53.64	3.88 ±2.14	36.16 ±49.22	3.53 ±2.03	95.96 ±3.88	53.01 ±12.49	10.17 ±9.14	37.68 ±23.05

Source. Police shootings are from The Guardian's online database The Counted and firearm legislative strength is from The Brady Center's legislative scorecards. ^aPercentage of total number of victims of fatal police shootings.

Given the lack of research examining state-level risks for fatal shootings by law enforcement officers, we drew from the extant literature on risks associated with statelevel firearm fatality rates. Using the approach of Swedler et al. 18 to select the most parsi-John Quijano monious set of covariates, we found that state-level sociodemographic factors such as age, education, violent crime rate, and household gun ownership rate were associated with fatal police shootings. 7-10 However, even after controlling for these factors, x John Quijan we found that states with the strongest firearm laws had lower incidence rates of fatal police shootings relative to states with the weakest firearm laws. In examining which legislation had the strongest effect on fatal police shootings, we found that legislation aimed at strengthening background checks, promoting safe storage via child and consumer safety laws, and curbing gun trafficking were associated with lower rates of fatal

33-35 police shootings, even when we controlled

3 notes for age, education, and violent crime. The

effect of background check laws on rates of fatal police shootings was shown to function through their impact on firearm ownership rates, whereas gun trafficking and child and consumer safety laws remained significantly associated with police shootings even after we controlled for firearm ownership. Given this pattern of findings, it is possible that different types of firearm legislation influence police shootings through distinct mechanisms. Whereas background check legislation appears to exert its effect on police shootings through its influence on the number of firearms in the community, other categories of legislation, such as those targeting gun trafficking and safe storage, likely function by preventing guns already in the community from falling into the wrong hands.

Limitations

Some limitations should be considered interpreting these results. First, our sis is state level and cross-sectional, and so we were unable to look at the regional differences in implementation or enforcement of laws. Second, we were unable to mine causality or the possibility of altive explanations for this relationship. For example, it is possible that states with stricter gun legislation also have better training for police officers and more stringent hiring practices, or that states that are already re more likely to implement stricter www. However, given the nature of the data and the scope of this study, we were unable to examine such temporal elements that could eliminate possible confounding factors.

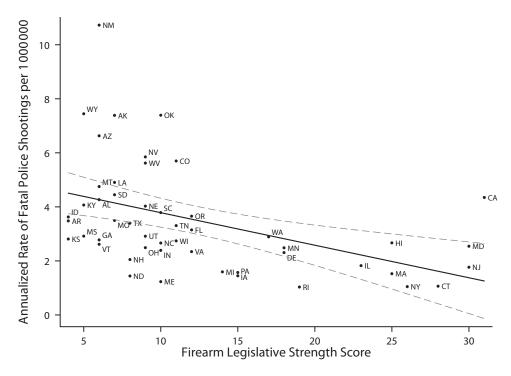
Third, we controlled for those state-level factors that are significant in other research on firearm legislation and mortality. However, studies have not yet examined fatal police shooting in this way, and so there may be factors that we did not consider. Fourth, the Brady scores used in this study do not allow ne-grained distinctions between laws n categories. For example, although our ngs suggest that background check

bLegislative strength scores reflects number of state-level firearm laws (1 law = 1 point; see online Table A for details) derived from the 2015 Brady Campaign scorecard.

^cTotal numbers of fatal police encounters based on data from the 22-month period spanning January 1, 2015, to October 31, 2016.

dAnnualized rate of fatal police encounters per million includes all causes of death, including firearms, struck by vehicle, Taser, death in custody, and other. Annualized rates were calculated by dividing the total number of deaths by the number of months (n = 22) in the study period and multiplying the quotient by 12. This product term was divided by the 2015 state population and multiplied by 1 000 000.

eAnnualized rate of fatal police shootings was calculated by dividing the total number of firearm-related deaths by the number of months (n = 22) in the study period and multiplying the quotient by 12. This product term was divided by the 2015 state population and multiplied by 1 000 000.



Note. Line represents regression line with 95% confidence interval (P < .001). Source. Police shootings are from The Guardian's online database The Counted and firearm legislative strength is from The Brady Center's legislative scorecards.

FIGURE 1—State-Level Firearm Legislation and Fatal Police Shootings: United States, January 1, 2015–October 31, 2016

legislation is associated with decreases in fatal police shootings, it is possible that screen flonies decreases fatalities whereas 36-37 ning for mental illness does not. Additional research is needed to determine how specific laws are related to rates of fatal police shootings.

> Finally, although both have been used in previous research, neither the Brady scoring

system nor The Counted data have been empirically validated. However, at least 1 study suggests that The Counted data, along with other open-source databases, contain more complete information than do official government data. 12 Moreover, the consistency in findings between this study and others suggests the face validity of The Counted data; therefore, although this might

be seen as a limitation, it is also an innovative approach toward examining social phenomenon where little validated data exist.

Public Health Implications

This study suggests that in states where there are weaker gun laws, the citizens are more likely to be killed by law enforcement

TABLE 2—Change in Overall Fatal Police Shootings by State-Level Firearm Legislative Strength Quartile: United States, January 1, 2015–October 31, 2016

			Incidence Rate Ratio (95% CI)		
Firearm Legislative Strength Quartile	Absolute Rate (SD) ^a	Absolute Rate Difference ^b	Model 1 ^c	Model 2 ^d	
1 (4-6 laws)	4.68 (2.44)	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)	
2 (7–9 laws)	4.00 (1.73)	0.67	0.856 (0.591, 1.240)	0.753 (0.521, 1.087)	
3 (10–14 laws)	3.33 (1.72)	1.35	0.712 (0.476, 1.064)	0.741 (0.503, 1.092)	
4 (15–31 laws)	2.04 (0.92)	2.64	0.436 (0.302, 0.628)	0.488 (0.287, 0.828)	

Note. CI = confidence interval.

Source. Police shootings are from The Guardian's online database The Counted and firearm legislative strength is from The Brady Center's legislative scorecards. ^aMean annualized rate of fatal police shootings per 1 000 000.

^bAbsolute rate difference in annualized fatal police shootings per 1 000 000 referenced to quartile 1.

^cUnadjusted incidence rate ratio referenced to quartile 1.

^dModel 2 is adjusted for age, education, violent crime rate, and household gun ownership rate.

TABLE 3—Change in Rates of Fatal Police Shootings Across States With the Weakest and Strongest Firearm Legislation, by Legislative Category: United States, January 1, 2015—October 31, 2016

Firearm Legislative	Incid	Absolute Rate			
Category ^a	Model 1 ^b	Model 2 ^c	Model 3 ^d	Difference ^e	
Strengthen background checks	0.527 (0.335, 0.830)	0.715 (0.558, 0.916)	0.787 (0.583, 1.062)	1.70	
Guns in public places	0.471 (0.303, 0.731)	1.130 (0.839, 1.522)	1.226 (0.926, 1.623)	0.05	
Child and consumer safety	0.575 (0.375, 0.880)	0.679 (0.490, 0.942)	0.707 (0.509, 0.983)	1.50	
Curb gun trafficking	0.654 (0.410, 1.043)	0.657 (0.505, 0.856)	0.708 (0.546, 0.918)	2.00	
Restrict dangerous weapons	0.581 (0.383, 0.881)	1.020 (0.711, 1.465)	1.297 (0.874, 1.923)	1.13	
Restrict dangerous persons	0.589 (0.380, 0.912)	0.756 (0.570, 1.003)	0.810 (0.605, 1.084)	1.57	
Duty to retreat	0.838 (0.598, 1.176)	1.201 (0.832, 1.735)	1.385 (0.969, 1.980)	0.60	

Note. CI = confidence interval.

Source. Police shootings are from *The Guardian*'s online database The Counted and firearm legislative 38-39 trength is from The Brady Center's legislative scorecards.

2 notes. Low and high scores for each category are as follows: strengthen Brady background checks, 0 (24 states), 1–5 (26 states); guns in public places, 0–2 (23 states), 3–6 (27 states); child and consumer safety, 0 (6 states), 1–4 (44 states); curb gun trafficking, 0 (26 states), 1–6 (24 states); restrict dangerous weapons, 0 (40 states), 1–3 (10 states); restrict dangerous persons, 0–4 (24 states), 5–8 (26 states); duty to retreat, 0 (27 states), 1 (23 states).

(Figure 1); therefore, a clear policy recommendation is for states to strengthen gun legislation to reduce the rate of fatal police shootings. Less apparent, however, is the mechanism linking firearm legislation to rates of fatal police shootings, even after accounting for the influence of state-level firearm ownership rates. Although speculative at this point, it is possible that in states with weaker gun laws police are more likely to encounter an armed suspect, which in turn increases the likelihood of officers responding with deadly force. Police officers in the United States are more likely than are those in other countries to have experiences in which they encounter an armed suspect, 19 and it is likely that this occurs more often in states with weaker gun laws. Moreover, this study and others find that more than half of all shootings involve instances in which a suspect possessed a firearm, which is a factor often cited in the use of deadly force. 6,20-23 Similarly, it is also likely that police officers in states with weaker gun laws understand, implicitly at least,

that they are policing in environments where dangerous individuals have ready access to firearms, priming them to respond with deadly force. Expanding on research documenting the effects of implicit racial stereotypes on police perceptions of danger, ²⁴ misperception of weapons, ²⁵ and shoot–don't shoot decisions, ²⁶ future research might examine the influence of state-level firearm legislation on these mediators of officers' split-second decision–making.

One reason that fatal police shootings might not result in public calls for legislative change is the lack of research, which is likely the result of unreliable data on fatal police shootings; only recently have independent Web sites started tracking data like those used in this study. Thus, another policy implication is the need for dependable vital-records data on law enforcement—related fatalities. However, it is also important to consider that although mass shootings produce a shift in public opinion toward supporting firearm legislation, 4 the response following high-profile fatal police shootings

often focuses on police training, tactics, and policies.^{27,28} For example, following the events in Ferguson, Missouri, the White House invested in a community policing initiative that supported body-worn cameras and officer training.²⁹ Since then, the majority of large cities have indicated plans to implement body cameras, which have received increased public support; however, there is limited evidence showing that such measures result in reductions in the use of force, ^{30–32} and at least 1 study suggests increases in fatal shootings.³³

Although further research is necessary to determine causality, our study suggests an association between stricter firearm legislation and lower rates of fatal police shootings. Firearm legislation may affect not only criminal homicide and suicide rates but also of firearm mortality caused by police of firearm should explore whether and how firearm legislation affects fatal police

CONTRIBUTORS

shootings. AJPH

A. J. Kivisto conceptualized the study and designed the analysis. A. J. Kivisto and P. L. Phalen analyzed the data. All authors contributed to writing the article and approved the final draft.

HUMAN PARTICIPANT PROTECTION

All data were publically available for download. This study is non-human participant research and institutional review board approval was not needed.

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^bUnadjusted incidence rate ratio.

^cModel 2 is multivariable, adjusted for sociodemographic characteristics (age, education, and violent crime rate).

^aModel 3 is adjusted for all sociodemographic characteristics in model 2 and firearm ownership rates. ^aAbsolute rate difference in annualized fatal police shootings per 1 000 000 referenced to states with the weakest firearm legislative strength by category of legislation.

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Firearm legislation and fatal police shootings in the United States

Kivisto, Aaron J.; Ray, Bradley; Phalen, Peter L.

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	The main finding of the paper was that more restrictions of owning a gun means fewer police	
	shootings. The paper compared 50 US states with their measurements of firearm legislation number of fatal police shootings. The time-frame of the study was January 1, 2015 to Octob	
	2016.	ber 31,
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12	Alex John Quijano 4/6/2022 23:23	Page 2
	This makes sense since current political climate of the US is extremely polarized.	
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	A poission regression assumes that the response variable follows a Poisson distribution variance are equal. They are assuming that the response must be positive discrete or	
	are independent, and the explanatory variables are ordinal categorical variables.	
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(10)	Alex John Quiione	Daga 2
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Score means stronger firearm legistation, less Brady Score means weaker legislation. Page 2 Alex John Quijano 20 4/6/2022 23:15 21 Page 2 Alex John Quijano 4/6/2022 23:19 (22) Alex John Quijano Page 2 7/6/2022 22:55 Alex John Quijano Page 2 23 7/6/2022 22:56 The ranking system is based on firearm legislative strength, which is used as the explanatory variable. Alex John Quijano Page 2 24 7/6/2022 22:55 The response variable is the annulized police shootings by state. (25) Alex John Quijano Page 3 7/6/2022 23:06 The question is what is the proportion of these minority groups were armed and unarmed compared to the non-minority groups. 26 Alex John Quijano Page 3 7/6/2022 23:05

This suggests that police percieve an individual to be more threatening if the person has a firearm

The legislative strength scores are weighted according to the type of legislation. The weighting was done using the scoring system of the Brady Campaign. The scoring appears to be arbitrary and subjective but the scoring is backed by previous research. Basically, for a State with higher Brady

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and would be more than likely to shoot.

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30	Alex John Quijano	Page 3
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	Okay, we are focusing on the disproportionality of the minority groups in our work. It looks I found that there are racial disparities in police shootings, but the question is by how much a	-
	is the proportion of armed and un-armed minority victims.	
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35	Alex John Quijano	Page 5
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36	Alex John Quijano	Page 6
	7/6/2022 23:13 Background checks might not be directly associated with the decrease in police shooting by	ıt it ic
	possible.	at it is
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It is difficult to find causality between legislation and rates of police shooting. This work only focuses on a short time-frame. A more extend time frame and time-series analyis might benefit on contributing to this research.

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