

**THE IMPACT OF GUN PRESENCE ON POLICE BRUTALITY AND
VIOLENCE AGAINST POLICE OFFICERS:**

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HOUSTON, NEW YORK CITY, AND
LONDON**

By
Joseph Angelo Scioli

Submitted to Central European University - Private University
School of Public Policy

*In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of International Public
Affairs*

Supervisor: Professor Nikolai Sitter

Vienna, Austria
2023

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract:	3
I. Introduction	4
II. Literature Review	6
III. Methodology	11
IV. Setting the Stage	15
V. Gun Laws	18
VI. Levels of Police Brutality in Houston, New York City, and London	24
VII. Interpretation of Findings	29
VIII. Policy Recommendations	31
IX. Conclusion	37
Appendices	38
References	39

Abstract:

This thesis examines the impact of gun presence on levels of police brutality and violence against police officers in a comparative study of Houston, New York City, and London. The research question investigates how the presence or absence of guns, both among citizens and police officers, influences police behavior and violence levels. By analyzing the distinct gun laws and policing ideologies of these cities, this study explores potential variations in police brutality and violence against police officers.

The study collects quantitative data from official records, government reports, and law enforcement databases to capture reported incidents of police brutality and violence against police officers. The comparative analysis highlights the differences in gun laws and accessibility in the selected cities. By analyzing reported incidents of police brutality and violence against police officers, this study identifies patterns, trends, and potential correlations between gun presence and policing ideologies.

The implications of the findings provide insights for policy discussions and reforms, advocating for evidence-based strategies to improve police-community relations and reduce instances of police brutality and violence. By promoting accountable, equitable, and safe policing practices, this study aims to facilitate positive change in Houston, New York City, London, and beyond.

I. INTRODUCTION

Police brutality and violence against police officers has become an incredibly discussed and debated issue around the world. The presence or lack of firearms in a particular region in both the hands of the people and the police is a significant factor when looking at the levels of brutality and violence that these regions face. By diving deeper into the cities of Houston, New York, and London, this thesis will investigate the influence of gun presence on police behavior and violence levels. These cities were chosen because of their varying degrees of gun laws and police ideologies, which will give greater context for examining discrepancies in the levels of police brutality and violence against officers.

The primary research question of this thesis is: How does the presence or absence of firearms in the hands of citizens and police officers impact levels of police brutality and violence against police officers? The goal is to discover potential changes in police conduct and violence levels due to variances in gun accessibility and policing philosophies by looking into the three cities mentioned above.

Previous research and literature on police have emphasized the need to understand the cultural, racial, and societal factors that contribute to these concerns. While this thesis recognizes the importance of these factors on a larger scale, it will focus on the various gun laws and how they affect the levels of police brutality and violence against police officers in a specific city and region. Furthermore, little emphasis has been directed to the effect of gun presence and accessibility on levels of police brutality and violence. This thesis seeks to fill the gap in the literature by undertaking a comparative analysis of the cities chosen.

To provide an in-depth investigation of the research question, the research design integrates quantitative data-gathering methods. The information will be gathered from official records, government reports, and law enforcement databases, and will include allegations of

police misconduct and violence against officers. The comparative study will look at the disparities in gun regulations and accessibility in Houston, New York City, and London, highlighting the various approaches to gun restriction and the consequences of police conduct. In addition, each city's recorded cases of police brutality and violence against police officers will be examined to uncover patterns, trends, and potential links between gun presence and policing philosophies.

The outcomes of this study will help us understand the complicated connections that exist between gun presence, policing ideology, and levels of police brutality and violence against police officers. The results of this study can be used to influence policy debates, reforms, and initiatives for strengthening police-community relations and lowering occurrences of police brutality and violence. The ultimate objective is to strive toward more responsible, inclusive, and safe policing tactics in the cities chosen and beyond.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The topic of police brutality and violence against police officers has been in the spotlight over the past few years. There has been a real push to figure out why these issues persist and have gotten significantly worse recently. Identifying the causes and potentially underlying issues is vital to finding a viable solution that will benefit both citizens and police officers in the future. The majority of the literature that exists on the topic is new as there has been a recent demand for research and solutions to these issues. That said, these issues have always been present and there have been incidents that have led to public outcry, but only recently has there been a sustained call for change. This literature review provides a comprehensive analysis of the recent tensions and developments in police brutality and violence against police officers in the United States and the United Kingdom. The selected sources encompass a range of scholarly articles and articles that shed light on various aspects of these critical issues.

Police Brutality:

Much of the focus of the prior literature has been on the racial issues and tensions that exist between police and African Americans in the US. A study by Schwartz and Jahn (2020) examined the rates of fatal police violence across U.S. metropolitan areas from 2013 to 2017. The research highlighted the overall rates of police violence and the racial and ethnic inequities in these incidents. The findings emphasized the disproportionate impact of police violence on communities of color. The issue of police brutality and racism in America has been extensively examined. A study by Schwartz (2020) investigated the association between historical lynching events and present-day police violence. The research revealed a significant correlation, suggesting that historical racial violence continues to influence current patterns of police brutality. Critically examining mainstream psychology's responses to anti-

Black police brutality, Jean (2020) highlighted the limitations and shortcomings of traditional psychological approaches. The study called for a more comprehensive and critical understanding of the structural and systemic factors contributing to police violence. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Black Lives Matter movement gained momentum, drawing attention to police brutality. A study by DeVydler et al. (2020) explored the experiences of police brutality within the context of the pandemic. The research shed light on the intersection between systemic racism, public health crises, and police violence.

There have also been studies done on the racial dynamics of policing within the United Kingdom. Examining the resistance to British policing, Elliot-Cooper (2021) explores the historical and contemporary dynamics of Black resistance to police practices in the UK. This article sheds light on the experiences and perspectives of marginalized communities and their struggles against police brutality. An examination of the Black Lives Matter movement and its impact on policing and abolition in the UK is presented by Joseph-Salisbury et al. (2020). The article analyzes the role of the movement in challenging systemic racism and advocating for changes in policing practices and policies.

More research has been done on the recent perceptions of police and police brutality in the US. Examining the perceptions of police violence among college students, Campbell and Valera (2020) conducted a study focusing on social media discussions. The research provided insights into how college students perceive and engage with incidents of police violence, highlighting the role of social media platforms in shaping public perceptions. An exploration of perceptions of police use of force among U.S. adults was conducted by Italiano et al. (2021). The research examined the role of communication accommodation in improving police-civilian interactions and reducing the use of excessive force. The findings emphasized the importance of effective communication strategies in fostering positive police-community relationships. Investigating the impact of protests police violence, Olzak (2021) analyzed data

from U.S. cities between 1990 and 2019. Their study provided evidence of the efficacy of protests in influencing public discourse and driving reforms to address issues of police brutality.

Another popular narrative and solution that has been presented is defunding the police. Because of this many people have conducted studies and researched its feasibility. The concept of defunding the police and its implications for a more anti-carceral social work is discussed by Jacobs et al. (2020). This article delves into the potential benefits and challenges of reallocating resources from traditional policing to community-based social programs, aiming to address the root causes of crime and inequality. This article offers a thought-provoking analysis of the complexities involved in reimagining public safety. Analyzing fatal police violence in the United States from 1980 to 2019, Lancet (2021) employ a network meta-regression approach to investigate the relationship between race, state, and incidents of police violence.

Research has been done specifically in the UK on force use and new policing techniques. Highlighting key statistics on police brutality in the UK, Dourou (2021) presents alarming facts that shed light on the magnitude of the issue. The article reveals significant disparities and raises awareness about the urgent need for reform within the UK policing system. A randomized controlled trial investigating the introduction of tasers to routine police operations in England and Wales is discussed by Ariel et al. (2018). This study evaluates the impact of less-lethal weapons on the use of force and outcomes in police encounters, providing insights into the effectiveness and potential risks associated with their implementation.

Violence Against Police:

The literature on the issue of violence against police officers is extremely limited and not as explored as the issue of police brutality. That said, there is some research focusing on

the aspect of race, the mental health of the officers and how they are viewed in society today. Examining violence against police officers in the context of citizen race and ethnicity, Shjarback and Nix (2020) conducted a study to contextualize representation in officer-involved shootings. The research explores how race and ethnicity influence the likelihood and perception of violence directed towards police officers. Recent literature delves into the evolving nature of police work and the increased risks faced by officers daily. The International Association of Chiefs of Police (n.d.) provides a resource outlining the challenges and risks encountered by law enforcement officers, including physical assaults and attacks, alongside recommendations for enhancing officer safety.

According to CNN (2022), violence against police officers is on the rise, with recent incidents highlighting the severity of this issue and eroding trust between communities and law enforcement agencies. In investigating nonfatal assaults against US police officers, Shjarback and Maguire (2019) extended research on the "War on Cops," analyzing data from multiple departments to assess the impact of high-profile incidents on levels of violence directed toward officers. Sierra-Arévalo and Nix (2021) explores gun victimization in line with duty for police officers, providing insights into their specific risks and challenges while carrying out their duties. Meanwhile, UK governmental reports offer comprehensive statistics about incidents where police officers have been assaulted in the year ending March 2022.

These resources provide detailed accounts of challenges encountered by law enforcement personnel facing violence directed towards them. Finally, Oscar Kilo's project (2022) investigates conflict escalation during interactions between police officers and individuals to generate insights that can help prevent or de-escalate future issues. Police brutality and violence directed towards law enforcement officials have understandably drawn interest from many researchers over the years; prominent topics include public perception issues relating to race relationships as well as broader societal trends around attitudes towards

policing. However, there seems little focus on another potential piece of the puzzle: what role do differing gun laws play in these types of violent confrontations? My work aims not only to explore this question but also to remind us all about the complexities around what a multifaceted issue is clearly.

III. METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodology employed to compare police brutality and violence against police officers in Houston, New York City, and London using quantitative data from the five years of 2018-2022, while also explaining the reasoning for choosing these three cities. The selected data include metrics related to police brutalities, such as the total number of people killed by police officers, total use of force incidents, injured people observed and reported. Additionally, data related to violence against police officers, such as officer injuries reported and officer deaths on duty, will be analyzed. One other data point that will be discussed is the rate of gun ownership in the state or country in which the city is. The methodology aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the trends and dynamics surrounding these critical issues.

Data Collection:

Quantitative data will be collected from official reports, government databases, law enforcement agencies, and reputable sources that track police activities and incidents of violence. The data will cover five years, from 2018 to 2022, ensuring a recent and comprehensive analysis of the trends and developments.

Police Brutality Metrics:

- A. **Total People Killed by Police Officers:** The number of individuals killed by police officers in each city will be compiled and analyzed to compare the incidence of lethal force used by law enforcement.
- B. **Total Use of Force Incidents:** The overall number of reported uses of force incidents will be examined to assess the frequency of such encounters between police officers and citizens.

C. Injured People Observed and Reported: The number of individuals observed or reported to have been injured during police-citizen encounters will be analyzed to understand the extent of physical harm caused by police actions.

Violence against Police Officers Metrics:

A. Officer Injuries Reported: The number of reported injuries sustained by police officers while on duty will be analyzed to assess the frequency and nature of violence directed towards law enforcement.

B. Officer Deaths on Duty: The number of police officers who died while on duty and off duty will be analyzed to provide insights into the risks faced by law enforcement in the respective cities.

C. Rate of Gun Ownership: The percentage of people that own a gun in that state or country will be given to show how many people in the region are gun owners.

Once the data is presented there will be a comparative analysis to see the differences between the three cities. The method provided in this chapter will allow for a thorough examination of police brutality and violence against officers in Houston, New York City, and London. This research intends to give useful insights into the trends, patterns, and variances in these crucial topics by applying quantitative data from the five-year period of 2018-2022. The findings will help readers better understand the elements that influence police-community relations and will feed evidence-based policy recommendations for reducing police brutality and violence against officers.

City Selections:

The cities of Houston, New York, and London were chosen based on their distinct characteristics, including variations in gun laws, policing ideologies, and historical incidents.

Understanding the context and dynamics of these cities will provide valuable insights into the factors that contribute to levels of police brutality and violence against police officers.

Variation in Gun Laws:

Houston, as part of Texas, has more permissive gun laws compared to both NYC and London. Texas allows for the open carry of firearms, and its citizens have relatively easy access to firearms. In contrast, NYC has stricter gun laws, requiring a permit to possess handguns, while London has a near-total ban on civilian gun ownership. This variation allows for an exploration of how the presence or absence of guns among citizens influences the dynamics of police-citizen interactions and its impact on police brutality and violence against police officers.

Policing Ideologies:

Houston, NYC, and London demonstrate different approaches to policing. The United States, including Houston, follows a more militarized and proactive policing approach, with an emphasis on crime prevention and law enforcement. In contrast, the United Kingdom, including London, has traditionally adopted a more community-oriented policing model, focusing on building relationships, community engagement, and problem-solving. NYC represents a unique blend of these approaches, with a history of both aggressive policing strategies and community policing initiatives. Comparing the outcomes of these distinct ideologies will shed light on their influence on incidents of police brutality and violence against police officers.

Historical Incidents and Recent Developments:

Each city has experienced significant incidents and developments related to police brutality and violence against police officers. Houston has witnessed notable cases of excessive force and controversial officer-involved shootings, contributing to ongoing discussions about police accountability. NYC has faced scrutiny for its stop-and-frisk policies and incidents like the killing of Eric Garner, which ignited nationwide protests. London has a history of racially charged incidents and concerns about disproportionate use of force. These varying incidents and the subsequent responses and reforms in each city provide valuable context for understanding the current landscape of police-community relations.

Diverse Socio-Demographic Contexts:

Houston, NYC, and London represent diverse socio-demographic contexts, including racial and ethnic diversity, socioeconomic disparities, and cultural dynamics. These factors can significantly impact the experiences of police brutality and violence against police officers. These cities have diverse and unique populations that interact with law enforcement that make them ideal choices for further investigation.

Houston, NYC, and London offer unique contexts for comparative analysis of police brutality and violence against police officers. The variations in gun laws, policing ideologies, historical incidents, and socio-demographic contexts make them ideal case studies for understanding the underlying factors contributing to these issues. By examining these cities, researchers can gain a comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics involved, ultimately informing policy recommendations and interventions to mitigate police brutality and violence against police officers.

IV. SETTING THE STAGE

The issue of police brutality and violence against police officers has been a subject of intense debate in both the United States and the United Kingdom. The concern stems from a rising number of incidents of excessive use of force, racial disparities, and attacks on law enforcement. These incidents have caused significant tension and highlighted the need for accountability, community-police relations, and systemic reform.

In the United States, there have been specific cases of police violence and brutality that has led to major protests and demands for change. There have been many of these cases over the past decade but the two that have caused the most outcry recently have been those of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor. George Floyd was an African American man who had a knee pressed against the back of his neck for nine and a half minutes while he yelled “I can’t breathe” during the process of him being arrested. He was killed during this process and the officer was subsequently fired and found guilty of murder (Groves and Forliti, 2022).

Breonna Taylor was asleep in an apartment when plainclothes police officers conducted a raid and returned fire when her boyfriend shot a warning shot as he claims he had no idea that it was police entering the apartment. The police shot and killed Breonna Taylor that night and no charges were ever brought against the officers (Waldrop et al., 2022). Both cases led to large protests around the country and internationally, sometimes leading to riots and looting in major cities. These cases have brought into sharp focus the need for police reform by advocating for increased accountability, revised use-of-force policies, and implementing comprehensive training programs that emphasize de-escalation techniques, implicit bias awareness, and cultural sensitivity.

These cases, however, do not only occur in the US, but there have also been cases in the UK that are eerily similar. High-profile cases like Mark Duggan's death have fueled an

urgent demand for transparency in policing. He was under investigation and being arrested on suspicion of planning an attack and possession of a handgun in North London, while he was being arrested, he was shot in the chest and subsequently died. There were no charges filed against the police, but they faced criticism for not cooperating with the investigation into the death and were accused of misconduct. This case also led to large protests and public outcry in the UK (Siddique, 2020). As a result, measures designed to improve transparency such as enhanced oversight mechanisms have been introduced alongside wider deployments focused on enhancing non-discriminatory practices among rank-and-file personnel who must also undergo training on de-escalation tactics.

In the United States, violence against police officers is also increasing as evidenced by ambush-style attacks and assaults on law enforcement officers. This trend has led to concerns about officer safety and strained relationships between law enforcement agencies and some members of society. Officers are at risk during public disturbances or criminal confrontations so they must be provided with adequate means of protection to safeguard their welfare. Violence against UK-based police officers continues to be a pressing concern. In response to these challenges in both countries, efforts are being made to enhance safety measures for law enforcement while simultaneously promoting dialogue with respective communities where trust-building is necessary as well as providing mental health support for officers. Both the US and the UK share a growing understanding that law enforcement reform needs to be implemented given current challenges and ongoing events exposing vulnerabilities in their systems. Work is now underway through various approaches such as community policing projects, specialized training programs for officers, use of body-worn cameras with staunch community oversight governing deployment.

Issues more profound have started rearing their head highlighted by contentious discussions around systemic racism, unconscious bias-led structures combined with inherent

accountability problems. Instances of police brutality incidents or attacks directed at police officers highlight an urgent need for critical changes moving forward. Despite circumstances' variances or distinctive challenges faced by each country-the ultimate goal remains similar-to increase transparency and accountability within these systems fostering stronger relationships between communities-policing agencies while operationalizing justice in securing safety. Comprehensive Reforms facilitating this goal in addition to a productive dialogue addressing critical issues are inevitable toward building a safer, equitable future that benefits everyone.

V. GUN LAWS

Houston:

Gun laws legislations are a complex issue facing the United States that is also frequently discussed. As one of the largest cities in America, Houston, Texas has its unique history background & distinct legal framework when it comes managing firearms policies. Understanding Houston gun policies calls for thorough examination of historical and cultural factors shaping the Texas state approach to firearms. Texans have this strong self-reliance and a culture of frontiersman ship that is often depicted by a cowboy. This depiction has an attachment to guns, and it is hard to picture a Texan and not think of them not having a gun on them. It really is a part of their culture and identity.

With increased concerns surrounding safety amidst mass shootings across the country debates on gun laws which respect Second Amendment rights while ensuring public safety remain very pronounced. This has resulted in a consistent re-evaluation of gun laws in Houston, Texas and other major cities. The governing law framework on the management of firearms within Houston, Texas primarily follows the guidelines from state statutes, as gun legislature is mostly controlled at the state level. Regardless of second amendment liberalization, there are practical restrictions to ensure protection. The Texas Constitution provides ‘additional rights’ for citizens by protecting their right to acquire, possess, and distribute guns.

The Texas Penal Code is comprehensive guide that details guidelines related to buying, selling, and carrying weapons, which also plays a significant role in controlling behavior related to gun usage that is aimed at promoting the general safety of the people. Individuals who wanted to carry concealed handguns within Houston's vicinity have a mandatory requirement for obtaining a License to Carry formerly referred to as Concealed

Handgun License. To qualify for issuance of the permit applicants must be at least 21 years old as well as complete designated training courses to a satisfactory level then pass an obligatory background check. However, in 2021 the Unlicensed to Carry law was passed which got rid of that statute, which means almost anyone can now carry a handgun with them in public places (Texas.gov, n.d.). While this law allows almost anyone to be able to carry handguns in public places there are some exceptions. For example, it is forbidden to carry a gun at schools, government buildings, and properties prohibiting use through authorized signage (Texas.gov, n.d.).

In addition to mandating lawful actions, Texas regulates the transfer or possession of certain firearms or accessories exceeding reasonable levels. People who wish to own fully automatic weapons, short-barreled shotguns, and suppressors must register them with The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, better known as the ATF and obtain the correct licensing. Mentally unsuitable individuals and someone with a criminal record including being subject to protective orders on their previous activities are not allowed to own firearms (atf.gov, 2019).

As far as the City of Houston is concerned, they have been required to follow state law while providing public safety. This allows local authorities some degree of legislative independence, but they essentially must maintain reasonable restrictions in line with state requirements. Individuals wishing to assert their Second Amendment rights responsibly by abiding by relevant laws must comprehend the legal framework thoroughly. Houston residents who are safe gun users and navigate this legislative process properly contribute to maintaining a safe community, however, there are many who do not and end up contributing to making the city more dangerous.

New York City:

Gun laws in America span differing regulations from state to state, some cities even possess their own specific legislature regarding weapons, therefore can cause complexity in the region. As the largest city in the United State, legislature surrounding guns in New York City stands apart from other cities in America due to its unique set of standards implemented by the government. The primary focus of this section is to examine the laws regulating guns in New York City and its historical background. It will evaluate the state and local authorities' role in shaping firearm ownership and use within the city.

New York City has strengthened gun legislation due to its historical violence and crime experience. The proactive measures taken in response to high crime rates during the 1990s comprised community policing initiatives, stricter gun control measures, and specialized units charged with policing illegal firearms trafficking. These actions have significantly reduced crime rates while offering a more secure environment (Spitzer, 2014). Establishing gun laws within New York City's legal framework requires assembling cooperation between both state statutes and local ordinances while ensuring that an individual's right to bear arms aligns with reasonable regulations that prioritize public safety above individualism.

New York State adheres strictly to federal regulations covering firearms by setting comprehensive gun laws such as "New York Penal Law" or "Criminal Procedure Law," which detail mandatory requirements for firearm ownership, registration, licensing, and restrictions on possession and usage such as waiting periods, background checks, and limitations applied upon certain firearm types including assault weapons. The State has aimed for a balance between individual rights to bear arms with public safety concerns.

In addition, local rules further define or restrict firearms possession within New York City borders which are outlined by Chapter 10 of its Administrative Code which focuses

specifically on unique challenges of urban environments. It addresses concerns of densely populated neighborhoods catered towards enhancing public safety. To legally own a handgun within New York City limits one would have to apply for a New York City Pistol License through the NYPD first (nyrspa.org). Then one would have to go through stringent background checks as well as completing mandatory firearms handling courses, followed by interviews conducted by police bureau officials who would then deliberate if it were justifiable for one to have a gun based on the reasons that support owning such firearms including self-defense scenarios are assessed during this stage too. The entire licensing process abides by strict measures guaranteeing that only law-abiding citizens obtain permits. The laws also allow the state to keep tabs on subsequently owned firearms and their usage. Labeling certain guns and accessories as restricted items serves the state's efforts in avoiding wrongful use and transactions of firearms. Bans on possession of high-caliber magazines, ammunition types that cause damage, as well as brandishing an unlicensed firearm reflect the City's aim at keeping all residents safe with adequate legal measures in place (nyc.gov, 2013).

Furthermore, these operational rules struck a balance by creating cautious gun ownership guidelines without disregarding citizens' right to bear arms. By understanding relevant historical backgrounds and gaining good insights into laws surrounding gun ownership limits and regulations being imposed by state and local governments, it becomes possible to play an active part in ensuring New York residents are able to live safely.

London:

Being the capital city of England, London has specific legislative frameworks concerning firearm ownership and has a historical background alongside legislative policies regarding gun laws. While attempting to protect the city from the potential harm that guns

may cause, London's legal framework governing guns has been subject to historic events that prompted stricter regulations such as the Hungerford massacre in 1987 and the Dunblane school shooting in 1996. This led to enactments of various reforms like enhanced firearm ownership controls while prohibiting handgun possession, among others.

The UK Firearms Act 1968 is primarily responsible for firearm legislation with regards to different firearm types & prohibited weapons. The intention is to ensure every licensed gun owner meets specific requirements for lawful acquisition or possession of firearms. Some regulations have been given locally to authorities such as the Metropolitan Police Service, seeking measures that promote public safety interests, including additional restrictions or licensing requirements (cps.gov.uk, 2021).

When an individual wishes to own a firearm in London, one must first apply for a shotgun certificate or firearms certificate. This must detail the intent & necessary background checks required, which includes criminal record evaluation and mental health assessment detailing suitability for possessing firearms persuasively backed by genuine reasons such as professional use or sports shooting. The local police organizations weigh factors such as public safety concerns related to the approved applicants. To maintain a safe environment for its citizens, stringent regulations surrounding firearm ownership exist within the United Kingdom. Certain types of firearms, including fully automatic weapons and handguns, are heavily restricted or completely prohibited from civilian possession except in extremely specific circumstances (gov.uk). The use of high-capacity magazines and some ammunition types is also subject to limitations with hopes of preventing improper use or illicit transfer of such weapons.

London's law surrounding guns is rooted in years of historic background which demonstrate a commitment towards responsible gun ownership coupled with practical public safety concerns. To achieve this end goal national regulations enhanced by local laws work

together to not only ensure safe usage but also curb incidents resulting from illegal gun purchases or abuse within city limits. By gaining an understanding into these legal guidelines as responsible gun owner one can help contribute towards reducing incidents surrounding gun violence within London community which in turn creates safer neighborhoods overall.

VI. LEVELS OF POLICE BRUTALITY IN HOUSTON, NEW YORK CITY, AND LONDON

Understanding the levels of police brutality in different cities is crucial for identifying areas of concern and implementing effective measures to address the issue. This chapter examines the levels of police brutality in Houston, New York City, and London based on data collected over a five-year period from 2018 to 2022. Before we investigate the specific cities, we will look at some statistics from Texas, New York, and the United Kingdom to get further context on the places in which these cities lie. The data includes population statistics, incidents of police use of force, injuries witnessed and reported, and gun ownership rates. By analyzing these statistics and presenting them in a consolidated chart, we can gain insights into the comparative levels of police brutality in these cities.

Table 1: State and Country Population and Police Brutality Statistics (2018-2022)

State/Country	Population	People Killed	Officers Killed	Gun Ownership
Texas	30,345,487	551	251	35.5%
New York	20,448,194	127	205	14.5%
United Kingdom	67,330,000	12	3	3.3%

Source: mappingpoliceviolence.org, wisevoter.com, inquest.org, odmp.org, worldpopulationreview.com

The table presents population data, the number of people killed by police, officers killed on duty, and gun ownership rates in Texas, New York, and the United Kingdom.

Texas:

With a population of 30,345,487, Texas recorded 551 cases of dying at the hands of police officers during the five-year period, this is the highest number of deaths in the entire country during the five-year period. Additionally, 251 officers were killed on duty in Texas during the same period, this is also the highest number in the country (odmp.org, 2023). The state has a high gun ownership rate of 35.5%, which may influence the dynamics of police encounters.

New York:

New York, with a population of 20,448,194, reported 127 cases of people killed by police between 2018 and 2022, with such a high population this is an exceptionally small number compared to other states (Mappingpoliceviolence.org, 2023). The number of officers killed on duty in New York during this period was 205. The gun ownership rate in New York is lower compared to Texas, at 14.5%, and is among the bottom five states in this statistic (wisevoter.com, n.d.).

United Kingdom:

The United Kingdom, with a population of 67,330,000, recorded 12 cases of people killed by police in the five-year period. The number of officers killed on duty in the United Kingdom during this period was 3. The country has a significantly lower gun ownership rate of 3.3%. These numbers are significantly lower than those in the US, and would be one of the lower states if not the lowest state in all three categories despite having an exceedingly high population

Table 2: Population, Police Brutality, and Violence Against Police Statistics in Cities (2018-2022)

City	Population	Use of Force	People Injured	Officers Injured
Houston	2,280,000	27,535	12,800	1,202
New York City	8,460,000	37,230	11,404	20,387
London	8,982,000	7,933	187	150

Source: policetransparencymycity.hub.arcgis.com, nyc.gov, worldpopulationreview.com, cityoflondon.police.uk

The table presents population data, number of incidents where police officers used force, people who were witnessed and reported injuries that they suffered during the use of force incidents, and police officers injured between 2018 and 2022.

Table 3: Police Brutality per 1000 People (2018-2022)

City	Use of Force per 1000	People Injured per 1000
Houston	12	5.6
New York City	4.4	1.3
London	.8	.02

Source: policetransparencymycity.hub.arcgis.com, nyc.gov, worldpopulationreview.com, cityoflondon.police.uk

The above table shows the number of incidents where officers used force and the number of people witnessed and reported injuries per 1000 people in the city between 2018 and 2022. This table is important because it puts the numbers in perspective in relation to the populations of the cities.

Houston:

Houston exhibited the highest number of use-of-force incidents among the three cities, with 27,535 reported incidents. The city also recorded many injuries witnessed and reported, totaling 12,800. Also, Table 3 shows that you are almost three times more likely to experience police using force and over four times more likely to be injured by a police officer than you would in New York City. These figures indicate a higher incidence of police brutality in Houston during the specified period.

New York City:

New York City, despite its larger population, reported a slightly lower number of use-of-force incidents, 37,230, compared to Houston. The injuries witnessed and reported in New York City amounted to 11,404. It is important to consider the population difference between the two cities when interpreting these figures. The remarkably interesting number is the significantly higher number of injuries to officers, 20,387, that has occurred compared to Houston. This number either means that officers are at significantly more risk in NYC, or the more likely answer is that there is a more willingness and easier process in reporting injuries.

London:

London recorded the lowest number of use-of-force incidents, 7,933, and injuries witnessed and reported, 187, among the three cities. Also, Table 3 shows just how much less force and injuries are sustained during policing in London than in the two American cities in the study. The comparatively lower levels of police brutality in London may be attributed to numerous factors, including the city's robust oversight mechanisms and community policing initiatives as well as the significantly lower presence of guns.

Analyzing the levels of police brutality in Houston, New York City, and London based on the statistics reveals notable variations among these cities. Houston exhibited the highest levels of police use of force and injuries witnessed and reported, followed by New York City. London demonstrated comparatively lower levels of police brutality during the specified period. These findings emphasize the need for tailored strategies and interventions to address police brutality in each city, taking into account their unique contexts and challenges.

VII. INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

The analysis of police brutality and violence against police officers in Houston, New York City, and London gives some explanation. It is no surprise that Texas, with its high population and relaxed gun laws, exhibited the highest number of people killed by police as well as police officers killed on duty among the three regions in the study. New York reported lower numbers of people killed by police but had a high number of officers killed while on duty. This is perplexing because despite stricter gun laws and less gun ownership a police officer in New York State is more likely to be killed than in Houston, Texas. The United Kingdom, with stricter gun control measures, demonstrated significantly lower levels of police brutality and violence against police officers compared to the United States.

When exploring the data from the specific cities, Houston had the by far the highest number of use-of-force incidents and witnessed and reported injuries, indicating a higher level of police brutality. This supports the idea that the presence and accessibility to guns in a particular region will lead to more police brutality. New York City reported a slightly lower number of use-of-force incidents but was significantly lower when looking at the number per 1000 people. The city had a higher number of injuries to officers, suggesting potential risks faced by law enforcement. That said, the number is so much higher than that of Houston that there could be a flaw in the reporting by one or both cities. In contrast, London exhibited the lowest levels of use-of-force incidents and witnessed and reported injuries, which can be attributed to its low levels of gun ownership and strict gun laws as well as comprehensive oversight mechanisms and community policing initiatives.

The findings of this study emphasize the importance of considering numerous factors when examining and addressing police brutality and violence against police officers, which may include population size, gun ownership rates, law enforcement practices, and gun laws

and legislation. As we have seen from this data, the three cities are quite different when it comes to this issue and all three may need different solutions to solve their problems. Even in the city of London, which according to the data in this study shows that they have the problem under control comparably speaking, the residents in the city are demanding more to try and curb even the lowest levels of police brutality and violence against police officers. By analyzing and understanding the levels of police brutality in Houston, New York City, and London, policymakers, law enforcement agencies, and community members can work together to develop targeted interventions that promote accountability, transparency, and the protection of civil rights. While doing this it will make the environment safer for the police officers who can be more comfortable while working their daily shifts. At the end of the day the goal is to create trust and understanding between the police and the communities they serve, so that the safety and well-being of the individual is upheld as well as the principles of justice and equality.

VIII. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Police brutality and violence against police officers are critical issues that demand effective policy solutions. These incidents erode public trust in law enforcement, strain community-police relations, and pose risks to civilians and officers alike. Specifically, it explores the importance of promoting accountability, enhancing training and recruitment practices, implementing community policing approaches, and fostering systemic reforms as viable strategies.

Houston:

In Houston, Texas, where gun laws are relaxed, addressing police brutality and violence against police officers requires targeted strategies to promote accountability, enhance community relations, and ensure the safety of all residents. By adopting these strategies, we can strive towards a safer and more harmonious community.

Considering the relaxed gun laws in Houston, comprehensive training programs are essential for law enforcement personnel. Training should emphasize de-escalation techniques, conflict resolution, and tactical decision-making in scenarios involving armed individuals. Incorporating simulated exercises and scenarios that focus on interacting with armed civilians can help officers make informed decisions while minimizing the use of force. Also, it is crucial to prioritize firearm safety and training for both officers and civilians. Implementing strict training requirements, including regular assessments of firearm proficiency, can ensure that officers possess the necessary skills to handle armed encounters safely and responsibly. Moreover, community outreach programs on responsible firearm ownership and storage can help reduce the likelihood of armed confrontations and unintentional harm.

Engaging the community in meaningful ways can foster trust, cooperation, and open lines of communication between law enforcement and residents. Houston's police departments can establish community advisory boards or hold regular town hall meetings to provide an opportunity for dialogue, address concerns, and collaboratively develop strategies to reduce violence and enhance public safety. Encouraging community-led initiatives, such as neighborhood watch programs, can also strengthen relationships and promote a shared responsibility for safety. Reducing police brutality and violence against police officers in Houston, Texas, requires tailored strategies that consider the unique context of relaxed gun laws. By adopting these strategies, law enforcement agencies can build trust, improve accountability, and ensure the safety and well-being of both officers and residents in the diverse and dynamic city of Houston.

New York City:

Addressing police brutality and violence against police officers in New York City requires a comprehensive approach that considers numerous factors, including the city's strict gun laws. These policy solutions explore key strategies that can be implemented specifically in the context of New York City, leveraging the city's stricter gun laws to effectively reduce incidents of police brutality and violence against officers. By combining these strategies with a focus on gun control, we can work towards creating a safer environment for both law enforcement and the community they serve.

Building upon New York City's already strict gun laws, there is a need to strengthen firearm regulations further. This includes implementing comprehensive background checks for all gun purchases, closing loopholes that allow for private sales without background checks, and ensuring that individuals with a history of violence or mental illness are prohibited from owning firearms. Stricter regulations will help prevent easy access to

firearms by those who may pose a threat to law enforcement officers. There also must be proactive measures to combat the influx of illegal firearms is crucial. Where guns are harder to get there will be more illegal weapons that are in circulation and therefore much harder to track and keep out of the wrong hands. This includes increased law enforcement efforts to identify and dismantle illegal firearm trafficking networks operating within the city. Strategic partnerships with federal agencies can enhance the sharing of intelligence and resources, resulting in more effective investigations and prosecutions of individuals involved in the illegal firearms trade.

Providing comprehensive training to law enforcement officers on safe and responsible firearm handling is crucial. This training should focus on marksmanship skills, situational awareness, and de-escalation techniques specifically tailored to encounters involving armed individuals. By ensuring officers are well-trained in handling firearms, they can respond effectively and minimize the need for excessive force in situations where firearms are involved. Decreasing police brutality and violence against police officers in New York City requires a comprehensive approach that leverages the city's stricter gun laws. Building on the already strict gun laws in New York as well as these policy recommendations, New York City can become safer for its many residents and visitors.

London:

Addressing police brutality and violence against police officers in London requires a multifaceted approach that considers several factors, including the city's gun control measures. This section investigates the policy solutions that can be implemented specifically in the context of London, leveraging the city's existing gun control laws to effectively reduce the already low incidents of police brutality and violence against officers. By combining

these strategies with a focus on gun control, we can work towards creating a safer environment for both law enforcement and the community they serve.

There is a need for strict enforcement to ensure compliance and prevent the illegal possession and use of firearms. Law enforcement agencies should prioritize efforts to identify and seize illegal firearms, dismantle criminal networks involved in gun trafficking, and prosecute individuals engaged in the illicit firearms trade. Enhancing partnerships with border control agencies can help prevent the influx of illegal firearms into the city. Another step is to strengthen background checks and licensing procedures for individuals seeking to obtain firearms is essential. This includes conducting thorough background checks, verifying mental health records, and assessing the suitability of individuals to possess firearms. Implementing comprehensive licensing procedures will help ensure that only responsible and law-abiding individuals have access to firearms, reducing the risk of weapons falling into the wrong hands.

Promoting the use of non-lethal force options by law enforcement officers can help minimize the likelihood of excessive force and reduce the severity of encounters. Increasing the availability and training on non-lethal weapons, such as Tasers and pepper spray, provides officers with alternative means to subdue suspects without resorting to firearms. Regular assessments and evaluations of non-lethal force usage can ensure its appropriate and responsible application. Decreasing police brutality and violence against police officers in London necessitates a comprehensive approach that leverages the city's gun control measures. Using these policy solutions with already strict gun laws, London will be a safer environment for law enforcement and the community, fostering trust and promoting the well-being of the city.

General Solutions:

This section is designed to give a few more policy solutions that can be beneficial to any of the three cities. Developing robust early warning systems within law enforcement agencies can help identify officers at risk of engaging in misconduct or exhibiting aggressive behavior. By tracking indicators such as excessive use of force complaints, civilian complaints, and disciplinary records, agencies can intervene with appropriate training, counseling, or supervision to address potential issues before they escalate. The demanding nature of law enforcement work can take a toll on officers' mental health. Implementing comprehensive mental health support programs that prioritize regular counseling services, stress management training, and peer support networks can help officers cope with the challenges they face daily. By addressing officer well-being, agencies can reduce the potential for burnout, aggression, or misconduct.

Collaboration between law enforcement agencies, community organizations, and residents is essential in promoting responsible gun ownership and reducing violence. Community engagement initiatives should be established to educate residents about the dangers of illegal firearms and encourage reporting of illegal weapons. Working together with community leaders, law enforcement can build trust, gather valuable intelligence, and prevent potential violent incidents before they occur. Public awareness and education campaigns focused on responsible gun ownership and the consequences of firearm violence can help shift attitudes and behaviors within the community. By educating residents about the risks associated with illegal firearms and encouraging safe storage practices, we can reduce the likelihood of firearms falling into the wrong hands and minimize the potential for violent encounters with law enforcement.

This can also include utilizing data to inform policing strategies that can help identify areas of concern and allocate resources effectively. By analyzing patterns of crime, violence,

and police encounters, law enforcement agencies can prioritize their efforts in areas most in need of intervention and prevention. Data collection should include information on the use of force incidents, including details regarding the presence of firearms, to assess the effectiveness and appropriateness of officers' responses.

Mitigating police brutality and violence against police officers necessitates a comprehensive approach that encompasses accountability, training, community-oriented policing, systemic reforms, and data-driven decision-making. By implementing these policy solutions, law enforcement agencies can foster trust, transparency, and safety for both communities and police officers. Policymakers, law enforcement agencies, community leaders, and the public must collaborate to implement these measures and work towards a more just and equitable society.

IX. CONCLUSION

Gun laws and accessibility is an incredibly significant factor that is often overlooked when discussing the topic of police brutality and violence against police officers. This research has found that the more relaxed the gun laws are in a specific city or region the more people will own a gun in that area. Based on the data gathered the places with the most guns leads to higher instances of police using force and more injuries and deaths sustained by both the people and the police officers. The research also finds that in a place where guns are all but banned, such as London, there is very few cases of police brutality and violence against police officers. This is due to the fact that guns or the possibility of someone having a gun changes the mindset of a police officer and the person being approached by the police. Based on the data gathered policing is much safer in London than in both New York City and Houston. Despite NYC having less injuries suffered by the people and much less killings by the police. The number of police officers who have been killed and injured is remarkably high. This shows that NYC police officers face an increased risk when they are on duty as compared to officers in Houston and London.

Police brutality and violence against police officers is a topic that has become so polarizing and political in recent years. It is an issue that is incredibly important as it involves the lives of so many people. Many solutions have been proposed yet few seem to work. The suggested policy solutions listed above give a list of steps that can be taken in these specific cities and in a broader sense in other regions around the world. The ultimate goal of governmental and community leaders on this issue should be to make the communities safer for both the people and police officers.

APPENDICES

Appendix VI:

Author's Declaration Form (to be included in the final version of the thesis)

I, the undersigned, *Joseph Scioli*, candidate for *MA International Public Affairs*, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research.

All sources have been properly credited in the text, notes, and the bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. Furthermore, I declare that no part of this thesis has been generated using artificial intelligence (ChatGPT).

I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form as coursework for credits or to another institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Date: 02/06/2023

Name: Joseph Scioli

Signature: 

REFERENCES

- Annex: Statistics on the number of police officers assaulted in the year ending March 2022, England and Wales.* GOV.UK. (n.d.). <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/police-workforce-england-and-wales-31-march-2022/annex-statistics-on-the-number-of-police-officers-assaulted-in-the-year-ending-march-2022-england-and-wales>
- Application — license division Rifle / Shotgun permit rifle ... - nyc.gov. (2013). https://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/downloads/pdf/permits/rifle_shotgun_permit_application.pdf
- Ariel, B., Lawes, D., Weinborn, C., Henry, R., Chen, K., & Brants Sabo, H. (2018). The “less-than-lethal weapons effect”—introducing tasers to routine police operations in England and Wales: A randomized controlled trial. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 46(2), 280–300. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854818812918>
- Bowleg, L., Boone, C. A., Holt, S. L., del Río-González, A. M., & Mbaba, M. (2022). Beyond “heartfelt condolences”: A critical take on mainstream psychology’s responses to anti-black police brutality. *American Psychologist*, 77(3), 362–380. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000899>
- Campbell, F., & Valera, P. (2020). “The only thing new is the cameras”: A study of U.S. college students’ perceptions of police violence on social media. *Journal of Black Studies*, 51(7), 654–670. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934720935600>
- DeVylder, J., Fedina, L., & Link, B. (2020). Impact of police violence on mental health: A theoretical framework. *American Journal of Public Health*, 110(11), 1704–1710. <https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.2020.305874>
- Disciplinary Actions.* ArcGIS dashboards. (n.d.-a). <https://mycity.maps.arcgis.com/apps/dashboards/0ccace0ba9a84c8db1e926b1f9cbbac>
- Dourou, S. (2021, November 24). *Five shocking stats about police brutality in the UK.* Left Foot Forward: Leading the UK’s progressive debate. <https://leftfootforward.org/2020/06/five-shocking-stats-about-police-brutality-in-the-uk/>
- Elliott-Cooper, A. (2021, May 1). *Black resistance to British policing.* manchesterhive. <https://www.manchesterhive.com/view/9781526143945/9781526143945.xml>
- Fatal police violence by race and state in the USA, 1980–2019: A network meta-regression. (2021). *The Lancet*, 398(10307), 1239–1255. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736\(21\)01609-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736(21)01609-3)
- Firearms.* Firearms | The Crown Prosecution Service. (2021). [https://www.cps.gov.uk/legal-guidance/firearms#:~:text=Section%20\(1\)%20of%20the,conditions%20of%20such%20a%20certificate.](https://www.cps.gov.uk/legal-guidance/firearms#:~:text=Section%20(1)%20of%20the,conditions%20of%20such%20a%20certificate.)

- Fleetwood, J., & Lea, J. (2022). Defunding the police in the UK: Critical questions and practical suggestions. *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*, 61(2), 167–184. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hojo.12468>
- Groves, S., & Forliti, A. (2022, December 10). *Former police officer who kneeled on George Floyd's back gets 3.5-year sentence*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/former-police-officer-who-who-kneeled-on-george-floyds-back-gets-3-5-year-sentence#:~:text=Floyd%20died%20on%20May%2025,broader%20reckoning%20over%20racial%20injustice>.
- Guides: Gun laws: License to carry*. License to Carry - Gun Laws - Guides at Texas State Law Library. (2021). <https://guides.sll.texas.gov/gun-laws/license-to-carry#:~:text=As%20of%202021%2C%20Texas%20law,the%20new%20law%20takes%20effect>.
- Gun ownership by State 2023*. Wisevoter. (2023, May 8). <https://wisevoter.com/state-rankings/gun-ownership-by-state/>
- Home Office. (2023, January 12). *Police misconduct statistics*. GOV.UK. <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/police-misconduct-statistics>
- inquest_org. (n.d.). *Fatal police shootings*. Inquest. <https://www.inquest.org.uk/fatal-police-shootings>
- Italiano, R., Ramirez, F., & Chattopadhyay, S. (2021). Perceptions of police use of force among U.S. adults and the role of communication accommodation in improving police–civilian interactions. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 49(6), 669–686. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2021.1930103>
- Jacobs, L. A., Kim, M. E., Whitfield, D. L., Gartner, R. E., Panichelli, M., Kattari, S. K., Downey, M. M., McQueen, S. S., & Mountz, S. E. (2020). Defund the police: Moving towards an anti-carceral social work. *Journal of Progressive Human Services*, 32(1), 37–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10428232.2020.1852865>
- Jean, T. (2020, June 16). *Black lives matter: Police brutality in the era of COVID-19*. Syracuse University. <https://www.maxwell.syr.edu/research/lerner-center/population-health-research-brief-series/article/black-lives-matter-police-brutality-in-the-era-of-covid-19>
- Joseph–Salisbury, R., Connelly, L., & Wangari-Jones, P. (2020). “the UK is not innocent”: Black lives matter, policing and abolition in the UK. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 40(1), 21–28. <https://doi.org/10.1108/edi-06-2020-0170>
- Kilo, O. (2022, June 16). *Understanding assaults against police officers: A study of conflict escalation in police encounters with the public*. Oscar Kilo. <https://www.oscarkilo.org.uk/news/understanding-assaults-against-police-officers-study-conflict-escalation-police-encounters>

- Levenson, E., & Campbell, J. (2022, October 17). *Shootings of police officers highlight a rise in violence and distrust*. CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/10/17/us/police-violence-ambush-attack>
- Mapping police violence*. Mapping Police Violence. (n.d.). <https://mappingpoliceviolence.org/>
- New York City administrative code – the gun control provisions. (n.d.-a). <https://www.nysrpa.org/files/nyc-admincode.pdf>
- Officer involved shootings*. houstontx.gov. (n.d.). <https://www.houstontx.gov/police/ois/>
- Olzak, S. (2021). Does protest against police violence matter? evidence from U.S. cities, 1990 through 2019. *American Sociological Review*, 86(6), 1066–1099. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00031224211056966>
- Police Officers Deaths by State*. The Officer Down Memorial Page (ODMP). (n.d.). <https://www.odmp.org/search/year?year=2018>
- Police related deaths England and Wales 2022*. Statista. (2022, November 25). <https://www.statista.com/statistics/319287/deaths-during-or-following-police-contact-causes-england-and-wales/>
- Police Transparency Dashboard. (n.d.). <https://policetransparency-mycity.hub.arcgis.com/#datadashboards>
- Schwartz, G. L., & Jahn, J. L. (n.d.). *Mapping fatal police violence across U.S. metropolitan areas: Overall rates and racial/ethnic inequities, 2013-2017*. PLOS ONE. <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371%2Fjournal.pone.0229686&fbclid=IwAR3XXQd0dyWis-epgraz4clk2UUrUFplu6ehbWjlE-4BpO7txPTiyJqgLcY>
- Schwartz, S. A. (2020). *Police brutality and racism in America*. Explore (New York, N.Y.). <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7331505/>
- Shjarback, J. A., & Maguire, E. R. (2019). Extending research on the “War on cops”: The effects of Ferguson on nonfatal assaults against U.S. police officers. *Crime & Delinquency*, 67(1), 3–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128719890266>
- Shjarback, J. A., & Nix, J. (2020). Considering violence against police by citizen race/ethnicity to contextualize representation in officer-involved shootings. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 66, 101653. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2019.101653>
- Shotgun and firearm certificates*. Shotgun and firearm certificates - GOV.UK. (n.d.). <https://www.gov.uk/shotgun-and-firearm-certificates>
- Siddique, H. (2020, June 10). *Mark Duggan shooting: Can forensic tech cast doubt on official report?* The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/ng-interactive/2020/jun/10/mark-duggan-shooting-can-forensic-tech-cast-doubt-on-official-report>

Sierra-Arévalo, M., & Nix, J. (2021). Gun victimization in the line of duty: Fatal and non-fatal firearm assaults on police officers in the United States, 2014-2019. *CrimRxiv*. <https://doi.org/10.21428/cb6ab371.1293241f>

Spitzer, R. J. (2019, January 10). *A history lesson for foes of N.Y. Gun Law*. New York Daily News. <https://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/history-lesson-foes-n-y-gun-law-article-1.1564813>

State laws and published ordinances - texas - bureau of alcohol ... ATF. (2019). <https://www.atf.gov/firearms/docs/guide/texas-firearms-statutes-and-codes/download>

Use of Force Data Tables. Use of Force Data Tables - NYPD. (n.d.). <https://www.nyc.gov/site/nypd/stats/reports-analysis/use-of-force-data.page>

Use of force data | city of London police. (n.d.-b). <https://www.cityoflondon.police.uk/police-forces/city-of-london-police/areas/city-of-london/stats-and-data/stats-and-data/use-of-force-data/>

Use of Force. ArcGIS dashboards. (n.d.-b). <https://mycity.maps.arcgis.com/apps/dashboards/21eac904178c4d12a7dd8e29c0ee238e>

Violence against the police. International Association of Chiefs of Police. (n.d.). <https://www.theiacp.org/resources/violence-against-the-police>

Waldrop, T., McLaughlin, E. C., Moghe, S., & Rabinowitz, H. (2022, August 4). *Breonna Taylor killing: A timeline of the police raid and its aftermath*. CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2022/08/04/us/no-knock-raid-breonna-taylor-timeline/index.html>