

*Suspect Citizens*  
*What 20 Million Traffic Stops Tells us*  
*About Policing and Race*

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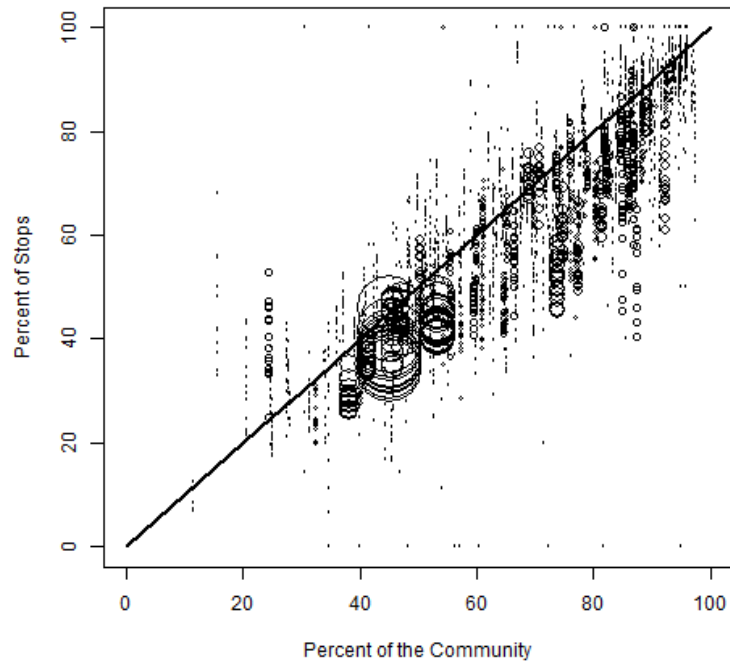
# Who gets stopped, who gets searched?

- 1999 law mandated confirmation or refutation of the “DWB” allegation. It can clearly be confirmed. The state has never done so.
- Our data: 20 million stops (all of them) from 2002 to present.
- Stops: Blacks 63 percent more likely than whites, by population.
- But blacks drive 16 percent less. So about 95 percent more likely, by driving habits
- Searches: Among those stopped, blacks are 115 percent more likely to be searched (2.35 % for whites, 5.05% for blacks)
- So: a double whammy: 95 percent more risk of stop, 115 percent more risk of search, given a stop. Double, then double again. Search rates per stop about 2x, search rates per population: 4x.

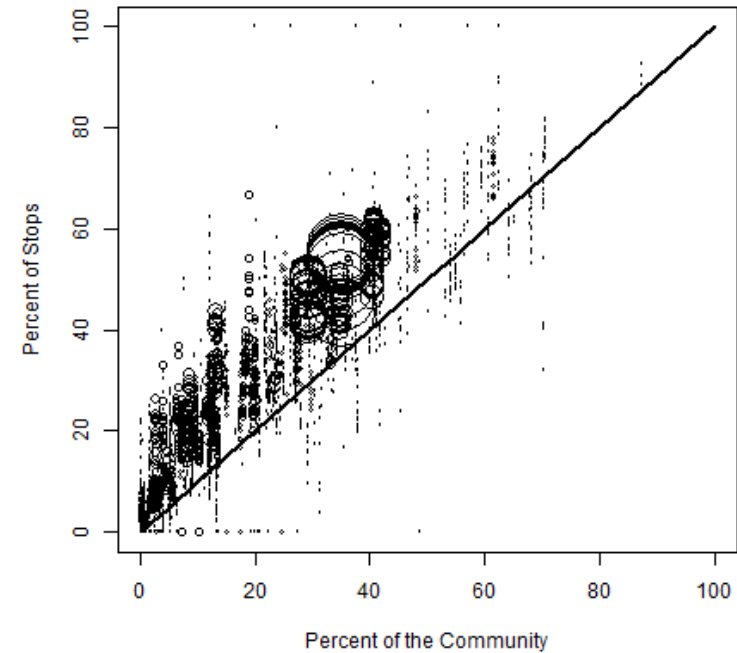
# Differential Likelihood of Stop

Note: disparities under-estimated by 16 percent.

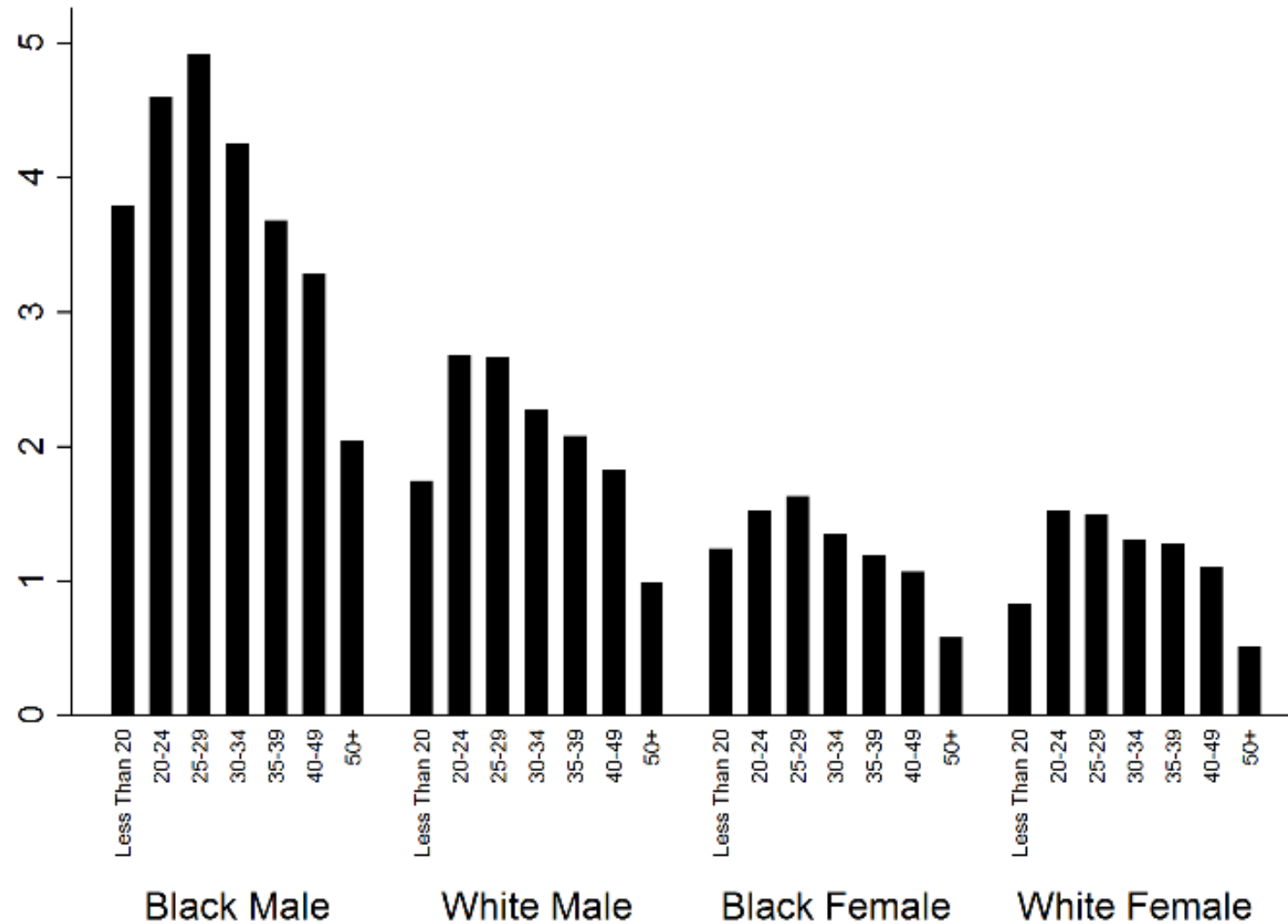
**Whites, population v. stops share**



**Blacks, population v. stops share**

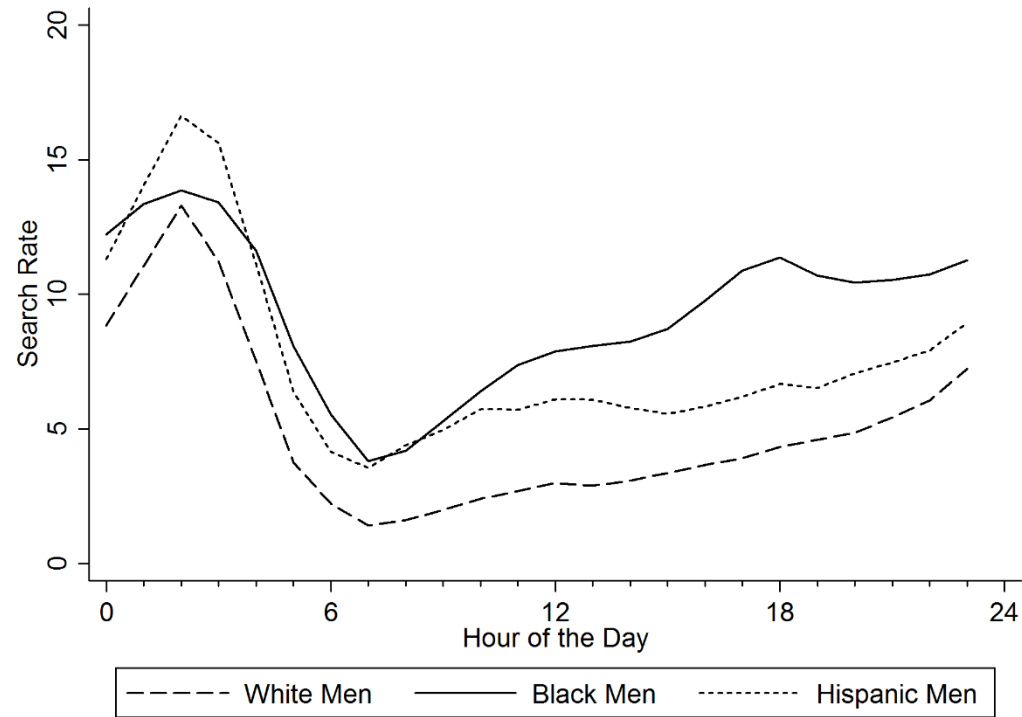


# Odds of search by age, race, gender

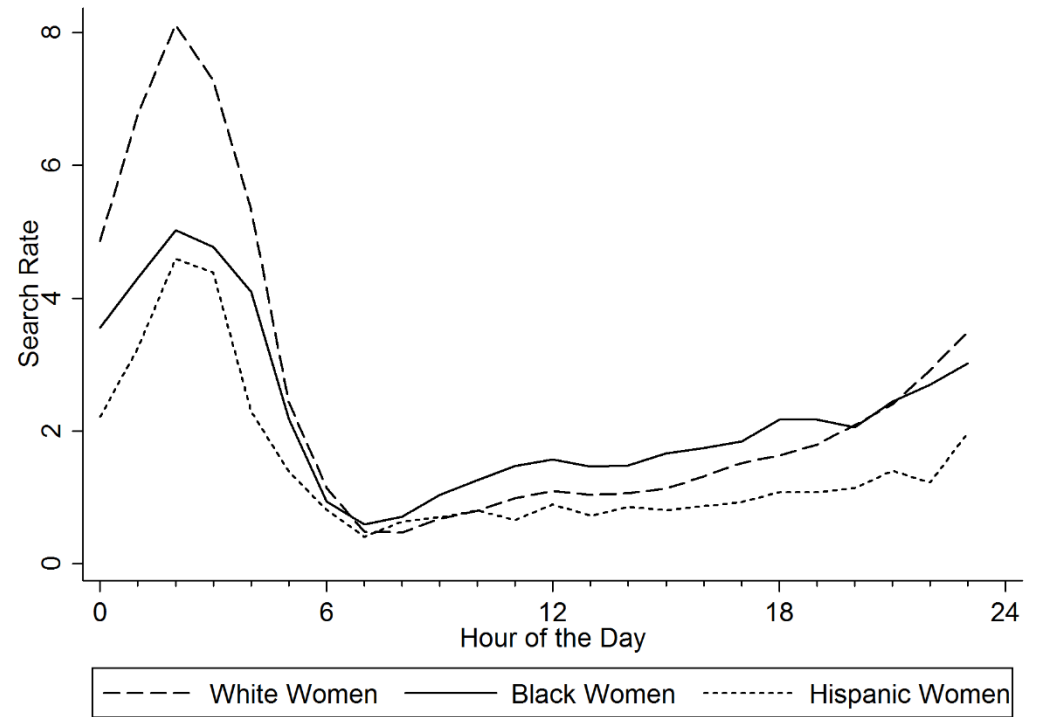


# Search rates by time of day

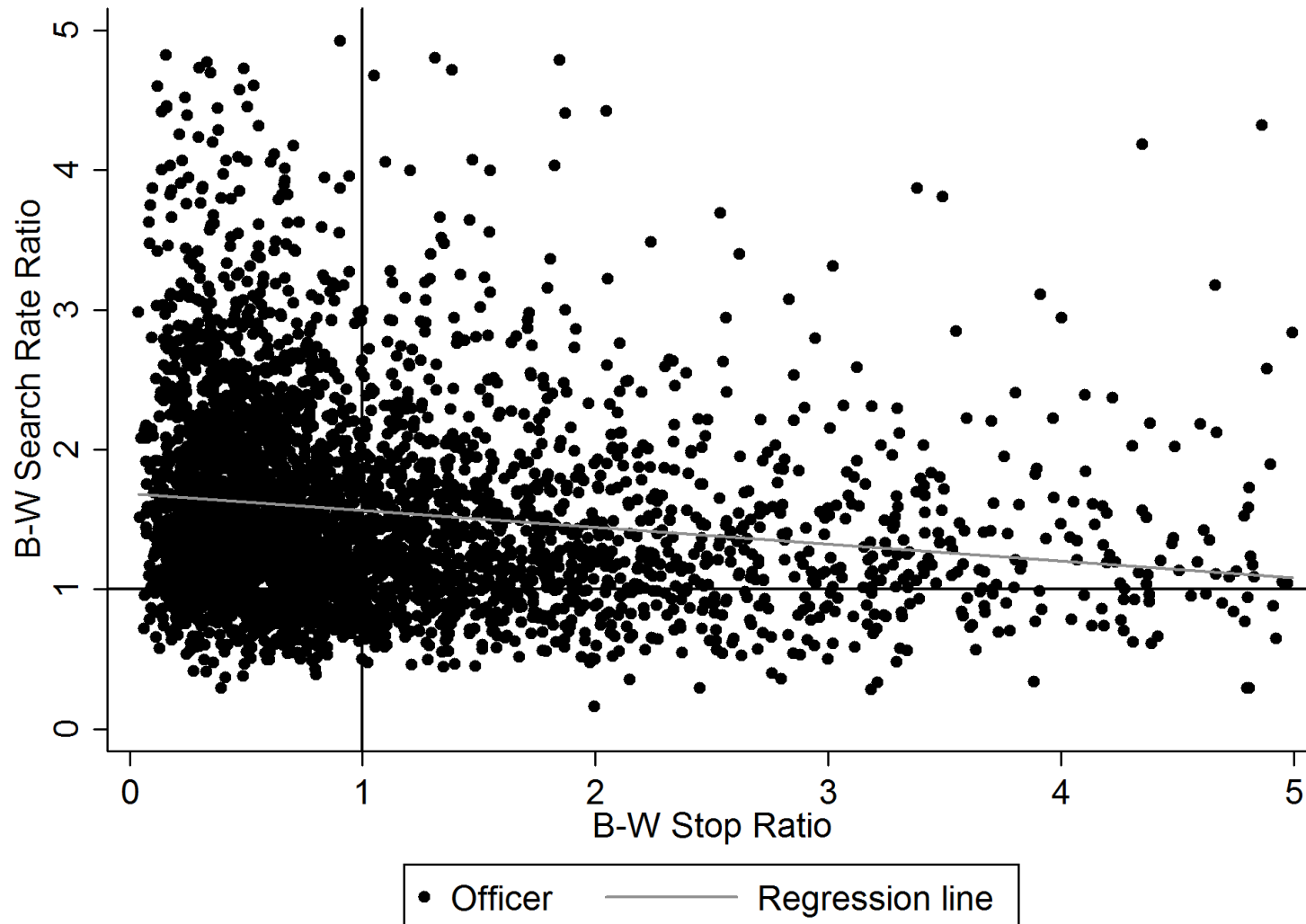
## Male Drivers



## Female Drivers



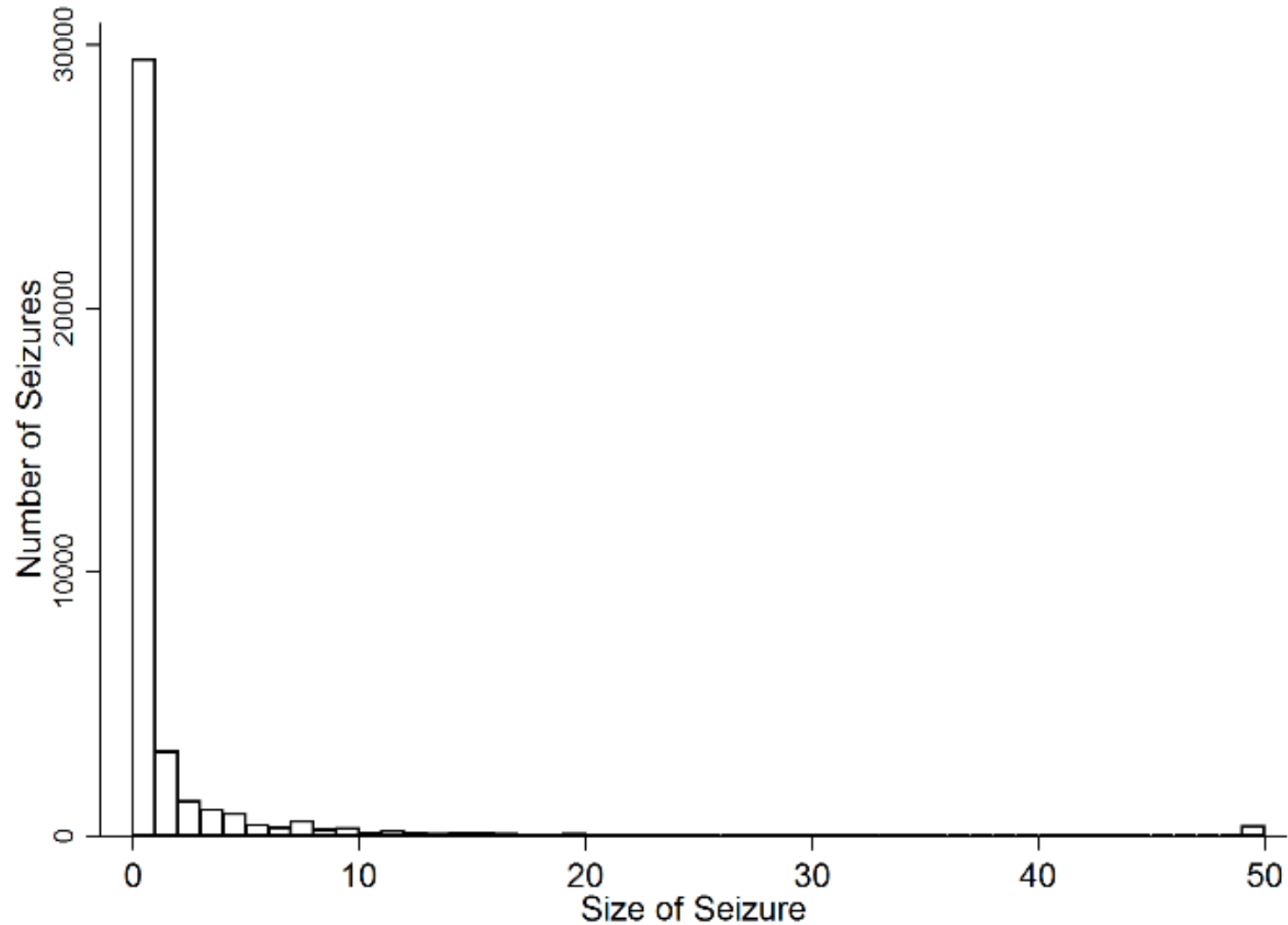
Fish out of water? Only a penalty for blacks, not whites.



# The math is terrible: 88 percent of searches fail to lead to arrest

	White	Black	Hispanic	Total
Stops	11,623,064	6,261,948	1,515,192	20,026,586
Searches	186,959	242,882	42,912	480,509
Search and Contraband	66,770	80,823	9,399	159,370
Contraband and Arrest	22,038	31,584	3,523	57,839
Search Rate (%)	1.61	3.88	2.83	2.4
Contraband Rate per Search (%)	35.71	33.28	21.9	33.17
Contraband+Arrest per Search (%)	11.79	13.00	8.21	12.04
Contraband+Arrest per Stop (%)	0.19	0.50	0.23	0.29
<b>Fruitless Search Rate</b> (e.g. Searches w/o Arrest )	88.21	87.00	91.79	87.96

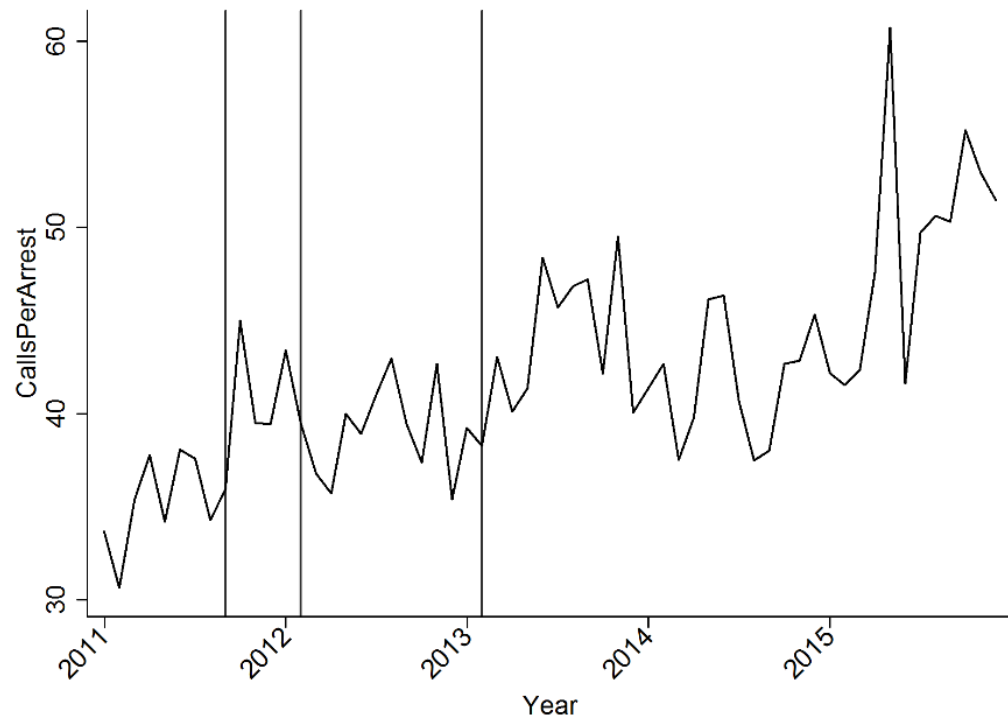
Contraband seizures are typically trivial:  
Ounces of contraband seized



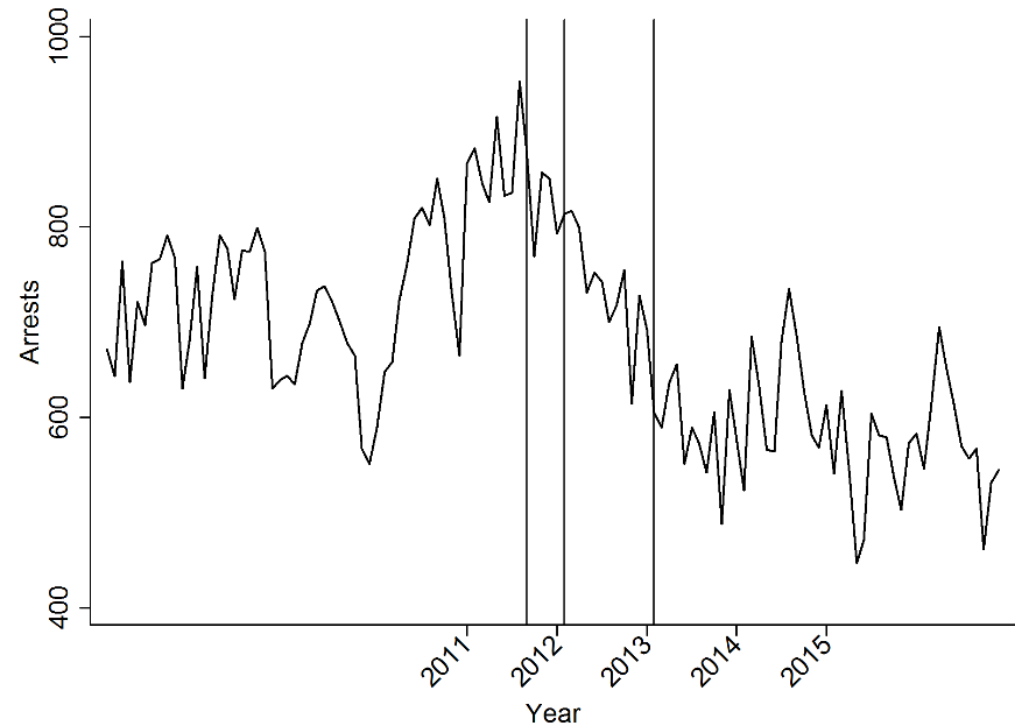


# Reforms can be effective: Fayetteville example

**Calls for service: Up**



**Crime: Down**



# Some conclusions

- Use of the vehicle code for criminal investigation is:
  - Extremely inefficient (leads to very few significant contraband hits, only 12 % arrested after search)
  - Racially biased
  - Generative of tremendous community mistrust, in those communities being targeted.
  - However, it is invisible and perhaps unbelievable in those communities not being targeted. Hence its political value.
- Implicit bias as well as institutional procedures are at the core of these patterns. “High crime” areas have mostly law-abiders...
- Simple institutional reforms can dramatically reduce disparities and the mistrust these may be expected to generate.