

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

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Safety and Investigatory Stops

Purpose	# of Stops	% of Stops
Safety	10,903,991	52.41
Speed Limit	8,575,792	41.22
Stop Light/Sign	992,374	4.77
Driving Impaired	182,558	0.88
Safe Movement	1,153,267	5.54
Investigatory	9,628,598	46.27
Vehicle Equipment	1,833,213	8.81
Vehicle Regulatory	3,556,772	17.09
Seat Belt	1,812,175	8.71
Investigation	1,410,390	6.78
Other Vehicle	1,016,048	4.88
Other	273,526	1.31
Checkpoint	273,526	1.31
Total Stops (Drivers only)	20,806,115	100.00

Stop Outcomes	<u>All Drivers</u>		<u>White Drivers</u>		<u>Black Drivers</u>		<u>Hispanic Drivers</u>	
Outcome	# of Stops	% of Stops	# of Stops	% of Stops	# of Stops	% of Stops	# of Stops	% of Stops
Light	6,789,225	33.06	3,879,569	32.66	2,313,916	35.89	403,591	25.73
No Action	620,644	3.02	352,063	2.96	213,899	3.32	40,137	2.56
Verbal Warning	3,338,660	16.26	1,720,894	14.49	1,292,794	20.05	224,126	14.29
Written Warning	2,829,921	13.78	1,806,612	15.21	807,223	12.52	139,328	8.88
Expected	13,295,910	64.76	7,799,871	65.67	3,951,937	61.30	1,104,712	70.44
Citation Issued	13,295,910	64.76	7,799,871	65.67	3,951,937	61.30	1,104,712	70.44
Severe	447,454	2.18	198,097	1.67	181,131	2.81	60,043	3.83
Arrested	447,454	2.18	198,097	1.67	181,131	2.81	60,043	3.83
Total	20,532,589	100.00	11,877,537	100.00	6,446,984	100.00	1,568,346	100.00

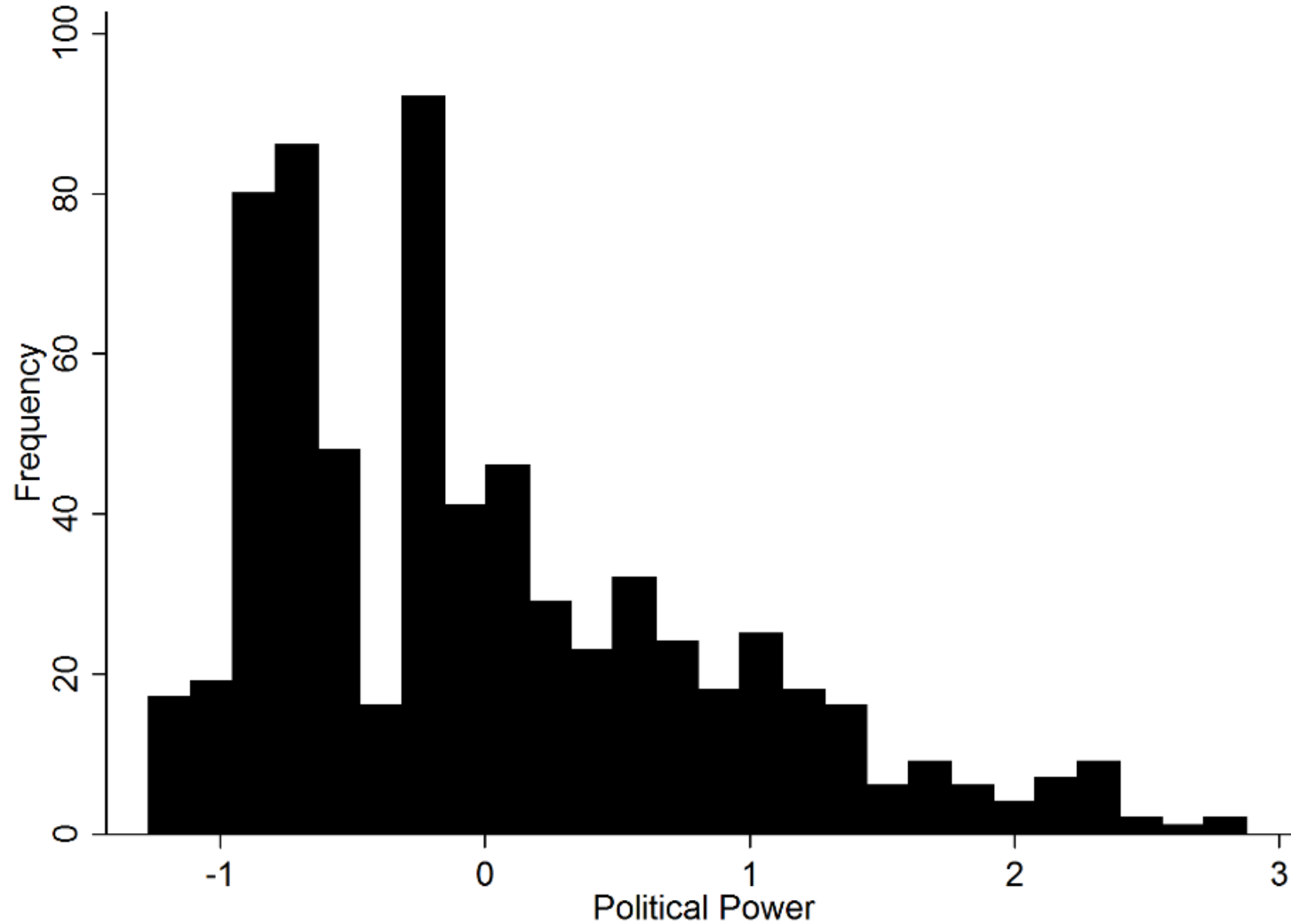
Black-White Stop Outcome Ratios

Variable	Mean	Min	Max
Light Outcomes	1.01	0.53	1.75
Search	1.93	0.17	9.90
Citation	0.98	0.62	1.38
Arrest	1.72	0.26	5.92
Investigatory Stops	1.18	0.83	1.96

Black Political Power

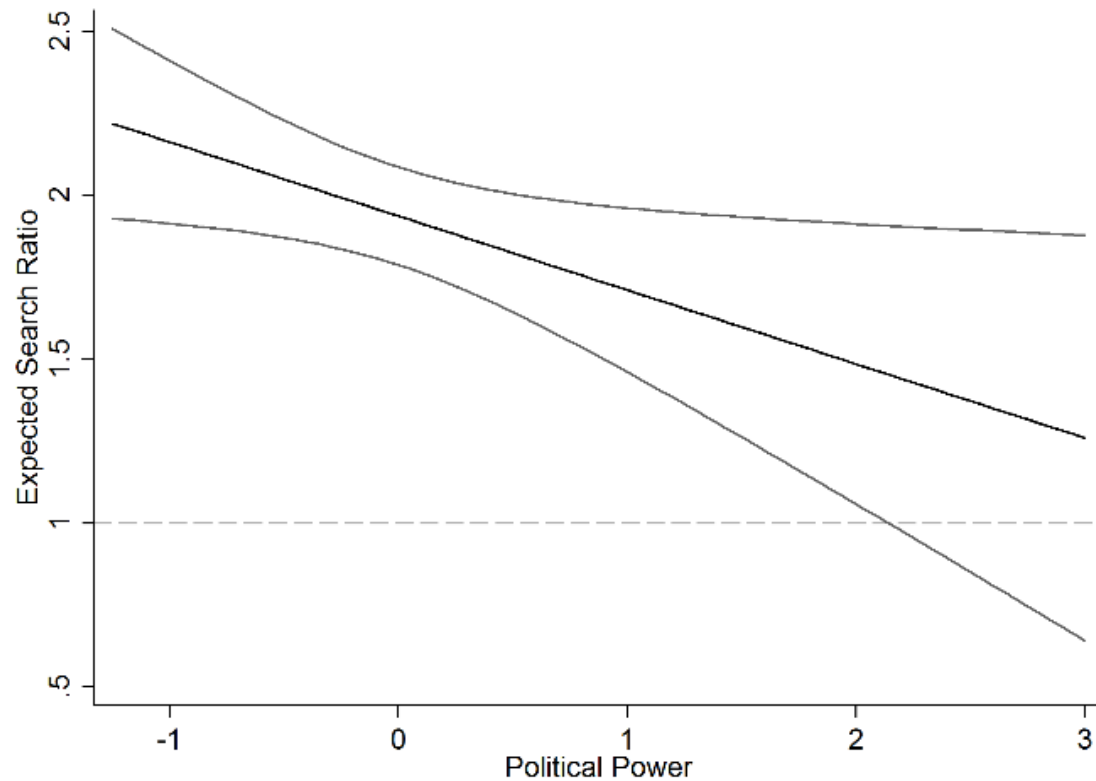
- Compare all local communities (e.g. police departments)
- N = 497 (86 communities x 6 years, with some missing data)
- (Sheriffs, not shown here, but in book: N = 334 (66 counties x 6 years))
- Factor score:
 - Black proportion of the local population
 - Black proportion of the voters in the most recent election
 - Black proportion of elected officials on city council or mayor's office (Sheriffs: is the sheriff black yes / no)
- Presence + Voice + Representation = Power

An Index of Black Political Power

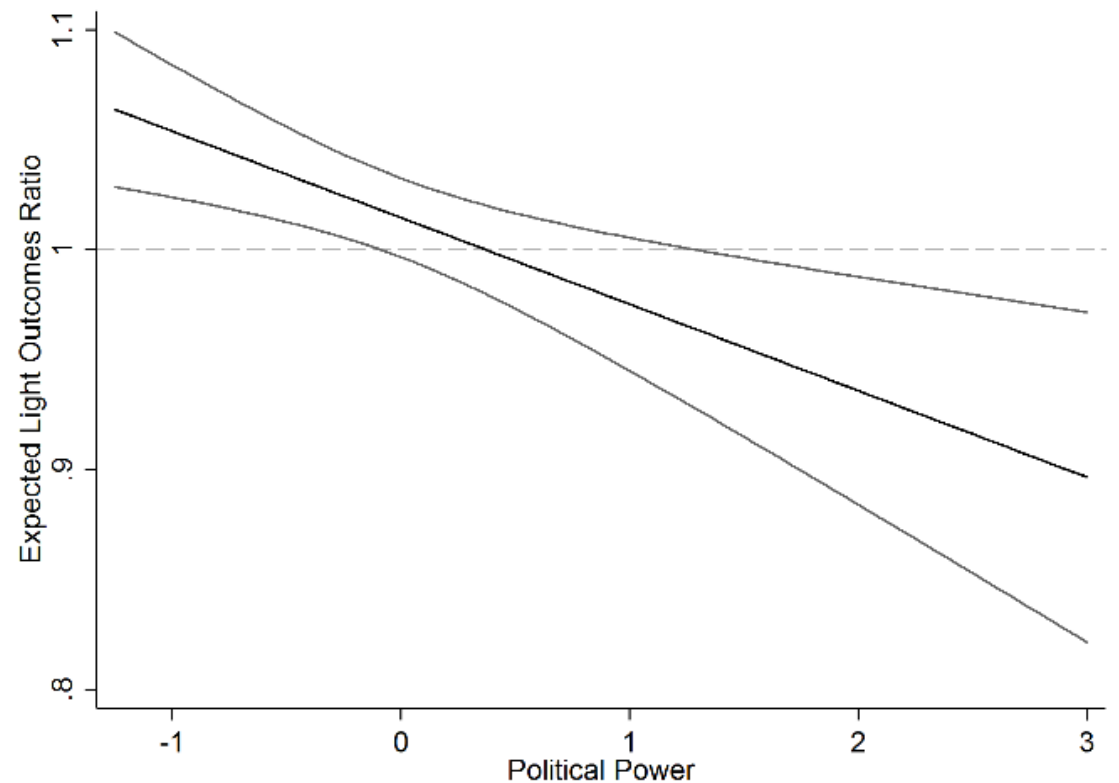


As Black Political Power Goes Up...

Black-White Search Rate Ratio Goes Down

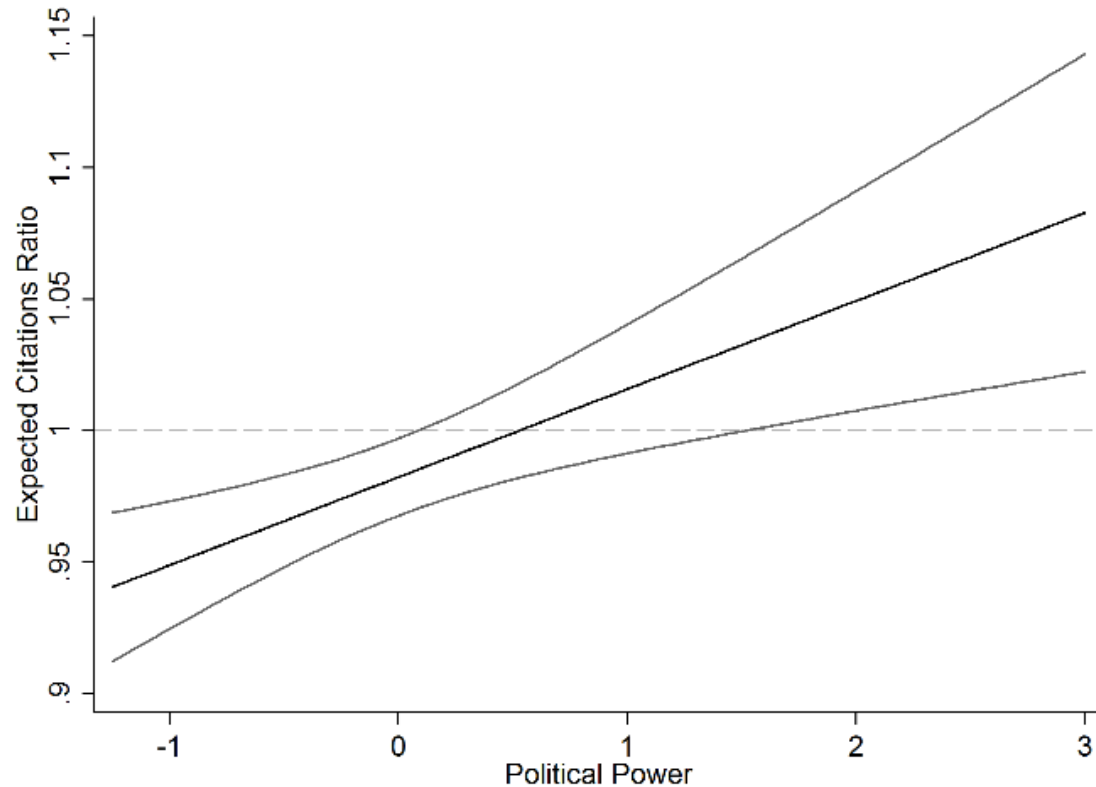


Black-White Light Outcomes Ratio Goes Down

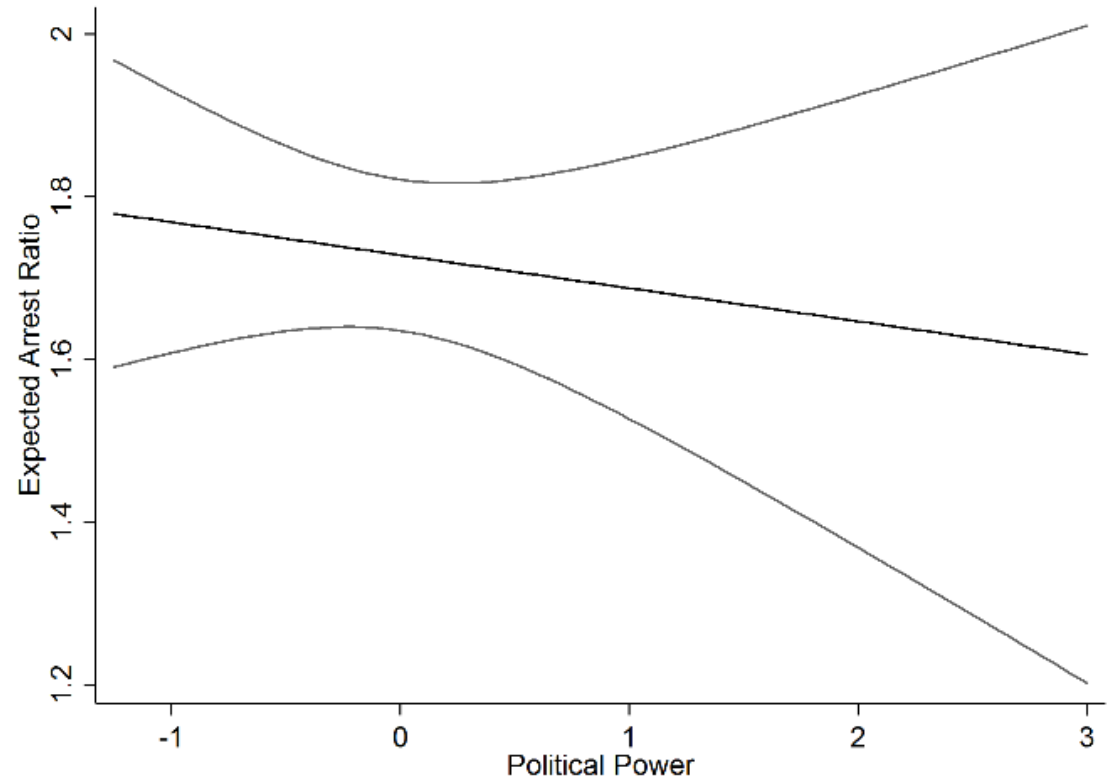


As Black Political Power Goes Up...

Black-White Citation Rate Ratio Goes Up (e.g., Blacks get tickets more often)



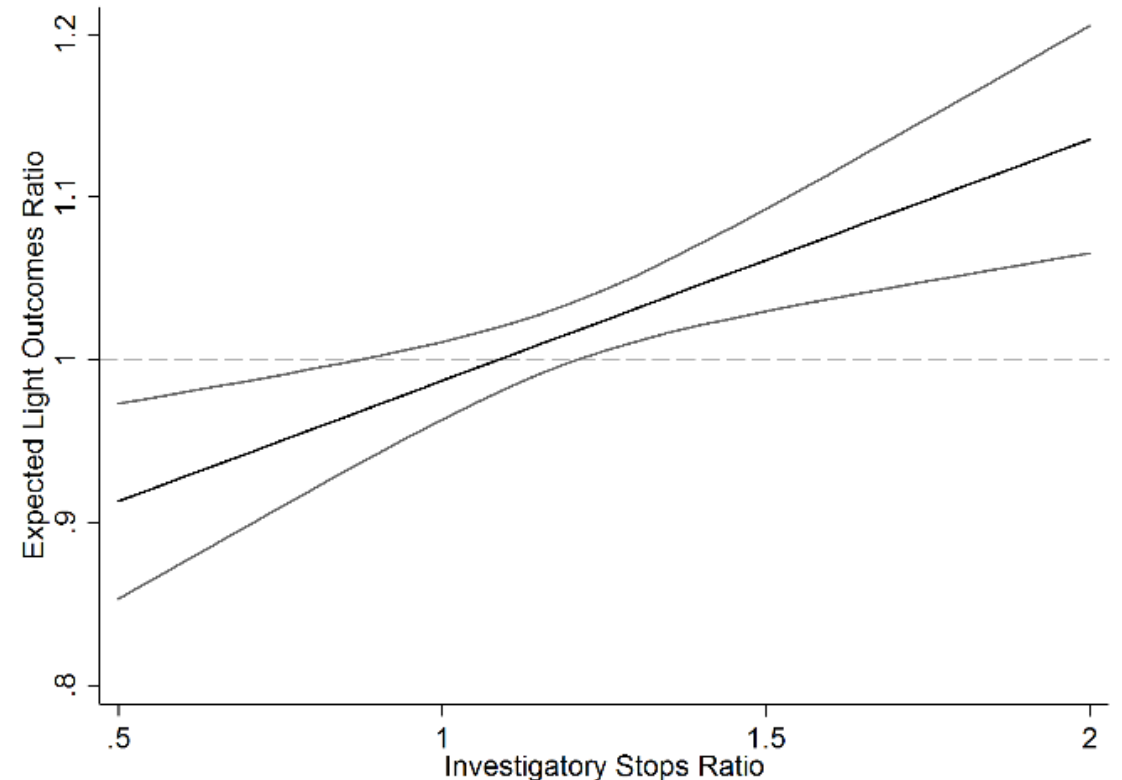
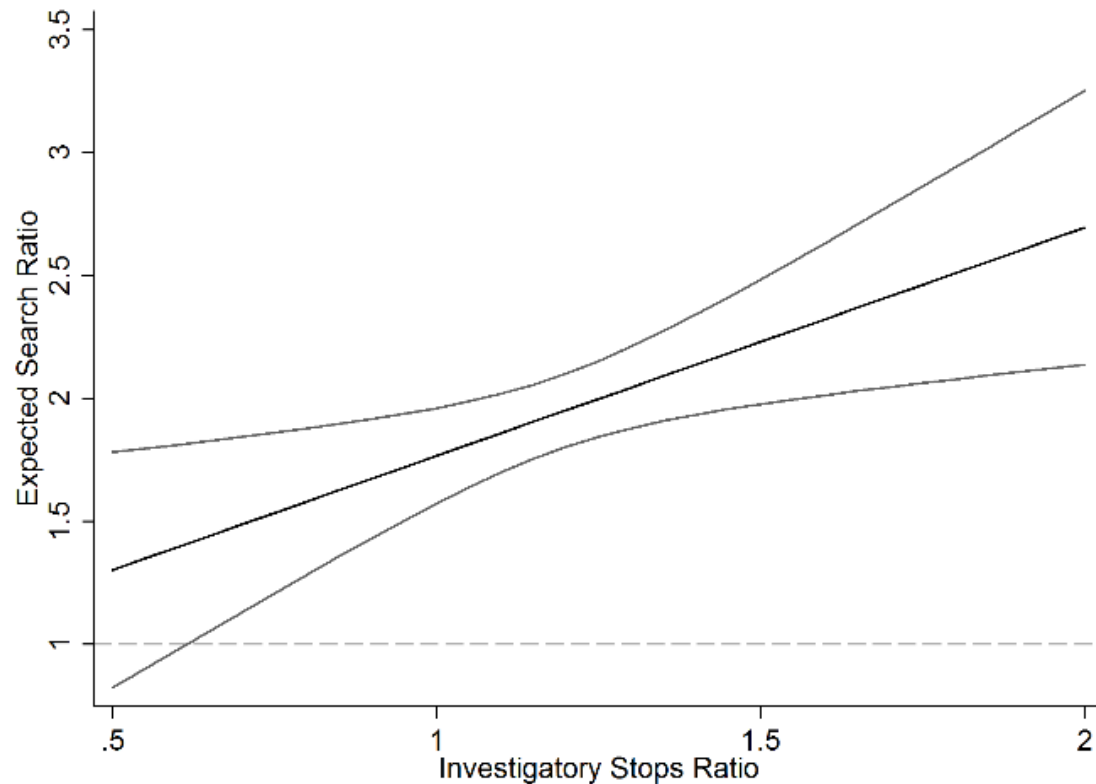
No significant impact on racial mix of arrests



As the focus moves from traffic safety stops to investigatory stops...

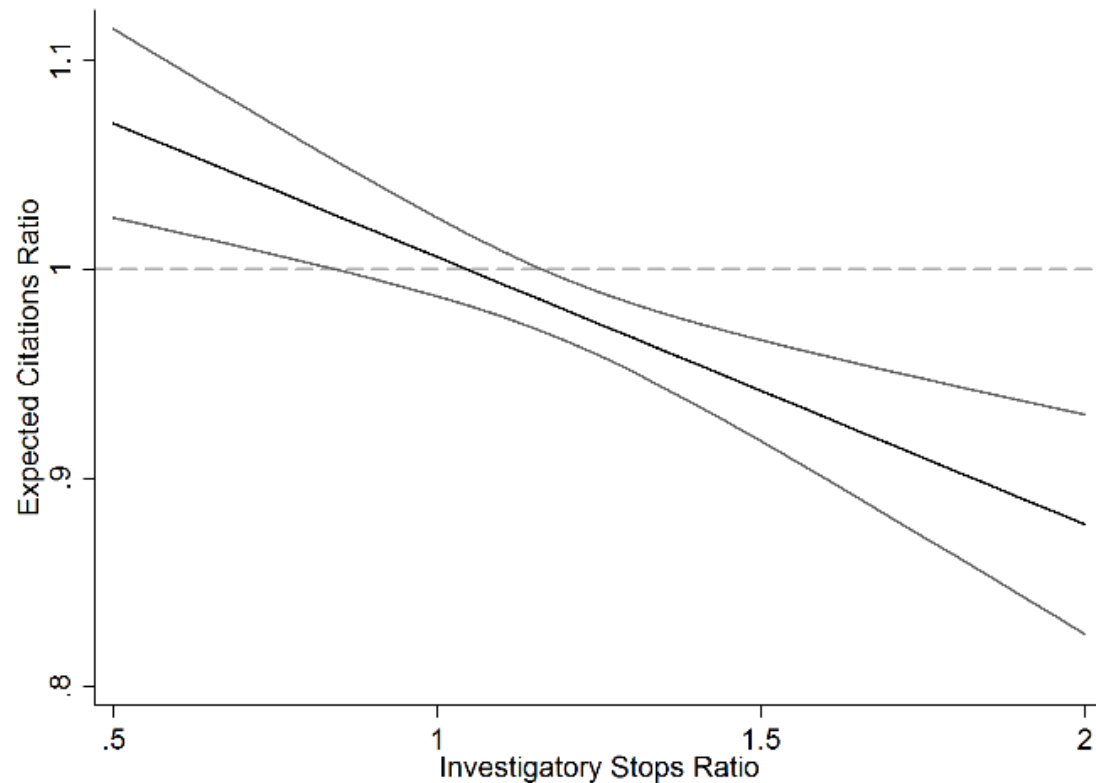
Black-White Search Rate Ratio Goes Up

Black-White Light Outcomes Ratio Goes Up

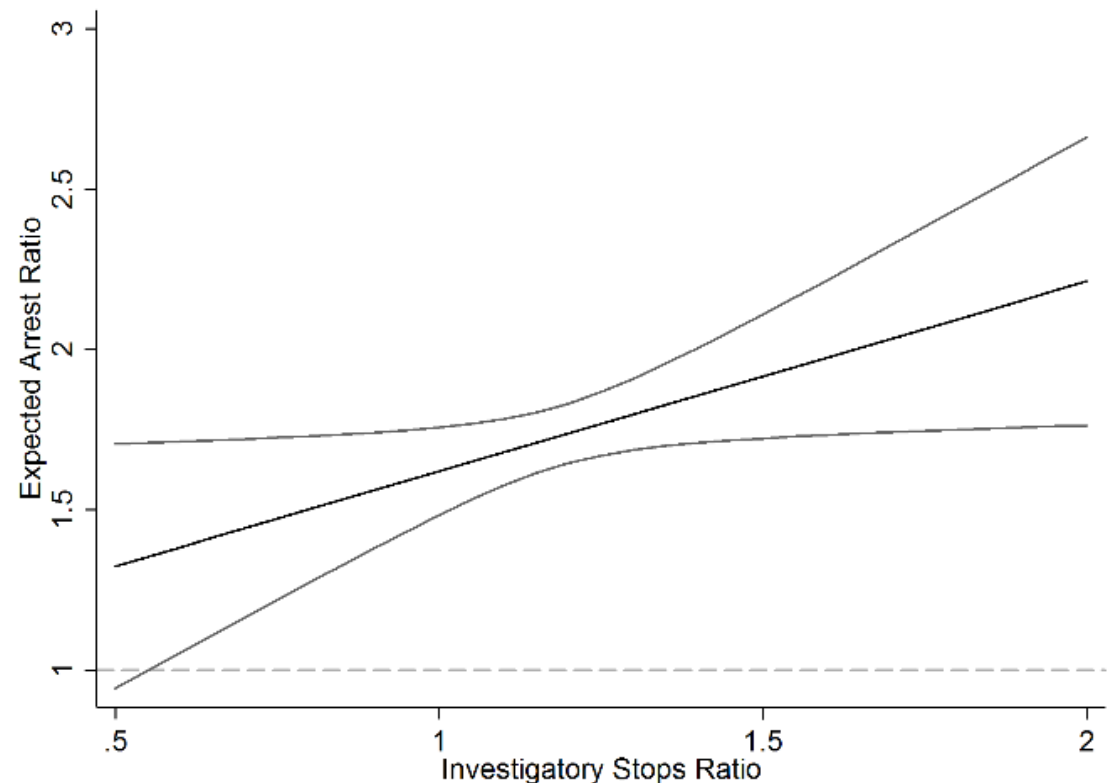


As the focus moves from traffic safety stops to investigatory stops...

Black-White Citation Rate Ratio Goes Down



Black-White Arrest Rate Ratio Goes Up



Conclusions

- Voice matters: suppress the vote, reduce voice, gerrymander the districts to restrict black power: disparities can be greater
- Voice matters: vote, gain representation, equitable treatment follows
- Simple reforms
 - Focus on traffic safety, not investigatory stops, reduce disparities:
 - Arrest rate ratio, 1.68 overall, 1.29 for safety stops (24 percent less)
 - Search rate ratio, 2.15 overall, 1.76 for safety stops (18 percent less)
 - Written consent forms very effective
- Fayetteville example (chapter 9): these simple reforms increase citizen trust and cooperation with the police, and **REDUCE THE CRIME RATE OVERALL**