

*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
<b>Safety</b>	10,903,991	52.41
<b>Speed Limit</b>	8,575,792	41.22
<b>Stop Light/Sign</b>	992,374	4.77
<b>Driving Impaired</b>	182,558	0.88
<b>Safe Movement</b>	1,153,267	5.54
<b>Investigatory</b>	9,628,598	46.27
<b>Vehicle Equipment</b>	1,833,213	8.81
<b>Vehicle Regulatory</b>	3,556,772	17.09
<b>Seat Belt</b>	1,812,175	8.71
<b>Investigation</b>	1,410,390	6.78
<b>Other Vehicle</b>	1,016,048	4.88
<b>Other</b>	273,526	1.31
<b>Checkpoint</b>	273,526	1.31
<b>Total Stops (Drivers only)</b>	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	<b>6,789,225</b>	<b>33.06</b>	<b>3,879,569</b>	<b>32.66</b>	<b>2,313,916</b>	<b>35.89</b>	<b>403,591</b>	<b>25.73</b>
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	<b>13,295,910</b>	<b>64.76</b>	<b>7,799,871</b>	<b>65.67</b>	<b>3,951,937</b>	<b>61.30</b>	<b>1,104,712</b>	<b>70.44</b>
Citation Issued	13,295,910	64.76	7,799,871	65.67	3,951,937	61.30	1,104,712	70.44
Severe	<b>447,454</b>	<b>2.18</b>	<b>198,097</b>	<b>1.67</b>	<b>181,131</b>	<b>2.81</b>	<b>60,043</b>	<b>3.83</b>
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

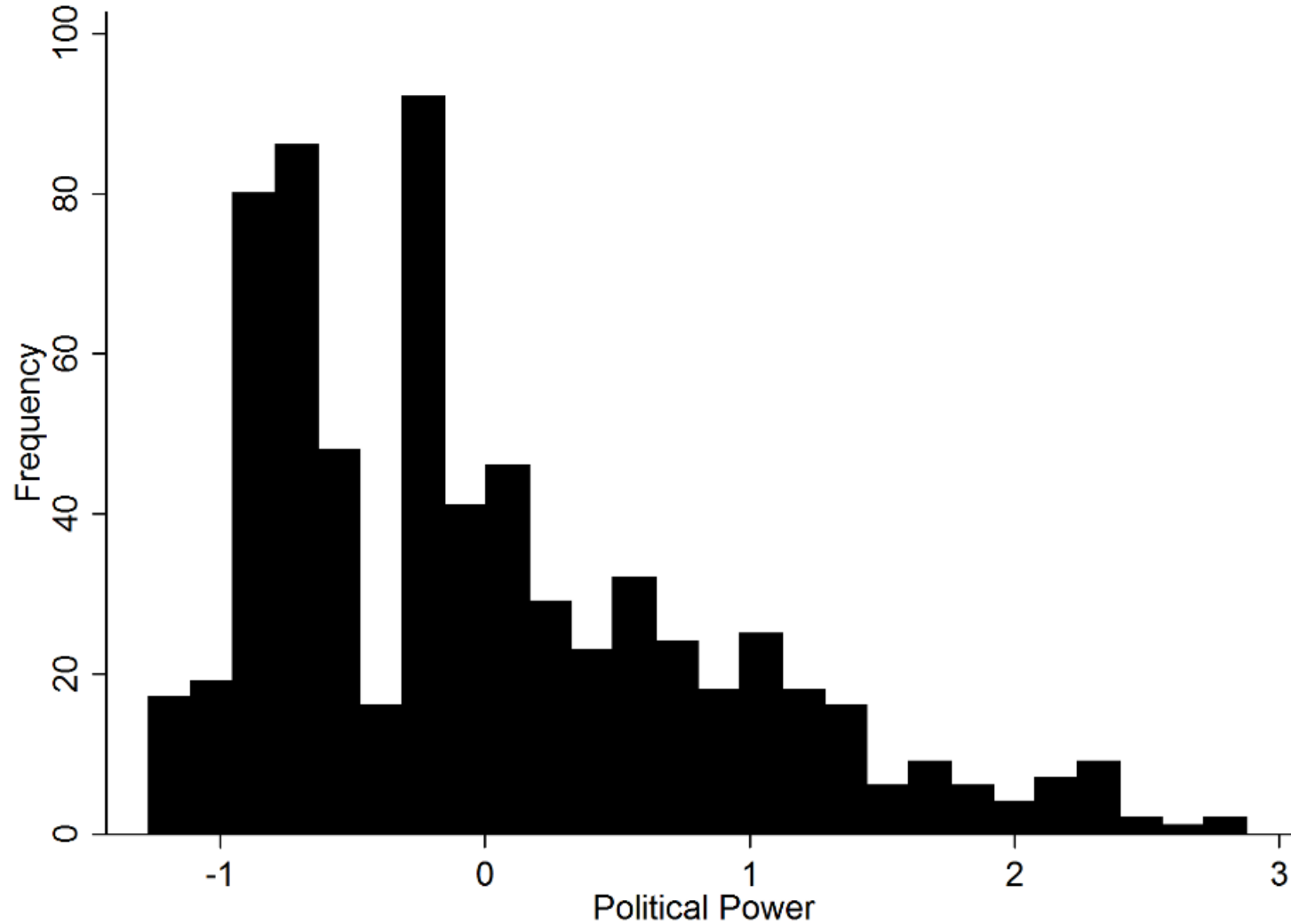
# Black-White Stop Outcome Ratios

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

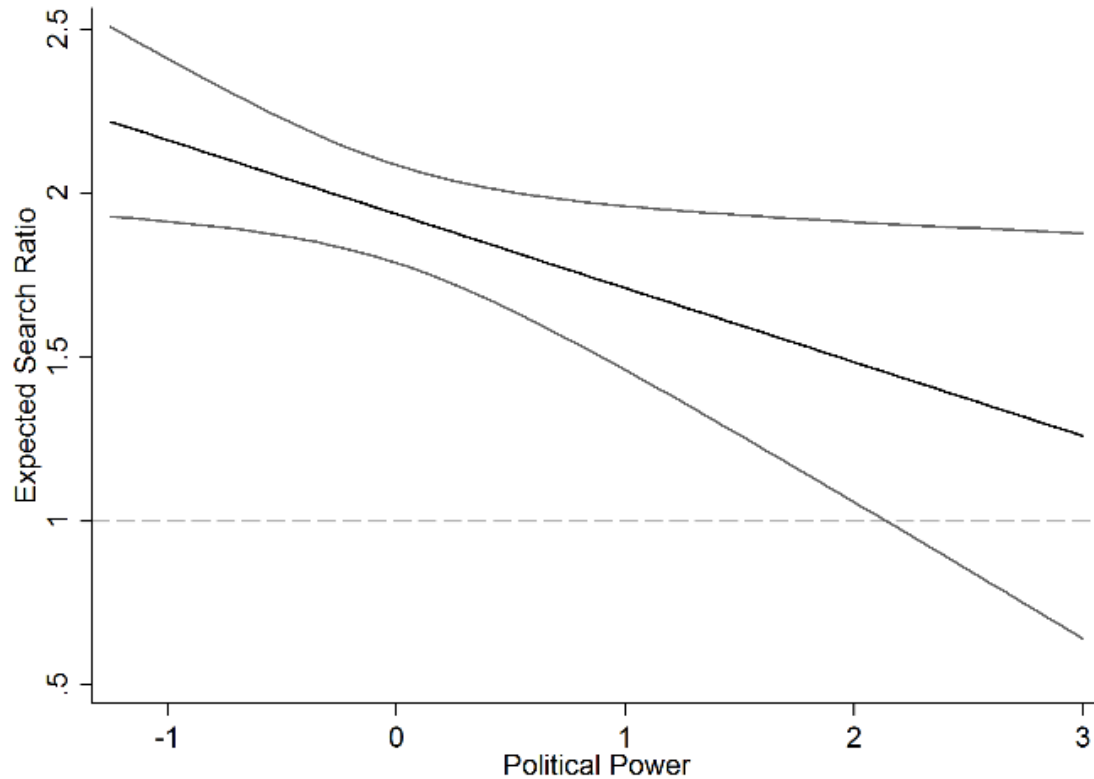
- Compare all local communities (e.g. police departments)
- N = 497 (86 communities x 6 years, with some missing data)
- (Sheriffs, not shown here, but in book: N = 334 (66 counties x 6 years))
- Factor score:
  - Black proportion of the local population
  - Black proportion of the voters in the most 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

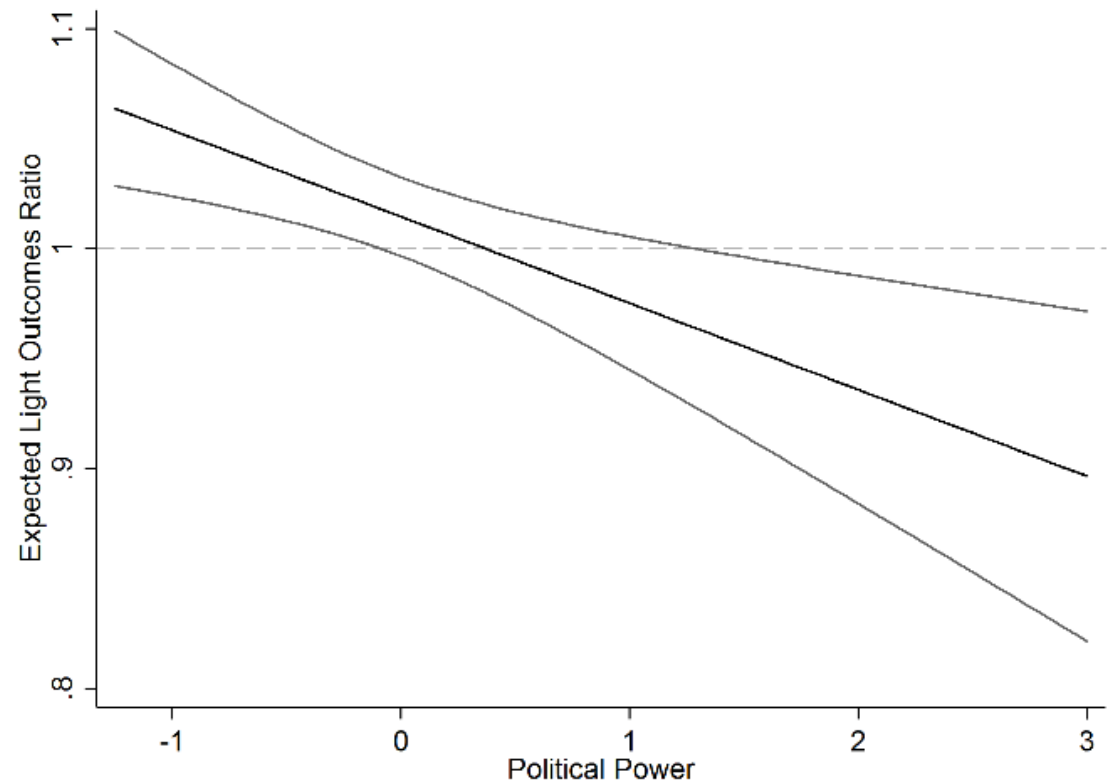


# As Black Political Power Goes Up...

**Black-White Search Rate Ratio Goes Down**



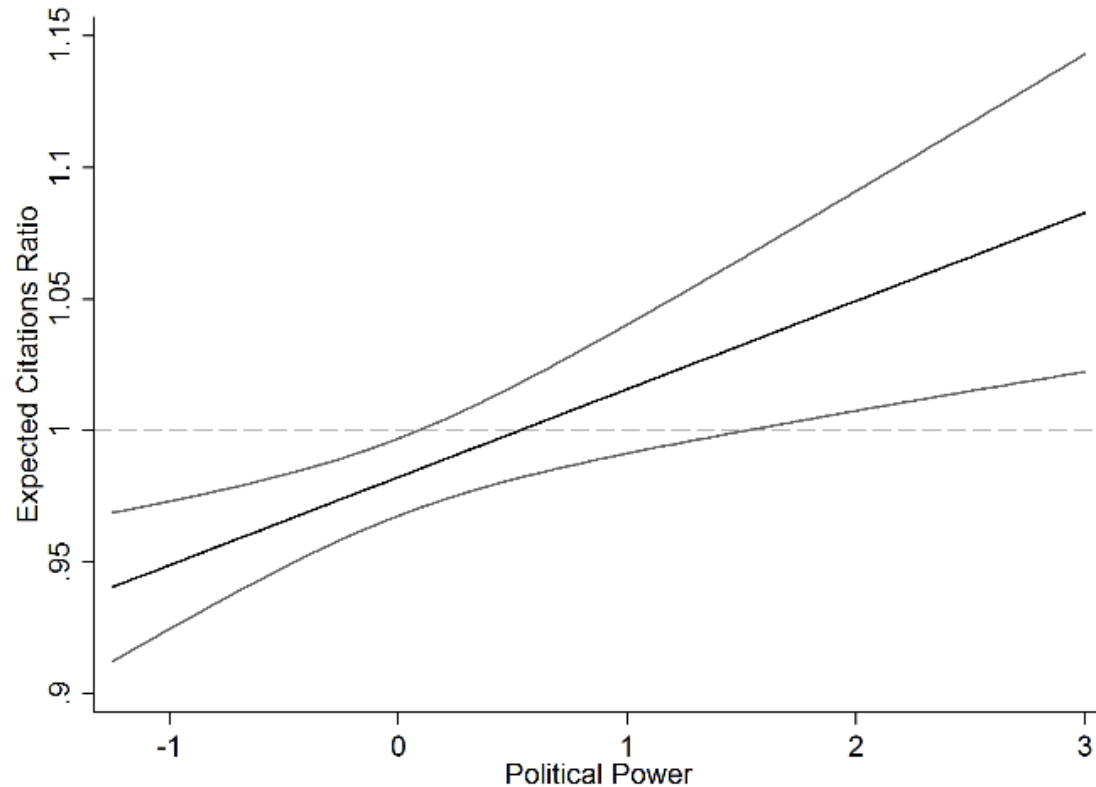
**Black-White Light Outcomes Ratio Goes Down**



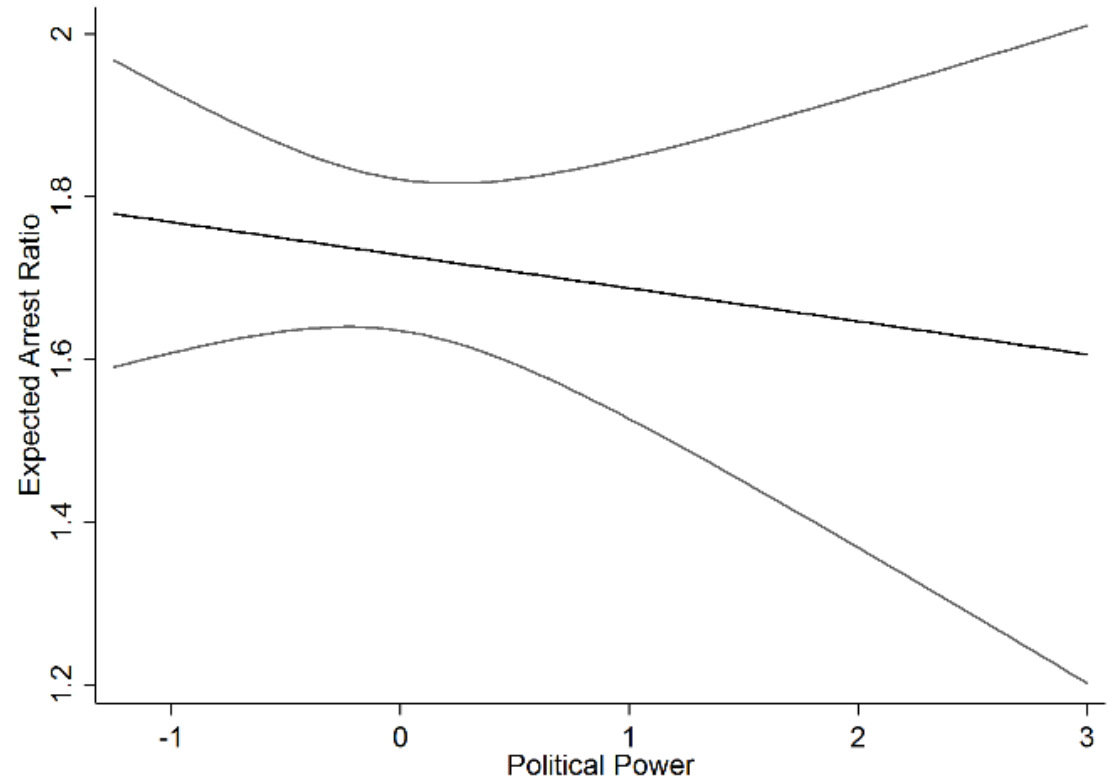


# As Black Political Power Goes Up...

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



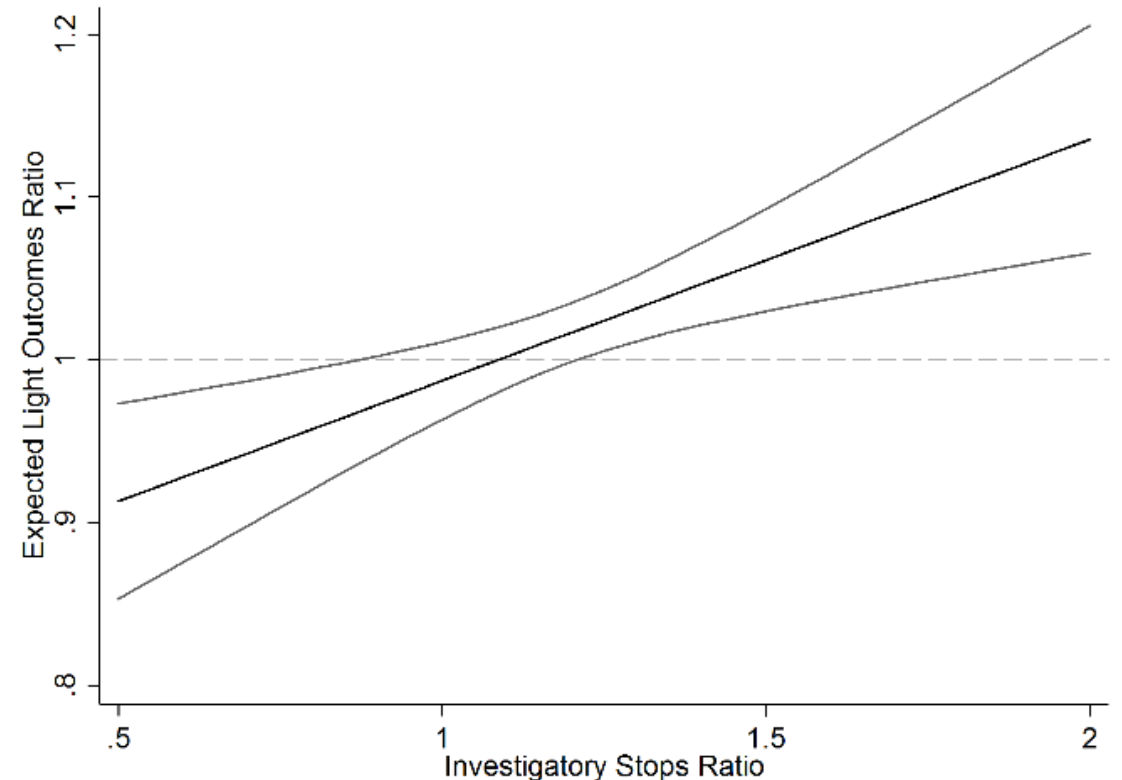
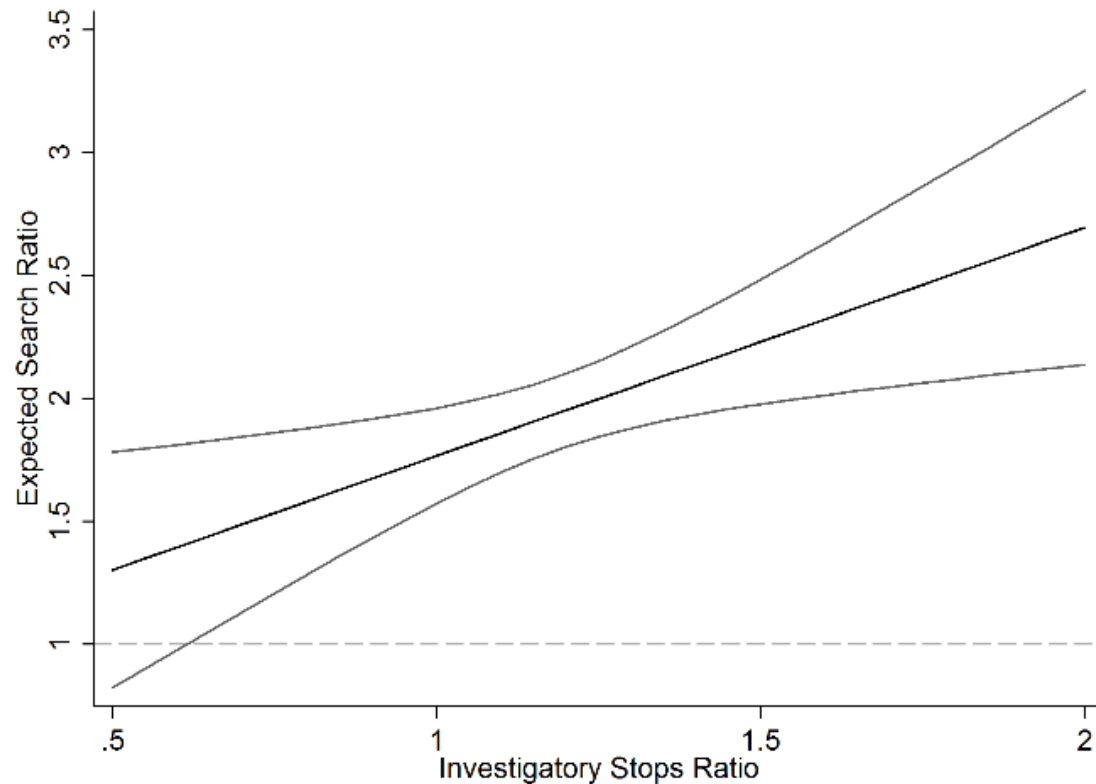
**No significant impact on racial mix of arrests**



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

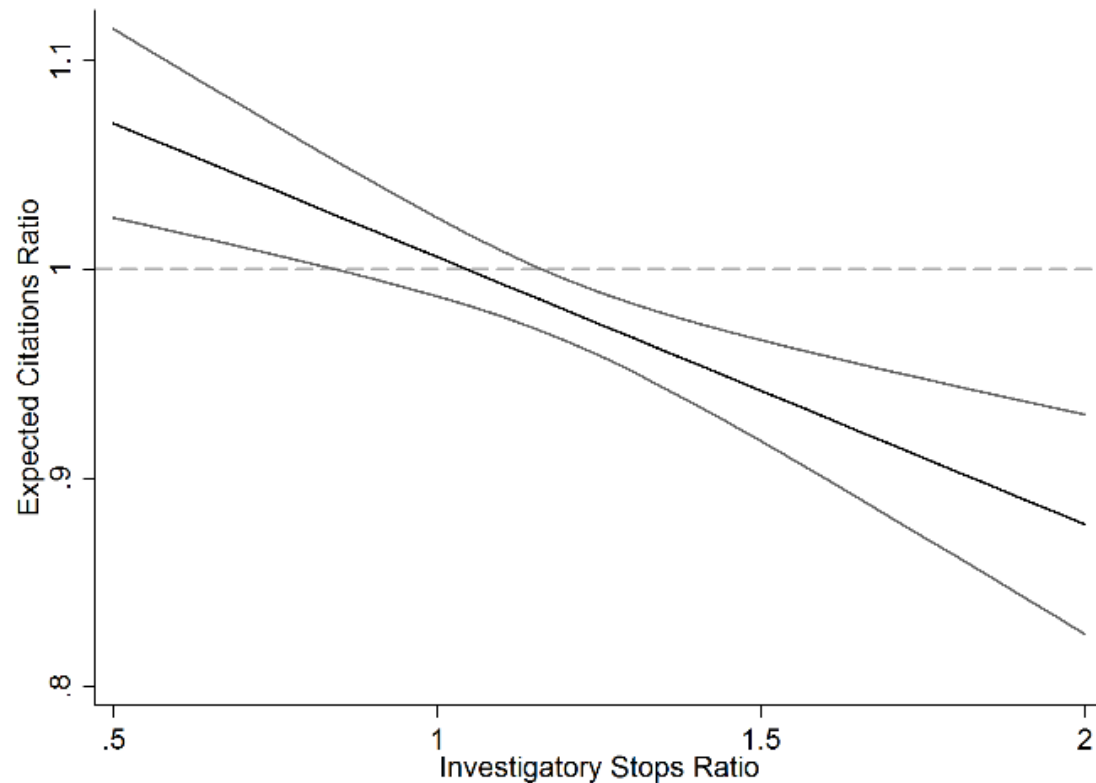
**Black-White Search Rate Ratio Goes Up**

**Black-White Light Outcomes Ratio Goes Up**

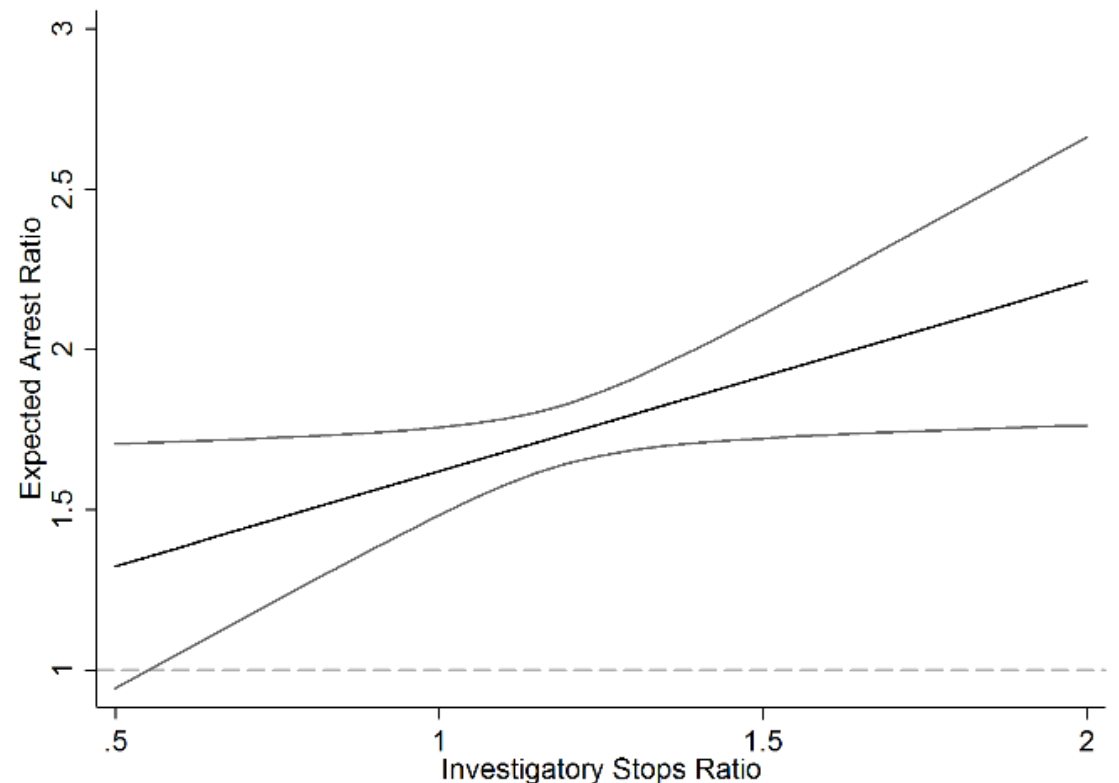


As the focus moves from traffic safety stops to investigatory stops...

**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**