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# 'Stop-and-frisk in a car:' Elite LAPD unit disproportionately stopped black drivers, data show

After an increase in violent crime in 2014, LAPD's Metropolitan Division increased its use of traffic stops. Black drivers were stopped more often.

By CINDY CHANG, BEN POSTON

JAN. 24, 2019  
11:05 AM

To combat a surge in violent crime, the Los Angeles Police Department doubled the size of its elite Metropolitan Division in 2015, creating special units to swarm crime hot spots.

Metro officers in unmarked, dark-gray SUVs began pulling over drivers to search cars for guns or drugs. By 2018, the number stopped by Metro was nearly 14 times greater than before the expansion.

The effectiveness of the strategy is hard to assess: Crime continued to rise for several years before dipping in 2018.

But it has caused a shift that some consider alarming: Metro officers stop African American drivers at a rate more than five times their share of the city's population, according to a Times analysis.

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Nearly half the drivers stopped by Metro are black, which has helped drive up the share of African Americans stopped by the LAPD overall from 21% to 28% since the Metro expansion, in a city that is 9% black, according to the analysis.

## Black drivers stopped more often

From 2015 to 2018, the share of black drivers stopped in South L.A. by the LAPD's specialized Metropolitan Division was double that of their share of the population.



Sources: LAPD, 2010 census, Times reporting

## Ben Poston and Shaffer Grubb / @latimesgraphics

(Los Angeles Times)

Metro makes most of its vehicle stops in South Los Angeles, which is almost one-third African American. But even there, the percentage of black drivers stopped by Metro is twice their share of the population, the analysis found.

The data analyzed by The Times do not show why an officer pulled over a driver. It does not contain information about whether a driver was searched, ticketed or arrested after the stop. Nor can the data prove that Metro officers are engaged in racial profiling.

But some civil rights advocates say the racial disparities revealed by The Times' analysis are too extreme to be explained by other factors and troubling for a department that has spent the last quarter-century trying to repair its fractured relationship with the city's black residents.

Connie Rice, a civil rights attorney who has worked closely with the LAPD on reforms in recent years, called the racial breakdown of Metro stops "really off the chain."

"This is stop-and-frisk in a car," she said, referring to the New York Police Department's controversial practice of patting down black and Latino pedestrians, which was sharply curtailed after a legal settlement.

"Do you want the trust of the poorest communities, that are the root of the [1992] riots, or do you continue ... massive stop-policing that creates mistrust?" she added.

Chief Michel Moore, an LAPD veteran who took over the department in June, said the Metro command staff "is very aware of the potential of people viewing them as over-policing or being overly harsh."

But he argued that intense policing is necessary in high-crime areas to keep residents safe.

"A person who's living in these ... communities is experiencing a disproportionate level of violence than other Angelenos and is suffering from that," he said. "And the symptom, that means there are more police officers there. It's been my experience that that's where the community wants us. The people who are experiencing the violence are asking for us to be there to help them."

He noted that LAPD officers are trained to recognize their own implicit racial bias and that the department conducts random reviews to ensure that stops are constitutional.

"We can and should look at the conduct of officers that conduct frequent proactive activity to ensure that there's a fairness when they're exercising discretion, that it's not just hunch policing, that they're not just stopping everything that moves, per se, because that's not lawful or right," Moore said.

*This is stop-and-frisk in a car.*

CONNIE RICE, CIVIL RIGHTS ATTORNEY

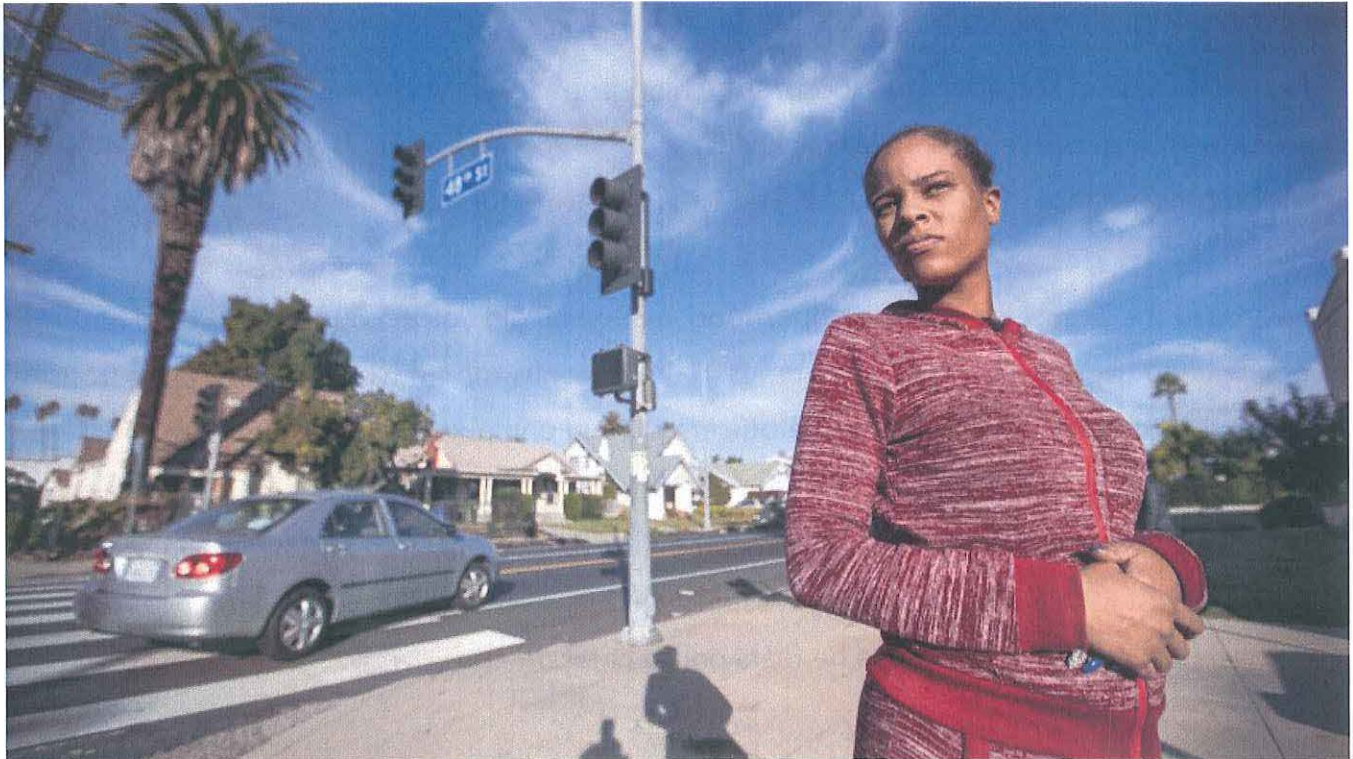
While some critics of the LAPD acknowledge that it has made important strides in improving community relations, a 2016 survey by the department showed that less than half of black residents consider the police to be honest and trustworthy — a rate far lower than that of other Angelenos.

This credibility gap is ingrained in history.

Memories are still strong of the Dalton Avenue raid in 1988, where phalanxes of police officers armed with sledgehammers and crowbars demolished a South L.A. apartment

building, as well as the brutal beating of Rodney King and the riots that followed in 1992 after the officers were found not guilty.

Recent fatal shootings of unarmed black men have contributed to the continuing distrust.



Precious McLaughlin stands at the busy intersection of West 48th Street and Arlington Avenue, near her South L.A. home. (Allen J. Schaben / Los Angeles Times)

Precious McLaughlin is too young to remember the riots, but her feelings about the police are complicated. She often sees unmarked police SUVs, which are typically driven by Metro, cruising near her house on Arlington Avenue near West 48th Street.

"Somebody is less likely to do something they're not supposed to," said McLaughlin, 24, a warehouse worker.

The downside, she said, is that the frequent patrols "open up the door for harassment, being overbearing in the community, creating distrust between the community and the police."

Crips claim the north side of West 48th Street. To the south are the Van Ness Gangsters, a Bloods gang.

In the surrounding blocks, Metro officers have pulled over thousands of drivers in recent years, and the proportion of African Americans is among the most skewed in the city.

In an area east of McLaughlin's house, stretching from South Van Ness Avenue to Denker Avenue, 41% of residents are black, while 81% of the more than 2,000 drivers stopped by Metro officers since 2015 were black, The Times' analysis found.

Nearby in the Exposition Park neighborhood, a 39-year-old youth counselor said he had been pulled over by the LAPD three times in the previous month while driving home from Martin Luther King Jr. Park. Twice, the officers were in unmarked SUVs.

In one encounter, officers in a gray, unmarked SUV began following him near a liquor store at West 39th Street and South Western Avenue, said the youth counselor, who did not want his name used because he fears police harassment.

Initially, he stepped on the gas to avoid them. When he stopped, they said he was speeding and asked whether he had anything in his car, he said. He allowed them to search it, and they left without giving him a ticket.

The youth counselor is among the members of the Rollin' 30s Harlem Crips who hang out at King Park but say they have regular jobs and no longer live the gang lifestyle. He suspects he was targeted because of his race as well as his affiliation with the gang.

His black Audi has paper plates — another reason why police might have singled him out.

"It seems like they got license to kill and harass black people," he said. "I don't got nothing, so I don't get too upset, but there's an aspect of getting harassed, [messed] with all the time."



Metro is less active here than in McLaughlin's neighborhood, making 900 vehicle stops since 2015. But the race of the drivers who were pulled over is similarly lopsided — 78% black, compared with a black population of 32%.

On another day, a 64-year-old retired water plant worker was playing pinochle at King Park with a friend.

In 2016, he said, officers in an unmarked SUV stopped him near West Jefferson Boulevard and South Western Avenue, accused him of almost crashing into them, then searched his car.

"They think all black people have been to prison, got a record," said the man, who would not give his name and said he was not a gang member. "The first thing they ask is, 'Are you on probation or parole?' "

The LAPD denied The Times' request to interview Metro command staff and accompany Metro officers in the field.

During a ride-along two years ago, Metro officers told a Times reporter that they try to be polite to drivers and explain the reason for each stop. They know people are watching them and judging their actions, they said.





Officers from the LAPD's Metropolitan Division stop drivers and search their vehicles in 2015. (Marcus Yam / Los Angeles Times)

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In April 2015, with violent crime up 26% and shooting victims up 24%, Mayor Eric Garcetti announced the Metro expansion in his State of the City address.

Unlike regular patrol officers, Metro officers often spend their entire shifts on vehicle stops and other "proactive" policing tactics intended to root out violent criminals.

They typically use a violation such as a broken tail light as a starting point to question the driver and potentially get inside the car — a type of stop known as a pretextual stop, which Moore acknowledged is more invasive than an ordinary traffic stop.

As the highly selective division — which is trained in paramilitary tactics and is the only LAPD division required to pass regular physical fitness tests — recruited new members, crime continued to spike.

That August was the deadliest in eight years, fueled largely by gang killings in South L.A. The trend continued into 2016, with homicides surging more than 27% in the first two months of the year.

The following year, homicides and shootings went down in South L.A., decreasing again in 2018.



Violent crime overall — which includes homicide, rape, robbery and aggravated assault — rose 22% in South L.A. in the first two years after the Metro expansion, with a modest decrease in 2018.

By 2018, about 270 of Metro's approximately 400 officers were assigned to crime-suppression platoons. This month, about 70 Metro officers were reassigned as part of a push to increase the LAPD's regular patrol ranks. But the division is still roughly double its original size, with a crime-suppression platoon in each of the LAPD's four geographic bureaus, Moore said.

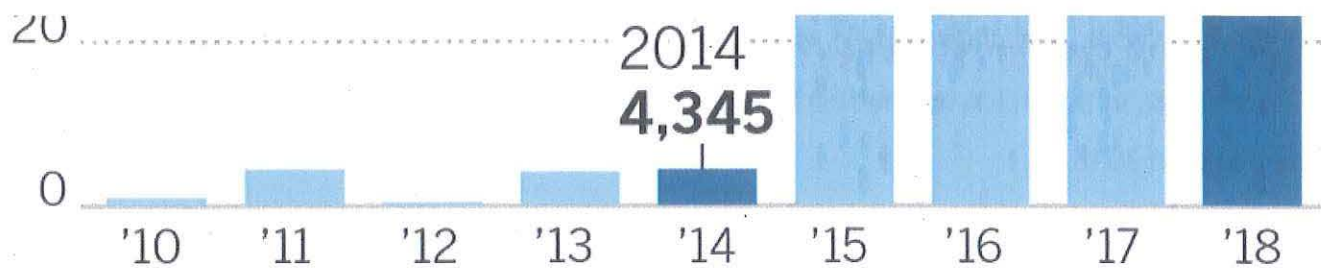
Metro officers are a tiny fraction of the LAPD's 10,000 sworn personnel, but they have an impact beyond their numbers.

As measures of success, then-Chief Charlie Beck cited felony arrests by Metro officers, which more than tripled in the initial months of the expansion, as well as arrests of gang members by the division, which increased nearly fivefold. The Times requested recent statistics for the number of guns seized by Metro, which officials have cited as a key metric, but a department spokesman was unable to provide them.

## Steep increase in Metro traffic stops

LAPD's Metro Division stopped almost 14 times more in 2018 than in 2014, the year before it doubled in size.





Sources: Los Angeles Police Department, Times reporting

Ben Poston and Shaffer Grubb / @latimesgraphics

(Los Angeles Times)

The number of vehicle stops by Metro officers has skyrocketed from about 4,300 in 2014 to nearly 60,000, making up about 11% of all LAPD stops last year, The Times' analysis showed.

Even though Metro deploys a crime-suppression platoon in each geographic bureau, its vehicle stops are concentrated in South L.A. and a few other areas with relatively high crime, including Westlake and Panorama City, with wealthier, whiter parts of the city recording few Metro stops.

Where violent crime is low, Metro concentrates on property crimes such as burglaries and auto thefts, which may involve techniques other than stopping drivers.

In much of Brentwood, Pacific Palisades, Silver Lake and Los Feliz, Metro officers have not stopped any drivers at all since the expansion.

More than 90% of the drivers stopped by Metro citywide since the expansion have been black or Latino. Metro stops black drivers 13 times more often than white drivers.

Latinos are slightly underrepresented in Metro stops, making up 49% of the population and 44% of stops. Whites, comprising 28% of the city's population, account for less than 4% of the drivers stopped by Metro, according to the analysis.

Blacks are 9% of the city's population and 49% of the drivers stopped by Metro.

In South L.A., The Times' analysis found that traffic officers, whose primary mission is traffic enforcement, stopped a far lower proportion of black drivers than Metro officers did.

Since 2015, 45% of the drivers stopped by traffic officers were black, compared with 65% stopped by Metro, in an area where blacks are 31% of the population.

Metro officers are deployed based on crime trends and sometimes come from other parts of the city to stem violence in South L.A., as in the summer of 2016, when rising homicides led LAPD brass to consider emergency solutions.

"The problem here is that when you bring in outside units, they don't know who is who," said Jay Wachtel, a retired Cal State Fullerton criminal justice professor and former Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives agent. "They are going to wind up stopping a lot of people who don't need to be stopped."

The percentage of black drivers pulled over by Metro is "astounding," said Peter Bibring, director of police practices for the ACLU of California.

"How do they decide who is involved in more serious criminal activity?" Bibring said. "That kind of extreme disproportionality on the basis of race suggests that race is playing a factor, whether consciously or not."

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In the aftermath of the Rampart corruption scandal, federal authorities in 2000 imposed a consent decree on the LAPD to correct pervasive civil rights violations, including excessive force and unreasonable searches and seizures.

Among the requirements was that the LAPD document its vehicle and pedestrian stops in detail.

After the decree was lifted, the department stopped producing a racial breakdown of stops, which is a standard metric for many police departments, or documenting what happens to drivers after they are stopped.

Whether a car is searched, a driver is patted down, contraband is found or an arrest is made can illuminate racial disparities and shed light on the effectiveness of the stops.

LAPD officers continued to collect information on the race of the driver, the time and location of each stop and the division of the officer who initiated it. A database available on a city website, which was used by The Times in its analysis, contains more than 5 million vehicle stops from 2010 to 2018.

In July, the LAPD resumed collecting post-stop data, as required by a new state law.

At a public hearing on racially biased policing in 2016, LAPD officials cited complaints filed by residents but did not include any racial data on vehicle or pedestrian stops.

The department typically receives a few hundred biased-policing complaints each year, mostly from African Americans. The complaints are almost never upheld.

Moore said he did not know why the LAPD quit analyzing the stops by race or collecting post-stop data. He questioned the data's utility, citing variables such as the age of drivers or people who are passing through and do not live in the area.

"I don't think that that number, whether it's 28%, 9% or 90%, that it informs me about the rightfulness or wrongfulness of the officer involved," Moore said of the percentage of African American drivers.



Metro's focus on South L.A. is a reflection of the high levels of violent crime in that area, he said.

Last year, violent crime citywide decreased for the first time in five years, which Moore credited in part to crime-fighting strategies including the Metro expansion.

Steve Soboroff, president of the civilian commission that oversees the LAPD, said he "believes in the mission of Metro and the expansion of Metro."

The disproportionate number of black drivers stopped by Metro is cause for concern, he said. But he said he needed more information, such as why drivers were stopped and how many traffic tickets Metro writes, to draw conclusions and figure out solutions.

Rice, the civil rights attorney, said the LAPD needs to conduct rigorous studies to prove that the Metro crime-suppression strategy is effective.

Rather than expanding Metro, the LAPD should have put more resources into community policing programs like the one that launched in Watts housing developments and is credited with reducing homicides there, she said.

"It indicates a fundamental structural problem with how they are deploying this strategy," Rice said of the racial disparities in Metro vehicle stops. "They are only deploying it in areas where poor people and people of color are."

**[ben.poston@latimes.com](mailto:ben.poston@latimes.com)**

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Cindy Chang

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Cindy Chang covers the Los Angeles Police Department. She came to The Times in 2012, first covering immigration and ethnic communities before moving to the L.A. County sheriff's beat. Previously, she was at the New Orleans Times-Picayune, where she was the lead writer for a series on Louisiana prisons that won several national awards. A graduate of Yale University and NYU School of Law, she began her journalism career at the Pasadena Star-News.



Ben Poston

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Ben Poston is an investigative reporter specializing in data at the Los Angeles Times.

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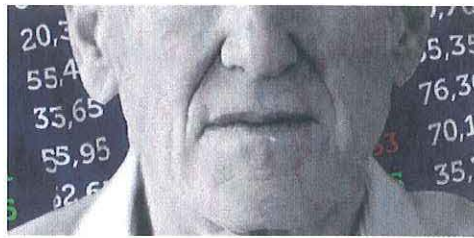
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# The Washington Post

*Democracy Dies in Darkness*

## Here's what you need to know about stop and frisk — and why the courts shut it down

By **Dylan Matthews**

August 13, 2013 at 1:05 p.m. PDT

Shira Scheindlin, a U.S. District Court judge for the Southern District of New York, has ruled that New York City's "stop and frisk" policy violates the Fourteenth Amendment's promise of equal protection, as black and Hispanic people are subject to stops and searches at a higher rate than whites. Mayor Michael Bloomberg responded by deriding Scheindlin for not acknowledging the policy's benefits, noting that "nowhere in her 195 page decision does she mention the historic cuts in crime or the number of lives that have been saved."

But what, exactly, does "stop and frisk" entail? Is it racially biased? Does it actually reduce crime? Here's what you need to know.

### **What is stop and frisk?**

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"Stop, question and frisk" is an NYPD policy wherein police will detain and question pedestrians, and potentially search them, if they have a "reasonable suspicion" that the pedestrian in question "committed, is committing, or is about to commit a felony or a Penal Law misdemeanor."

### **How many stops are conducted? Who gets stopped?**

According to a report from the Public Advocate's office, 532,911 stops were conducted in 2012, down from 685,724 in 2011. The vast majority of those stops were of black or Hispanic people:

And the pace is increasing, as this chart by Jeffrey Fagan at Columbia Law School shows:

According to the New York Civil Liberties Union, 97,296 stops were conducted in 2002. That's less than a fifth of the number of stops conducted in 2012.

The racial breakdown in 2012 is keeping with patterns over the past decade, according to this chart from Adam Serwer and Jaeah Lee at Mother Jones:

Note that the number of stops does not capture how many individual people are stopped, as many individuals are stopped multiple times.

### **Where are people stopped?**



The precincts doing the most stops tend to be in Brooklyn — particularly East New York, Starret City, Brownsville and Ocean Hill, but also Bed-Stuy, Bushwick and Flatbush — and the Bronx, with a few in Staten Island, Jamaica in Queens and Harlem thrown in for good measure. By contrast, the areas with the least stops tend to be ones with lots of white people: Midtown, Little Italy, Chelsea and Central Park in Manhattan, and Greenpoint in Brooklyn.

### **What accounts for why there are more stops in some areas than in others?**

It depends whom you ask. The Bloomberg administration says that it's focusing stops on areas with lots of crime. But Fagan found that *even if you control for the crime rate*, the racial makeup of a precinct is a good predictor of the number of stops.

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"The percent Black population and the percent Hispanic population predict higher numbers of stops, controlling for the local crime rate and the social and economic characteristics of the precinct," Fagan's report explains. "The crime rate is significant as well, so the identification of the race effects suggests that racial composition has a marginal influence on stops, over and above the unique contributions of crime." That finding holds up both in earlier years — such as 1998 and 1999, which Fagan analyzed with Andrew Gelman and Alex Kiss — as well the time period since Fagan's initial report came out in 2010.

Tracey Meares, a Yale law professor, explains that if the NYPD were doing what it claims, then a scatterplot with the number of stops on the Y axis and the crime rate on the X axis would show a linear relationship -- meaning that stops would straightforwardly increase along with the crime rate. That doesn't happen. "What you see is that that relationship is curvilinear and it's concave, so the police districts in the middle get a lot more stops than you'd think that they should be getting based on the crime rate," Meares says. That suggests some racial bias in the implementation of stop and frisk.

### **How many stops result in arrests or tickets?**

Not a whole lot. Serwer and Lee have another chart:

Wow, that looks super-biased on the part of the NYPD. But it's not the only study.

The NYPD commissioned a study by the RAND Corp. — in particular Greg Ridgeway, acting director of the National Institute for Justice (the Department of Justice's research arm) — which concluded that "black pedestrians were stopped at a rate that is 20 to 30 percent lower than their representation in crime-suspect descriptions. Hispanic pedestrians were stopped disproportionately more, by 5 to 10 percent, than their representation among crime-suspect descriptions would predict." Ridgeway also found that the NYPD "frisked white suspects slightly less frequently than they did similarly situated nonwhites" and that "black suspects are slightly more likely to have been frisked than white suspects stopped in circumstances similar to the black suspects."

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However, Fagan has levied a fairly devastating set of objections to Ridgeway's methodology. Among other issues, the RAND study tries to match up stops to compare how whites and blacks are treated but in doing so fails to account for basic things like which potential crime prompted the stop and how reasonable the cop's suspicion was. The sample of officers the RAND study looks at isn't representative, and the benchmark they use to determine the races of those stopped is derived from analysis of violent crimes, which make up a tiny fraction of stops. Fagan concludes that "the analyses in the report are unreliable and methodologically flawed to the extent that it is not reliable evidence that racial bias is absent in NYPD stop and frisk activity."

### **Does it reduce crime?**

"Anyone who says we know this is bringing the crime rate down is really making it up," Fagan says. Others wouldn't put it that harshly, but the evidence does seem to suggest that stop and frisk is, at best, ineffective, and, at worst, actively alienates communities with whom the police need to engage.

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There have been three studies to date evaluating the effectiveness of stop and frisk. The first, an unpublished paper by NYU's Dennis Smith and SUNY Albany's Robert Purtell, found "statistically significant and negative effects of the lagged stop rates on rates of robbery, burglary, motor vehicle theft, and homicide and no significant effects on rates of assault, rape, or grand larceny," according to a summary here. "They also found evidence of 'declining returns to scale' (i.e., diminishing effects over time) of the effects of police stops on most of the offenses they analyzed but increasing returns to scale for robbery."

The second (free copy here), by University of Missouri-St Louis's Richard Rosenfeld and Arizona State's Robert Fornango, throws cold water on even Smith and Purtell's modest positive findings on robbery and burglary. They find the stops "show few significant effects of several SQF [stop, question, and frisk] measures on precinct robbery and burglary rates."

The third, by Hebrew University's David Weisburd and George Mason's Cody Telep and Brian Lawton, analyzes where stop and frisk incidents occur to determine whether the program counts as "hot spots" policing, a strategy with demonstrable effectiveness wherein police target resources in geographic areas with heavy crime. The researchers find that the pattern of stops is consistent with a hot spots approach. But this says nothing about the effectiveness of this particular type of hot spots policing. "Given the possible negative impacts of SQF policing, both on citizens who live in such areas, and the primarily young and minority population that is the main subject of SQFs, we suspect especially in the long run that this approach will lead to unintended negative consequences," the authors write.

That much is obvious: Stop and frisk is alienating the communities it targets. It's done so since the late 1990s, when stop and frisk incidents ratcheted considerably and culminated in the death of Amadou Diallo, an innocent 22-year-old West African immigrant who was shot 41 times by NYPD officers as part of a stop. That spurred an investigation by the New York attorney general's office, then headed by Eliot Spitzer, into that policing program. Such incidents have real costs. Fagan, Meares, and NYU's Tom Tyler note that there's a huge research literature showing that perceptions of police legitimacy matter for crime rates, and we know that invasions of privacy like stops and searches, particularly when conducted rudely, damage police legitimacy.

### **Are there other possible explanations for the crime drop?**

This is the real kicker. As Kevin Drum says in Mother Jones, the thing driving the drop in crime in New York, as everywhere, might not have anything to do with policing. It's likely the removal of lead from gasoline and house paint, he argues. Several studies have found that lead exposure can damage children's brain development, affecting their behavior. Rick Nevin, an economist and a leading researcher on crime and lead questions, notes that there has been far more progress on removing lead in New York City than in other large cities like Chicago or Detroit:

New York's lead removal efforts are commendable and are a more than adequate explanation of why it's seen sharper crime drops than other cities. There's no reason to credit alienating policies like stop and frisk here.

AD

## What now?

Judge Scheindlin has named Peter Zimroth, a former lawyer for the City of New York now at Arnold & Porter, to oversee the NYPD. She also mandated a number of other remedies, including a requirement that some police officers wear cameras, changes to training and disciplinary policies, and a process to devise broader reforms to stop and frisk that involves "representatives of religious, advocacy, and grassroots organizations; NYPD personnel and representatives of police organizations; the District Attorneys' offices...the Mayor's office, the NYPD, and the lawyers in this case; and the non-parties that submitted briefs: the Civil Rights Division of the DOJ, Communities United for Police Reform, and the Black, Latino, and Asian Caucus of the New York City Council."

The city will almost certainly appeal, and a higher court could issue a stay on Scheindlin's ruling, but for the time being it's the binding policy on stop and frisk.

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New York Civil Liberties  
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## NYCLU RELEASES REPORT ANALYZING NYPD STOP-AND-FRISK DATA

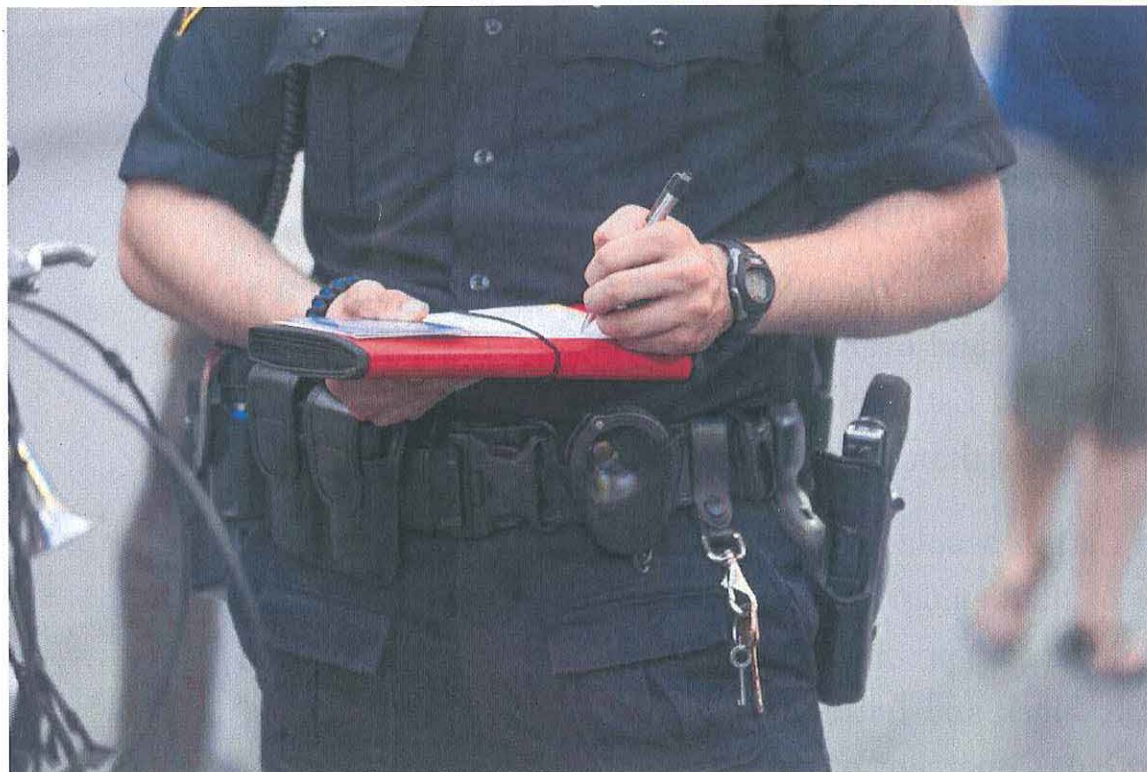
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### MEDIA CONTACT

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MARCH 14, 2019



NEW YORK- Today, The New York Civil Liberties Union released *Stop-and-Frisk in the de Blasio Era*, a report analyzing NYPD stop-and-frisk data during the first four years of the de Blasio administration.

Since Mayor de Blasio came into office in January 2014, the number of reported NYPD stops has drastically declined in New York City.

Yet, despite a record-low number of reported stops in recent years, there has been virtually no progress made on reducing racial disparities. Black and Latino men and boys continue to be the overwhelming targets of stop-and-frisk activity.

- Young black and Latino males between the ages of 14 and 24 account for only five percent of the city's population, compared with 38 percent of reported stops. Young black and Latino males were innocent 80 percent of the time.
- Though frisks are only supposed to be conducted when an officer reasonably suspects the person has a weapon that poses threat to the officer's safety, 66 percent of reported stops led to frisks, of which over 93 percent resulted in no weapon being found.
- Black and Latino people were more likely to be frisked than whites and, among those frisked, were less likely to be found with a weapon.
- Between 2014 and 2017, the NYPD used force on over 21,000 black and Latino people and over 2,200 white people. Even among those stopped, black and Latino people were more likely to have force used against them than white people.
- Black and Latino people were disproportionately stopped regardless of the demographic make-up of the neighborhood. For example, in the 17<sup>th</sup> precinct, which encompasses Kips Bay and Murray Hill, black and Latino people make up just 8 percent of the population but 75 percent of the people stopped by police.

"The decline in the sheer number of stops is important progress, but it does not change the fact that black and Latino New Yorkers are still disproportionately targeted by stop-and-frisk policing," said **Donna Lieberman, Executive Director of the New York Civil Liberties Union**. "New York City is safer than ever, but we have made no meaningful progress in reducing the racial disparities in who is stopped by police on the street. No amount of fear mongering from



President Trump, whose lack of regard for fact based policy extends to law enforcement, can prompt New York to return to the harmful, racially divisive ineffective, and out of control stop-and-frisk that began with Giuliani and continued until the current administration.”

“While we welcome the dramatic decline in reported stops, we remain concerned that the number of actual stops is far larger because officers are failing to document many stops,” said **Christopher Dunn, Legal Director at the NYCLU and co-author of the report**. “In addition, our report shows that racial disparities continue to be a stubborn problem, that most stops are of innocent people, and that the police routinely and improperly are frisking New Yorkers.”

The New York City Police Department’s aggressive stop-and-frisk program exploded into a national controversy during the mayoral administration of Michael Bloomberg. Stop-and-frisk peaked in 2011, when NYPD officers made nearly 700,000 stops. During the rise of stop-and-frisk, the New York Civil Liberties Union used public records requests to obtain and regularly report to the public information about NYPD stops. The NYCLU successfully sued to get access to the NYPD’s database of stops, and released a report in May 2012 that helped propel the issue of discriminatory stop-and-frisk policing to the forefront of the 2013 mayoral race. By the time then-public advocate Bill de Blasio was elected in November 2013 on a platform that included stop-and-frisk reform, public pressure and litigation had forced Mayor Bloomberg and Commissioner Ray Kelly to scale back stop-and-frisk activity. Three federal cases — including one led by the NYCLU, *Ligon v. City of New York* — had resulted in court orders forcing sweeping reform of the NYPD’s stop-and-frisk program.

You can view the report and its appendices at its appendices

<https://www.nyclu.org/en/publications/stop-and-frisk-de-blasio-era-2019>  
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